

F: Fascicle 6: Conductus, Prosulas, Troped Organum a3; Motets a4**SALVATORIS HODIE – NOVUS ADAM NATUS EST**

Perotinus

Conductus (C5/315)

F, f. 201r (6,1): Strophes I-III a3; f. 307r (7,37): Strophes IV-[V] a2

Tr
8 [Sal - va - to - ris ho - di - e

I D
8 [Sal - va - to - ris ho - di - e

T
8 Sal - va - to - ris ho - di - e

san - guis pre - gu - sta -

san - guis pre - gu - sta -

san - guis pre - gu - sta -

- tur. In quo sy - on

- tur. In quo sy - on

- tur. In quo sy - on

fi - li - e sto - la can - di

fi - li - e sto - la can - di

fi - li - e sto - la can - di

- da -
- da -
- da -

- tur.
- tur.
- tur.

Tr
Ec -
II D
Ec -
T
Ec -

| T of “ecce nomen domini” = T of later “hodie quod homini” = D in first phrase of later cauda
“[novus Adam natus] est”

[Ec]-ce no-men do-mi-ni

[Ec]-ce no-men do-mi-ni

[Ec]-ce no-men do-mi-ni

de lon - gin - quo ve - nit. ho-di - e quod

de lon - gin - quo ve - nit. ho-di - e quod

de lon - gin - quo ve - nit. ho-di - e quod

ho - mi - ni

ho - mi - ni

ho - mi - ni

per - di - to sub - ve - nit.

per - di - to sub - ve - nit.

per - di - to sub - ve - nit.

Tr
8
Ec - ce sal - va

III D
8
Ec - ce sal - va

T
8
Ec - ce sal - va

ve - ri - tas. ve - ra - que sal - va - ti - o

ve - ri - tas. ve - ra - que sal - va - ti - o

ve - ri - tas. ve - ra - que sal - va - ti - o

cu - ius in pre -

cu - ius in pre -

cu - ius in pre -

- pu - ti - o lit - te - ra - lis ce - ci - tas ter - mi - num in - ve -

- pu - ti - o lit - te - ra - lis ce - ci - tas ter - mi - num in - ve -

- pu - ti - o lit - te - ra - lis ce - ci - tas ter - mi - num in - ve -

musical score for Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam [C5/315] a3, a2 (F) – music, p. 5. The score consists of five systems of three staves each. The first four systems are in G major (one sharp). The fifth system is in F major (two flats). The music features various melodic lines with phrasing slurs and some specific markings like "nit." and "nit." with a red "a" in a box. The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "f" and "f. 307r (7,37)".

[PART 2: NOVUS ADAM NATUS EST]

[C5 315]

f, f. 307r (7,37)

IV D [No-vus a - dam na-tus est

T No-vus a - dam na-tus est

musical score for PART 2: NOVUS ADAM NATUS EST [C5 315]. The score consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system is in D major (two sharps). The second system is in F major (two flats). The music features various melodic lines with phrasing slurs and some specific markings like "a" in a red box and "b" in a red box. The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "f" and "f. 307r (7,37)".

ut no-ve - tur mun -

ut no-ve - tur mun -

- dus a

- dus a

quo ta - men fa - ctus est pri - mus et se - cun - dus.

quo ta - men fa - ctus est pri - mus et se - cun - dus.

[V] quip - pe cum prin - ci - pi - um i - dem sit et ter - mi - nus

T quip - pe cum prin - ci - pi - um i - dem sit et ter - mi - nus

ser - vus at - que do - mi - nus ne - scit hoc pre - pu - ci - um

ser - vus at - que do - mi - nus ne - scit hoc pre - pu - ci - um

| T: syllabic/melismatic identity with next phrase, may explain unusual ligation of opening of the succeeding cauda

ne - scit hoc in - mun -

[b] ne - scit hoc in - mun -

[b'] ne - scit hoc in - mun -

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of two staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Blue brackets and dashed lines are used to group notes and indicate phrasing. Red boxes highlight specific accidentals: b'' in the first system, b' in the second system, and b' in the fourth system. The score concludes with the instruction "- dus." in blue text at the end of the fourth system.

SALVATORIS HODIE – NOVUS ADAM NATUS EST

Conductus (C5/315)

F, f. 201r (6,1): Strophes I-III a3; f. 307r (7,37): Strophes IV-[V] a2

I	Salvatoris hodie sanguis pregustatur, in quo Syon filie stola candidatur.		Today the bloodshed of the Savior is foreseen, in which the robe of the daughter of Zion is whitened.
II	Ecce nomen domini de longinquo venit hodie, quod homini perdito subvenit.	5	Behold, the name of the Lord, which aids lost mankind, has today come from afar.
III	Ecce salva veritas veraque salvatio, cuius in preputio litteralis cecitas terminum invenit.	10	Behold saving truth and true salvation, in whose circumcision the blindness of the Old Law finds an end.
IV	Novus Adam natus est ut novetur mundus; a quo tamen factus est primus et secundus.	15	A new Adam has been born to renew the world; yet by him were made the first and second.
[V]	Quippe cum principium idem sit et terminus, servus atque dominus. Nescit hoc prepucium nescit hoc immundus.	20	In fact, since the beginning and the end are the same, so are the servant and master. “Uncircumcision” knows this not; the unclean knows this not.

SOURCES:

On the strophic divisions and the disposition of text initials in all the various sources, see the discussion below in the notes on the text.

F, fasc. 6, no. 1, f. 201r: Strophes I-III a3; *F*, fasc. 7, no. 37, f. 307r: Strophes IV-[V] a2; the piece is complete, but its three-voice and two-voice segments are separated in this source, as its page layout does not provide for mixing together the differently scored portions. The two-voice section from later in the MS begins with a cue that reproduces the T and D voices over the opening two words from the *cum littera* segment of line 1. The piece starts with a bi-level historiated initial “S,” depicting in the upper portion Christ’s presentation in the temple, and his baptism by John the Baptist in the lower half. Each of the groups has other figures as part of the depiction. In the baptism scene an angel stands to the right of a naked Jesus, holding his blue robe, while John appears at the left, baptizing Christ with a flask or a waisted cup. Rippling water appears to be represented by a transparent green half-oval rising up from the bottom of the frame to cover Christ’s legs up to his mid-thigh region. In the upper presentation scene, the infant Jesus squats on a narrow, oblong rectangular pillar, supported on the left by a female figure that appears to be his mother, and on the other side by a male, who could be Joseph, a temple priest, or possibly Simeon. An additional female figure is depicted to the left of the group, who holds a covered basket of some kind. This could represent the prophetess Anna (see Luke, 2:36-38). Although the contents of the basket are not easily visible, the iconography in other

representations of Christ's presentation suggests they might be an offering for the temple, usually consisting of a pair of doves. This and the next work in *F*-6, *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304) are also together in *W1*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 1, f. 95r (86r): Strophes I-[V] a3 (I-III) and a2 (IV-[V]), complete; in contrast to *F*, both the three-and two-voice sections occur successively in this source. This and the next piece are also together in *F*-6.

Other musical sources present only the music and text of Strophes I-III:

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 4, f. 111v: a2 (TD), setting of Strophes I-III only.

LoA, part 2, no. 5, f. 86v: a3, setting of Strophes I-III only, with the music and text of the opening syllable lost with the cutting away of the initial that originally began this piece, and with approximately the second half of the cauda over line 11,1 ("cuius") also missing with the excision of the initial originally beginning the next piece, *Presul nostri temporis* (C2/271).

W2, fasc. 3, no. 1, f. 31r: a3, setting of Strophes I-III only.

Text only:

F-T 1471 (Troyes, *Médiathèque du Grand Troyes 1471*; previously Troyes, *Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471*), no. 1, ff. Ar-Av (the first flyleaf inside the front cover of the host MS): text only of Strophes I-[V], complete; the leaves are ruled and the text is spaced to accommodate music a2, but staves were never inscribed and only verbal text is entered. This source was unknown to Anderson and is not included in his catalog or edition. As a result, any variants with the text above are noted in the observations and variants section below.¹

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: the music of *Salvatoris hodie* is attributed to Perotin by Anonymous 4.² The Circumcision Office of *LoA* (on f. 49r) calls for this piece to be sung before (or conceivably as an alternative to) *Natus est hodie dominus*, the *conductus ante Evangelium* that prefaces the reading of the Gospel during the Mass of the Beauvais Circumcision. The text of *Salvatoris* relates closely to the topic of this feast day (1 January) as it draws the celebration of the circumcision together with the crucifixion, and invokes it within the context of the incarnation and Christmas as a symbol of the new covenant of Christ (see the notes to lines 11-13, below). **Strophic division:** The stanzaic division of the text of *Salvatoris hodie* is capable of various interpretations, as the MS sources provide different types of evidence towards evaluating the strophic structure of the text. The presentation adopted here, which follows Falck, against both Anderson's edition

¹For more on this source, including images, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, "The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony? A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters*, 97 (2016): 1-41. Online, color images are available via DIAMM [here](#).

²Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1:46: "Ipse vero magister Perotinus fecit quadrupla optima sicut *Viderunt*, *Sederunt* cum habundantia colorum armonicae artis; similiter et tripla plurima nobilissima sicut *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, *Nativitas* et cetera. Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut *Salvatoris hodie* et duplices conductus sicut *Dum sigillum summi patris* ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut *Beata viscera* et cetera." ("This same Master Perotinus made the best four-part organa, such as *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, with an artful abundance of melodic repetition; and likewise many very noble three-part organa, like *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* and [*Alleluia*] *Nativitas*, etc. He also composed three-part conductus, such as *Salvatoris hodie* and two-part conductus such as *Dum sigillum summi patris*, and even monophonic conducti with many others such as *Beata viscera*, etc.).

(*NDRC*)³ and the CPI database,⁴ assumes that the four lines of Strophe I are a complete entity (although both *F* and *F-T 1471* suggest the possibility of an internal split via capitals at the start of line 3), and the units of II (which reprises the structure of I) and III are also independent stanzas, because only *W1* shows no evident partitioning of the lines within II and III. The opening stanza, furthermore, is not considered here to be a refrain, since none of the sources implies such a role within the transmission history of this piece. The sectioning of [V] off from IV is especially hypothetical (as its brackets show), since neither *F* nor *W1* – nor any syntactical break within the two strophes – suggests its presence, but it is nonetheless indirectly prompted by the structural identity of [V] with III. As a result, Stanza I = II = IV, and Stanza III = [V]. The following layouts are presented in the MSS, based on the division of the poem given above: ***F***: Strophe I: a major historiated initial (described above in the source report) begins line 1; line 3 starts with a capital (indicated by a space in text above, the only other source to show this division is *F-T 1471*); II and III: begin with a capital; IV: after the cue (see above), opens with capital letter, but no division is suggested for Strophe [V]. ***W1***: Strophe I: opens with a major illuminated initial; II-III: begins with a painted, in-line capital initial for II, but no indication for the start of III; IV-[V]: a painted marginal initial begins IV, but no indication for [V]; ***W2***: a major historiated initial with a gold-leaf background featuring three tonsured singers standing in front of a lectern and performing from a book held by the middle figure begins Strophe I; capital letters open II and III; ***LoA***: Strophe I: opening initial cut out of MS; II-III: blank spaces left for unexecuted capitals opening these strophes; ***Ma***: Strophe I: space left for major initial, at start of system; II: space left for unexecuted painted capital; III: capital letter opens and a smaller capital begins line 11,1 (“cuius”). ***F-T 1471***: Space left for painted initials for Strophes I-IV; as in *F*, line 3,1 is capitalized, and there is no distinction given to Strophe [V]. **Textual notes:** **1-4**: Literally, lines 1-2 read “today the blood of the savior is foretasted.” The blood of Christ, shed for the first time during his circumcision ceremony, prefigures the crucifixion and is thus a symbol for the cleansing effect of salvation. See, e.g., Revelation, 7:13-14;⁵ and, in a related manner, Revelation, 1:5.⁶ Note also the story of Exodus 4:24-27, where Zipporah circumcises her son Gershom to protect his father Moses from being killed by the Lord (presumably for neglecting to circumcise Gershom at the appointed time – see the remarks for lines 11-13). **3,3-4**: The daughter of Zion invoked here appears to refer to those who are awaiting salvation, as suggested by Zechariah, 9:9;⁷ and Isaiah, 62:11.⁸ **5-8**: Isaiah 30:27: “Ecce nomen Domini venit de longinquo” (“Behold the name of the Lord has come from afar”). **11-13**: the circumcision of Jesus on 1 January, eight days after his birth according to Jewish custom (See Luke, 2:21), signifies the new covenant that overturns the ones

³Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 9 vols. (presently comprising 1-6, 8-10), Collected Works, no. 10. Brooklyn, New York and Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979-1988. *Salvatoris hodie* is found in vol. 1:xxix (text and translation), 54-60 (music), 164-165 (commentary).

⁴*CPI Conductus: Cantum pulchriorem invenire*, created and overseen by Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua, <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk>, accessed August 2021. This is a centralized resource that inventories the larger repertory of conductus, its sources, texts, and other details of transmission.

⁵Revelation, 7:13-14: “Et respondit unus de senioribus dicens mihi, ‘hii qui amicti sunt stolis albis – qui sunt et unde venerunt?’ Et dixi illi: ‘domine mi, tu scis.’ Et dixit mihi: ‘hii sunt qui veniunt de tribulatione magna et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni’” (“Then one of the elders asked me, ‘These people in white robes – who are they, and where did they come from?’ I answered: ‘my lord, you know.’ And he said to me: ‘These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb’ ”).

⁶Revelation, 1:5: “Et ab Iesu Christo qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae, qui dilexit nos et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo” (“And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth, who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.”).

⁷Zechariah, 9:9: “Exulta satis, filia Sion, iubila, filia Hierusalem: ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et salvator” (“Rejoice greatly, daughter of Sion, shout for joy, daughter of Jerusalem: behold your king shall come to you, the just one and the savior”).

⁸Isaiah, 62:11: “Ecce dominus auditum fecit in extremis terrae: dicite filiae Sion: ‘ecce salvator tuus venit: ecce merces eius cum eo et opus eius coram illo’ ” (“Behold the Lord has made it heard to the ends of the earth: tell the daughter of Sion ‘Behold thy Saviour cometh: behold his reward is with him, and his work before him.’ ”).

made with the descendants of Abraham (Genesis, 17:7-14). **14-17:** Christ became a new, second Adam, who canceled the sins of the first man. See 1 Corinthians, 15:45, and 15:47.⁹ Since Jesus the Son is one with God the Father, he created both himself (the new Adam) as well as the old one. **18-20:** See Revelation, 21:6,¹⁰ and the similar expressions in Revelation, 22:13. The servant here probably denotes Christ and the master denotes God; both, as members of the Trinity, are co-equivalent. **21-22:** See Romans. 3:29-31.¹¹ According to the Apostle Paul, Christ's new covenant encompasses both those who are circumcised according to Jewish custom and uncircumcised Gentiles (regarded as impure in the prior covenant). Both, though, under the new order are conceived as being "circumcised," whether literally, or in spirit (cf. 1 Corinthians, 7:18-19; and Colossians, 3:11). If, though, the new law is transgressed, one enters a state of "uncircumcision" (see Romans, 2:25-29), in which state they do not recognize nor receive the gift of grace.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: The textual variants of *F-T1471* are listed here for completeness, since this source was unknown to Anderson and thus does not appear in his catalog or edition; see also Bevilacqua, "Earliest Source," 37-38, who supplies a complete account of the textual variants in this piece drawn from all sources. The differences here from *F* amount only to minor re-spellings of two words. **12,1:** F-T1471: literalis. **22,3:** F-T1471: immundus. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315) is one of five conductus that open in three voices and close with a section in two parts. The others pieces that exploit this feature are: *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati stat obvia* (C8/349), and *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256).¹² **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T of "ecce nomen domini" (line 5, beg of Strophe II) = **1a.** T of later "hodie quod homini" (line 7, begins second half of Strophe II) = **1b.** D in first phrase of later cauda "[novus Adam natus] est" (line 14, beg of Strophe IV). **2.** T of "nescit hoc in mun[dus]" (line 22, last line of poem) = **2a.** T of first and similar phrases in the following closing cauda on "[in]mun[dus]" (line 22, last line of poem). The correspondences between this second family of phrases (shown in the score in boxed letters as "b" and its variants) could possibly account for the unusual ligation in the T that starts the final cauda. Such a reading is furthermore appropriated for the similar T motives that appear in the phrase beginning at L7 and in the T of phrase 4 at L24 of the same cauda (with the note at L 24 followed by a *suspirium* that additionally prompts the rhythm adopted here). **Notes on the music: Line 9,1:** Tr: F: the '2li=*cd* prior to the syllable "[Ec]ce [salva]" is 'cP; the reading given here is taken from W1,W2,LoA. **Cauda at line 16,1 ("a [quo tamen]):** TD: F: the final phrase of this melisma might conceivably use *b-flats*, although it sounds fine without them, and none appears at this point in W1. The same could be said for several other subsequent *bs* in the D up to line 21,3 ("prepuccium"), where a sig rot on *b* then precedes in *F*. **Line 22,3:** T: F: penultimate note si=*c om*, taken from W1.

⁹1 Corinthians, 15:45: "Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem" ("The first man Adam was made into a living soul; the last Adam into a quickening spirit"). 1 Corinthians 15:47: "Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de caelo, caelestis" ("The first man was of the earth, earthly: the second man, from heaven, heavenly").

¹⁰Revelation, 21:6: "Et dixit mihi: 'Factum est. Ego sum Alpha et Omega; initium et finis' " ("And he said to me: 'It is done. I am Alpha and Omega; the beginning and the end.' ")

¹¹Romans. 3:29-31: "An Judaeorum Deus tantum? nonne et gentium? Immo et gentium: quoniam quidem unus est Deus, qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et praepitum per fidem. Legem ergo destruimus per fidem? Absit: sed legem statuimus" ("Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also. For it is one God, that justifies circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith. Do we, then, destroy the law through faith? God forbid: but we establish the law.")

¹²On these works, see Mark Everist, "Le conduit a nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)," *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiéu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, eds. 329-344 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); and *idem*, "The Variable-Voice Conductus," *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, Tess Knighton and David Skinner, eds., 195–220 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

RELEGENTUR AB AREA – CLAUSUS IN TESTA
Conductus (C6/304)*F*, f. 202v (6,2): Strophe I a3; f. 287v (7,21): Strophes II-III a2

This musical score is for a Conductus in C major, 3/4 time, titled 'RELEGENTUR AB AREA – CLAUSUS IN TESTA'. It is a three-part setting (a3) for voices: Tenor (Tr), Inner D (I D), and Tenor (T). The score is divided into four systems, each with three staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with the Tenor and Inner D parts starting on a 'Re' (D4) and the Tenor part starting on a 'Re' (D3). The second system continues the melodic development. The third system contains the first line of Latin text: '[Re] - le - gen - tur ab a - re - a'. The fourth system contains the second line of Latin text: 'fi - de - lis con - sci - en - ti - e lu - tum la - ter et pa - le - a'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals (sharps and flats). Blue brackets and dashed lines indicate phrasing and melodic connections across the staves. The text is written in blue ink below the corresponding staves.

Tr
[Re -
I D
[Re -
T
Re -

[Re] - le - gen - tur ab a - re - a
[Re] - le - gen - tur ab a - re - a
[Re] - le - gen - tur ab a - re - a

fi - de - lis con - sci - en - ti - e lu - tum la - ter et pa - le - a
fi - de - lis con - sci - en - ti - e lu - tum la - ter et pa - le - a
fi - de - lis con - sci - en - ti - e lu - tum la - ter et pa - le - a

[TD: the extended rhythms used here come from the ligation (or lack of it) in *Ma*, f. 110r, II; all other MSS show faster values throughout, except for the Tr of *F* and most of the Tr of *LoA*; for the faster reading as given in *F*, see the alternative version (*) at the end

ser-vi-tu-tis e -

ser-vi-tu-tis e -

ser-vi-tu-tis e -

-gy-pti - e pres-su-ris man-ci-pa -

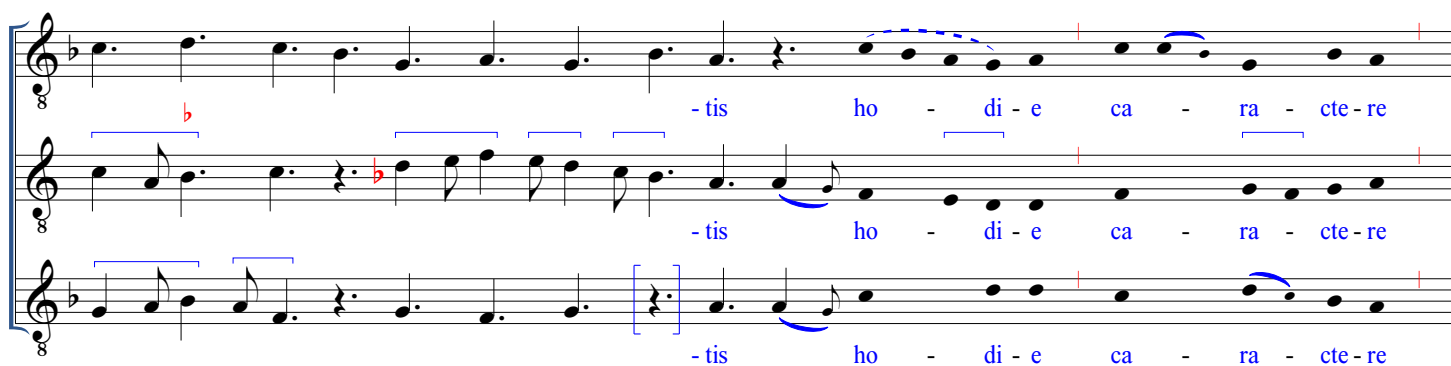
-gy-pti - e pres-su-ris man-ci-pa -

-gy-pti - e pres-su-ris man-ci-pa -

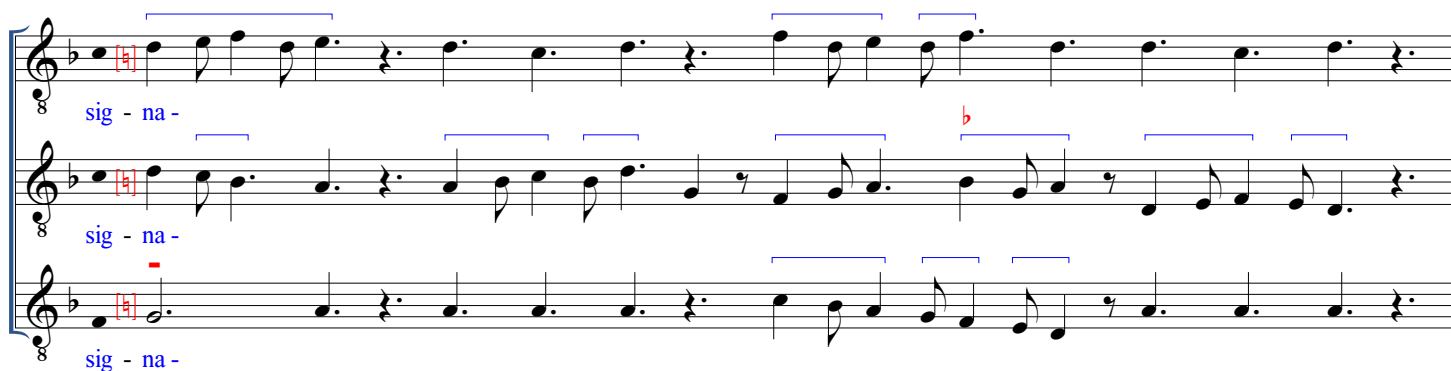
-ti. Sint li-ber-ta -

-ti. Sint li-ber-ta -

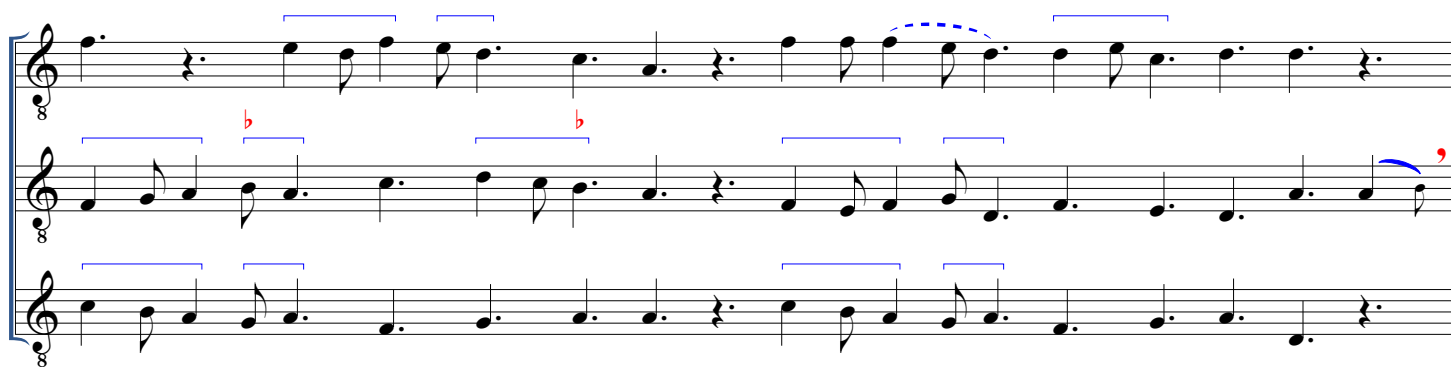
-ti. Sint li-ber-ta -



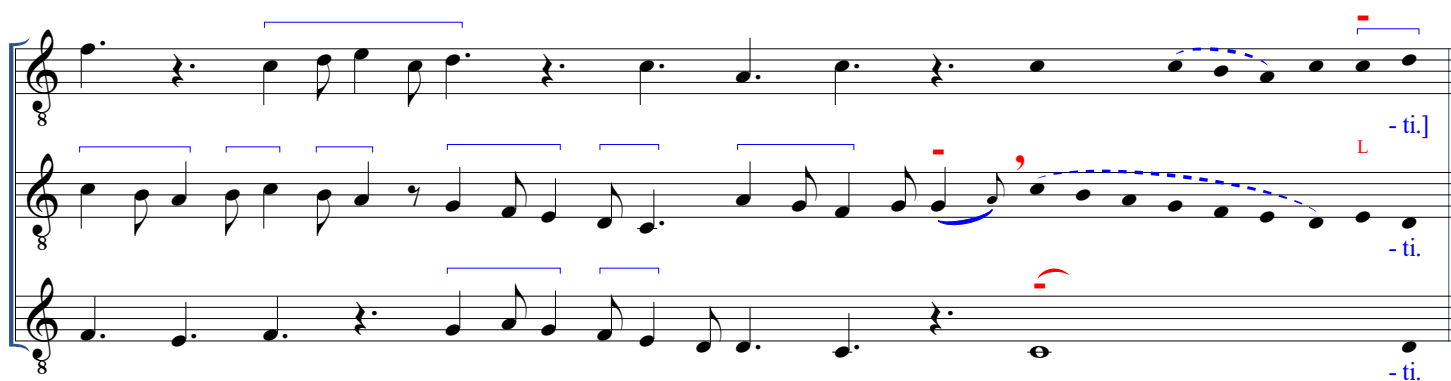
- tis ho - di - e ca - ra - cte - re



sig - na -



sig - na -



- ti.]. - ti. - ti.

[PART 2: CLAUSUS IN TESTA]
[C6/304]

F, f. 287v (7,21)

II

D

8

[Clau -

T

8

Clau -

-vu- -lus im - mo

flu - en - tum sta - bi - le. se no - bis pro - pi - na -

- vit. as - su - mens que mu - ta - bi - le;

quod e - rat non mu - ta -

This musical score is for a piece titled "Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa" from the manuscript F, fasc. 6. It is page 17 of 458, edited by Thomas B. Payne. The score is for a3 and a2 parts, in the key of F major. It consists of seven systems of staves, each with a vocal line (a3) and a lute line (a2). The vocal line is in treble clef, and the lute line is in bass clef. The music is written in a style that combines modern notation with historical performance practice, including various ornaments and phrasing marks. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the vocal line. The score includes a variety of musical notations, including notes, rests, beams, and phrasing marks. The lyrics are: - vit. - vit. Ad Ad [Ad] vi - tem pul - lus a - si - na col - li - ga - tur. [Ad] vi - tem pul - lus a - si - na col - li - ga - tur. ad ad vi - ne - am vi - te vi - ne - am vi - te pan - dun - tur li - mi - na qui - bus a - mo - vit rum - phe - am. pan - dun - tur li - mi - na qui - bus a - mo - vit rum - phe - am. cu - ius vir - tu - te sar - ci - na le - ga - lis le - vi - a - - tur. cu - ius vir - tu - te sar - ci - na le - ga - lis le - vi - a - - tur.

no-vel - le ve - tus pa - gi - na spi - ri - tu com-pla - na -

no-vel - le ve - tus pa - gi - na spi - ri - tu com-pla - na -

| TD: *W1*: final cauda in faster values; see alternative reading (**) at end

- tur.]

- tur.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

**F*, f. 202v, III: cauda following line 3 in faster values as implied by the T and D of all MSS but *Ma*; in *LoA*, Tr converted only at end; in *F*, not at all

Tr
8
F: si
W2: ϵ
W1: ϵ
F: si si si
W2: ϵ
W2, Lo4: om si
W1: additional si= ϵ

D
8

T
8
(palca)

****W1, f. 98r (89r), V: final cauda of Strophe III in faster values**

D

T

(complana) -

- tur.

RELEGENTUR AB AREA – CLAUSUS IN TESTA

Conductus (C6/304)

F, f. 202v (6,2): Strophe I, a3; f. 287v (7,21): Strophes II-III, a2

I	Relegentur ab area fidelis conscientie lutum, later, et palea. Servitutis egyptie pressuris mancipati		Let the mud, brick, and chaff be cleared from the threshing floor of a faithful conscience. Let those branded today 5 with the sign of freedom
	sint libertatis hodie caractere signati.		be delivered from the subjugations of Egyptian slavery.
II	Clausus in testa, figulus univit sibi fictile. Fons idem, fons et rivulus – immo fluentum stabile – se nobis propinavit; assumensque mutabile, quod erat, non mutavit.	10	Enclosed in a clay pot, the potter united himself with his vessel. This same source, as a brook and a river – I might even say as a steady stream – offered himself for us to drink; and, taking on what was changeable, changed not what he was.
III	Ad vitem pullus, asina colligatur ad vineam. Vite panduntur limina, quibus amovit rumpheam; cuius virtute sarcina legalis leviatur; novelle vetus pagina spiritu complanatur.	15 20	Let the foal be tied to the vine, and the she-ass to the vineyard. The doorways of life, from which God withdrew the sword, are opened; through his might the burden of the old law is lifted; the ancient page is newly explained by the Spirit.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 2, f. 202v: a3, Strophe I; fasc. 7, no. 21, f. 287v: a2, Strophes II-III, altogether complete; the latter two stanzas are signaled by large capitals, with a smaller capital at line 6,1 (seen in other sources and prompting the extra break at this point in the text above); the piece is complete, but the three-voice (Strophe I) and two-voice (Strophes II-III) segments of the piece are separated in this source, since the page layout does not provide here for the mixing of its differently scored portions. The two-voice section from later in the MS begins with a cue that reproduces the T and D voices of the first three words from the *cum littera* segment of line 1. The final cauda of Strophe III appears in extended rhythms in comparison to *W1*, which is supplied in an alternative reading at the end of the score. This and the following work in *F-6 Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), are also together in *LoA*, but reversed, while *Relegentur* and the preceding piece, *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), succeed each other in both *F-6* and *W1*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 2, f. 96v(87v): a3 and a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with a marginally placed painted initial opening I, a small ink capital heading line 6,1, as does *F* and *W2*, and with a decorated marginal initial opening II and a painted capital announcing III. In contrast to *F*, both the three-and two-voice sections appear together in this source. The final cauda of Strophe III appears in faster rhythms than in *F*, given as an alternative reading at the end of the score. The first two conductus in *W1-9* also begin *F-6* in the same order.

The other musical sources transmit only Strophe I:

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 2, f. 109v: a2 (TD), setting of Strophe I only, with no special indication for line 6,1; the cauda that closes line 3 (on “palea”) appears in extended rhythms in comparison to the other sources; it serves as the resource for the rhythmical reading presented in the main transcription, with the faster version from other MSS supplied as an alternative. See below for justifying including the *Ma* rendering of this cauda within the reading of *F*.

LoA, part 2, no. 8, f. 89v: a3, setting of Strophe I only, with a space left for an omitted initial to start line 6. The opening initial and first syllable has been excised, along with the first 4L of all the voices; the same mutilation accounts for the missing Tr music of the last three syllables of line 1,1. The previous work in *LoA*, *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), happens to follow *Relegentur* in *F*-6.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 3, f. 34v: a3, setting of Strophe I only; a smallish capital opens line 6, as in *F*, *W1*, and implied by *LoA*.

Text only:

OxAdd (*GB-Ob Add. A.44*), no. 60 (with enumeration “lviii” given in both left and right margins – the latter one trimmed), f. 80r: text only of Strophes I-III, complete, beginning with a filigreed initial and with Strophes II, III, and line 6 signaled by somewhat larger letters within an otherwise continuous *mise en texte*; rubric in a later hand, extending into the right margin and slightly excised: “Quod lex novi testamenti est lex libertatis ex quo celestis figulus univit sibi fictile” (“That the law of the New Testament is the law of freedom whereby the heavenly potter joined [his own] clay pot to himself”).

Music only:

The T voice of the final cauda of Strophe III of *Relegentur* is found as Strophe I of the conductus prosula *Anima iuge lacrima* (K45/15),¹ a3 (with both upper parts differing from *Relegentur*), in the following briefly noted sources:

F, fasc. 10, no. 45, f. 433v, notated a1, although the three successively notated strophes (I, II, III) can be combined for a piece a3 (T, Mot, Tr, respectively).

StS1 (*PL-SS Muz 9*), no. 8, f. 3v; fragmentary, with most of Strophe I and about half of II missing; the order of stanzas and disposition of parts follow *F*.

Cl (“*La Clayette MS*”), no. 3, f. 370r, a3, in mensural notation; order of strophes: I, III (with a mistaken initial “H” for the correct “L”), II (T, Tr, Mot, respectively).²

In addition, a further record of *Anima iuge lacrima* is reported in:

Bes (*Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, I. 716*), no. 11a, f. 11r; incipit of strophe III (*Lis hec ratio*) only; from the surviving index of a lost codex.

¹For this and related works, see my edition: Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011). *Anima iuge lacrima* appears on pp. 35-37.

²Images of the MS available [here](#).

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: the text of this piece has been attributed to Philip the Chancellor by myself³ and by David Traill.⁴ The music has been associated with the compositional techniques of Perotin by Robert Falck.⁵ The translation and commentary that appear below are heavily indebted to Traill's discussions in his articles "More Poems" (see pp. 165-168) and "Biblical Exegesis."⁶ **Textual notes: Lines 1-7:** this strophe is replete with images found frequently among Philip's lyrics. For the mud and brick in lines 1 and 4 (derived from Exodus, 1:14) as a metaphor for sin expressed in the labor forced upon the Israelites during their enslavement in Egypt, see Philip's conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), lines 24-26; and his Latin refrain song, *Luto carens et latere* (F1,M6/200), *passim*.⁷ The separation of the wheat from the chaff alluded to in line 4 through the winnowing of grain on the threshing floor, comes from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, where it is presented as a symbol of the faithful achieving salvation by their separation from the damned. The threshing figure also appears in Philip's organum prosulas *Adesse festina / Aduva me domine ...* (A12/- – vdW 58/M2), lines 55-62, and *Associa tecum in patria / Sante Eligi* (K80/22 – vdW 706c/O27), lines 10-12 and 44; his several conductus *In hoc ortus occidente* (K5/174), line 45; *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), lines 69-71; *Veritas veritatum* (K19/376), lines 64-66; *O labilis sortis* (K30/234), line 48; *Bonum est confidere* (K37/50), lines 32-33 and 36-39; his newly attributed motets *Et exaltavi plebis humilem / Et exaltavi* (517/M51), lines 29-32, and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti / Et gaudebit* (452/451/M37), line 50; and the two conductus *In paupertatis predio* (K64/179), line 17 (conceivably his work), and *Sede Syon in pulvere* (K8/321), lines 23-24 (tentatively attributed to Philip by Traill in a further article, "Philip the Chancellor and F10."⁸ The images also appear in the anonymous conductus *Fas et nefas ambulant* [F7/119], lines 26 and 37-38, as a token of worthiness or unworthiness for those who are needy. The reference to the significative mark in line 7 refers figuratively to baptism, as is made plain in Philip's *Luto carens et latere* (F1,M6/200), lines 3-7. Traill ("Biblical Exegesis," pp. 333-334) notes that the escape of the Israelites over the dry bed of the Red Sea is connected to baptism in the Bible (I Corinthians, 10:1-2 and 10:6). He also cites additional references drawn from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* to demonstrate the figurative associations of the enslaved Israelites with sinners, their escape from Egypt as liberation from sin, and the destruction of the Egyptian forces by the Red Sea as an allegory of sin removed by baptism. All of these conceits also appear throughout Philip's *Luto carens et latere* (F1,M6/200). **2:** as Traill construes it: "of believers' consciences," with "conscientia" here connoting "self-identity" (see his "More Poems," p. 165, note 6). My rendering attempts to respect the singular form of "fidelis," (rather than the plural form "fidelium" implied by Traill) and construes the plural subjects of "sint" from "mancipati" and "signati" (lines 5,2 and 7,2, respectively). It could also be rendered (à la Traill) as "... from the threshing floor of the conscience/consciousness of a faithful one/believer." **8-9:** the clay or earthen pot (*testa, vas, vasculum*) is symbolic of the body or flesh, formed from the clay of the ground (Genesis, 2:7), as opposed to the soul. For other references to this figure, see, e.g., Philip's conductus *Homo natus ad laborem tui status* (K1/160), Strophes Ib and IIa; his conductus prosula *Anima iuge lacrima* (K45/15), lines 5-7; and the motet triplum *Mors que stimulo* (vdW 254), lines 49-52. For the image of

³Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School," 5 volumes, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1991); see p. 282, n. 84, and p. 580.

⁴David A. Traill, "More Poems by Philip the Chancellor," *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 16 [2006]: 164-181.

⁵Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*. Musicological Studies, no. 33 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981); see pp. 46-56.

⁶David A. Traill, "Biblical Exegesis and Medieval Latin Lyric: Interpretational Problems in *Nutante mundi cardine*, *Relegentur ab area*, and *Vite perdit*," *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 17 (2007): 329-341, see especially pp. 332-335.

⁷See also Gregorio Bevilacqua, "*Lutum, later et palea*: The Jews in the Polyphonic Conductus," paper presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 3 July 2013.

⁸David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina*, 10 (2003): 219-248; see p. 247, note 66.

Christ in human form as an earthen pot created by God the potter (suggested by Isaiah, 45:9-12 and Romans, 9:20-21), see the organum prosula *Vide prophecie / Viderunt omnes* (A9/- – vdW 2/M1), lines 37-38; and the three conductus *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), line 8; *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), Strophe I; and *In hoc ortus occidente* (K5/174), lines 11-12 (all pieces by Philip). For the use of the metaphor of the potter and his vessel in the different context of the struggle in 1209-1212 between Pope Innocent III and Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, see Philip's conductus *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308), lines 19-21. **10-12:** for explanations of the figure of Christ as *fons*, *rivulus*, and *flumen*, drawn from the *Allegoriae* of Hrabanus Maurus, see Traill, "Biblical Exegesis," p. 334. **13-14:** for a similar expression, whereby God did not alter his unchangeable substance by taking on human form, see Walter of Châtillon's conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 13-16. **15-16:** the images of the foal and ass hitched to vine and vineyard draw on Matthew, 21:2-4, and especially its Old Testament corollary in Genesis, 49:10-11. Each of these references is seen to allude to Christ's entry into Jerusalem in the days before his passion, crucifixion, and resurrection; see Traill's delineations of these figures and their associations in "Biblical Exegesis," p. 334. **17-18:** from Genesis, 3:24, where God casts out Adam and Eve from Eden and forbids their re-entry by stationing two Cherubim to guard its entrance with a flaming sword. The removal of the sword in *Relegentur* thus indicates that the promise of eternal life has been renewed through Christ's passion. As Traill notes ("Biblical Exegesis," p. 335), the use of the word "rumphea" (*romphaea*, *rumpia*) in place of the synonym "gladius" from the Vulgate text indicates a likely nod to the citation of this passage by Augustine in his *De Genesi ad litteram*, 11:1. **19-22:** Traill ("Biblical Exegesis," p. 335) interprets these final lines as a specific reference to the allegorical ("spiritual") interpretation of scripture; but the figure of Christ's incarnation (often with reference to the Virgin as a necessary accessory) as both a fulfillment of and a replacement of the law of the Old Testament is a commonplace. See, for instance, Philip's organum prosula *De Stephani roseo sanguine / Sederunt* (A11/- – vdW 58/M3), lines 3-8; and the anonymous conductus *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), lines 9-16; *Legis in volumine* (F13/193), lines 1-6; *Lex onus importabile* (I19/197), lines 1-7; *Librum clausum et signatum* (J15/198), lines 1-7; *Ortu regis evanescit* (G3/256), lines 1-4; *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), lines 1-9; *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), line 1-4; *Vetus abit littera* (B3/379), and *Iam vetus littera* (H24/167), both *passim*. A more complete list of Old-versus-New-Law conductus can be found in my notes to the text of *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192); see also my article "*Vetus abit littera*: From the Old to the New Law."⁹ **22,2:** "complanatur" interpreted in the sense of "make plain"; see s.v. "complano," under LewisShort, at <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/complano>. There is a similar expression in the motet *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), attributed to Philip, line 11.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 6-7: this couplet begins with a capital letter in *F*, which, however, does not appear to signal a major division in the text. **9,1:** *F*: "uni univit": the first two syllables of the word are entered at the end of a system without their accompanying music; then the whole word is inscribed at the start of the following system with notes above. **18,2:** *F*: *ammovit*, *W1*: *admovit*; supplied from *OxAdd*. The adopted reading appears to be preferable to what is in *F* and *W1*, which could connote the imposition of the sword rather than its removal (if the word in *F* is understood as a form of "admoveo"). On the other hand, according to the *Glossarium* of Du Cange (s.v. *ammovere*),¹⁰ it is possible to construe "ammovit" in the same sense as "amovit."
MUSIC: General remarks: *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* is one of five conductus that open in three voices and close with a section in two parts. The others pieces that exploit this feature are: *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati*

⁹Thomas B. Payne, "*Vetus abit littera*: From the Old to the New Law in the Parisian Conductus," *Ars Antiqua: Music and Culture in Europe c. 1150-1330*, Gregorio Bevilacqua and Thomas B. Payne, eds., 163-204, *Speculum Musicae*, no. 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

¹⁰Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, expanded edition (Niort : L. Favre, 1883-1887): vol. 1, col. 229a. See <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/AMMOVERE> for an online version.

stat obvia (C8/349), and *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256).¹¹ In addition, the T voice of the final cauda of *Relegentur* was taken over (almost certainly by the poet Philip the Chancellor) as a source for the conductus prosula, *Anima iuge lacrima* (K45/15). Further prosulas from final caudae are derived from the conductus *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), also attributed to Philip, which produced the two prosulas *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53) and *Veste nuptiali* (K81/377); *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), the source for *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70); and *Austro terris influente* (G1/26), which spawned *Minor natu filius* (K82/208). Besides being the only piece so far identified among the body of conductus prosulas to come from a “mixed-voice” conductus, the prosula transmissions of *Relegentur*’s *Anima iuge* are notable also for having two additional newly composed stanzas that can be combined with the prosula portion to form a three-part piece.¹² **Opening cauda:** the resemblance in sound of this initial portion of the piece to the conductus *Presul nostri temporis* (C2/271) is rather striking. **Cauda following line 3:** all sources except *Ma* present the T and D of this passage in the faster values of the first rhythmic mode, with *Ma* giving a reading mostly in the L and DL values associated with mode 5. The Tr voices of *F* and *LoA* at this point, though, show occasional si figures where one would expect ligation, suggesting they were not completely transmuted from a presumably original reading along the lines of *Ma*. As a result, I have decided to adopt the *Ma* rhythmic reading for this passage in my transcription from *F* and to offer the quicker version as an alternative reading at the end of the piece. Variants in the ligation of the Tr among *W1*, *W2*, and *LoA* are also shown above the staff in this alternative version. **Line 16,1:** D: F: siPe; the 2li=ed reading adopted here for the first syllable of “colligatur” by virtue of its better consonance comes from *W1*. **Cauda opening Strophe III (line 15):** F: the pitches and rhythms of the opening 2liP figures in *F* are realized from *W1*, where they are given as a pair of 3li=cde gestures; conceivably the plica note might also denote *f*, so as to correspond with the first three notes of the following D phrase. **Final cauda (closing Strophe III, line 22):** *F* and *W1*, the only sources to transmit the two-voice portion of the work, present different rhythmic readings. *F* is largely in the values of the fifth mode, while *W1* shows faster, first-mode ligations. In this case the reading from *F* appears in the transcription proper, while the *W1* redaction appears as an alternative reading at the end. Cf. the analogous situation vis-a-vis *Ma* and the other sources presented in the discussion of the cauda following line 3, above.

¹¹Concerning these works, see Mark Everist, “Le conduit a nombre de voix variable (1150–1250),” *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, eds. 329-344 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); and *idem*, “The Variable-Voice Conductus,” *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, Tess Knighton and David Skinner, eds., 195–220 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

¹²On this piece, see my “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: ‘Motetish’ Works from the School of Notre Dame,” *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso, eds., 220-238 (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), especially pp. 230-235.

F, f. 203r (6,3)

Tr
8
[Dic] chri - sti ve - ri - tas.
[Re -] spon - dit ca - ri - tas.
[O] vox pro - phe - ti - ca.

D
8
[Dic] chri - sti ve - ri - tas.
[Re -] spon - dit ca - ri - tas.
[O] vox pro - phe - ti - ca.

T
8
Dic chri - sti ve - ri - tas.
Re - spon - dit ca - ri - tas.
O vox pro - phe - ti - ca.

dic ca - ra ra - ri - tas. dic ra - ra ca - ri - tas u - bi nunc ha - bi - tas?
ho - mo quid du - bi - tas? quid me sol - li - ci - tas? non sum quo mu - si - tas.
o na - tan pre - di - ca. cul - pa da - vi - ti - ca pa - tet non mo - di - ca.

dic ca - ra ra - ri - tas. dic ra - ra ca - ri - tas u - bi nunc ha - bi - tas?
ho - mo quid du - bi - tas? quid me sol - li - ci - tas? non sum quo mu - si - tas.
o na - tan pre - di - ca. cul - pa da - vi - ti - ca pa - tet non mo - di - ca.

dic ca - ra ra - ri - tas. dic ra - ra ca - ri - tas u - bi nunc ha - bi - tas?
ho - mo quid du - bi - tas? quid me sol - li - ci - tas? non sum quo mu - si - tas.
o na - tan pre - di - ca. cul - pa da - vi - ti - ca pa - tet non mo - di - ca.

or: aut in val - le vi - si - o - nis.
nec in eu - ro nec in au - stro.
di - cit na - tan non cla - ma - bo.

or: aut in val - le vi - si - o - nis.
nec in eu - ro nec in au - stro.
di - cit na - tan non cla - ma - bo.

or: aut in val - le vi - si - o - nis.
nec in eu - ro nec in au - stro.
di - cit na - tan non cla - ma - bo.

8 aut in thro - no pha - ra - o - nis. aut in al - to cum ne - ro - ne. aut in an - tro cum the - o - ne.
nec in fo - ro nec in clau - stro. nec in bis - so vel cu - cul - la. nec in bel - lo vel in bul - la.
ne - que da - vit plan - ctum da - bo. cum sit chri - sti ru - pta ve - stis. con - tra chri - stum chri - stus te - stis.

8 vel de ve [vel] in fi - cel - la cir - pe - a
[de] ie - ri - co sum ve - ni - ens.
[ve] ve vo - bis y - po - cri - te.

8 cum mo - y - se plo - ran - te. vel in do - mo ro - mu - le - a cum bul - la ful - mi - nan -
plo - ro cum sau - ti - a - to. quod dup - plex le - vi tran - si - ens non as - ti - tit gra - ba -
qui cu - li - cem co - la - tis. que ce - sa - ris sunt red - di - te ut cri - sto ser - vi - a -

First system of musical notation, featuring three staves. The top staff is marked with a red box 'c' and a blue dashed slur. The middle staff is marked with a red box 'b' and a blue dashed slur. The bottom staff is marked with a red box 'a' and a blue dashed slur. The music is in 8/8 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

Second system of musical notation, featuring three staves. The top staff is marked with a red box 'c' and a blue dashed slur. The middle staff is marked with a red box 'd' and a blue dashed slur. The bottom staff is marked with a red box 'b'' and a blue dashed slur. The music is in 8/8 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

Third system of musical notation, featuring three staves. The top staff is marked with a red box 'c' and a blue dashed slur. The middle staff is marked with a red box 'd'' and a blue dashed slur. The bottom staff is marked with a red box 'c'' and a blue dashed slur. The music is in 8/8 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The system concludes with the lyrics: - te.] - to.] - tis.] repeated three times.

DIC CHRISTI VERITAS

Conductus (C3/94)

F, f. 203r (6,3)

I 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 ficella cirpea cum Moyse plorante, vel in domo Romulea cum bulla fulminante? II Respondit caritas: “Homo, quid dubitas? Quid me sollicitas? Non sum quo musitas. Nec in euro, nec in austro nec in foro, nec in clauistro, nec in bisso vel cuculla, nec in bello, nec in bulla. De Ierico sum veniens, ploro cum sautiato, quem duplex Levi, transiens, non astitit grabato.” III O vox prophetica, O Nathan, predica. Culpa Davitica patet non modica. Dicit Nathan: “Non clamabo.” “Neque,” Davit, “planctum dabo.” Cum sit Christi rupta vestis, contra Christum Christus testis. Ve, ve vobis, hypocrite, qui culicem colatis. Que Cesaris sunt reddite, ut Christo serviatis.	Speak, truth of Christ. Speak, dear rarity. Speak, rare Charity. Where now do you dwell? 5 In the valley of vision, or on Pharaoh's throne, or on high with Nero, or in the cave with Theon? Or are you in the basket of rushes 10 with the weeping Moses, or in the house of Romulus with the bull that strikes like lightning? Charity answers: “Man, why do you doubt? 15 What do you ask of me? I am not anywhere you are muttering about. Not in the East, not in the South, not in town, not in cloister, not in fine linen or cowl, 20 neither in war, nor in papal bull. I am the one coming from Jericho , I weep with the injured man, whom the uncaring Levite, passing by, did not help to a bed.” 25 O prophetic voice, O Nathan, speak out. David's sin – not a small one – is manifest. Says Nathan: “I'll not fuss.” 30 “Nor,” says David, “will I complain.” Since Christ's clothes are torn, Christ is a witness against Christ. Woe, woe to you, hypocrites, who strain at a gnat. 35 Give back to Caesar the things that are his, so that you may serve Christ.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 3, f. 203r: a3; Strophes I-III, complete, with the texts of II and III entered in a large, system-high area extending from margin to margin below the last system of the piece, and with II signaled by a pilcrow and with capitals heading II-III. After a subsequent horizontal empty space, the text alone of the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53) follows, headed with a capital, as are its following strophes; the final lines of *Bulla* spill into a small empty space provided for them after the end of the first system of the following

piece. See below for more on *Bulla* and *F*. This and the previous work in *F*-6, *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), are also together in *LoA* but in reverse order, while the next piece, *De monte lapis scinditur* (D2/79), succeeds *Dic Christi* in *W1* as well as *F*.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 4, f. 73r (66r): a3; Strophe I only; no provision for further text. This and the following conductus in *W1*-8 are also together in *F*.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 6, f. 114r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, beginning “[D]yc,” with opening initial never entered; no provision for further text.

LoA, part 2, no. 7, f. 88v: a3; Strophe I only; a portion of the final system of the piece is left empty, but is taken up with unfilled staff lines with no indications for providing further text. The opening initial has not been cut out for this piece, but that of the subsequent work, *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304) is excised, resulting in the loss of text and music for lines 9,3-10,1 of *Dic Christi*. These same two works are also together in *F* but in reverse order.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 2, f. 33r: a3; Strophe I only; no provision for further text.

Frankfurt (D-F *Fragm. lat. VI.41*; *Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. VI. 41*),¹ no. 1, ff. Ar-v: a3; Strophes I-III, fragmentary; each page transmits portions of the piece with significant internal losses (amounting to approximately one third of the writing block, top to bottom). The remains begin with the last letter of line 7,4 (“[cu]m nerone”) through 11,3 (“domo”) on f. Ar, then from 11,4 (“romulea”) through the end of Strophe I (line 12,3, “fulminante”) on f. Av, including portions of the final cauda; segments of the texts of Strophes II-III, each headed with ink capitals, are entered in a prepared space to the right of the last system on the leaf and extend into the space below the final system, presumably reaching originally from margin to margin.

E-SAu 226 (*Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 226*),² no. 2, f. 100v: a1 (T); Strophe I only; the melody sometimes varies from its more familiar state through inconsistent transposition and other vagaries (the start of the opening cauda, e.g., begins a second higher than expected, while the beginning of the first *cum littera* phrase is generally at pitch before falling to a second lower in line 9); such inconsistent melodic transmission appears elsewhere in this source. This source was unknown to Anderson and is not included in his catalog or edition. As a result, any variants with the above verbal text have been noted among the variants below.

CH-EN 1003 (*Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1003*), f. 114v: Strophes I-II only, each headed by painted initials, and with staffless neumes a1 (=T?) over Strophe I, but with the neumes of the final cauda intruding over the first word of the second stanza.³

¹Fragments bound into Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. oct. 94. The sequence of the three extant pieces and their foliation are given according to Martin Staehelin, “Conductus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift in Frankfurt a. M.,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1987* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 177-192 + plates. Eva M. Maschke, furthermore, has connected these fragments with the remains of a further MS, now *US-NYcub N-66*, see her “Neue Conductus Fragmente aus dem ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Frankfurt am Main,” *Studi Musicali: Nuova serie* 1,2 (2010): 295-312. The Frankfurt fragments may also be consulted online via: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-274391>.

²On this source and its contents, including images, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, “Conductus or Motet: A New Source and a Question of Genre,” *Musica Disciplina*, 58 (2013): 9-27. On its transmission of *Dic Christi* in particular, see 14-16.

³Images from *CH-EN 1003* may be found online [here](#).

Along with *F*, the following MSS for *Dic Christi* also include various accompanying transmissions of the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53), derived from the final cauda of *Dic Christi*; for more on *Bulla* and its contrafact *Vesti nuptiali* (K81/377), see below.

CB (*D-Mbs Clm. 4660, Carmina Burana*), no. 131, f. 54r: staffless neumes, a1 (T); Strophes I-III (each with red initials, with a decorated letter opening I; and set with neumes, but omitting the final cauda); each stanza is followed, respectively, by Strophes I, III, and II of *Bulla* (with only its first stanza provided with neumes; see also the sources of *Bulla* given below); rubric: “Item” (i.e., “versus”).⁴

Stutt (*D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95*), no. 46, f. 33v (31v): Strophes I-II with staffless neumes a1 (T) with the melismatic form of the final cauda supplied after I, but not II; the two stanzas are separated by Strophe I of *Bulla fulminante*, also neumed, and all feature red initials; Strophe III of *Bulla*, headed by a brown-ink capital, is entered in the left margin with a cue for its placement (see more on this MS below).⁵

Text only:

F-T 1471 (*Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes 1471*), no. 7, f. Cv (113v): apparently ruled for a2 inscription, with the verbal text entered and staff lines omitted; space is provided for the various caudae; opening initial never executed; text only of Strophe I, with possible space available for further stanzas to the right of the final syllable of the stanza.⁶

I-Rc 1404 (*Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404*), f. 15v^a: text only of Strophe I on the first lines of the leaf, headed by a capital letter preceded by what appears to be an ornamental pilcrow.⁷

D-B Cod. lat. 312 (*Berlin, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 312*), f. 5v: text only of Strophes I-II and attributed to Philip the Chancellor, although at some point the name was struck through; rubrics: (before Strophe I) “Ideo singulariter implorandum est adiutorium Dei ut vias dirigat Cancellarius Philippi in quadam prosa de caritate sic”... (after Strophe II) “Enim propter id dilectissimi quis raro invenitur petit psalmus dirigi dicens ‘utinam dirigantur vie [mee]’” (“Therefore, one should beseech the aid of God in a special manner as Chancellor Philip demonstrates in a certain *prosa* about charity. thus: [Strophes I and II follow] ... For because of this, dearest ones, it [charity?] is found only rarely; hence one seeks to be directed, [as in] the psalm that says: ‘If only my ways may be directed’ [Psalm 118:5]”). Images of this source are presently unavailable to me. The information presented here comes from Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:163, and the CPI website.

Music only: two conductus prosulas, equivalent to the T of the final cauda of *Dic Christi veritas*.⁸

⁴Images of *CB* available [here](#).

⁵Images of *Stutt* available [here](#). The foliation in parentheses is given on the CPI website and in Anderson’s catalog and edition. The prior, unbraced folio reference corresponds to the ones on the online images.

⁶For more on this source, including images, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, “The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony? A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century,” *Music and Letters*, 97 (2016): 1-41. Online, color images are available via DIAMM [here](#).

⁷Images from *I-Rc 1404* may be found [here](#).

⁸For more on these specific pieces, see my editions in Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, 38-42 (for *Bulla*), 52-54 (for *Vesti*).

Bulla fulminante (L5/53):

LoB (GB-Lbl Egerton 274), no. 14, f. 38v: a1 (T); Strophes I-IV, complete, headed with an illuminated gold-leaf initial, with painted, filigreed initials for the remaining stanzas; rubric: “De curia romana” (“On the Roman curia”). The first three words of the second stanza are also given with music, while the rest of the text continues without accompanying music or staves upon the turn to the next folio.

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660, *Carmina Burana*), no. 131a, f. 54r: a1 (T); staffless neumes a1 (T), set only above the first stanza; three strophes, in the order I, III, II, each one following Strophes I, II, III, respectively, of *Dic Christi veritas* (see also above on this source).⁹

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; *Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95*), no. 47, f. 33v (31v): a1 (T); staffless neumes; Strophe I, with Strophe III as a later, marginal addition at the upper left quadrant of the leaf, cued by an “x” at the end of *Bulla*’s first stanza and also before the marginal Strophe III; Strophe I of *Bulla* is written between Strophes I and II of *Dic Christi veritas* in this source (for more on this source, see also above).¹⁰

The text alone of *Bulla fulminante* also appears in two other sources:

F, fasc. 6, no. 3a, f. 204r: text only, Strophes I-IV, complete, each headed by black-ink capitals and beginning after a wide space that follows the entry of the texts of Strophes II-III of *Dic Christi* (see also the description of *F* above).

Praha (CZ-Pak N VIII), no. 7, f. 37v^b: text only, Strophes I-IV, complete, with marginal guide letter “b” for the omitted opening initial placed in the gutter between the two columns, and capital letters for II-IV; rubric in right margin: “De curia romana” (“On the Roman curia”); directly precedes *Vesti nuptiali*, given below.

Vesti nuptiali (K81/377):

F, fasc. 10, no. 81, f. 450v: a1 (T); Strophe I only, with no provision for further text.

The text alone of *Vesti nuptiali* also appears in one other source:

Praha (CZ-Pak N VIII), no. 8, f. 37v^b: text only, Strophes I-III, complete, with marginal guide letter “v” for omitted opening initial in the gutter between the columns, and with a capital letter heading III, but apparently not II; rubric in right margin: “De virginibus” (“On [the wise and foolish] virgins”); succeeds *Bulla fulminante* in this source.

Contrafacts: none.

Unconfirmed sources:

The following two redactions of *Dic Christi* are reported only summarily in part I of Anderson’s conductus

⁹Images of *CB* available [here](#).

¹⁰Images of *Stutt* available [here](#). For an explanation of the different foliations shown here, see the earlier source report on *Stutt* that appears above for *Dic Christi*.

catalog,¹¹ within a series of addenda on p. 229; they are neither listed nor collated in his later edition of *Dic Christi veritas*,¹² nor are they included on the CPI website.¹³ So, assuming these sources actually do contain the poem in question, outside of Anderson noting that they present text and no music, I cannot supply any details beyond the ones that appear below:

F-Pn lat. 3433, f. 52r: text only. A check of this manuscript on *Gallica* (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>) did not reveal the expected poem on the indicated folio, and further perusals of this source failed to locate it.

D-Mbs Clm 26860, f. 205v or 207v: text only; reported by Dronke (“Lyrical Compositions,” 590)¹⁴ to contain an attribution to Philip the Chancellor. Supposedly this ascription has wording similar to that in *D-B Cod. lat.* 312.

Notes on the Text: The text of this conductus is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in *D-B Cod. lat.* 312 (although the name was struck out at some point), and the poem is further reported to have an attribution to Philip in *D-Mbs Clm* 26860 (see Dronke, “Lyrical Compositions,” 590). Philip is also responsible for the texts of the two prosulas derived from the music of the final cauda of *Dic Christi: Bulla fulminante* and *Veste nuptiali* (for these see my *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*).¹⁵ **5:** Jerusalem, typically construed in medieval times as “vision of peace”; see also Isaiah, 22:1-5. **8:** apparently a hermit, whose exact identity still remains to be demonstrated. Dronke (“Lyrical Compositions,” 582) suggests reading “Timone,” found only in the edition of this poem in the *Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata* of Flacius Illyricus (Magdeburg, 1552), no II,¹⁶ as a reference to Cicero, *De amicitia*. Another possible candidate may be the Eastern hermit Theon, see Norman Russell, trans., *The Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (London: Mowbray, 1981), 68. **9-10:** Exodus, 2:1-10. **11:** Rome. **12:** a likely reference to a papal interdict suffered by Paris during the years 1199-1200.¹⁷ The chain of events started when King Philip Augustus (reg. 1179-1223) renounced his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark (1176-1236), immediately after their marriage on 15 August 1193, in favor of Agnes of Merania (married 1196, d. 1201). A number of French bishops (the king’s uncle in Reims, and the episcopates of Auxerre, Beauvais, Chartres, and Bourges) sided with Philip Augustus and agreed to an annulment, but this was rescinded in 1197 by Pope Celestine III (reg. 1191-98), whose decision was supported by another group of bishops (Lyon, Senlis, Soissons, Amiens, Arras, Paris, and the canons of the vacant archbishopric of Sens). Celestine’s successor, Innocent III (reg. 1198-1216) pressed to enforce the annulment from 1198-99, but he was continually rebuffed by the king. The interdict was officially pronounced on 13 January 1200, but its anticipation almost certainly exacted pressure several months earlier on the parties

¹¹Gordon A. Anderson, “Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné,” *Miscellanea musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology*, 6 (1972): 152-229; 7 (1973): 1-81.

¹²NDRC, 1:162-163 (commentary).

¹³The *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* website is at: <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk>.

¹⁴Peter Dronke, “The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

¹⁵Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011). *Bulla* and *Veste* appear respectively on pp. 38-42, 52-54.

¹⁶Images of this source available [here](#). The book is unpaginated; look for no. II after the presentation of the front matter.

¹⁷For the claim, see Benedikt K. Vollmann, ed. and trans., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen, mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift*, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, no. 13 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987), 1119). Also note the remarks on this piece in David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018), 2:96-103, 643-644.

involved. As a papal supporter, bishop of Paris Odo of Sully was forced by the king to flee the city in November of 1199 and was not reinstalled until ca. October 1200. The interdict severely curtailed liturgical celebrations at Paris from 13 January of 1200 at the latest to the fall of the same year (September or November). The allusions to the situation continue in lines 25-30. For further information, see the unpublished paper by Sandra Pinegar, “Between Pope and Monarch.”¹⁸ **18-19:** various strata of society: religious, political and social. Those in “fine linen” could be royalty or secular clergy in comparison to the monks in cowls. **20:** England and France were at war over possessions on the continent from approximately 1194-1204; Philip Augustus had earlier provoked the conflict by attacking English territories in 1191 while King Richard I Lionheart (reg. 1189-99) was still on Crusade. Richard was captured on his return and held for an exorbitant ransom by the Leopold V, Duke of Austria; his release in 1194 occasioned a second coronation. **21-24:** from the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke, 10:30-37). **25-30:** the prophet Nathan convinced David to repent of his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of her husband Uriah; see 2 Kings [2 Samuel], 11-12. In the scenario of the poem, the modern mirror of the biblical events distorts and inverts the actions in the Old Testament. **31-32:** the reference to the tearing of Christ’s clothes recalls the crucifixion scene in the Gospels where the Roman soldiers divided Jesus’s clothes into four parts, but drew lots for his one-piece woven tunic (see John, 19:23-24; Matthew, 27:35; Mark, 15:24; Luke, 23:34; John also refers to Psalm 21:19 that foretold the Gospel event).¹⁹ For a further appearance in the conductus repertory of Christ’s clothes being torn, see *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155), lines 25-26, a piece that is attributed to Philip the Chancellor by modern scholars. As this part of the poem, like the previous lines, is also given over to inversion, it appears reasonable to suppose that the garment here is the tunic, no longer intact but torn to pieces. According to the *Glossa ordinaria* (see, e.g., *Patrologia Latina* [PL], 114, col. 347),²⁰ the intact garment signifies the unity of the church. Hence the meaning here is presumably that, since the church is suffering a major disagreement, the differing attitudes of the various factions end up pitting Christ as a witness against himself. In a different vein, Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 2:644) explains this by noting that since the king and pope (the two opposed figures bearing witness in this matter) were both anointed, both were literally “christi” (“anointed ones”). **33-34:** Matthew, 23:24.²¹ **35:** Matthew, 22: 16-21;²² and the parallels in Luke 20:21-26; Mark, 12:14-17. The poet apparently disapproves of the religious element meddling in the affairs of state here, although he certainly has harsh words for both sides of the conflict.

¹⁸Sandra Pinegar, “Between Pope and Monarch: A Return to Dating Perotin's *Organa Quadrupla*,” a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Minneapolis, 27 October 1994.

¹⁹John, 19:23-24: “Milites ergo cum crucifixissent eum, acceperunt vestimenta ejus (et fecerunt quatuor partes, unicuique militi partem) et tunicam. Erat autem tunica inconsutilis, desuper contexta per totum. Dixerunt ergo ad invicem: ‘Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa cujus sit.’ Ut Scriptura impleteretur, dicens: ‘Partiti sunt vestimenta mea sibi: et in vestem meam miserunt sortem.’ Et milites quidem haec fecerunt” (“The soldiers therefore, when they had crucified him, took his garments, (and they made four parts, to every soldier a part,) and also his coat. Now the coat [*tunica*] was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said then one to another: ‘Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be;’ that the scripture might be fulfilled, saying: ‘They have parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they have cast lots’ [Psalm 21:19]. And the soldiers indeed did these things.”).

²⁰PL, 114, col. 347C-D: “Quadripartita vestis signat Ecclesiam toto orbe, quae quatuor partibus constat, diffusam, omnibus partibus aequaliter, id est concorditer distributam. Tunica sortita omnium partium significat unitatem, quae charitatis vinculo continetur” (“The clothes divided into four parts designate the church spread over the whole world, which consists of four parts, with all parts apportioned equally, that is, harmoniously divided. The tunic that lots were drawn over signifies the unity of all the parts, which is held together by the chain of charity.”).

²¹Matthew, 23:24: “Duces caeci, excolantes culicem, camelum autem glutientes.” (“Blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel.”).

²²The specific quote appears in Matthew 22:21: “... Tunc ait illis: ‘Reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari: et quae sunt Dei, Deo’ ” (“Then he [Jesus] said to them [the allies of the Pharisees]: ‘Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's.’ ”).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: The textual variants of *F-T1471* are listed here for completeness, since this source was unknown to Anderson and thus does not appear in his catalog or edition; see also Bevilacqua, (“Earliest Source,” 38), who supplies a complete account of the textual variants in this piece drawn from all sources. **2-3:** F-1471: dic rara raritas / dic cara [possibly emended to “rara”] caritas. **4,3:** F-1471: abitas. **6,3:** F-1471: trono. **8,3:** F-1471: alto. **12,2-3:** F-1471: combulla. **27,1:** F: originally written something like “cuipa” and corrected with a long “l” drawn over the apparent “i” that descends below the text’s baseline. **MUSIC:** F: no variants. The opening Tr phrase in the final cauda presents a case of a musical gesture that appears multiple times throughout the conductus repertory, in both melismatic and syllabic contexts, as follows:

- a. Tr of opening phrase in opening cauda in *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94) – a3 – F-6,3;
- b. a prominent motive found in various cauda of *Ave Maris stella virgo* (D1/34) – a3 – F-6,17;
- c. T in opening motive of penultimate phrase in final cauda of *Ave presul gloriose* (F20/36) – a3 – F-6,48;
- d. D of “Ista dies ce[lebrari]” (line 1,1-2) of *Ista dies celebrari* (H30/189) – a2 – F-7,10;
- e. T of opening phrase in final cauda of *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220) – a2 – F-7,50;
- f. opening phrase of Tr in *Omni pene curie* (I34/252) – a2 – F-7,99.

DE MONTE LAPIS SCINDITUR
Conductus (D2/79)

F, f. 204r (6,4)

Tr
I D
T

[De]
[De]
De

[De] mon - te la - pis
[De] mon - te la - pis
[De] mon - te la - pis

scin - di - tur mi - ra - bi - li mi - ra - cu - lo
scin - di - tur mi - ra - bi - li mi - ra - cu - lo
scin - di - tur mi - ra - bi - li mi - ra - cu - lo

ab il - lo cum dis - iun - gi -

ab il - lo cum dis - iun - gi -

ab il - lo cum dis - iun - gi -

-tur non ma - nus ad - mi - ni - cu - lo. la - pis hic

-tur non ma - nus ad - mi - ni - cu - lo. la - pis hic

-tur non ma - nus ad - mi - ni - cu - lo. la - pis hic

in - tel - li - gi - tur quem sa - lo - mon in an - gu - lo tem - pli per - fe - cti

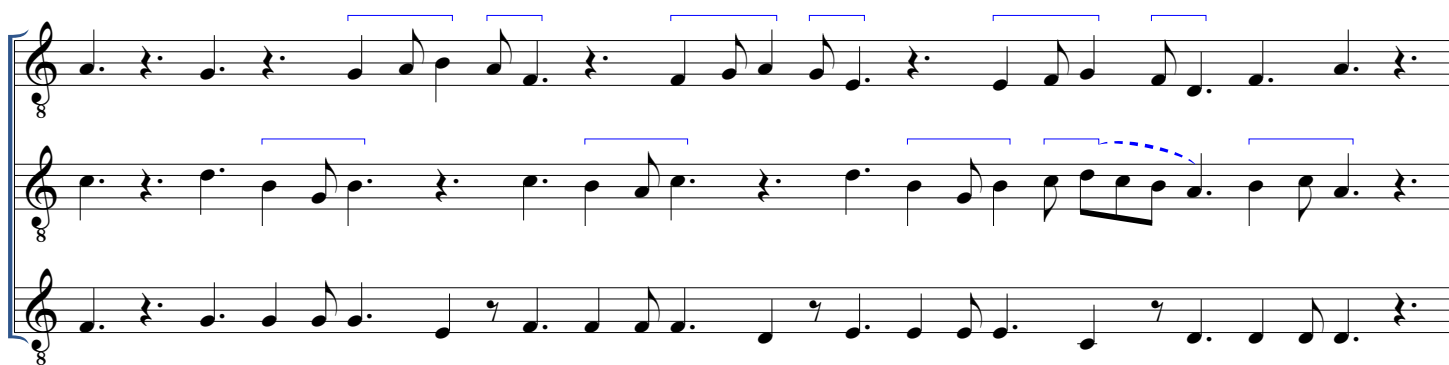
in - tel - li - gi - tur quem sa - lo - mon in an - gu - lo tem - pli per - fe - cti

in - tel - li - gi - tur quem sa - lo - mon in an - gu - lo tem - pli per - fe - cti

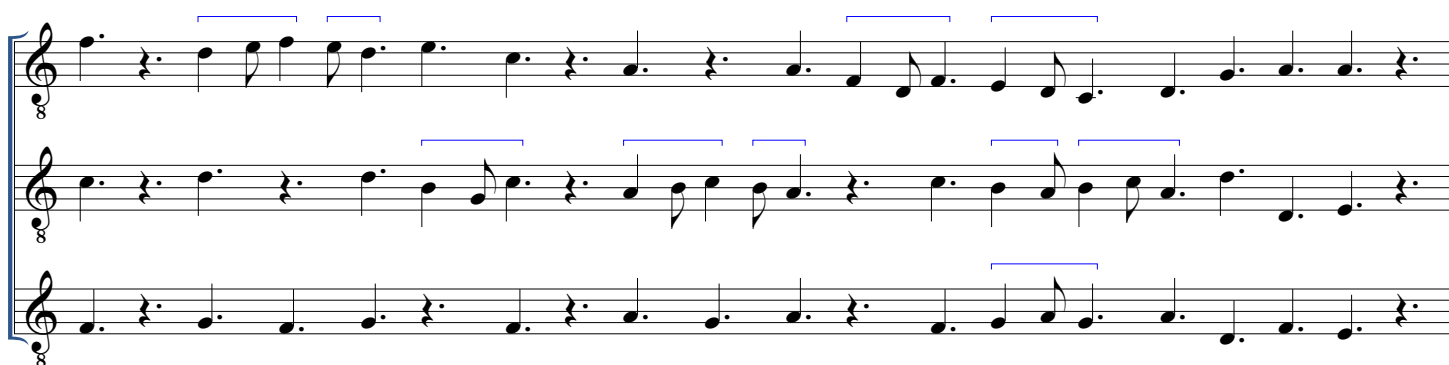
di - ci - tur cor - [cor] - de lo - cas - se se - du -

di - ci - tur cor - [cor] - de lo - cas - se se - du -

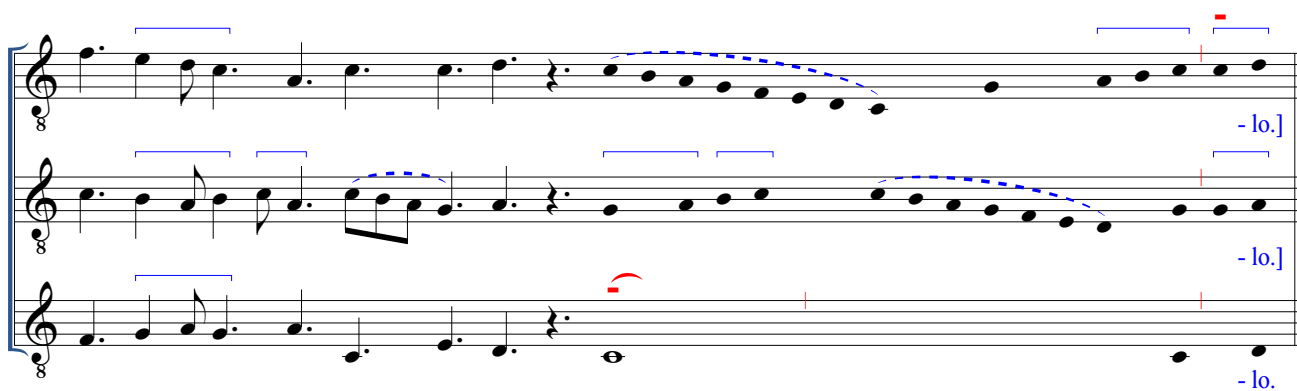
di - ci - tur cor - [cor] - de lo - cas - se se - du -



First system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top staff features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with blue bracketed phrasing. The middle staff includes a blue dashed slur over a descending eighth-note sequence. The bottom staff contains a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes with blue bracketed phrasing.



Second system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top staff has blue bracketed phrasing. The middle staff features blue bracketed phrasing and a blue dashed slur. The bottom staff contains blue bracketed phrasing.



Third system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top staff has blue bracketed phrasing and a blue dashed slur. The middle staff has blue bracketed phrasing and a blue dashed slur. The bottom staff has blue bracketed phrasing and a red slur. The system concludes with a double bar line and the following text: - lo.] - lo.] - lo.

DE MONTE LAPIS SCINDITUR

Conductus (D2/79)

F, f. 204r (6,4)

I	De monte lapis scinditur mirabili miraculo, ab illo cum disiungitur non manus adminiculo. Lapis hic intelligitur quem Salomon in angulo templi perfecti dicitur corde locasse sedulo.	A stone is shorn from the mountain through a wondrous miracle, when it is severed from it without the hand's assistance.
5	This stone is understood to be the one Salomon is said to have placed with an avid heart in the corner of the perfect temple.	

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 4, f. 204r: a3; Strophe I complete; no further room for additional text; this and the previous piece (*Dic Christi veritas* [C3/94]) occur in the same order in *W1* and *F*.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 5, f. 73v (66v): a3; Strophe I complete; no provision for additional text; this and the previous work in *W1* are also back-to-back in *F*.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 10, f. 119r, a2 (TD); Strophe I complete, opening initial never entered; final syll of the text is written at the right margin of the last system of the piece, with the music concluding about a half-system earlier; no provisions for further text (as is habitual for this source).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-4: see Daniel, 2:31-45 (especially 2:34 and 2:45), where the prophet interprets a dream of King Nebuchadnezzar. In the dream, the king sees a large statue in the form of a man made of four different metals: a head of gold, chest and arms of silver, belly and thighs of bronze, and feet of iron and clay. As the king watches the statue, a stone is miraculously cut from a mountain without human agency, strikes the statue, and shatters it to pieces. The same stone then turns into a great mountain that fills the whole earth. Daniel's explanation is that the four materials of the statue are four successive kingdoms, with the one comprising the gold head signifying the present kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, while the others represent future kingdoms that succeed and engulf the previous, lower ones. The rock represents the kingdom of the heavenly God that will conquer all the other kingdoms and bring about their end; which the end of the conductus poem associates with the cornerstone laid for Solomon's temple (see notes to lines 5-8, below). The same opening line of this conductus begins a polyphonic versus from the Aquitanian repertory (in *GB-Lbl Add. 36881*, f. 19v).¹ **5-8:** see 3 Kings (1 Kings), 5:17, where Solomon orders large, high-quality stones, which the masons cut into squares, to serve as the foundation for his temple; see as well Psalm 117:22: "Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli" ("The stone that the builders rejected has here become the cornerstone."). This

¹See the editions in Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 2:82-85, no. 41; and W. Thomas Marocco and Nicholas Sandon, eds., *Medieval Music. The Oxford Anthology of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 88-89, no. 41. Additionally the versus continues in a somewhat similar vein to the conductus in its next two lines: "... nec tamen interponitur / manus adiutorium" ("but no helping hand is introduced" – translation from Marocco and Sandon, 89).

expression is frequently construed as an allegory of Christ. For further information, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), as well as *Nove geniture* (I13/224), lines 29-35 (Strophe V).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 8,3:** no concluding period. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** there is much motivic interaction throughout the piece, and especially in the first melisma of the work; canon appears, e.g., between the D and Tr starting with the third L of the D. Three of the main motives in this cauda appear together over the fourth phrase of the T at L21. **Line 3,3:** T: F: the *b-flat* on the first syllable of this word comes from both *W1* and *Ma*; the same sources are responsible for the ficta accidental over line 4,3. **Final cauda:** Tr: F: the necessary rest stroke that closes the sixth phrase (the one following the repeated-tone passage in the T) is squeezed in between its surrounding notes, as if an afterthought. D: F: the 2li3li=*ba,bca* in the ninth phrase looks like a figure that sometimes appears in organa dupla also suggesting a reading in mode 1, as here; both *W1* and *Ma* have 3li2li.

TRINE VOCIS TRIPUDIO – TRAHUNT IN PRECIPITIA

Conductus (E4/351)

F, f. 205r (6,5)

Tr
8 a. [Tri -
b. [Tra -

I D
8 a. [Tri -
b. [Tra -

T
8 a. Tri -
b. Tra -

- ne vo - cis tri-pu - di - o
- hunt in pre-ci - pi - ti - a

so - net con-cors dis - cor - di - a
qui nos te - nen - tur re - ge - re

so - net con-cors dis - cor - di - a
qui nos te - nen - tur re - ge - re

so - net con-cors dis - cor - di - a
qui nos te - nen - tur re - ge - re

ut lin-gua mens et a - cti - o
si qua do-cent sa - lu - bri - a;

pa - ri con - cor - dent gra - ti - a.
pra - vo de - for - mant o - pe - re.

ut lin-gua mens et a - cti - o
si qua do-cent sa - lu - bri - a;

pa - ri con - cor - dent gra - ti - a.
pra - vo de - for - mant o - pe - re.

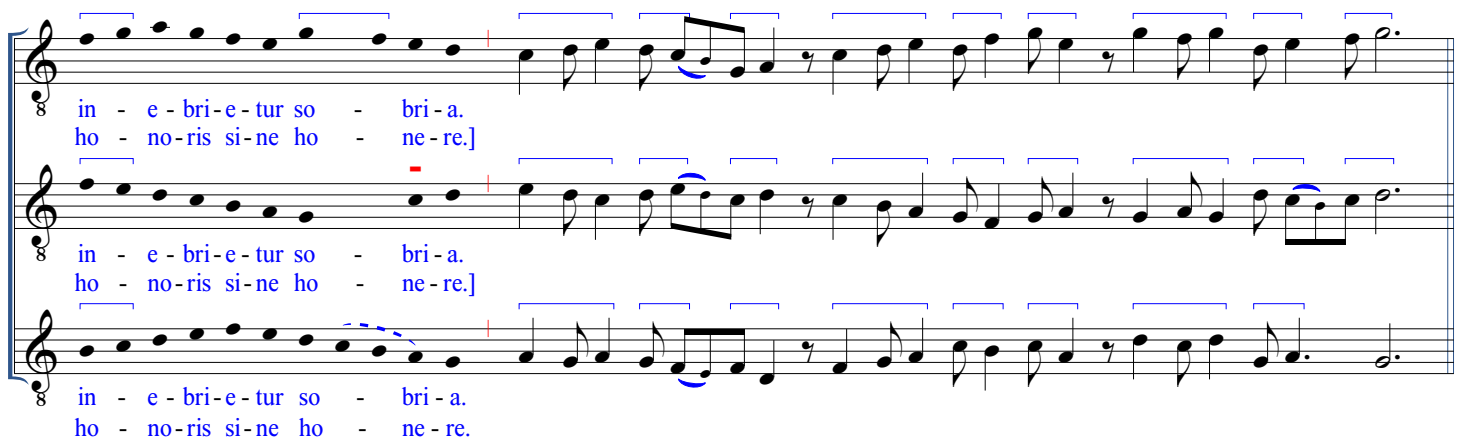
ut lin-gua mens et a - cti - o
si qua do-cent sa - lu - bri - a;

pa - ri con - cor - dent gra - ti - a.
pra - vo de - for - mant o - pe - re.

tri - um dul - co - re con - ti - o
fru - i gau-dent po - ten - ti - a

tri - um dul - co - re con - ti - o
fru - i gau-dent po - ten - ti - a

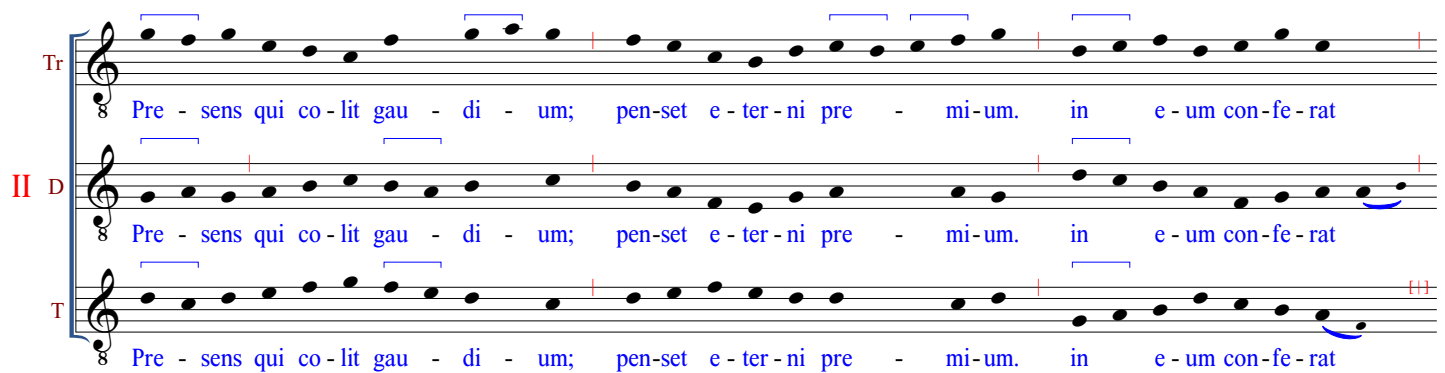
tri - um dul - co - re con - ti - o
fru - i gau-dent po - ten - ti - a



in - e - bri - e - tur so - bri - a.
ho - no - ris si - ne ho - ne - re.]

in - e - bri - e - tur so - bri - a.
ho - no - ris si - ne ho - ne - re.]

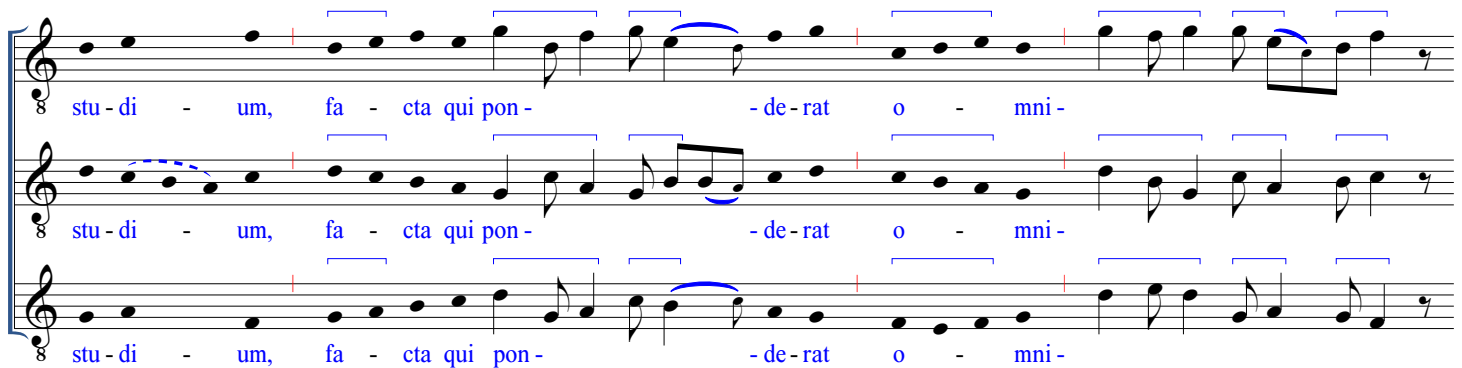
in - e - bri - e - tur so - bri - a.
ho - no - ris si - ne ho - ne - re.



Tr
II D
T
Pre - sens qui co - lit gau - di - um; pen - set e - ter - ni pre - mi - um. in e - um con - fe - rat

Pre - sens qui co - lit gau - di - um; pen - set e - ter - ni pre - mi - um. in e - um con - fe - rat

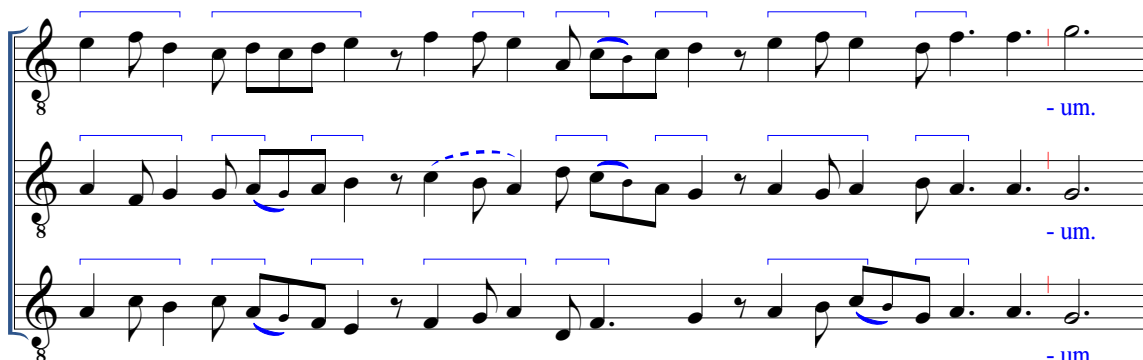
Pre - sens qui co - lit gau - di - um; pen - set e - ter - ni pre - mi - um. in e - um con - fe - rat



stu - di - um, fa - cta qui pon - de - rat o - mni -

stu - di - um, fa - cta qui pon - de - rat o - mni -

stu - di - um, fa - cta qui pon - de - rat o - mni -



- um.

- um.

- um.

Tr
8 a. [Ho -
b. [Cul -

[Ho] - nus quod no - bis al - li - gant
[Cul] - pa me - re - tur gra - ti - am

III D
8 a. [Ho -
b. [Cul -

[Ho] - nus quod no - bis al - li - gant
[Cul] - pa me - re - tur gra - ti - am

T
8 a. Ho -
b. Cul -

[Ho] - nus quod no - bis al - li - gant
[Cul] - pa me - re - tur gra - ti - am

8 no - lunt mo - ve - re di - gi - to.
quam de - me - re - tur me - ri - tum,

8 no - lunt mo - ve - re di - gi - to.
quam de - me - re - tur me - ri - tum,

8 no - lunt mo - ve - re di - gi - to.
quam de - me - re - tur me - ri - tum,

8 hinc est quod e - os di - li - gant qui plus pal - ca - pant in ab - scon - di - to.
nam pal - po - num fal - la - ti - am qui plus ca - pant au - res di - vi - tum

8 hinc est quod e - os di - li - gant qui plus pal - ca - pant in ab - scon - di - to.
nam pal - po - num fal - la - ti - am qui plus ca - pant au - res di - vi - tum

8 hinc est quod e - os di - li - gant qui plus pal - ca - pant in ab - scon - di - to.
nam pal - po - num fal - la - ti - am qui plus ca - pant au - res di - vi - tum

8 has a se - cre - tis a - bi - gant qui ter - rent vi - te me - ri - to.
quam bo - no - rum pru - den - ti - am qui dis - su - a - dent li - bi - tum.]

8 has a se - cre - tis a - bi - gant qui ter - rent vi - te me - ri - to.
quam bo - no - rum pru - den - ti - am qui dis - su - a - dent li - bi - tum.]

8 has a se - cre - tis a - bi - gant qui ter - rent vi - te me - ri - to.
quam bo - no - rum pru - den - ti - am qui dis - su - a - dent li - bi - tum.]

Tr
8 O-mne cor me-reus ho - di - e. ca - put est o-mne lan-gui-dum. cle - rus cam-po li-cen-ti - e.

IV D
8 O-mne cor me-reus ho - di - e. ca - put est o-mne lan-gui-dum. cle - rus cam-po li-cen-ti - e.

T
8 O-mne cor me-reus ho-di - e. ca - put est o-mne lan-gui-dum. cle - rus cam-po li-cen-ti - e.

8 va - gus ut vul-gus sor - di-dum. se - men le-gis et gra - ti - e so-lum con-dit in a - ri -

8 va - gus ut vul-gus sor - di-dum. se - men le-gis et gra - ti - e so-lum con-dit in a - ri -

8 va - gus ut vul-gus sor - di-dum. se - men le-gis et gra - ti - e so-lum con-dit in a - ri -

8 - dum.]

8 - dum.]

8 - dum.]

The following two additional strophes are transmitted as part of a fourteenth-century motet setting only in *Fauv* and *Brussels 19606*; it is not immediately clear what music they might use from the above piece if they were intended for performance as part of this setting:

V. Promovent ad officia
quos deberent deprimere
propter verba dupplicia
que non abhorrent serere
sed stabiles iusticia
hos non cessant depellere
et qui malunt supplicia

VI. pati et vera dicere
quam ferre beneficia
et veritatem tegere
sic iure privilegia
promerentur admittere
qui presunt in ecclesia
his abutentes perpere.

TRINE VOCIS TRIPUDIO – TRAHUNT IN PRECIPITIA

Conductus (E4/351)

F, f. 205r (6,5); (Strophes I -IV)

<i>Ia Trine vocis tripudio, sonet concors discordia, ut lingua, mens, et actio pari concordent gratia. Trium dulcore contio inebrietur sobria.</i>	<i>With three-voiced exultation, let concordant discord resound, that tongue, mind, and action may harmonize with equal grace.</i> 5 <i>Let this band of three be drunk with sober sweetness</i>
<i>Ib Trahunt in precipitia, qui nos tenentur regere. Si qua docent salubria, pravo deformant opere. Frui gaudent potentia honoris sine honore.</i>	They drag us to the edges of cliffs, those who are deemed to rule over us. If they teach anything beneficial, 10 they disfigure it with twisted deeds. They take pleasure in the enjoyment of power without the burden of honor.
<i>II Presens qui colit gaudium; penset eterni premium. In eum conferat studium, facta qui ponderat omnium.</i>	<i>He who sows joy is close at hand; let [our band] consider the reward of eternity.</i> 15 <i>Let it devote zeal to him who weighs the deeds of all.</i>
<i>IIIa Honus quod nobis alligant nolunt movere digito. Hinc est quod eos diligant qui palpent in abscondito. Has a secretis abigant qui terrent vite merito.</i>	The burden that they bind us to they will not raise a finger to cast off. This is because they esteem those 20 who stroke them in secret. They drive away those from their confidences who frighten them with the merit of their life.
<i>IIIb Culpa meretur gratiam quam demeretur meritum, nam palponum fallatiam plus captant aures divitum quam bonorum prudentiam qui dissuadent libitum.</i>	Crime obtains the favor that merit deserves, 25 for the ears of the rich long more for the tricks of flatterers than the prudence of those good men who resist vice.
<i>IV Omne cor merens hodie, caput est omne languidum, clerus, campo licentie, vagus ut vulgus sordidum, semen legis et gratie solum condit in aridum.</i>	Every heart today is mournful, 30 every head is sluggish, as the clergy, a squalid mob roaming in a field of dissipation, buries the seed of law and grace in parched earth.

The following two strophes appear after Ib only in *Fauv* and *Brussels 19606* as part of a fourteenth-century motet setting; they do not seem to be part of the original state of this text (or texts) as it survives in the earlier sources.

V <i>Promovent ad officia quos deberent deprimere,</i>	35 <i>They promote to offices those they should demote,</i>

propter verba dupplicia que non abhorrent serere. Sed stabiles iusticia, hos non cessant depellere et qui malunt supplicia		based on duplicitous speeches that they have no fear of spreading. But they never fail to banish those who stand firm in justice and who prefer to suffer indignities
VI pati et vera dicere quam ferre beneficia et veritatem tegere. Sic, iure privilegia promerentur admittere, qui presunt in ecclesia, his abutentes perpere.	40 45	and to speak true things, rather than to carry benefices and to conceal the truth. Thus, those who have power in the church, who are deemed worthy to bestow privileges lawfully, are wrongfully abusing them.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 5, f. 205r: a3; Strophes Ia-b, II, IIIa-b, IV, signaled by the usual decorated opening initial and subsequent capitals, with the secondary versicles of I and III entered in dedicated empty spaces within the writing block, and with further empty space at the end of the first system of the following piece (*Premii dilatio* [E3/270]) suggesting the possibility that additional text could be added after Strophe IV. This and the following piece appear in reverse order in *W1*.

W1, fasc. 8, no 7, f. 75v (68v): a3: with Strophes Ia, II, IV indicated by painted initials, but with only a small guide letter “h” indicating an omitted initial for IIIa (i.e., no secondary versicles are provided for Ia or IIIa), and with about half of the final system filled with empty staff lines. The right margin of the concluding leaf for the piece (f. 77r [70r]) shows an entry in a later, cursive hand running vertically down at right angles from the top half of the right margin: “Nil porco peius / si tollatur capud eius / dum sumus in mundo / vivamus corde iocundo” (“Nothing is worse than a pig / if its head is cut off. / While we are in the world, / let us live with a joyous heart”).¹ This and the previous piece are reversed in *F*.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), Tt only, with the same stanzas as in *F*, but separated into two different items, entered successively (nos. 44 and 45) and rearranged from the order in *F*. The transmission begins with no. 44, f. 245r (16r): Strophes Ib, IIIa-b, IV (represented by Roman type in the poem above); rubric: “De malo exemplo malorum prelatorum” (“Concerning an evil example of evil prelates”); then continues immediately with no. 45, f. 245v (16v) as an individual item with its own rubric: Strophes Ia and II (shown above in italic type); rubric: “Ut oris voci vox cordis consonet” (“That the voice of the heart may concord with the voice of the mouth”).² The various stanzaic units within the separate entries are headed by marginal pilcrow.

¹As given by Martin Staehelin (in Staehelin, ed., *Die mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift W1: Vollständige Reproduktion des “Notre Dame”-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, no. 9, [Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1995], 20, 44). The first couplet is a riddle. The solution, *orcus* (“death” or “hell”) comes from removing the first letter (i.e., the “head”) of *porcus*. On this expression, see Andrew Galloway, “The Rhetoric of Riddling in Late-Medieval England: The ‘Oxford’ Riddles, the *Secretum philosophorum*, and the Riddles in *Piers Plowman*,” *Speculum*, 70 (1995): 68–105 (especially 98); and Jessica Jane Lockhart, “Everyday Wonders and Enigmatic Structures: Riddles from Symphosius to Chaucer,” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2017), 144–146.

²This rubric is not reported in Anderson’s edition, nor on the CPI website.

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146), no. 21, f. 6v^b:³ the text of Strophe Ib (*Trahunt in precipitia*), extended with two additional stanzas, unmarked and with no syntactic break between them (given as V and VI above), is used as the Tr of a motet a4 (*Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipitia / Ve qui gregi deficiunt / Displcebat*). The Q text derives from Strophes V and VI (“Quasi non ministerium” and “Meum ire vicarium”) of the conductus *Quid ultra tibi facere* (K17/288); the Mot (“Ve qui gregi”) comes from Strophe IIb of *Ve mundo a scandalis* (K27/356). Both the latter two songs are by Philip the Chancellor.

Brussels 19606, (*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}*, 19606), no. 7, obverse side of the rotulus:

Transmission of the text of Strophe Ib (*Trahunt in precipitia*) with the additional stanzas V and VI presented as in *Fauv*, serving here as the Tr of a motet a3 with the Mot “An diex ou porage trover”); the T is not identified.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: The amassed text of *Trine vocis tripudio* given here likely consists of several joined poems, since Strophe Ib (*Trahunt in precipitia*) occurs separately in other MSS, and it and strophes III-IV, with their moral-critical and anticlerical emphases, depart strikingly from the giddier, celebratory tone of Ia (*Trine vocis*) and II (*Presens qui colit*), the latter segments distinguished by italic type in the text above. Such an interpretation is further fueled by the transmission in *OxRawl*, which separates and reorders the various segments as transmitted in *F*, with different rubrics corresponding to their contrasting themes. Nonetheless, the *Fauv* transmission comes from the Tr of a motet a4 that derives its other upper-voice texts from interior strophes of different Notre Dame conductus, thus suggesting Ib might have originated as an internal stanza. Additionally, all of the texts in this motet, except the ones connected with the *Trahunt in precipitia* circle, are attributed to Philip the Chancellor; such connections, along with the tenor of the texts in this network, might thus intimate the possibility of his authorship. The *Brussels* redaction (inscribed on a rotulus) uses the same text segments as *Fauv* for its Tr, but as part of a double motet a3 with mixed Latin and French texts. If the *Trahunt* portion (strophes Ib, IIIa-b, IV, and perhaps V and VI from *Fauv/Brussels 19606*) is considered an independent piece, grafted in and around the *carole*-like strophes Ia and II (the latter of which Anderson considered a refrain, although no such signal appears in the manuscripts), it could be performed separately, although which music stanzas V and VI might use if they are included is not immediately clear. The enjambment, moreover, between strophes V and VI also suggests that these latter strophes were constructed specifically for the motet redactions, where their disposition would cause less of an abrupt break than if they were performed with the conductus music. Therefore, it seems unlikely Strophes V and VI should figure in a performance of the conductus. The appearance of this apparently interlarded work in *F* and *W1* is also interesting in light of the “disguised” presentation of the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53) earlier in *F*, where another highly critical text is visually overshadowed by the musical setting of its parent conductus *Dic Cristi veritas* (C3/94); although with *Trahunt* it is essentially only the “first” stanza (Ib) of the critical poem that seems obscured by its placement as a second versicle. Also worth reckoning is the possible significance of the marginal annotation in *W1*. The dialectical confrontation of the two sentiments within the notice might conceivably have been entered as a commentary on the content of the MS at this point. For other examples of conductus that may conflate different poems, see the remarks on the text of *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), at F-6,37.

Textual notes: 1-6: Cf. the related expressions in the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5), lines 51-54. **1,3:** On the term *tripudium* (often rendered elsewhere as “dance”) and its various connotations, see

³Images from *Fauv* available [here](#).

Donna La Rue, “Tripudium.”⁴ For other conductus that may mention dancing, see in addition to *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), *Nicholai presulis*, (F27/217), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Baculi solempnia* (J52/20), *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144), and notice also the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI). **2,2-3:** the expression *concors discordia* likely implies a polyphonic setting for the three-part performance hinted at in Strophe Ia. The music theorist Walter Odington suggests as much in his definition of “diaphony”:⁵ “Diaphonia est concors discordia inferiorum vocum cum superioribus, sic dicta quia non per totum proceditur per concordias, sed quia concordia sequens tollit offensionem discordiae prioris” (“Diaphony is a concordant discord of lower pitches with higher, so called not because it proceeds entirely by concords, but because a following concord removes the offense of a prior discord”). See also the discussion of this concept (and the translation of the quotation) in David E. Cohen, “Before and After John of Garland,” 104.⁶ For a treatment of the philosophical/rhetorical concept of *enantiosis* and its relation to *concors discordia*, see the textual notes to the conductus *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), attributed to Philip the Chancellor, lines 17-18. **3:** the series of nouns “tongue, mind, and action” delineated here suggests comparison with the text of the *Confiteor* from the liturgical celebration of Mass, which repents of sins committed through thought, word, and deed: “Confiteor Deo omnipotenti ... quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere” (“I confess to almighty God ... that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed”). For more thorough information on the *Confiteor*, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106). For a biblical counterpart, cf. 2 Thessalonians, 2:17: “exhortetur corda vestra et confirmet in omni opere et sermone bono” (“encourage your hearts and strengthen them in every good deed and word.”). **13:** Christ, apparently, and /or God as ultimate judge of mankind’s fate.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: The above texts of V and VI, based on Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:172), have several corrections of readings, collated here, from those in *Fauv* and *Brussels 19606*. **37,3:** Brussels 19606: duplicia. **41,2:** Fauv, Brussels 19606: hii; the adopted reading comes from Schrade’s edition of the *Fauv* motet in *PMFC*, 1:20, measure 46, Tr.⁷ **44,3:** Fauv: regere. **48,1:** Fauv: hii; Brussels 19606: hiis. **48,3:** Brussels 19606: prope. **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T(DTr) of “sonet con[cors]” (line 2, first 4 pitches) = **1a.** T(DTr varied) of following cauda on “[discordi]a” (line 2). **2.** T of “solum condit in ari[dum]” (line 34, last line of poem) = **2a.** T in first phrase of following, closing cauda on “[a]ri[dum]” (line 34, last line of poem).

⁴Donna La Rue, “Tripudium: Its Use in Sources from 200 BCE to 1600 CE,” *ARTS (The Arts in Religious and Theological Studies)*, vol. 7, no. 3 – separately paginated – (1995): 25–29.

⁵See his *Summa de speculatione musica*, [part] VI, chap. 1, ed. Frederick Hammond, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 14 ([n.p.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), 127, sentence 7.

⁶David E. Cohen, “Before and After John of Garland: The Concept of Directed Dyadic Progression and Its Prehistory,” *Music Theory and Analysis: International Journal of the Dutch-Flemish Society for Music Theory*, 7 (2020), 63–112.

⁷*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1: *The Roman de Fauvel; The Works of Philippe de Vitry; French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae*. Leo Schrade, ed., (Monaco: Éditions de L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

PREMII DILATIO
Conductus (270/E3)

F, f. 206v (6,6)

Tr
8 [Pre-mi - i di - la - ti - o

I D
8 [Pre-mi - i di - la - ti - o

T
8 Pre-mi - i di - la - ti - o

me - ri - ti sup - pli - ci - um

me - ri - ti sup - pli - ci - um

me - ri - ti sup - pli - ci - um

quod po - ten - tum vi - ti - o ce - dit in pro - ver - bi - um.

quod po - ten - tum vi - ti - o ce - dit in pro - ver - bi - um.

quod po - ten - tum vi - ti - o ce - dit in pro - ver - bi - um.

de - vo - tis ob - se - qui - o

de - vo - tis ob - se - qui - o

de - vo - tis ob - se - qui - o

qui sus - pen - dunt pre - mi - um

qui sus - pen - dunt pre - mi - um

qui sus - pen - dunt pre - mi - um

ne re - ce - pto pre - mi - o
ne re - ce - pto pre - mi - o
ne re - ce - pto pre - mi - o

de - cli - nen[t] ob - se - qui - um.
de - cli - nen[t] ob - se - qui - um.
de - cli - nen[t] ob - se - qui - um.

Sed quo plus sus - pen - di - tur;
Sed quo plus sus - pen - di - tur;
Sed quo plus sus - pen - di - tur;

plus ven - tu - rum ven - di - tur.
plus ven - tu - rum ven - di - tur.
plus ven - tu - rum ven - di - tur.

vo - to lon - go ven - di - tum;

per - dit mu - nus me - ri - tum.]

per - dit mu - nus me - ri - tum.]

per - dit mu - nus me - ri - tum.]

PREMII DILATIO

Conductus (E3/270)

F, f. 206v (6,6)

I	Premii dilatio meriti supplicium. Quod, potentum vitio, cedit in proverbium. Devotis obsequio qui suspendunt premium, ne, recepto premio, declinen[t] obsequium.		Putting off a reward penalizes the worthy. Thanks to the failings of the powerful, this is becoming a maxim. 5 They dangle a prize before those devoted to their service, lest, having received their reward, they should decline service.
	Sed quo plus suspenditur plus venturum venditur, voto longo venditum perdit munus meritum.	10	But, because the longer it is put off the louder it is trumpeted as arriving, when a payoff results in a remote promise a reward loses its value.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no.6, f. 206v: a3; Strophe I, complete, with a capital initial for line 9 (shown by the extra space above); this and the following piece are in reverse order in *F, W1*.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 6, f. 74v (67v): a3; Strophe I, complete, with a painted initial beginning line 11; this and the previous piece are reversed in *F, W1*.

CaJ (*GB-Cjec QB 1*; *Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1*), Fragment A, no. 8, f. 1c^r: a3; Strophe I, fragmentary, with text and music beginning at line 6,3 (“[pre]mium / ne recepto”) to the end of the piece; a few figures in the Tr (any pitches higher than *d*) have been cut away from the surviving portion of lines 6,3 through 8,2.¹

Metz (*F-ME 732bis/20*; *Metz, Médiathèque Verlaine-Pontiffroy-732 bis/20*; (*olim*) *Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Réserve précieuse, MS 732bis/20*; “*Metz fragments*”), no. 2, f. 1r: a3; Strophe I, complete; the entire piece is essentially extant, except for occasional faded patches. In its *cum littera* portions, the *simplex* figures as well as rests are distinguished as L and B, and a good number of the larger ligatures also show mensural modifications through the use of *sine proprietate* and *sine perfectione* shapes. The caudae, on the other hand, appear throughout to demonstrate modal notation.²

Text only:

OxRawl (*GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510*), no. 47, f. 246r (17r): text only of Strophe I, complete; rubric: “De dilatione premii” (“on delaying a reward”).

¹Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

²A study of the Metz fragments with images appears in Mark Everist, “Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic ‘Conductus cum caudis’: The Metz Fragment,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 125 (2000): 135-163. Unfortunately the online images available [here](#) through the Metz library only provide the remnants of the piece preserved on f. 1v, containing the music from lines 7,3 to the end.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: None of the sources gives any indication of further strophes. This poem, which assails those who delay in providing an expected reward, gift, or benefit, shares several features with the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), and *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), which also treat charitable giving. In particular, the criticisms of *Premii dilatio* offer strong contrasts to the recommendations put forward in *Debet se circumspicere*, wherein great virtue arises from the giver offering his benefit quickly and without hesitation. This conceit is a major feature in the likely authorities that buttress both of these poems. For possible echoes in these texts of the *De beneficiis* of Seneca, and the earlier *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (also ascribed to Seneca during the middle ages), see the textual notes for *Debet se circumspicere*, lines 31-33, and 41-50 (Strophe V).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 8,1: F: declinen; from *W1, CaJ, OxRawl*; Metz: declinet, which could also suffice (“... one might decline ...”). **12,1:** all sources except for *W1* have “perdit,” (the abbreviation in *F* and *CaJ* is unambiguous); the reading of “prodit” (“appear,” “come forth,” “advance”) in *W1* seems less satisfactory, although it is included in Anderson’s edition (*NDRC*, 1:xli) and in the CPI database. **MUSIC: Signatures:** at the start of the piece Metz has *b-flat* sigs in all parts (except perhaps the Tr, which is obscured at this point) until “[devotis ob]sequio” of line 5, where a system change omits the sig in the T, only to restore it at the beginning of the following cauda. Beginning the verso of the folio with line 7,3, Metz omits all accidentals except for the first T *b* of the final cauda, which is canceled by a new system nearly immediately afterwards. There are no extant flat sigs in any other source till near the end: T: *W1, CaJ* at line 12,3, then canceled with a natural in the following phrase; *F* as in transcription. **Line 2,2:** D: F: the 2si (*a, c*) ending the phrase are given as 3si=*a, b, c*; reading supplied from *W1, Metz* (not in *CaJ*). **4,3:** Tr: F: the opening 3C,2li of the following cauda phrase is 3 lower; reading taken from *W1* (not in *CaJ*; Metz is not quite legible at this point, but could agree with *F*). **9,4:** for the second phrase of the following cauda: T: F, *W1, CaJ*: 3li2li=*cde, fe*’: reading taken from Metz. **Final cauda:** CaJ: TDTr: the antepenultimate phrase of the piece differs and the penultimate phrase is om; D: CaJ, Metz: final flourish simplified; *W1*: 3li=*ecd*.

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS SPIRITUS RECREATOR

Conductus (E13/361)

F, f. 207v (6,7)

Tr

8 [Ve-ni cre - a - tor spi-ri - tus. spi - ri-tus re-cre-a - tor.
[Men-tes tu - o - rum vi - si - ta men-ti-um vi - si - ta - tor.

I D

8 [Ve-ni cre - a - tor spi-ri - tus. spi - ri-tus re-cre-a - tor.
[Men-tes tu - o - rum vi - si - ta men-ti-um vi - si - ta - tor.

T

8 Ve-ni cre - a - tor spi-ri - tus. spi - ri-tus re-cre-a - tor.
Men-tes tu - o - rum vi - si - ta men-ti-um vi - si - ta - tor.

Tr

8 tu dans tu da - tus ce-li - tus. tu do - num tu do-na - tor.
vi-si-tan-do in - ha-bi - ta vi-so - rum ha - bi-ta - tor.

Tr

8 tu dans tu da - tus ce-li - tus. tu do - num tu do-na - tor.
vi-si-tan-do in - ha-bi - ta vi-so - rum ha - bi-ta - tor.

8 tu dans tu da - tus ce-li - tus. tu do - num tu do-na - tor.
vi - si-tan-do in - ha-bi - ta vi-so - rum ha - bi-ta - tor.

Tr

8 tu rex tu di - gi - tus. a - lens et a - li - tus. spi-rans et spi - ri - tus
tu fons tu ri - vu-lus. fru-ctex et sur - cu - lus. do-ctor dis - ci - pu - lus.

8 tu rex tu di - gi - tus. a - lens et a - li - tus. spi-rans et spi - ri - tus
tu fons tu ri - vu-lus. fru-ctex et sur - cu - lus. do-ctor dis - ci - pu - lus.

8 tu rex tu di - gi - tus. a - lens et a - li - tus. spi-rans et spi - ri - tus
tu fons tu ri - vu-lus. fru-ctex et sur - cu - lus. do-ctor dis - ci - pu - lus.

8 spi - ra-tus et spi-ra- - [tor.]
ser - vo-rum co-ro-na - - tor.

8 spi - ra-tus et spi-ra- - [tor.]
ser - vo-rum co-ro-na - - tor.

8 spi - ra-tus et spi-ra- - [tor.]
ser - vo-rum co-ro-na - - tor.

Tr
8 Tu se - pti - for - mis gra - ti - e dans se - pti - for - me do - num.
Tu gra - tis da - ta gra - ti - a. et tu fa - ci - ens gra - tos.

II D
8 Tu se - pti - for - mis gra - ti - e dans se - pti - for - me do - num.
Tu gra - tis da - ta gra - ti - a. et tu fa - ci - ens gra - tos.

T
8 Tu se - pti - for - mis gra - ti - e dans se - pti - for - me do - num.
Tu gra - tis da - ta gra - ti - a. et tu fa - ci - ens gra - tos.

8 vir - tu - tis se - pti - fa - ri - e se ptem pe - ti - ti - o - num.
tu pri - mo pur - gas vi - ti - a. post con - ser - vas pur - ga - tos.

8 vir - tu - tis se - pti - fa - ri - e se ptem pe - ti - ti - o - num.
tu pri - mo pur - gas vi - ti - a. post con - ser - vas pur - ga - tos.

8 vir - tu - tis se - pti - fa - ri - e se ptem pe - ti - ti - o - num.
tu pri - mo pur - gas vi - ti - a. post con - ser - vas pur - ga - tos.

8 tu nix non de - flu - ens. i - gnis non de - stru - ens. pu - gil non me - tu - ens.
ab - sol - ve de - bi - ta. ex - tol - le me - ri - ta. vir - tu - te so - li - ta

8 tu nix non de - flu - ens. i - gnis non de - stru - ens. pu - gil non me - tu - ens.
ab - sol - ve de - bi - ta. ex - tol - le me - ri - ta. vir - tu - te so - li - ta

8 tu nix non de - flu - ens. i - gnis non de - stru - ens. pu - gil non me - tu - ens.
ab - sol - ve de - bi - ta. ex - tol - le me - ri - ta. vir - tu - te so - li - ta

| T = beginning of T in first phrase of following cauda (with slight imitation in D at end of corresponding T passage)

8 pro - pi - na - tor
sal - vans pre - de -

8 pro - pi - na - tor
sal - vans pre - de -

8 pro - pi - na - tor
sal - vans pre - de -

ser - sti - mo - num. - na - tos.].

ser - sti - mo - num. - na - tos.].

ser - sti - mo - num. - na - tos.].

| TDTr: mode 2 possible for this phrase, same ligation in all MSS

Tr Er -

III D Er -

T Er -

[Er] - go ac-cen-de sen - si - bus tu te lu - men et fla - men. tu te in -

[Er] - go ac-cen-de sen - si - bus tu te lu - men et fla - men. tu te in -

[Er] - go ac-cen-de sen - si - bus tu te lu - men et fla - men. tu te in -

-spi-ra cor - di - bus qui es vi - te spi-ra - men. tu sol tu ra - di - us.

-spi-ra cor - di - bus qui es vi - te spi-ra - men. tu sol tu ra - di - us.

-spi-ra cor - di - bus qui es vi - te spi-ra - men. tu sol tu ra - di - us.

mit-tens et nun-ti - us. per - so - na ter - ci - us. sal - va nos. a - men a - men.]

mit-tens et nun-ti - us. per - so - na ter - ci - us. sal - va nos. a - men a - men.]

mit-tens et nun-ti - us. per - so - na ter - ci - us. sal - va nos. a - men a - men.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a common time signature. The first staff contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The second and third staves continue the melody, with the third staff featuring a series of eighth notes. Blue brackets are placed above the first staff, indicating phrasing or articulation. The system ends with a double bar line.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody from the first system, with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melody, with a series of eighth notes. The third staff continues the melody, with a series of eighth notes. Blue brackets are placed above the first staff, indicating phrasing or articulation. The system ends with a double bar line.

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS SPIRITUS RECREATOR

Conductus (E13/361)

F, f. 207v (6,7)

Ia <i>Veni, creator spiritus,</i> spiritus recreator. Tu dans, tu datus celitus; tu donum, tu donator, tu rex, <i>tu digitus,</i> alens et alitus, spirans et spiritus, spiratus et spira[tor.]	Come, Creator Spirit, recreator of the spirit. You are the giving one, you the one given from heaven; you are the gift, you are the giver, 5 you are king, you are [God's] finger, the nourisher and the nourished, the breathing and the breath, the breathed and the breather.
Ib <i>Mentes tuorum visita,</i> mentium visitor; visitando inhabita, visorum habitator. Tu fons, tu rivulus, fructex et surculus, doctor, discipulus, servorum coronator.	Visit the minds of your own, 10 visitor of minds; inhabit [them] by visiting, inhabitant of the visited. You are the source-spring, you are the stream, you are stem and shoot, 15 teacher, student, and crownor of [your] subjects.
IIa <i>Tu septiformis gratie</i> dans septiforme donum, virtutis septifarie, septem petitionum. Tu nix non defluens, ignis non destruens, pugil non metuens, propinator sermonum.	You are the giver of the sevenfold gift of sevenfold grace, of sevenfold virtue, 20 of the seven petitions. You are the snow, unmelting, the fire, unconsuming, the fighter, unfearing, the server of speech.
IIb Tu gratis data gratia; et tu faciens gratos, tu primo purgas vitia, post conservas purgatos. Absolve debita, extolle merita, virtute solita salvans predestinatos.	25 You are grace, given gratis; and you, making us grateful, first purge vices, then maintain those purged. Pay off our debts, 30 raise up our merits, saving those predestined thanks to their habitual virtue,
III Ergo, <i>accende sensibus,</i> tu te <i>lumen</i> et flamen; tu te inspira <i>cordibus,</i> qui es vite spiramen. Tu sol, tu radius, mittens, et nuntius. Persona tercius, salva nos. Amen, amen.	Therefore, kindle yourself in our senses, you, the light and the flame; 35 breathe yourself into our hearts, you who are the breath of life. You are sun, you are sunbeam, sender, and messenger. Third member [of the Trinity], 40 save us. Amen, amen.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 7, f. 207v: a3; Strophes Ia-III complete, with Ib-III headed by capitals, and with the secondary versicles entered in dedicated empty segments within the system space immediately after each of the primary stanzas.

Frankfurt, (D-F Fragm.lat.VI.41; Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. VI.41),¹ no. 2, ff. Br-Cv: a3; the texts of the secondary versicles are not included in this transmission; fragmentary, music and text of portions of Strophes IIa and III (headed by a surviving capital) survive.²

W2, fasc. 3, no. 4, f. 36r: a3; Strophes Ia, IIa, III only, headed by capitals; music incomplete: the end of the final cauda is missing after L52, as the piece breaks off at the end of f. 38v and is not continued on f. 39r, which starts with erased material that does not correspond with the continuation of the cauda. Furthermore, f. 39r begins mistakenly with the text of line 2 of *Ysaías cecinit* (C4/188), entered underneath the erased notes (which also do not correspond with this latter piece) and underscored to indicate an error. The folio then continues with the music and text of *Ysaías* beginning with line 2.

Text only (mistakenly reported source):

The source *F-AN 283* (*Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 283 [274]*), p. 62; text only – listed but not collated by Anderson in *NDRC*, 1:175-176. According to the CPI website, this is not the lyric of the piece under consideration, but the more common Pentecost hymn (see the notes on the text, below).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Authorship: The text of this piece has been attributed to Philip the Chancellor by Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume.³ One of the likely reasons for the ascription is the high level of *annominatio* (wordplay) that appears throughout the poem. For Robert Falck's tentative attribution of the music to Perotin, see his *Notre Dame Conductus*, 46-56.⁴ **General remarks:** This conductus poem derives a number of its expressions from the Pentecost hymn *Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum visita* (see, for an example from a

¹Fragments bound into Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. oct. 94. The sequence of the three extant pieces and their foliation are given according to Martin Staehelin, "Conductus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift in Frankfurt a. M.," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1987* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 177-192 + plates. Eva M. Maschke, furthermore, has connected these fragments with the remains of a further MS, now *US-NYcub N-66*, see her "Neue Conductus Fragmente aus dem ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Frankfurt am Main," *Studi Musicali: Nuova serie* 1,2 (2010): 295-312. The Frankfurt fragments may be consulted online via: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-274391>.

²The following details of the preservation of specific portions of *Veni creator ... recreator* in *Frankfurt* may help coordinate consultation of the online images referred to in the previous footnote. Starting on f. Br (with three systems per leaf), musical and textual material is preserved in each system: **1)** from lines 19,2, third syllable ("[se]ptifarie") through 20 ("petitionum"); **2)** 21,4 ("defluens") through 22 ("destruens"); **3)** 23,3 ("metuens") through the second T phrase of the cauda on the third syllable of 24,1 ("propina[tor]"); **4)** starting on f. Bv: the remainder of the cauda on 24,1 ("[propina]tor") up through L4 of the cauda on the first syllable of 24,2 ("ser[monum]"); **5)** last syllable of 24,2 ("[sermo]num") through end of cauda on first syllable of 33,1 ("Ergo"); **6)** 33,2 ("accende") through the partially cut-off second syllable and music of 34,3 ("lume[n]"); **7)** beginning on f. Cr: 35,1 ("tu [te inspira]") through most of the material of the second syllable of 36,4 ("spira[men]"); **8)** third syllable of 36,4 ("[spira]men") through first syllable of 38,3 ("nun[tius]"); **9)** first syllable of 39,1 ("persona") through most of the material of the second syllable of 40,4 ("[amen] amen"); **10)** starting on f. Cv, much of the final cauda on 40,4 ("[amen] amen") is preserved, but with the loss in all voices of L37 and L69-70.

³Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung: eine Blütenlese aus den Analecta hymnica mit literarhistorischen Erläuterungen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1909), 2:169.

⁴Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*. Musicological Studies, no. 33 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981); see pp. 46-56.

Parisian liturgical manuscript, *F-Pn lat. 15181, f. 346v* [CCCXXXIIIv]); a similar technique, based on the same liturgical hymn, appears in the text of the conductus *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur insere* (J41/360). References to the hymn are given in italics in the Latin text above, with specific details on their derivation from the hymn enumerated below. **1:** a direct verbal quotation of the first line of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. **2,2:** “recreator” (this word used here to bring out the *annominatio*) in the sense of “reviver,” “refresher.” **4:** a strikingly similar expression occurs in the *Kyrie celum creans* (“dator atque donum”), versicle IIIb (line 34). This Latin-texted Ordinary item is preserved uniquely in the MS *LoB*,⁵ which itself is one of the three major sources that ascribes poems to Philip the Chancellor and the only one with musical notation throughout. Such a set of circumstances is intriguing given the attribution of *Veni creator ... recreator* proposed above; it conceivably could furnish ammunition to suggest Philip’s authorship of the *Kyrie*; see further the following note. **5,3-4:** from line 10 of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*: “dextre dei tu digitus” (after *F-Pn lat. 15181, f. 346v* [CCCXXXIIIv]). The expression is again echoed in *Kyrie celum creans*, IIIb, at line 33 (“digitus et dextera”). **9:** a direct quotation of line 2 of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. **12,1:** although one might expect the form “visitatorum” here, “visorum” fits the syllable count and can imply the same thing; see the entry for “visus” under the DMLBS⁶ tab at <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/visus>, and the connotations of definitions 2-4. **17-20:** this list contains likely references to: **a)** the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit from Isaiah, 11:2-3 (*sapientia, intellectus, consilium, fortitudo, scientia, pietas, timor domini*);⁷ **b)** the seven virtues from classical and biblical sources (comprising the four cardinal virtues: *prudencia, iustitia, temperantia, and fortitudo*; and the three theological virtues, *fides, spes, and caritas*; for the former group, see also the commentary to the conductus text *A deserto veniens* [J3,I29/1]); **c)** possibly also the seven heavenly virtues delineated in Prudentius, *Psychomachia* (*pudicitia, fides, operatio, concordia, sobrietas, patientia, and mens humilis*); and **d)** the seven petitions that make up the *Pater noster* (Matthew, 6:5-13; Luke, 11:1-4). Also, **e)** the spirit of God is repeatedly described as “sevenfold” in Revelation (5:6,⁸ e.g., as well as the similar statements in 1:4, 3:1, 4:5). See additionally Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:lii), who associates this list as well with the Beatitudes; these, however, usually are numbered from eight to ten. **17:** echoes line 9 of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*: “tu septiformis munere.” **21:** see Wisdom, 16:22: “Nix autem et glacies sustinebant vim ignis, et non tabescebant.” (“But the snow and ice endured the force of the fire and did not melt.”) **22:** a likely association with the burning bush that Moses encountered in Exodus, 3:2-3. **33-35:** derived from lines 13-14 of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*: “Accende lumen sensibus infunde amorem cordibus.” **24:** in serving up speech, there is quite possibly (as suggested in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:lii) a reference to the speaking in tongues that transpired with the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles in Acts, 2:4;⁹ there are also analogous instances and expressions given in Acts, 10:46; Acts, 11:15; Acts, 19:6; 1 Corinthians, 12:7-10. **39:** “persona” is usually feminine in gender; here the form is (acceptably) construed as masculine (like “poeta” or “nauta”) to agree with “tercius.”

⁵London, British Library, MS Egerton 274), fasc. 2, no. 11, on ff. 92r-93v, in a musical setting a1. The *Kyrie celum creans* appears in no major catalogs of the Mass ordinary, and does not figure in the databases of the *Cantus Index* (<https://cantusindex.org/>).

⁶This item offers the material published in R. K. Ashdowne, D. R. Howlett, and R. E. Latham (eds.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford: British Academy, 2018).

⁷Isaiah, 11:1-3: “Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis; et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini ...” (“And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him [the flower]: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord ...”).

⁸Revelation, 5:6: “Et vidi: et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, Agnum stantem tamquam occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem: qui sunt septem spiritus Dei, missi in omnem terram” (“And I [John] saw: and behold in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the ancients, a Lamb standing as it were slain, having seven horns and seven eyes: which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth.”).

⁹Acts, 2:4: “et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis” (“And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak.”).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 8,3:** F: final syll om; taken from *W2* (lost from *Frankfurt*). **10,2:** F: vi visitator, emended editorially; the first syllable of the word was mistakenly repeated when the scribe began the next row of text. **33,2:** F: ascende, rectified by *W2, Frankfurt*. **MUSIC: Syllabic/Melismatic identity:** the T of “propina[tor],” (line 24, the last line of Strophe IIa) = the T of the first phrase of the following cauda on “[propi]na[tor],” with a slight imitation of the end of the corresponding T passage in the D. **Line 1,2:** D: F: the *b-flat* is found in *W2*; it is then erased at the system change before the second syllable of line 2,1. **18,2:** D: F: an erased *c* for the *d* on the fourth syllable (“[septifor]me”) with nothing replacing it; reading from *W2*, lost from *Frankfurt*. **24,2:** Tr: F: the first rest of the cauda on the first syllable of “ser[monum]” is om; from *W2, Frankfurt*. **33,2:** T: F: preceding ' om; supplied editorially, none in *W2, Frankfurt*. **39,2:** T: F: the *a* on “[ter]ci[us]” om; from *Frankfurt*; *W2*: 2li=*ba*. **Final cauda:** *W2* omits the final 40L of the melisma, see the remarks on this source above. Tr: F: the 2li= *ef* (implying mode 2?) in the sixth Tr phrase from the end (L64) is also in *Frankfurt*, om in *W2*.

O FELIX BITURIA

Conductus (E8/232)

F, f. 209r (6,8)

The musical score is written for three parts: Tenor (Tr), Alto (I D), and Treble (T). The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are in Latin, and the music includes various ornaments and phrasing marks.

Tr
 [O] fe - lix bi - tu - ri - a ca - put a - qui -
 [In] te vi - get in - cli - ti pa - sto - ris po -

I D
 [O] fe - lix bi - tu - ri - a ca - put a - qui -
 [In] te vi - get in - cli - ti pa - sto - ris po -

T
 O [a] [b] [c]
 In [In] te vi - get in - cli - ti pa - sto - ris po -

-ta - ni - e.
 -ten - ti - a. In qui

-ta - ni - e.
 -ten - ti - a. In qui

[d] [a]
 -ta - ni - e.
 -ten - ti - a. In qui

[In] qua vi - get glo - ri - a lux et splen - dor gal - li - e.
 [qui] san - cti pa - ra - cli - ti sem - per ple - nus gra - ti - a;

[In] qua vi - get glo - ri - a lux et splen - dor gal - li - e.
 [qui] san - cti pa - ra - cli - ti sem - per ple - nus gra - ti - a;

[b] [c] [d]
 [In] qua vi - get glo - ri - a lux et splen - dor gal - li - e.
 [qui] san - cti pa - ra - cli - ti sem - per ple - nus gra - ti - a;

in qua splen - det gra - ti - a chri - sti re - gis glo - ri - e qui su - a cle - men - ti - a
 gre - gis si - bi sub - di - ti cor - ri - pit ve - sti - gi - a. pro mer - ce - de me - ri - ti

in qua splen - det gra - ti - a chri - sti re - gis glo - ri - e qui su - a cle - men - ti - a
 gre - gis si - bi sub - di - ti cor - ri - pit ve - sti - gi - a. pro mer - ce - de me - ri - ti

in qua splen - det gra - ti - a chri - sti re - gis glo - ri - e qui su - a cle - men - ti - a
 gre - gis si - bi sub - di - ti cor - ri - pit ve - sti - gi - a. pro mer - ce - de me - ri - ti

pro - vi - dit ec - cle - si - e.
re - gnat in ec - cle - si - a.

pro - vi - dit ec - cle - si - e.
re - gnat in ec - cle - si - a.

pro - vi - dit ec - cle - si - e.
re - gnat in ec - cle - si - a.

Per
Pe -

Per
Pe -

Per
Pe -

[Per] hunc mors con-te-ri - tur. pre-mi-tur na-tu - ra.
[Pe] - nas hic sus-ti-nu-it ne pe-nas in-cur - ret.

[Per] hunc mors con-te-ri - tur. pre-mi-tur na-tu - ra.
[Pe] - nas hic sus-ti-nu-it ne pe-nas in-cur - ret.

[Per] hunc mors con-te-ri - tur. pre-mi-tur na-tu - ra.
[Pe] - nas hic sus-ti-nu-it ne pe-nas in-cur - ret.

dum lux ce - cis red-di - tur. dum lu - cent ob - scu - ra. dum a - ctus re - gre-di - tur.
si - bi mor-tem in - tu - lit mor - tem ut ef - fu - ge-ret. e - um mun - do abs-tu - lit

dum lux ce - cis red-di - tur. dum lu - cent ob - scu - ra. dum a - ctus re - gre-di - tur.
si - bi mor-tem in - tu - lit mor - tem ut ef - fu - ge-ret. e - um mun - do abs-tu - lit

dum lux ce - cis red-di - tur. dum lu - cent ob - scu - ra. dum a - ctus re - gre-di - tur.
si - bi mor-tem in - tu - lit mor - tem ut ef - fu - ge-ret. e - um mun - do abs-tu - lit

per-dit su - a iu - ra. quod de - us pro - se-qui-tur me - li - or na - tu - ra.
ut in mun - do vi - ve - ret mun - dus. car - nem do - mu-it ne car - ni sub-cun - be-ret.]

Mun - dus hic a cri - mi-ne vix - it et in mun - do. ho-no - res a li-mi-ne

sa - lu - ta - vit. mun - do cor - de vi - xit. mu - ne-re mun - dus.

in pro-fun - do non sub - mer - sus re-mi-ge chri - sto fu - it. fun-do ti - bi pre-ces

in - cli - te. pro me fun-de chri - sto. ut sub re-cto tra - mi-te cur-su cur - ram

in - cli - te. pro me fun-de chri - sto. ut sub re-cto tra - mi-te cur-su cur - ram

in - cli - te. pro me fun-de chri - sto. ut sub re-cto tra - mi-te cur-su cur - ram

| modes 3 and 2; highly motivically interrelated throughout

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

i - - sto.]

8

8

8

O FELIX BITURIA

Conductus (E8/232)

F, f. 209r (6,8)

Ia O felix Bituria, caput Aquitanie, in qua viget gloria, lux, et splendor Gallie, in qua splendet gratia Christi, regis glorie, qui sua clementia providit ecclesie. Ib In te viget incliti pastoris potentia, qui, sancti paracliti semper plenus gratia, gregis sibi subditi corripit vestigia. Pro mercede meriti regnat in ecclesia. IIa Per hunc mors conteritur; premitur natura. Dum lux cecis redditur, dum lucent obscura, dum actus regreditur, perdit sua iura; quod deus prosequitur, melior natura. IIb Penas hic sustinuit ne penas incurret. Sibi mortem intulit mortem ut effugeret. Eum mundo abstulit, ut in mundo viveret mundus; carnem domuit ne carni subcumberet. III Mundus hic a crimine vixit et in mundo. Honores a limine salutavit. Mundo corde vixit, munere mundus. In profundo non submersus, remige Christo, fuit. fundo tibi preces, inclite.	O happy Bourges, the head of Aquitaine, in which thrives the glory, light, and splendor of France, 5 in which shines the grace of Christ, the king of glory, who in his mercy provided for the church. In you thrives the power 10 of a celebrated pastor, who, always filled with the grace of the holy spirit, sets right the tracks of the flock dependent on him. 15 As reward for his merit he rules in the church. Through him death is demolished and natural order crushed. As light is restored to the blind, 20 as shadows become light, as an action is reversed, it abandons its laws; because God is at hand, who is superior to nature. 25 He underwent punishment that he might not incur punishment. He brought death upon himself that he might escape death. It removed him from the world, 30 that he might live pure in the world; he subdued the flesh so as not to be subject to the flesh. He lived free from sin and yet in the world. 35 He had but scant regard for honors. He lived pure in heart, free from reward. With Christ at the helm he was not engulfed 40 by the deep. I pour forth prayers to you, illustrious one.

pro me funde Christo,
ut sub recto tramite
cursu curram isto.

Pour them forth to Christ for me,
so that I may run this course
upon a straight path.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 8, f. 209r: a3; Strophes Ia-III complete, with Ib-III signaled by capitals, and with Ib, IIb entered in empty places prepared within the system immediately after each of the primary stanzas; Strophe I has an additional capital letter beginning line 3, indicated by an extra vertical space above.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 21, f. 88r (79r): a3; Strophes Ia (with filigreed initial), IIa, III only, with IIa and III indicated by painted initials. There is an additional red painted initial for line 3, analogous to the indication in *F*.

Text only: none.

Music only:

StV (*F-Pn lat. 15139*; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 15139*; the *St. Victor Codex*): music gathering 4, no. 3, f. 280v: *Benedicamus domino* a3; the final cauda of *O felix Bituria* is equivalent to the music over “domino”; see also the conductus a2 *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), whose opening cauda with an added Tr is overlaid to the “benedicamus” text that begins this same piece. My transcription of *Deduc Syon* (at *F*-7,77) presents the entire *StV* BD setting among the supplied alternative readings.¹

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Dedicatee: This text celebrates Bishop William (de Donjeon or Berruyer) of Bourges (ca. 1140-10 Jan. 1209), born at Arthel into a noble family of Nevers. A canon of Soissons (where his maternal uncle was archdeacon) and then of Paris, he spent his earlier years within various and ever more severe monastic houses (first Grandmont, then the Cistercian houses of Pontigny and Fontaine-Jean), sometimes serving as prior or abbot, until he was chosen as archbishop of Bourges on 23 November, 1200. Following an election held under the supervision of Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris and brother of the former Bourges prelate Henri de Sully, William was installed on 13 February the following year. William held the Bourges archbishopric until his death and was renowned for his austerity and piety. He was canonized by Pope Honorius III on 17 May 1218, with his feast celebrated on 10 January. He was also active in the ongoing construction of the Gothic cathedral of St. Stephen in Bourges, begun under Henri de Sully; and he is regarded as a patron saint of the University of Paris.² For another Parisian conductus celebrating William of Bourges, see *Regi regum omnium* (J22/300), preserved uniquely in *F*-7,79, f. 337v. **Dating issues:** the allusions to William in this poem have led some (such as Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:xlvi) to propose that it was written soon after the bishop’s death in 1209. This is certainly possible, although William’s canonization in 1218 is also a compelling impetus for its creation. Furthermore, Rebecca Baltzer cautions that there is no trace of William’s feast among Parisian liturgical books until some ten or so years later (ca. 1228), which could push the

¹The beginning of the music section that occurs near the end of this variegated MS can be consulted online [here](#).

²For much of this information, see Thomas Merton (author) and Patrick Hart (ed.), *In the Valley of Wormwood: Cistercian Blessed and Saints of the Golden Age*, Cistercian Studies, no. 233 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2013), 19-30. See also for additional details, Guillaume Gross, “L’organum, un art de cathédrale? Musiques autour de saint Guillaume,” *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes*, 26 (2013): 35-55.

conceivable date of composition even later.³ Additionally, it is conceivable to suppose that the final cauda of this piece, which, in contrast to the rest of the work, presents clear indications of the iambic rhythms of the second and third modes, could have been written separately and added to the conductus at any of the possible times suggested for its composition above (for this possibility, see my “Datable Notre Dame Conductus,” 138-9).⁴ The independence of the closing cauda is also suggested by its presence within the three-part *Benedicamus domino* setting preserved in the St. Victor MS – a piece that brings together parts of two separate compositions (see the report on this source, above). All of these features make it difficult to posit a particular date for the composition of *O felix Bituria*. **Textual notes: 2:** the “head” is possibly intended both literally and figuratively: during the thirteenth century Bourges not only stood near the northern border of the duchy of Aquitaine, but for much of its history it claimed a sometimes disputed role as the archepiscopal primate over at least some of the duchy’s regions. **11-12:** for the Paraclete (Holy Spirit), see John, 14:26,⁵ as well as 14:16, 15:26, 16:7. **15-16:** William’s exemplary monastic life as a member of the Cistercian order led him to be considered for the bishopric. **17-24:** the many miracles that occurred soon after William’s death led to his relatively quick canonization after only nine years. The poem is also quick to point out in line 23 that these enumerated wonders are due to God’s, not William’s actions. **18;23-24:** a common conceit that God can overstep and reverse natural laws, a set of constraints that he himself created. For some examples of this paradox among many within the Parisian musical repertory, as well as the related concept that faith trumps reason in explaining Christ’s incarnation, see the opening lines of the motet *Stupeat natura* (vdW 232/M14), *Homo quam sit pura*, (vdW 231/M14, a contrafact of the previous piece), lines 13-14; the opening lines of the anonymous conductus *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80), *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214), *Nove geniture* (I13/224); as well as *Cortex occidit littere* (I6/69) lines 17-24 (Strophe III); *Pater noster commiserans* (H19/266), lines 17-20; *Beate virginis* (H15/43, lines 17-24); and *Vere vitis germine* (H14/372), lines 23-24. **25-32:** Strophe IIb differs slightly in construction from its counterpart in Ia: each even-numbered line within IIa is 6p, while IIb offers 7pp for all lines except the second. These discrepancies have been accommodated here by underlaying the additional syllable to the notes of existing figures when needed. The only time this does not work is for the T voice in line 25, where an additional repeated note is provided for the extra syllable of “[subcun]be[ret],” bracketed and smaller in size; see also the remarks among the variants below on the emended reading of line 29,1. **29-31,1:** this passage is rife with *annominatio* and punning on the meanings of the word *mundus* as both “world” and “pure” or “free”; see, in comparison, the opening of Philip the Chancellor’s conductus *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), line 1-4. The play on the same word continues in Strophe III within lines 33-37. **35-36,1:** this rendering is prompted by the translation in Sanders, “Conductus and Modal Rhythm,” 464;⁶ for the idiom (“salutare in limine”), meaning “to greet in passing,” see Seneca, *Epistolae*, 49,6.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 14,1: F has “corripis”; Anderson’s edition (NDRC, 1:xlvi) gives “corripit,” adopted here. **25-32:** Strophe IIb presents a slightly different structure than IIa, which conflicts with its underlay to the music; see how the discrepancies are handled in the above notes on the text, same location. **28,3:** F: effegeret, which form apparently does not exist; modified after Anderson, as before. **29, 1:** F: cum;

³In “Performance Practice. The Notre-Dame Calendar and the Earliest Latin Liturgical Motets,” p. 6, n. 7. This paper, delivered at a conference on Notre Dame music convened at Wolfenbüttel in 1985, was intended for a publication that never materialized. It is now thankfully available online (posted 2013): <http://www.musmed.fr/AdMMAe/Baltzer,%20Performance%20Practice.pdf>.

⁴Thomas B. Payne “Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151.

⁵John, 14: 26 “Paracletus autem Spiritus Sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia, et suggeret vobis omnia quaecumque dixero vobis” (“But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you.”).

⁶Ernest H. Sanders, “Conductus and Modal Rhythm,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985): 439-469.

modified after Anderson, as before; the extra syllable fits the music and poetic scheme more readily, thus making it more likely this spot does need correction, although the line is translatable as it stands. Strophe IIb, though, is otherwise curiously different in structure from IIa, which perhaps may account for the scribe omitting the syllable here; see the discussion above in the notes on the text, lines 25-32. **MUSIC: Line 1,2:** D: F: a redundant *b-flat* sig precedes. **23,3:** T: F: 2li=*ba om*; from *W1*. **32,3:** T: F: an editorially added pitch is necessary here to accommodate the contrasting scheme of Strophe IIb, see the remarks above. **Cauda after line 8 (ends Strophe I):** the prominence of the tritone simultaneities in this passage have caused me to soften them with unusual low *e-flats*, but I would also welcome performers to experiment with them *ut stant*, as neither of the applicable sources shows *e-flats* here at this pitch level (even though they appear several times in this work at the higher octave), and I cannot readily recall another example among the sources for this repertory. **Final cauda:** In a manner analogous to the melisma closing Strophe I, this is a very motivically economical segment, combining and recombining musical gestures in transposition and inversion; the extensive amount of repetition in this cauda is not marked in the score here, as it would clutter it unduly. Tr: F: due to a misplaced clef (likely an addition by another hand), phrases 13 (at L34) to end of piece written 3 higher; corrected after *W1, StV*. D: F, W1: phrases 9-10 in this voice (L33-36) written 3 lower; emended after *StV*.

PRESUL NOSTRI TEMPORIS

Conductus (C2/271)

W1, f. 72r (65r) (8,3) (= F, f. 211r [6,9])*

Tr
I
T

Pre - sul no - stri tem - po-ris pa - tri - e pre-si - di-um

Pre - sul no - stri tem - po-ris pa - tri - e pre-si - di-um

Pre - sul no - stri tem - po-ris pa - tri - e pre-si - di-um

e - mu - lan-di de - co-ris et vir - tu - tis pre - ti - um.

e - mu - lan-di de - co-ris et vir - tu - tis pre - ti - um.

e - mu - lan-di de - co-ris et vir - tu - tis pre - ti - um.

faster hocket also possible: ♪♪♪♪♪

a1 a2 a3 a4

† alternative reading of cauda at end

*The various states of this piece show differences in the choice of rhythmic mode for various caudae; see the alternative readings supplied at the end.

| mode 1 also in *F,LoA* (at least in Tr); *Ma*: no Tr

san-gui-nem pa - tri - ci - um a - ctus au - gens

san-gui-nem pa - tri - ci - um a - ctus au - gens

san-gui-nem pa - tri - ci - um a - ctus au - gens

he - cto - ris vi - res fran - git ho - sti - um an - nis di - gnus ne - sto - ris

he - cto - ris vi - res fran - git ho - sti - um an - nis di - gnus ne - sto - ris

he - cto - ris vi - res fran - git ho - sti - um an - nis di - gnus ne - sto - ris

| mode 1 also in *F,W2,LoA,Ma*

pro - bis pre - stans pre - mi - um.]

pro - bis pre - stans pre - mi - um.]

pro - bis pre - stans pre - mi - um.

†† alternative reading of cauda at end

(alternative readings follow)

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*opening cauda favoring iambic modes 2 and 3 from *F*, f. 211r, I; also implied by *W2* and *Clm.* 29775 (*W1*, *Ma*, *LoA* favor trochaic mode 1 here)

Tr: *W2: no Tr*

D: *W2: si,2li* *W2: si ' -* *W2: si,2li*

T: *W2: si,2li* *W2: si,2li* *W2: 3li*

Pre(sul)

**cauda following line 2 in iambic mode 2, from *F*, f. 211r, II; also implied by *W2*, *LoA*, *Ma*

Tr: *W2: no Tr*

D: *Ma: || precedes* *W2: si,2li*

T: (presidium)

†cauda following line 4 in iambic mode 2 with occasional mode-1 ligation in Tr, from *F*, f. 211r, III; also implied by *W2*, *Ma*, parts of *LoA*

Tr: *W2: no Tr* *LoA: mode 1: 3li,2li* *F: mode-1 phrase; LoA: mode 2 (2li,3li)* *LoA: si,2li,si=b,ag,g* *LoA: this g om; 3li,2li (mode1?) follow*

D: *W2: si,2li* *W2: si,2li*

T: *LoA: g,| om* *LoA: 3li*

(pretium)

Tr: *LoA: ' om; 3li,3li follow*

D: *Ma: || precedes* *W2: 2li,si*

T: *Ma: 3li*

††final cauda showing mixed iambic and trochaic modes, from *F*, f. 211v, I, with inconsistent support from *W2*, *LoA*, *Ma*

| *F*: mode 1 throughout Tr (mode 3 possible in last phrase); *LoA* similar up to end

Tr

D

T

(premium)

| *LoA*, *Ma*: 3li

| *F*, *LoA*, *Ma*: mode 3 implied; *W2*: mode 1 (3li, 2li, 2si, 3li);

| *F*, *LoA*: mode 1 also possible

| *F*, *W2*, *LoA*: mode 3 implied

| *F*: mode 3 also possible to end; *LoA*: si, 3li om

| *W2*: si, 2li, 2li, si; *LoA*: 3li, 2li, si; both show *abcbga*

| *Ma*: 3li, 2li, 3C

| *W2*: si *e*

| *F*: suggests mode 1; *W2*: 3si, 2li

| *W2*: si, 2li

PRESUL NOSTRI TEMPORIS

Conductus (C2/271)

W1, f. 72r (65r) (8,3) (Strophe I, complete) (= *F*, f. 211r [6,9])

I Presul nostri temporis	Bishop of our time,
patrie presidium	heaven's stronghold,
emulandi decoris	enviable in dignity
et virtutis pretium.	and virtue's prize;
sanguinem patricium	5 an act honoring Hector's
actus augens Hectoris	aristocratic blood
vires frangit hostium	breaks the power of the enemy hosts,
annis dignus Nestoris	worthy of Nestor in years,
probis prestans premium.	readying a reward for the deserving.

SOURCES:

W1, fasc. 8, no. 3, f. 72r (65r): a3; Strophe I, complete, headed by a large filigreed initial, contrasting with the undecorated ones of the pieces that immediately surround it; a significant number of the caudae here are cast into different rhythmic modes in the other sources, see the alternative versions given after the main transcription. For why *W1* is preferred over *F* as the base source of this transcription, see the observations on the music below.

F, fasc. 6, no. 9, f. 211r: a3; Strophe I, complete; a capital letter begins line 5.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 7, f. 115r: a2 (TD): Strophe I, complete; beginning initial never entered in the system-high space provided for it; there is a redundant final letter “m” placed at the end of the final system of the piece, after the overlaid cauda music has concluded.

LoA, part 2, no. 6, f. 87v: a3, Strophe I, complete, except for the loss of the opening two letters of text and a few notes from the D and Tr at the very beginning of the piece as well as the Tr over “[Pre]sul nostri” of line 1, due to the excision of its opening initial; empty staff lines take up part of the final system of the piece, with no indication (just as in the other sources) that one might include additional stanzas.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 1, f. 92r: a2 (TD): Strophe I, complete, opening with a historiated initial with a gold-leaf background depicting three (or perhaps four?) tonsured figures standing at a lectern facing a book being held open by the second individual, who is pointing to a place on the page. A capital letter begins line 5, similar to *F*.

*D-Mbs Clm. 29775 (14, ff. Br-Bv?)*¹ (no actual foliation indicated on the online resource, the indication comes from the CPI website): a3 (not a2 as given on the CPI website); fragmentary. This source is one of a series of three fragments under the signature *Clm. 29775 (14)*; the one in question here – the topmost parchment fragment of the three, based on the presentation of the library’s online images – presents on its recto side the Tr and part of the D of approximately the first 21L or so of the opening cauda, with a faded portion of the opening initial at the left in green paint. The verso contains all three parts and text of line 1,2 (“nostri”) through “presidi[um]” of line 2,2, with some fading at the end of the system. The remains of the system below show visible portions of the Tr and D only of lines 3,2-4,2. The lower two fragments of the library’s photographic set of three offer different compositions.

¹Sic. The unclosed parenthesis is intentional as per the library’s call number. Images of these fragments are available through this [link](#).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: As Anderson notes (*NDRC*, 1:xxv), the specific bishop who may be receiving the homage in this poem has not been identified, nor have any of the possible events to which this text may refer. Anderson's conjectures as to the prelate's age, class, and temperament, though, may not necessarily reflect the candidate, as the content of the poem may just as easily be honorific and symbolic rather than a literal description of its subject. Also possibly significant for identification is the fact that this piece follows directly on *O felix Bituria* (E8/232) in *F*-6, a work that honors the deceased bishop William of Bourges. If the candidate is Parisian and presumed alive at the writing of this encomium, he could be one of several contenders from between ca. 1200 (as the musical style suggests) and ca. 1245 (the proposed date of the compilation of *F*). It is even conceivable that this work might have been prompted by the scandal of the Paris bishop's election of 1227-28.² **Textual notes: 6,3:** Hector is the prince and warrior from Homer's *Iliad*; the greatest of all Trojan fighters, he was killed by Achilles, who from his chariot dragged Hector's corpse repeatedly before the walls of Troy. The other mythological figure in line 8, Nestor, also figures in the Homeric epics. **8,3:** Nestor is perhaps best known from the *Iliad*, although he also appears prominently in the *Odyssey*; he was renowned for his old age and wisdom. During the siege of Troy, Nestor was allied against the Trojans and thus presents a counterbalance to the reference to Hector in line 6. The juxtaposition of the two figures may imply that the dedicatee of the conductus poem was able to unite conflicting parties. Nestor and Hector are also mentioned in close proximity in the conductus *Pange melos lacrimosum* (I15/258), lines 22 and 24; see there for some more information.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: General remarks:** The sources show a discrepancy in the choice of rhythmic mode for several of the caudae – or portions thereof – in this piece. As Anderson, (*NDRC*, 1:xxv) notes, *W1* is given over nearly completely to the trochaic mode 1, *F* and *W2* primarily to the iambic modes 3 and 2, while *Ma* and *LoA* show mixtures from both types. The final cauda especially, in all MSS but *W1*, shows several series of first-mode ligatures within a context otherwise indicative of modes 3 and 2. As *W1* is the most consistent source in terms of rhythm, it has been chosen as the primary exemplar for the transcription, with alternative readings from other MSS provided at the end. Such modal mixtures conceivably could indicate incomplete transmutation from trochaic to iambic versions for both *F* and *W2*, but the situation is undeniably complex when all sources are considered (see the remarks in both the main score and in the alternative versions). **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T of last 3 phrases of opening cauda on “Pre[sul]” (line 1) = **1a.** similar T of later “patrie presidium” (line 2) = **1b.** similar T of whole following cauda on “[presidi]um” (line 2). There are also further instances of the latter figure in the D of the cauda following line 4 at L4 and L12. These occurrences are marked in the score. **Opening Cauda:** The resemblance in overall sound to the beginning of the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304) is rather striking. D: *W1*: first rest om, supplied from *F,LoA*; T: in the sixth phrase, at L25-27 following the double ', *W1* reads: 2li,2li,si; rhythm emended after *LoA,Ma*; perhaps significantly, this is the only place in the *W1* version of this piece that suggests a possible iambic mode. **2,1:** T: *W1*: over the second syllable of “[pa]tri[e]” reads 2li=*ec*; reading taken from *F,W2,LoA,Ma*. **Cauda following line 4:** for the 6L hocket section that starts about 16L into this cauda, faster values (LBLBLB) are also possible. **Cauda following line 5:** D,Tr: *LoA*: penultimate note is DL; D: *Ma*: penultimate = DL; FW2: 2B,2li=*g,g.ga* (*W2*: 1 of 2li el); Tr: *F*: DL. **Line 8,1-2:** Tr: *W1*: music for these two

²On this event, see Thomas B. Payne, “Chancellor versus Bishop: the Conflict between Philip the Chancellor and Guillaume d’Auvergne in Poetry and Music,” *Philippe le Chancelier: prédicateur, théologien, et poète parisien du début du XIII^e siècle*. Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d’histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

words 3 too high; emended after *F,LoA*. **Cauda after line 8:** T: F,W2,LoA,Ma: 2 si for the last two pitches of the cauda's fourth phrase at L20-21. **Final cauda:** Tr: W1: *cdf* for the 3li *def* opening phrase 5 at L19-20; taken from *F,LoA*.

NATURAS DEUS REGULIS – HIC PER MUNDUM
Conductus (C7/214)*F*, f. 211v (6,10): Strophes I-II a3; f. 286v (7,20): Strophes III-IV a2

This musical score is for a Conductus in F major, consisting of four strophes. It is written for three voices: Tenor (Tr), Inner Voice (I), and Treble (T). The notation is in 8-measure units. The lyrics are in Latin, and the score includes various musical notations such as clefs, notes, rests, and phrasing slurs. The lyrics are: [Na - tu - ras de - us re - gu - lis cer - tis a - strin - ge sta - tu - it. et a pre - scri - ptis for - mu - lis nul - lo co - na - tu po - tu - it ul - tra na - tu - ra pro - gre - di.]

Tr
I
T

[Na -
[Na -
Na -

[Na] - tu - ras de - us re - gu - lis
[Na] - tu - ras de - us re - gu - lis
[Na] - tu - ras de - us re - gu - lis

cer - tis a - strin - ge sta - tu - it. et a pre - scri - ptis for - mu - lis
cer - tis a - strin - ge sta - tu - it. et a pre - scri - ptis for - mu - lis
cer - tis a - strin - ge sta - tu - it. et a pre - scri - ptis for - mu - lis

nul - lo co - na - tu po - tu - it ul - tra na - tu - ra pro - gre - di.
nul - lo co - na - tu po - tu - it ul - tra na - tu - ra pro - gre - di.
nul - lo co - na - tu po - tu - it ul - tra na - tu - ra pro - gre - di.

vel per se ci - tra re - gre - di sed his li - ga - ri vin - cu - lis

vel per se ci - tra re - gre - di sed his li - ga - ri vin - cu - lis

vel per se ci - tra re - gre - di sed his li - ga - ri vin - cu - lis

i - pso - rum au - ctor no - lu - - it. qui re - tra - hit et tri - bu - it

i - pso - rum au - ctor no - lu - - it. qui re - tra - hit et tri - bu - it

i - pso - rum au - ctor no - lu - - it. qui re - tra - hit et tri - bu - it

1-*W1*: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

na - tu - ris quod vult

na - tu - ris quod vult

na - tu - ris quod vult

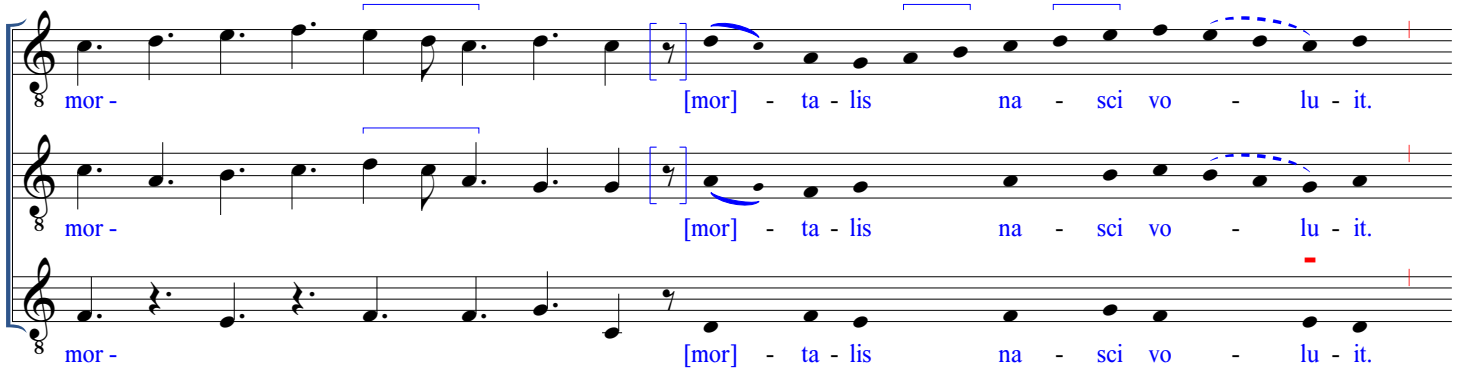
2-*MÜ382*: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

sin - gu - lis. sic er - go no - stris se - cu - lis

sin - gu - lis. sic er - go no - stris se - cu - lis

sin - gu - lis. sic er - go no - stris se - cu - lis

3-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end



mor - [mor] - ta - lis na - sci vo - lu - it.

mor - [mor] - ta - lis na - sci vo - lu - it.

mor - [mor] - ta - lis na - sci vo - lu - it.

4-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end



quod quod e - ter - nus

quod quod e - ter - nus

quod quod e - ter - nus

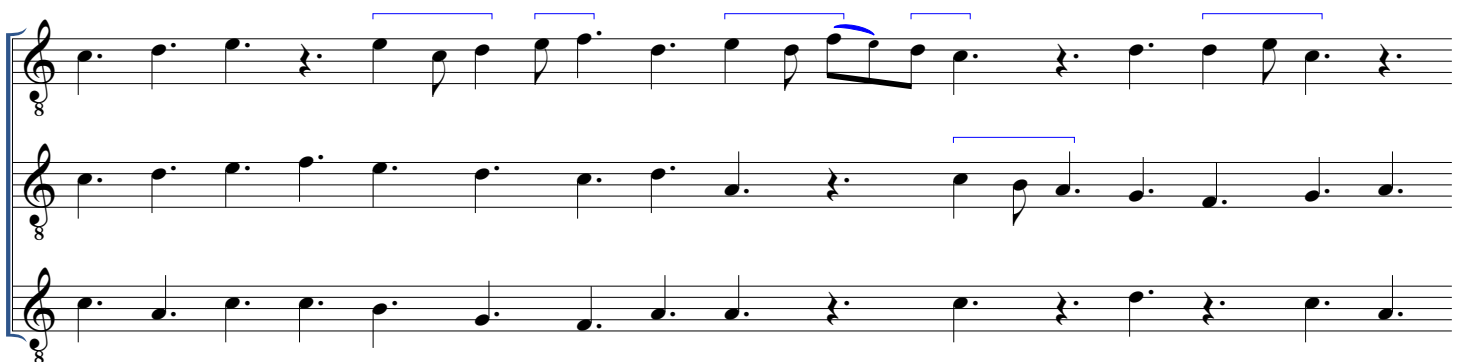
5-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end



ap - pa - ru - si si

ap - pa - ru - si si

ap - pa - ru - si si



ap - pa - ru - si si

ap - pa - ru - si si

ap - pa - ru - si si

- it.

- it.

- it.

6-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

Tr 8 Car -

II D 8 Car -

T 8 Car -

(1)

[Car]-nem sum - mens ex vir - gi - ne; tri-plex pan - dit mi - ste - ri - um.

[Car]-nem sum - mens ex vir - gi - ne; tri-plex pan - dit mi - ste - ri - um.

[Car]-nem sum - mens ex vir - gi - ne; tri-plex pan - dit mi - ste - ri - um.

mor - ta - lis est ex hom - mi - ne. quod clau-sum ma - net o - sti - um

mor - ta - lis est ex hom - mi - ne. quod clau-sum ma - net o - sti - um

mor - ta - lis est ex hom - mi - ne. quod clau-sum ma - net o - sti - um

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

quan - do par-tus e - gre -

- di - - tur. Spi - ri - ta - lis

- di - - tur. Spi - ri - ta - lis

- di - - tur. Spi - ri - ta - lis

8-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

o - sten - di - tur quod

o - sten - di - tur quod

o - sten - di - tur quod

9-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

si - ne pa - tris se - mi - ne

si - ne pa - tris se - mi - ne

si - ne pa - tris se - mi - ne

10-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

quod non ha - bet i - ni - ti - um. e - - ter - num te - nens

quod non ha - bet i - ni - ti - um. e - - ter - num te - nens

quod non ha - bet i - ni - ti - um. e - - ter - num te - nens

11-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

12-W1: alternative reading; see end

so - li - um sub di - vo si - ne teg - mi - ne

so - li - um sub di - vo si - ne teg - mi - ne

so - li - um sub di - vo si - ne teg - mi - ne

non e - gens me - di - ca - mi - ne

non e - gens me - di - ca - mi - ne

non e - gens me - di - ca - mi - ne

13-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

du - cit vir - go fi - li - um qui - a sa - lus est

du - cit vir - go fi - li - um qui - a sa - lus est

du - cit vir - go fi - li - um qui - a sa - lus est

14-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

om -

om -

om -

(BD1 optional for inclusion here; the same music a2 [TD] concludes the entire piece)

↓ T = melisma "[Vir]Go" of Gradual *Benedicta. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32) ...

Three staves of music (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) in F major. The music features various note values and rests, with blue brackets indicating phrasing. A red box highlights a measure in the Tenor part.

Continuation of the musical score for three staves. A blue dashed line indicates a 'chant quotation in T ends' with a downward arrow.

Continuation of the musical score for three staves, including Latin lyrics: "- mi -" and "- no.".

[PART 2: HIC PER MUNDUM]
[C7/214]

15-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end
F, f. 286v (7,20)

Two staves of music (D and T) with the word "Hic" written below each staff.

| D: F: 2R+2si; W1: 4li

Continuation of the musical score for two staves (D and T).

[Hic] per mun - dum in - gre - di - tur qui re - bus pre - est

[Hic] per mun - dum in - gre - di - tur qui re - bus pre - est

16-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

o - mni - bus. et

o - mni - bus. et

17-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

ab - iec - tus e - gre - di - tur po - tens pre ter - re re - gi - bus.

ab - iec - tus e - gre - di - tur po - tens pre ter - re re - gi - bus.

se - - i - - psum

se - - i - - psum

18-W1: alternative reading; see at end

ex - i - - na - ni - ens. su - o pa - tri o - be - di - ens

ex - i - - na - ni - ens. su - o pa - tri o - be - di - ens

19-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

hu - - mi - li - ter ex - e - qui - - tur.

hu - - mi - li - ter ex - e - qui - - tur.

20-W1: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

ut sic pro-sit hu - mi - li - bus in - si - nu - ans

ut sic pro-sit hu - mi - li - bus in - si - nu - ans

[illegible]

21-*WI*: alternative reading of cauda; see at end

IV

Quos

Quos

ab e - gy - pti co - phi - no

ab e - gy - pti co - phi - no

de - - us po - ten - ti - a - li - ter

de - - us po - ten - ti - a - li - ter

re - de - mit et [et] hu - mi - li - ter.

re - de - mit et [et] hu - mi - li - ter.

pro [pro] ser - vi - tu - tis ter - mi - no;

pro [pro] ser - vi - tu - tis ter - mi - no;

BD2

Be - - ne - - di - - ca - -

Be - - ne - - di - - ca - -

Be - - ne - - di - - ca - -

Be - - ne - - di - - ca - -

↓ T = melisma "[Vir]Go" of Gradual *Benedicta. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32) ...

- mus do -

- mus do -

... chant quotation in T ends ↓

- mi - - no.]

- mi - - no.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS FROM *W1* and *MÜ382* (unbracketed notes indicate *simplices*):1-cauda following line 9; *W1*, f. 99r (90r), I (Tr not converted); same reading of TD also in *MÜ382*:

(tribu)it

2-cauda on line 11,2; *MÜ382*, f. *2v, VI:

(er)go

3-cauda on line 12,1; *WI*, f. 99r (90r), II (Tr not converted); same reading of TD also in *MÜ382*:

Tr
D
T
mor(talis)

4-cauda on line 13,1; *WI*, f. 99r (90r), III (Tr not converted); same reading of TD also partially transmitted in *MÜ382*:

Tr
D
T
quod (eternus)

5-cauda following line 13,3 (closing Strophe I); *WI*, f. 99r (90r), III (Tr not converted):

Tr
D
T
(appa)ru(it)

Tr
D
T

6-cauda on line 14,1 (opening Strophe II); *WI*, f. 99r (90r), IV (Tr not converted):

Tr
D
T
Car(nem)

7-cauda on line 18,3; *WI*, f. 99v (90v), III (Tr only partially converted and end of cauda not converted):

Tr
D
T
(e)gre(ditur)

| conversion ends here in all parts

8-cauda on line 20,1; *WI*, f. 99v (90v), IV (rests om and 2 religations in Tr):

quod (sine patris)

9-cauda on line 20,4; *WI*, f. 100r (91r), I (Tr reconfigured):

(semi)ne

10-cauda on line 22,3; *WI*, f. 100r (91r), I (different alignment):

e(ternum)

11-cauda on line 23,2; *WI*, f. 100r (91r), II (NB: *only* Tr religated):

sub (divo)

or:

12-cauda on line 23,4; *WI*, f. 100r (91r), II (all parts converted):

(tegmi)ne

13-cauda on line 25,3; *WI*, f. 100r (91r), III (all parts converted):

Tr
D
T
(fili)um

14-cauda on line 26,4 (closing Strophe II); *WI*, f. 100r (91r), III (Tr and end of cauda not converted)

Tr
D
T
om(nium)

| conversion ends here in all parts

15-cauda on line 28,1 (opening Strophe III); *WI*, f. 100v (91v), I:

D
T
Pau(per)[=F: Hic]

16-cauda on line 28,4; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), II:

D
T
(omni)bus et

17-cauda on line 30,3; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), II (D not converted):

D
T
(egredi)tur

18-cauda on line 32,2; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), II:

ex - i - na - ni - ens

19-cauda on line 34,1; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), IV:

hu(militer)

20-cauda on line 35,1; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), V (D unconverted):

ut

21-cauda on line 38,2; *WI*, f. 100v (91v), VI (T reconfigured, D unconverted):

(in)fer - - nus

22-cauda on line 41,1 (opening Strophe IV); *WI*, f. 101r (92r), II (portions of T, much of D, not converted):

Quos

| T: *WI*: 3li=*cab*

Quos

NATURAS DEUS REGULIS – HIC PER MUNDUM

Conductus (C7/214)

F, f. 211v (6,10): Strophes I-II a3; f. 286v (7,20): Strophes III-IV a2

I	Naturas deus regulis certis astringi statuit, et a prescriptis formulis nullo conatu potuit ultra natura progredi, vel per se citra regredi. Sed hiis ligari vinculis ipsorum auctor noluit, qui retrahit et tribuit naturis quod vult singulis. Sic ergo nostris seculis mortalis nasci voluit, quod eternus apparuit.		God decreed that natural forces are to be constrained by established rules, and that nature cannot, on its own initiative, stray outside these prescribed regulations, nor retreat back within them. But their author, the one who takes from and gives to each natural force what he wishes, would not be bound by such chains. So therefore, he willed himself to be born into our world as a mortal, although he was manifestly immortal.
II	Carnem summens ex virgine, triplex pandit misterium: mortalis est ex homine, quod clausum manet ostium quando partus egreditur. Spiritalis ostenditur, quod sine patris semine, quod non habet initium, eternum tenens solium. Sub divo, sine tegmine, non egens medicamine, ducit virgo filium quia salus est omnium.	5 15 20 25	Taking on flesh from a virgin, he unfolds a triple mystery: as a mortal, he is from mankind, even though the gate stays closed when the child comes forth. He is shown to be of the spirit, because without the seed of a father and because he has no beginning, he is the keeper of the eternal throne. In the open, without a covering, not lacking a remedy, a virgin leads forth the son that is everyone's salvation.
BD1	(<i>Benedicamus domino.</i>)	27	(Let us bless the Lord.)
III	Hic per mundum ingreditur qui rebus preest omnibus, et abiectus egreditur. Potens pre terre regibus, seipsum exinaniens, suo patri obediens, humiliter exequitur, ut sic prosit humilibus, insinuans hominibus quod porta celi clauditur, et infernus exponitur, superbe resistentibus, se extra se querentibus.	30 35 40	He who presides over everything entered into the world and left it rejected. Powerful before all the kings of the earth, depleting himself and obedient to his father, he humbly pursues his end, so that he may benefit the humble, making it known to men that the door of heaven is closed, and that hell lies open to those, proudly resisting, who are seeking themselves outside of themselves.
IV	Quos ab Egypti cophino		God mightily and humbly

deus potentialiter
redemit et humiliter,
pro servitutis termino.

redeemed the ones from
the coffin of Egypt,
putting an end to their slavery.

BD2 *Benedicamus domino.*

45 Let us bless the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 10, f. 211v: Strophes I-II, a3; and fasc. 7, no. 20, f. 286v: Strophes III-IV, a2; complete, with II-IV headed by large capitals. The a3 and a2 segments of the piece are separated in this source, since its page layout does not provide for mixing together the differently scored portions. Strophe II additionally divides with a smaller capital letter at line 19 (shown by extra space in the text above). The *Benedicamus domino* cauda/clausula that closes the entire work (see further below), and which fits into the poem in that place, also appears a3 in *F* (with a Tr portion not seen in any other source) after strophe II, which shows no such correspondence. Both BD segments open with an upper-case letter. The two-voice section from later in the MS that begins Strophe III starts with a cue that reproduces the T and D over the opening *cum littera* segment of line 1. This and the following piece in *F*, *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati stat obvia* (C8/349), are in the same order in *W1*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 3, f. 98v (89v): a3, Strophes I-II; and a2, Strophes III-IV; with painted initials for each stanza (III begins “Pauper,” and the initial for IV is small and included as if an afterthought) and with filigree decoration for the initials heading III as well as I. The piece is essentially complete, although the *Benedicamus domino* segment occurs only once a2 at the end of Strophe IV, headed by a capital. Also in contrast to *F*, both the three-and two-voice sections occur consecutively in this source. Similar to *MÜ382*, below, there are different (usually faster) rhythmic readings given for many of the caudae in *W1*, see the remarks on the music below. This and the next piece in *W1* are in the same order in *F*.

The remaining sources do not include Strophes III-IV.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 1, f. 107r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-II only, with a painted initial decorated with tracery opening I and a large capital heading II; the closing *Benedicamus domino* shows no special indication.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 3, f. 96r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-II only, with capitals heading both II and the closing *Benedicamus domino*. Strophe II also shows a capital at line 19, as in *F*.

MÜ382 (*D-MÜu 382*; *Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 382*),¹ f. *2v (back flyleaf): a2 (TD); fragmentary; transmits music and text of Strophe I, from its start up through the first 7L of its cauda on line 13,1 (“quod”). As with *W1*, there are different (usually faster) rhythmic readings given for the extant caudae in this source, see the remarks on the music below.

Indirect transmission:

The cauda on “[Benedicamus] do[mino],” found a2 at the end of all of the non-fragmentary sources and additionally a3 after Strophe II in *F*, contains a so-called “hidden” clausula, with a portion of its T identical to

¹This source is an extant portion of a larger MS originally possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included *GB-Css 117**, *D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115*, *D-MÜu 382*, and *D-MÜu 378*. For information on these items and their relationships, see Eva Maschke, “Notre Dame Manuscripts and their History: Case Studies on Reception and Reuse,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southampton / Universität Hamburg, 2015), 87-131.

the melisma “[Vir]Go” from the gradual *Benedicta. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32).² This same cauda also occurs at the end of the first of the two versions of the conductus *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195) as transmitted in *W1*, fasc. 2, no. 8, f. 16r (12r): a3 (cited here if necessary as *W1A*). The second *W1* version of *Leniter*, without the BD cauda, is in fasc. 8, no.16, f. 81v (74v): a3. This clausula has no known concordances outside its appearances in conductus.

Text only:

The opening line of *Naturas deus* appears as the final verse (line 26) of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), the poem of which is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus. It is transmitted in the following sources:

F, fasc. 7, no. 73, f. 332r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 89, f. 174v (165v): a2; Strophes I-II, complete.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: the main theme of this poem is the contemplation of God’s power to overstep the laws of nature, laws that he himself enacted, in bringing about his incarnation in human form. For just a few examples of this commonly encountered paradox among the Parisian musical repertory, see the opening lines of the motets *Stupeat natura* (vdW 232/M14), and *Homo quam sit pura*, (vdW 231/M14, a contrafact of the previous piece), lines 13-14 – both works attributed by various means to Philip the Chancellor; see also the conductus *O felix Bitura* (E8/232), lines 25-32 (from Strophe IIb); *Pater noster commiserans* (H19/266), lines 18-20 (from Strophe II); nearly the entirety of *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), attributed to John of Hoveden (or Howden); the opening lines of the anonymous *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80); and *Nove geniture* (I13/224); see the parallel discussion of these concepts in the notes to *O felix Bituria*, lines 18 and 23-24. **1-13 (Strophe I):** significant portions of this stanza (lines 1-6, 8) are strikingly reflected in a passage from the Chronicle of the Benedictine abbey of Abington (for the identification, see Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song*, 59-62),³ a document with an end-date of 1189. Everist notes the difficulty of assigning priority to either the poem or the chronicle, but suggests, based on the invocation of *lectio difficilior*, that the chronicle seems more likely to have relied on the conductus than vice versa. **7-9:** cf. Job, 1:21.⁴ **14-26:** the “triple mystery” indicated here could be spelled out more clearly; it seems to include: 1) God co-existing in both human and divine form; 2) the doctrine of the Trinity, with Christ being equally one with God the Father and the Holy Spirit; and 3) the miraculous issuing of Jesus from the Virgin Mary, who retained her chastity even after giving birth. **14:** cf. the same wording in the following piece in *F-6*, *Transgressus legem – Veritati stat* (C8/359), line 20: “carnem summens ex virgine.” **17:** the closed gate is the Virgin’s womb; the same image in

²Identified in Manfred F. Bukofzer, “Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula,” *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953): 65-103, see 78-83.

³Mark Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song: Latin Poetry and Music in the Conductus* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁴Job, 1:21: “... Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est ... ” (“... the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away: as it has pleased the Lord so is it done”).

Ezekiel, 44:2, is often taken as a Marian symbol.⁵ **22,2:** “tenet,” found only in *Ma*, is equally serviceable as a reading: “he holds the eternal throne.” **24:** the reference to the “medicamen” (“remedy”/“medicine”) is somewhat unclear, but might mean that, although Mary gave birth to Christ under trying circumstances, his birth would eventually redeem mankind. Another possibility is that the word may be conceivably understood as connoting something similar to “sorcery,” as in the way the Douai-Rheims translation of the Vulgate renders it in Wisdom, 12:4: “... quoniam odibilia opera tibi faciebant per medicamina et sacrificia injusta ...” (“... because they did works hateful to thee by their sorceries, and wicked sacrifices ...”). Lastly, it could even suggest that Mary suffered no pain in giving birth, and thus needed no medication – and even if she appeared to lack it, she still possessed it. **27:** the interior BD1 is optional for performance, hence the parentheses in the translation of the text here; see also below in the discussion of the music. **28,1-2:** the reading of the text in *W1* is “Pauper,” which also makes excellent sense: “He entered the world poor ...” **31-34:** see Philippians, 2:8: “Humiliavit semet ipsum, factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis” (“He humbled even himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.”). **35-36, 39:** see I Peter, 5:5.⁶ **41-44:** cf. Exodus, 6:6.⁷

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** **17,4:** hostium, so spelled in all sources that contain it; emended editorially so as not to be confused with “hostis” (“enemy”). **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214) is one of five conductus that open in three voices and close with a section in two parts. The other pieces that exploit this feature are: *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati stat obvia* (C8/349), and *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256).⁸ **Modal transmutation:** A significant number of the caudae in *Naturas deus* are given in faster rhythmic values both in *W1* and in the extant portions of *MÜ382*, frequently with indications that not all voices in the complex, or sometimes only portions of them, have been converted to the faster rhythms; for details, see the alternative versions presented at the end of the transcription; see also the remarks below concerning the BD2 in *W1* at line 45. Such factors suggest strongly that the rhythmic readings found in *F* and the majority of the other sources may be the original redactions. **Line 11,3:** D: F: preceding ' om; from *W1, W2, Ma, MÜ382*. **12,1:** DTr: F: preceding ' om, from *W1*; *W2, Ma, MÜ382*: ' in D. **Cauda after line 18:** Tr: F, *W1*: after the end of the second phrase at L8, an extra si=e precedes; it may be accommodated, but would cause dissonance in this otherwise purely consonant segment (although the reading is in both extant sources). **Line 20,3:** D: the *b-natural* on “patris,” is implied (sometimes directly through a sig quad) in all sources. **22,1:** Tr: F, *W1*: the ' before the second syllable of “eternum,” om in both applicable sources, is restored editorially. **23,2:** T: F: ' om; from *W1, W2, Ma*. **26,4:** syllable division as in MS. **27 (BD1):** the interior BD1 is optional for performance, since the music for this section also appears at the very end of Strophe IV (as BD2), and since *W1* – the only other source to transmit the a2 sections of this piece – features the BD segment only at the close (as BD2). Conceivably, if the BD1 is omitted at the end of Strophe II, the a3 version of BD1 from *F* could be

⁵Ezekiel, 44:2: “Et dixit Dominus ad me: Porta haec clausa erit: non aperietur, et vir non transibit per eam, quoniam Dominus Deus Israel ingressus est per eam: eritque clausa” (“And the Lord said to me: This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it: because the Lord the God of Israel has entered in by it, and it shall be shut.”).

⁶I Peter, 5:5: “Similiter, adolescentes, subditi estote senioribus; omnes autem invicem humilitatem insinuate, quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam” (“Similarly, young men, be subject to the ancients; and all of you insinuate humility one to another, for God resists the proud, but to the humble he gives grace.”).

⁷Exodus, 6:6: “Ideo dic filiis Israel: ‘ego Dominus qui educam vos de ergastulo Aegyptiorum et eruam de servitute ac redimam in brachio excelso et iudiciis magnis’ ” (“Therefore say to the children of Israel: ‘I am the Lord who will bring you out from the work prison of the Egyptians, and will deliver you from bondage: and redeem you with a raised arm, and great judgments.’ ”).

⁸On these works, see Mark Everist, “Le conduit a nombre de voix variable (1150–1250),” *Les nocces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, eds. 329–344 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); and *idem*, “The Variable-Voice Conductus,” *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, Tess Knighton and David Skinner, eds., 195–220 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

performed at the close as an alternative. As indicated in the score, and above in the enumeration of the sources, part of the cauda on “do[mino]” uses a chant melisma in its T, thus incorporating a clausula. **Opening cauda, Strophe III:** D: F: the figure opening the ninth phrase at L25-L27 is written 2R+2si; *W1* has 4li. **Line 45 (BD2):** see also the remarks above for line 27 (BD1). In *W1*, the BD portion does not appear to have been transmuted in its rhythm. Although the T ligatures in *W1* frequently appear in series of 3li, reading them as LBL does not coordinate well enough with the D (even with attempts to render that voice in *fractio modi*) to suggest that the rhythms have actually been changed here. Rather, the 3li series in the T are to be read in the fashion of the common 3li'=3L,L(rest) tenor pattern seen frequently in motets; such an association seems fitting due to the incorporation of a clausula in this cauda. Interestingly, even though the 3li = mode 5 notation begins at the opening of the cauda before the clausula section starts, once it concludes, so does the ostinato T rhythm.

TRANSGRESSUS LEGEM DOMINI – VERITATI STAT OBVIA
Conductus (C8/349)*F, f. 214r (6,11): Strophe I a3; f. 288v (7,22): Strophes II-III a2*

Tr
I
T

[Trans -]
[Trans -]
Trans -

[Trans] - gres - sus
[Trans] - gres - sus
[Trans] - gres - sus

le - gem do - mi-ni quam de-dit de - us ho - mi-ni.
le - gem do - mi-ni quam de-dit de - us ho - mi-ni.
le - gem do - mi-ni quam de-dit de - us ho - mi-ni.

ho - mo di - gnus

ho - mo di - gnus

ho - mo di - gnus

ex - i - ci - o; re - le - ga - tur ex - i - li - o.

ex - i - ci - o; re - le - ga - tur ex - i - li - o.

ex - i - ci - o; re - le - ga - tur ex - i - li - o.

Sed fons mi-se - ri - cor - di - e

Sed fons mi-se - ri - cor - di - e

Sed fons mi-se - ri - cor - di - e

hu - ic me-di-an - te fi - li - o

hu - ic me-di-an - te fi - li - o

hu - ic me-di-an - te fi - li - o

This system consists of three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics 'hu - ic me-di-an - te fi - li - o' are written below the staves. There are blue bracketed annotations above the notes. A red 'B' is written above the first two notes of the middle staff. A red '[q]' is written above the final note of the middle staff.

fi - nem de-dit mi-se - ri - e.]

fi - nem de-dit mi-se - ri - e.

fi - nem de-dit mi-se - ri - e.

This system consists of three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics 'fi - nem de-dit mi-se - ri - e.]' are written below the staves. There are blue bracketed annotations above the notes. A red vertical line is at the end of the system.

[b]

b

This system consists of three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). There are blue bracketed annotations above the notes. A red '[b]' is written above the first note of the top staff. A red 'b' is written above the first note of the middle staff.

This system consists of three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). There are blue bracketed annotations above the notes. A red vertical line is at the end of the system.

[PART 2: VERITATI STAT OBVIA]*
[C8/359]

F, f. 288v (7,22)

*For the setting of Strophes II and III a3 in *Heid*, with its unique transmission of the unfinished Tr, see the alternative reading at the end of the transcription.

si per - i - tu - ram no - ve - rat

si per - i - tu - ram no - ve - rat

quam fa - ce - re non de - bu -

quam fa - ce - re non de - bu -

quam fa - ce - re non de - bu -

quam fa - ce - re non de - bu -

- it.

- it.

Er -

Er -

[Er] - go ver - bum in - car - na - ri

[Er] - go ver - bum in - car - na - ri

vult pa-ter ut re-for-ma - ri pos-sit ho - mi-nis sta - tus. est chri-stus

vult pa-ter ut re-for-ma - ri pos-sit ho - mi-nis sta - tus. est chri-stus

hu-ma-na - tus. car-nem sum - mens ex vir - gi-ne ab o-mni mun-da cri - mi-ne.

hu-ma-na - tus. car-nem sum - mens ex vir - gi-ne ab o-mni mun-da cri - mi-ne.

non fu - it mo - ri ve - ri - tus ut ho - mo mor - ti de - di - tus.

non fu - it mo - ri ve - ri - tus ut ho - mo mor - ti de - di - tus.

vi - ve-ret li - be-ra -

vi - ve-ret li - be-ra -

ALTERNATIVE READING:

*Heid, no. 7, f. 5r, III: fragmentary setting of Strophes II and III a3 with unique, unfinished Tr, and showing mensural properties

Tr
(II) D
T

[Ve] - ri - ta - ti stat ob - vi - a mi - tis mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

[Ve] - ri - ta - ti stat ob - vi - a mi - tis mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

[Ve] - ri - ta - ti stat ob - vi - a mi - tis mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

mode 3 mode 1

pro trans - gres - so - re sup - pli - cans

pro trans - gres - so - re sup - pli - cans

pro trans - gres - so - re sup - pli - cans

in - mit - tem de - um iu - di - cans si pror - sus

i - ta de - stru - it cre - a - tu - ram quam fe - ce - rat

si per - i -

- tu - ram no - ve - rat quam

fa - ce - re non de - bu -

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

Tr: Heid: nearly completely effaced to end of stanza

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

Tr: Er -

(III) D: Er -

T: Er -

[Er] - go ver - bum

[Er] - go ver - bum

[Er] - go ver - bum

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

na - ri vult pa - ter ut re - for - ri pos - sit ho - mi - nis

[in - car - na] - ri vult pa - ter ut re - for - ma - ri pos - sit ho - mi - nis

[in - car - na] - ri vult pa - ter ut re - for - ma - ri pos - sit ho - mi - nis

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

tus. est chri - stus hu - ma - na - tus. car - nem sum - mens ex

sta - tus. est chri - stus hu - ma - na - tus. car - nem sum - mens ex

sta - tus. est chri - stus hu - ma - na - tus. car - nem sum - mens ex

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

vir - gi - ne ab o - mun - da cri - mi - ne. ri - tus

vir - gi - ne ab o - mni mun - da cri - mi - ne. non fu - it mo - ri ve - ri - tus

vir - gi - ne ab o - mni mun - da cri - mi - ne. non fu - it mo - ri ve - ri - tus

| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

ut ho - mo mor - ti de - di - tus. vi - ve - ret li - be

ut ho - mo mor - ti de - di - tus. vi - ve - ret li - be - ra

ut ho - mo mor - ti de - di - tus. vi - ve - ret li - be - ra

| Tr: Heid: empty staff continues to the end | D: Heid: DL= d for 2si=d,d ?

L B L B L

L B L B L

L B L B L

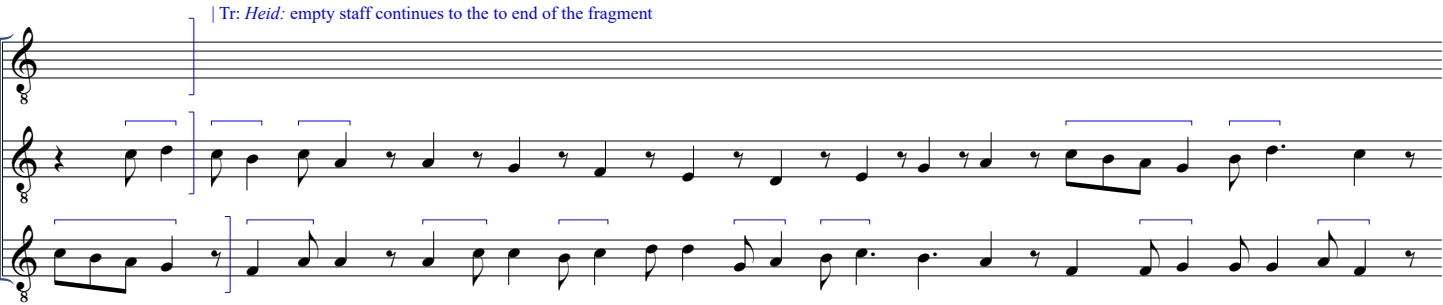
| T,D,Tr: Heid: cut away

L B L B L

L B L B L

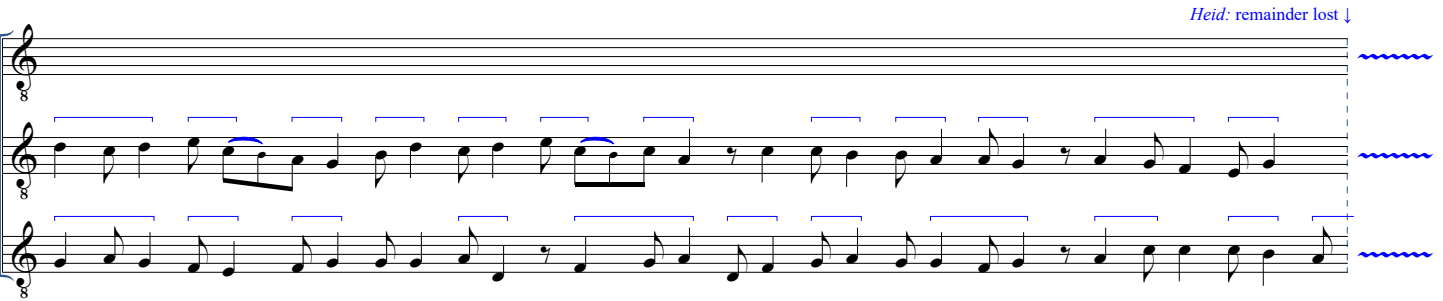
L B L B L

| Tr: Heid: empty staff continues to the to end of the fragment



This system contains three staves. The top staff is empty, with a blue bracket above it indicating it continues to the end of the fragment. The middle and bottom staves contain musical notation in 8/8 time, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and beams.

Heid: remainder lost ↓



This system contains three staves. The top staff is empty, with a blue bracket above it indicating it continues to the end of the fragment. The middle and bottom staves contain musical notation in 8/8 time, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and beams. The system ends with a dashed line and three blue wavy lines, indicating the remainder is lost.

TRANSGRESSUS LEGEM DOMINI – VERITATI STAT OBVIA

Conductus (C8/349)

F, f. 214r (6,11): Strophe I, a3; f. 288v (7,22): Strophes II-III, a2

I	Transgressus legem domini, quam dedit deus homini, homo, dignus exicio, relegatur exilio.		Having overstepped the law of the Lord that God gave to mankind, man, deserving ruin, is consigned to exile.
	Sed fons misericordie huic, mediante filio, finem dedit miserie.	5	But a stream of Mercy, put an end to this misery, with the Son's intervention.
II	Veritati stat obvia mitis misericordia, pro transgressore supplicans, inmittere deum iudicans si prorsus ita destruit creaturam quam fecerat. Si perituram noverat, quam facere non debuit.	10	Gentle Mercy, supplicating on behalf of the transgressor, stands firm in the face of truth, judging God to be cruel if he so utterly destroys the creature that he made. If he knew it was bound to perish, 15 he shouldn't have created it.
III	Ergo verbum incarnari vult pater, ut reformari possit hominis status. Est Christus humanatus, carnem summens ex virgine ab omni munda crimine. Non fuit mori veritus, ut homo, morti deditus, viveret liberatus.	20	Therefore, the Father wills the Word to become incarnate, so that the state of mankind can be reformed. Christ is made human, 20 taking on flesh from a virgin who is cleansed from all sin. He was not afraid to die, so that man, given up to death, 24 might live as one liberated.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 11, f. 214r: Strophe I a3; and *F*, fasc. 7, no. 22, f. 288v: Strophes II-III, a2, with II and III headed by capitals; the piece is complete overall, but the a3 and a2 segments of the work are separated in this source, since its page layout does not provide for mixing together the differently scored portions. The two-voice section from later in the MS begins with a cue that reproduces the T and D voices over the opening three words from the *cum littera* segment of line 1. Strophes II-III are shown by capitals, while I is divided by a capital beginning line 5 (indicated by extra space in the text above). This and the previous piece in *F*-6, *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), are in the same order in *W1*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 4, f. 101v (92v): Strophes I a3 and II-III a2 (TD), complete, with the stanzas indicated by painted initials. In contrast to *F*, both the three-and two-voice sections occur successively in this source. This and the previous piece in *W1*-9, *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), are in the same order in *F*.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 3, f. 110v: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, lacking its opening initial, and with empty horizontal spaces preceding line 5 (analogous to *F*) and line 7, suggesting initials may have been intended for these places, but with no other evidence of provision for them.

LoA, part 2, no. 9, f. 90r: a3: Strophe I only, with its illuminated opening initial intact and divided by a capital beginning line 5, as in *F*.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 11, f. 116r: Strophes I-III complete, but all a2 (TD), beginning with a major illuminated initial featuring gold leaf, with I divided by a capital at line 5, as is *F*, and with II and III capitalized.

Heid (D-HEu 2588; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 2588), no. 7, beginning on f. 4v, continuing onto 4r, and then running in normal sequence through ff. 5r-6v:¹ This source transmits Strophes I-III, mostly complete and mostly a3 throughout (and thus with a unique though unfinished Tr for II and III), but with portions throughout either illegible or missing due to wear, wormholes, or excision.² Strophe I is headed by a very faded painted initial, and II and III have ink capitals (the last very worn). The final caudae of Strophes II and III, furthermore, often show patches of especially thorough wear and even omissions in the newly supplied Tr staff, the copying of which appears never to have been completed by the scribe. The MS primarily uses modal notation in its cauda portions, but shows mensural distinctions in *cum littera* contexts and in melismatic passages that feature *simplices* and repeated notes.

Lost transmission:

Cited in a lost “*minimus liber vetus*” (“a tiny old book”) containing Notre Dame music (see Rebecca A. Baltzer, “Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found.” *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987): 380-399, at 382).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: **1-4:** the downfall of man and the inculcation of original sin, as related in Genesis, 3. **5-7:** flowing water is a familiar symbol for Christ, see the remarks on the text of *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in*

¹The numbering of the leaves and their sides is based on the library’s current foliation in the images of these fragments that are available online [here](#). This enumeration does not always indicate the original sequence of the leaves. Other resources (including the CPI website, DIAMM, and Anderson, *NDRC*) may show different foliations. For DIAMM (the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music), go to <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/>.

²The following details of the preservation of the specific portions of this work may help guide consultation of the online images referred to in the previous note. After opening the piece on the last system of f. 4v (sic), which presents the first 44L of the opening cauda, the following portions of *Transgressus legem – Veritati stat* are absent from *Heid* due to trimming, wear, or scribal omission: **1)** from f. 4r (sic): ca. L45-L48 of the opening cauda; **2)** text and music over the first syllable of line 2,2 (“dedit”); **3)** second syllable of 3,2 (“dignus”); **4)** ca. L11-L13 of the cauda after 4,2 (“exilio”); **5)** the final rest stroke for the cauda after 5,3 (“misericordie”); **6)** from f. 5r (continuing from 4r) through f. 5v: no omissions in T and D from “huic mediante filio” (line 6) up through the first 18L of the cauda on 15,4 (“debuit”); the newly minted Tr, however, is complete up through ca. 18L at the start of the cauda, but with much of the rest of it on this page nearly invisible due to wear; **7)** from f. 6r: L19-L22 of the cauda on 15,4 (“debuit”) is gone in all parts, with the Tr continuing to be extremely faint in places (or never entered) for the remainder of this cauda and for the first 4L of the cauda opening Strophe III at 16,1 (“Ergo”); **8)** ca. L5-L8 of the cauda opening Strophe III at line 16,1 (“Ergo”); **9)** the two opening syllables of line 16,3 (“incarnari”); **10)** the first syllable of 18,3 (“status”); the folio concludes with 20,3 (“ex [virgine]”), with the severely faded remains of the Tr present since at least the start of Strophe III; **11)** from f. 6v: in addition to the faded Tr, all but the first letter of 22,2 (“mori”) is missing up through the first syllable of 22,4 (“[ve]ritus”); **12)** in the T and D: the last note before the closing cauda to Strophe III through the first 6-8L of the same cauda is cut away; and all traces of any Tr entries disappear for the rest of the piece after 10L into this same cauda; **13)** ca. L34-L39 of the final cauda is cut away in all parts; **14)** the last bit of the piece is ca. L69 of the closing cauda; hence ca. the last 15L of the final cauda and the concluding *punctus organi* are no longer preserved.

testa (C6/304), lines 10–12. **8–24:** here, in Strophes II and III, a personified Mercy is the instigator of the incarnation (as suggested earlier in lines 5–7), wherein God takes pity on mankind and moves to save it, despite its deserving the ruin it brought upon itself. Stanza III is filled with frequently encountered expressions on Christ’s birth from a virgin and his humanity, suffering, and sacrifice. **8–9:** cf. Psalm 84:11: “Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; iustitia et pax osculatae sunt” (“Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed.”); and lines 34–37 (from Strophe IV) of the conductus *Purgator criminum* (F2/277): “Occurrens veritas / misericordie / pacisque bonitas / iuncta iusticie” (“Truth is running to meet Mercy and the goodness of Peace is joined to Justice”). **16:** see John, 1:14: “Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis ...” (“And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us ...”). **20:** cf. the same wording in the previous piece in F, *Naturas deus – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), line 14: “carnem summens ex virgine.”

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 6,1: “huic” is considered a monosyllable in terms of the poetic structure, but is set as a disyllable in the musical setting. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati stat obvia* (C8/349) is one of five conductus that open in three voices and close with a section in two parts. The other pieces that exploit this feature are: *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), and *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256).³ **The Heid transmission a3:** Because the Heidelberg fragments present significant portions of Strophes II and III in a three-part redaction with a (regrettably unfinished) Tr voice not seen in any other source, the setting of these stanzas from this MS is provided in an alternative reading at the end of the main transcription. **Opening cauda:** the prevalence of rests of various lengths (including imperfect ones) and hocket in this melisma makes it very difficult to ascertain the rhythms without recourse to the mensural indications in *Heid*, which has been used here to cut down on time spent experimenting with various alignments of parts. D: F: in the fourth phrase, the five unison *d*’s beginning at L18 are grouped spatially as 2si,3B; farther along, at L25, the extra extension of the siP=abP to 2L is suggested by *Heid*. **Line 1,2:** T: the *b-flat* sig appears in *W1,W2,Ma,Heid*. **2,2:** F: the appearance of specified rhythms in this *cum littera* segment is due to the 2si=c,d in the Tr. **3,3:** Tr: F: in the C figure on “[exi]ci[o],” F C figure starts with an additional *d*, omitted here, making a 7C scalar descent from *d-e*. **6,1:** see the remarks at this place in the observations on the text, above. **Cauda after line 6:** D: F: the system change with no flat beginning the second phrase shows an erased *b-flat* sig. T: F: the om *f* at L7 comes from *W1,W2,Ma,Heid*. **Cauda after line 7:** D: F: the suggested flat starting the second phrase at L5 is from *W1,W2,Ma,Heid*. T: F: the si=g at the end of phrase 3, at L12, is faint. **20,2:** F: the appearance of specified rhythms in this *cum littera* segment is due to the 2si=c,d in the D. **22,3:** F: specified rhythms in this *cum littera* segment due to the 2si=a,g in the T. **24,2:** TD: F: the extension of the figures signaled in the score on the penultimate note before the final cauda are not as apparent as those in use elsewhere; *Heid*, however, supports the reading and performance of them as such.

³On these works, see Mark Everist, “Le conduit a nombre de voix variable (1150–1250),” *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiéu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, eds., 329–344 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); and *idem*, “The Variable-Voice Conductus,” *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, Tess Knighton and David Skinner, eds., 195–220 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

PATER NOSTER QUI ES IN CELIS

Lord's Prayer a3 (G2/265)

*F, f. 215r (6,12)** [b] [b]

Tr [Pa -

D [Pa -

T Pa -

si si

[Pa] - ter no - ster qui es in ce - lis; san-cti-fi - ce - tur

[Pa] - ter no - ster qui es in ce - lis; san-cti-fi - ce - tur

[Pa] - ter no - ster qui es in ce - lis; san-cti-fi - ce - tur

no - men tu - um. ad-ve - ni - at re - gnum tu - um. fi - at vo-lun-tas

no - men tu - um. ad-ve - ni - at re - gnum tu - um. fi - at vo-lun-tas

no - men tu - um. ad-ve - ni - at re - gnum tu - um. fi - at vo-lun-tas

*The Tr is transmitted only in *F* and *Heid*, and may be regarded as optional, as all other sources (*W1, W2, Ma, GB-Llp 752*) present the piece in two parts.

tu - a si - cut in ce - -lo

tu - a si - cut in ce - -lo

tu - a si - cut in ce - -lo

This system contains the first three staves of the musical score. Each staff has a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are 'tu - a si - cut in ce - -lo'. The music is in 8/8 time, with a key signature of one flat (F major/D minor). The first staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The second staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The third staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes.

et in ter - ra.

et in ter - ra.

et in ter - ra.

This system contains the next three staves of the musical score. The lyrics are 'et in ter - ra.'. The music continues in 8/8 time. The first staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The second staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The third staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes.

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

This system contains the next three staves of the musical score. The lyrics are 'Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te'. The music continues in 8/8 time. The first staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The second staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The third staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes.

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te

This system contains the final three staves of the musical score. The lyrics are 'Pa - nem no - strum co - ti - di - a - num da no - bis ho - di - e. et di - mit - te'. The music continues in 8/8 time. The first staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The second staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes. The third staff has a blue bracket over the first four notes and a red bracket over the last four notes.

| TD: the presence (and absence) of accidentals for this passage is consistent through the MSS, despite the cross relations that result.

no - bis de-bi-ta no - stra.

no - bis de-bi-ta no - stra.

no - bis de-bi-ta no - stra.

si - cut et nos

si - cut et nos

si - cut et nos

di - mit - ti - mus de - bi-to-ri - bus no - stris. et ne nos in - du-cas in tem - pta-ti -

di - mit - ti - mus de - bi-to-ri - bus no - stris. et ne nos in - du-cas in tem - pta-ti -

di - mit - ti - mus de - bi-to-ri - bus no - stris. et ne nos in - du-cas in tem - pta-ti -

- o - nem.

- o - nem.

- o - nem.

sed li-be-ra nos a

sed li-be-ra nos a

sed li-be-ra nos a

ma - lo. A-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men

ma - lo. A-men a-men a-men a-men a - men a - men a - men a - men

ma - lo. A-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men

a-men a - men a - men a - men a-men a-men a-men a-men A - meN.]

a-men a - men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men a-men A - meN.]

a-men a - men a - men a - men a-men a-men a-men a-men A - - meN.

PATER NOSTER QUI ES IN CELIS

Lord's Prayer a3 (G2/265)

F, f. 215r (6,12)

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 inducas in
temptationem. Sed libera nos a malo.

Amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy
name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on
earth as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us
our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And
lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from
evil.

Amen.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 12, f. 215r: a3, complete, with a Tr voice that otherwise appears only in *Frankfurt*, below. A capital letter heads “Panem”; a smaller capital begins the “Amen” section (both divisions signaled by extra space in the text above). The following work in *F*-6, *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256), also contains a Tr found among the central sources only in *F*, and both *Pater noster* and *Ortu regis* succeed each other in *F* and *GB-Llp* 752, but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 41, f. 122v (113v): a2 (TD), complete. A painted initial heads “Panem,” a capital begins “Sed.”

W2, fasc. 6, no. 9, f. 112v: a2 (TD), complete; a largish abbreviated initial begins “Et in terra”; a capital letter heads “Panem”; this piece is followed immediately by the conductus *Ave Maria gratia plena* (II) (G7/29), showing two liturgical texts in succession.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 8, f. 116r: a2 (TD), complete; no divisions are signaled in the text and the opening initial was never executed.

Frankfurt (*D-F Fragm.lat.VI.41; Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. VI.41*),¹ no. 3, f. Dr-v: a3 with the same Tr as in *F*, the only other source to preserve this voice part; fragmentary; each page transmits segments of the piece with significant intermittent losses to the leaf (amounting to approximately one third of the writing block, top to bottom). On f. Dr, text and music survive for “[panem n]ostrum cotidianum,” “demitte nobis debita,” and approximately the last 18L of the cauda that follows “debita nostra.” On f. Dv, material remains for “Sicut et nos dimitt[imus],” “nostris et ne nos indu[cas],” and the last syllable of “[temptatio]nem” through ca. 18L of the succeeding cauda. Within the extant materials, a capital heads “Sicut et nos.”

GB-Llp 752 (*London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 752*),² no. 4, f. Bv: a2 (TD), fragmentary; extant is a single

¹Fragments originally bound into Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. oct. 94. The sequence of the three extant pieces and their foliation are given according to Martin Staehelin, “Conductus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift in Frankfurt a. M.,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1987* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 177-192 + plates. Eva M. Maschke, furthermore, has connected these fragments with the remains of a further MS, now *US-NYcub N-66*, see her “Neue Conductus Fragmente aus dem ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Frankfurt am Main,” *Studi Musicali: Nuova serie* 1,2 (2010): 295-312. The Frankfurt fragments may be consulted online via: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-274391>.

²Online images of *GB-Llp* 752 are available via DIAMM at: <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/451/#/>.

system at the bottom of the leaf, containing the opening cauda, but missing its decorated initial, opening Tt syllable, and first D note, continuing up through the Tt and music of the third word “qui.” *Pater noster* and the previous work in *GB-Llp 752*, *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256), follow each other in *F-6* and *GB-Llp 752*, but in reverse order.

Text only: since this is a biblical and liturgical passage, further text sources are legion.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: the words come directly from the Lord’s Prayer, which forms part of the Ordinary of the Mass; for the biblical source, see Matthew, 6:9-13; and cf. Luke, 11:2-4, which gives a curtailed version. This is one of the very few prose texts in the Parisian conductus repertory; all told, they include *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265), *Ave Maria gratia plena (II)* (G7/29), *Deus pacis et dilectionis* (J44/93), and *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9); like the work under consideration, all have close ties to texts of liturgical or ceremonial items.

Variants: TEXT: F: no variants. Tt: F: In addition to the divisions by capitals signaled above in the list of sources, the final instance of the closing word, “Amen,” has its last letter enlarged, as shown in the music transcription. **MUSIC: General remarks:** the style of this piece seems rather old fashioned at times (frequent fourths, not-so-smooth rhythms, awkward leaps, for example), but perhaps much of this is due to presence of the possibly later added Tr part in *F*. The Tr doesn’t always seem to work well with other parts (see especially “et ne nos” where it doubles at the fourth – also encountered elsewhere in this piece). On the other hand, notice the apparent hocket between D and Tr in last cauda of Str. I, which suggests cohesion. Re-alignment of syllables within ligatures seems especially appropriate for this piece in many instances, particularly in the scalar 3C falls. **“Voluntas tua”:** F: Tr: the dissonances beginning the second word sound appropriate given its function as a penultimate prior to the cadence on its second syllable. **Cauda after “et in terra”:** T: F, W1: the penultimate note, si=c, om; supplied from *W2, Ma*; Frankfurt: also om, but the prior *c* (the 1 of 2li=c*d*) is much el; lost from *Llp 752*. **Cauda after “celo”:** T: F: the rest after the final note is om; supplied from *W1, W2, Ma*, lost from *Frankfurt, Llp 752*. **Cauda after “debita nostra”:** TD: the presence (and absence) of *b-flat* signatures in these two voices in this passage is fairly consistent among the relevant sources (i.e., all but *Llp 752*). Also, *Ma*, through its implementation of *b-natural* sigs, suggests that the only time *b-flat* seems explicitly called for is in the T at L 11 and in the D at L14, the sole places it is indicated in *F*. Despite the somewhat uncomfortable cross relations that result, this passage has been left alone in terms of editorial interference. – D: F: the editorially suggested *b-naturals* in L21 of this melisma, that then move into “sicut [et nos]” are implied in *W1*, written out in *W2, Ma, Frankfurt*, and do not survive in the fragment of *Llp 752*. **Final “Amen” section:** the voices with differing numbers of pitches per syllables in the D and occasionally the Tr can be handled in a variety of ways, as given here with different syllables sounded at the same time, or by echoing the syllable sounding in the T part, regardless of meaning (“a-” “a-” “a-”). The choice made in the transcription therefore presents just one option. D: F: At the end of the first phrase (with the fourth sounding of “amen”), the suggested *b-natural* is implied in *W2, Ma* (and is absent from *Frankfurt* and *Llp 752*); *W1* has implied *b-flat*.

ORTU REGIS EVANESCIT – VERIS HYEMPS
Conductus (G3/256)

F, f. 216r (6,13): Strophes I-II a3; f. 307v (7,38): Strophe III a2*

Tr
I D
T

[Or -
or: , ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

[Or -
Or -

- tu re - gis e - va - ne - scit le - gis
- tu re - gis e - va - ne - scit le - gis
- tu re - gis e - va - ne - scit le - gis

nu - bes in - vo - lu -
nu - bes in - vo - lu -
nu - bes in - vo - lu -

- ta. ve - ra di - es e - lu - ce - scit
- ta. ve - ra di - es e - lu - ce - scit
- ta. ve - ra di - es e - lu - ce - scit

**F* is unique in transmitting the Tr, so it may be regarded as optional for performance. The opening cauda's midsection differs in all MSS, and a verbatim rendering of the Tr in *F* seems problematic. The *F* version given here is therefore emended for greater rhythmic consistency, prompted by the reading of the third phrase of the D in *Ma*. See the end of the transcription for literal representations of the opening cauda from all the extant sources.

um - bra no - ctis dis-so-lu - ta. ro -

um - bra no - ctis dis-so-lu - ta. ro -

um - bra no - ctis dis-so-lu - ta. ro -

- sa pro - du - xit li - li - um. et ho-no - rem con - val -

- sa pro - du - xit li - li - um. et ho-no - rem con - val -

- sa pro - du - xit li - li - um. et ho-no - rem con - val -

- li - um ca-sti-ta - te non so -

- li - um ca-sti-ta - te non so -

- li - um ca-sti-ta - te non so -

| mode 3 seems possible for these three phrases, but worse consonance results

- lu -

- lu -

- lu -

**the T of *W/I* alone implies mode 2 for these three phrases; see alternative version at end

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The first staff has a red [4] marking under a quarter note. Blue phrasing slurs are placed over various groups of notes across all three staves.

Three staves of music. The first staff has a red 'si' marking above a note. The second and third staves have the lyric '- ta.' at the end. Blue phrasing slurs and a red dash are present. A blue dashed slur connects a note on the second staff to a note on the third staff.

Three staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'Tr' and the second 'II D'. The third staff is labeled 'T'. All three staves have the lyric 'Hec est' below them. A red 'b' marking is above a note on the first staff. Blue phrasing slurs and a red dash are present. Blue dashed slurs are present on the second and third staves.

Three staves of music. The first staff has the lyric 'ro - sa ve - nu - sta - tis que' below it. The second and third staves also have the lyric 'ro - sa ve - nu - sta - tis que' below them. A red 'b' marking is above a note on the first staff. Blue phrasing slurs and a red dash are present. Blue dashed slurs are present on the second and third staves.

pro - du-cto ce - li flo-re te -

pro - du-cto ce - li flo-re te -

pro - du-cto ce - li flo-re te -

- net de - cus ca - sti - ta - tis. et in par-tu san-cti - o -

- net de - cus ca - sti - ta - tis. et in par-tu san-cti - o -

- net de - cus ca - sti - ta - tis. et in par-tu san-cti - o -

- re ex - ul - tat

- re ex - ul - tat

- re ex - ul - tat

pri - vi - le - gi - o. nul-lo de-lu - sa vi - ti - o

pri - vi - le - gi - o. nul-lo de-lu - sa vi - ti - o

pri - vi - le - gi - o. nul-lo de-lu - sa vi - ti - o

ce - li per - fu - sa

ce - li per - fu - sa

ce - li per - fu - sa

***for this phrase, mode 3 yields better consonance with typical ligature readings; *Ma* has TD in mode 1; see alternative reading at end | mode 1

ro -

ro -

ro -

ro -

ro -

ro -

- re.]
- re.
- re.

Veris hyemps et cetera.
Quere infra

[PART 2: VERIS HYEMPS ETERNALIS]
[G3/256]

F, f. 307v (7,38)

III
S
T
Ve-ris hy - emps e - ter - na - - lis e-lar - gi - tur di - vi -
Ve-ris hy - emps e - ter - na - - lis e-lar - gi - tur di - vi -

- ti - - as.
- ti - - as.

ce-dit ri - gor hy - e-ma-lis. et in flo - ris de - li - ti -
ce-dit ri - gor hy - e-ma-lis. et in flo - ris de - li - ti -

- as se re - sol - vi
- as se re - sol - vi

gra-tu - la -
gra-tu - la -

- tur. gau-det qui - dem et mi - ra-tur flo-rem non vi - - sum. a -

- tur. gau-det qui - dem et mi - ra-tur flo-rem non vi - - sum. a -

- li - - as.]

- li - - as.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Literal readings of the opening caudae in all extant sources, highlighting their different ligations:

a. *F*, f. 216r (here includes D ligature om in the above *F* transcription)

Tr

D

T

Or[tus]

[k] [h] [D: 2li=ag jettisoned in above *F* reading] [k]

b. *W1*, f. 126r (117r)

D

T

Or[tus]

TD: ligation differs here from other MSS

si si

c. *W2*, f. 101v

D

T

Or[tus]

D: ligation differs here from other MSS

d. *Ma*, f. 81rD: reading differs here from other MSS (serves as basis for *F* reading in main transcription above)

Or[tus]

**Strophe I, closing cauda, midsection with mode-2 readings in T of *WI*:*WI*, f. 126v (117v), IV

(non solu)[ta]

***Strophe II, closing cauda, mode-1 reading from *Ma*, against mode 2 in other sources:*Ma*, f. 82r, IV

(non solu)[ta]

ORTU REGIS EVANESCIT – VERIS HYEMPS

Conductus (G3/256)

F, f. 216r (6,13): Strophes I-II a3; *F*, f. 307v (7,38): Strophe III a2

I	Ortu regis evanescit legis nubes involuta; vera dies elucescit, umbra noctis dissoluta. Rosa produxit lilium et honorem convallium, castitate non soluta.		With the birth of a king, the obscure cloud of the Old Law vanishes; a true day begins to shine, now that the shadow of night is dissolved.
		5	The rose has produced the lily and honor of the valleys, with her chastity undisturbed.
II	Hec est rosa venustatis, que, producto celi flore, tenet decus castitatis; et in partu sanctiore exultat privilegio, nullo delusa vitio, celi perfusa rore.	10	She is the rose of loveliness, who, having produced heaven's flower, maintains the distinction of chastity; and she, deceived by no vice, and drenched with the dew of heaven, rejoices in the privilege inherent in that very holy birth.
III	Veris hyemps eternalis elargitur divitias. Cedit rigor hyemalis, et in floris delitias se resolvi gratulatur. Gaudet quidem, et miratur florem non visum alias.	15	Winter bestows the bounty of an eternal spring. The wintry freeze departs, and gives thanks that it is released into the delights of the flower.
		20	It rejoices indeed, and it marvels at a flower never seen before.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 13, f. 216r: Strophes I-II, a3; *F*, fasc. 7, no. 38, f. 307v: Strophe III, a2; the piece is complete, but the a3 and a2 segments of the piece are separated in this source, since its page layout does not provide for mixing together the differently scored portions. Of the other conductus that survive as a3+a2 works (see further below), *F* is the sole source for the Tr of *Ortu regis – Veris hyemps*. The two-voice setting of Strophe III from later in *F* begins with a cue that reproduces the T and D over the opening two words from the *cum littera* segment of line 1. After the conclusion of the opening a3 segment of the piece, on f. 217v, there is a rubric (likely in a different hand) entered under an empty portion of the T staff, in line with the verbal text, and extended into the right margin, that reads: “Veris hyemps et cetera. Quere infra” (“for *Veris hyemps* and the rest, seek below”), telling the reader that the concluding a2 sections of this and the four other a3+a2 conductus (all of which have appeared previously in *F*-6) are given farther along in the MS. Following the a3 section of *Ortu regis*, f. 217v of *F* concludes the leaf with an entire system of completely empty staff lines, a phenomenon not yet encountered in *F*-6, and evident in the interior of a fascicle only once before in the whole MS.¹ The following page then opens with the next work, *Ortus summi peracto gaudio* (F4/257), although not at the start of a gathering. The previous piece in *F*-6, *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265) also contains a Tr found only in *F* among the central sources, and both *Pater noster* and *Ortu regis* lie together but in reverse order in *F* and *GB-Llp* 752.

¹The only other comparable occurrence happens on f. 66v, with the nearly two-system empty gap between the organa dupla *Descendit de celis. Tamquam sponsus. Gloria patri* (O2) and *Verbum. In principio, Gloria patri* (O3); the other prior empty systems visible in *F* on ff. 10v-11r and 165r of *F* concern pieces with unfinished parts.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 45, f. 126r (117r): a2 (TD); Strophes I-III complete, but only in two parts, as are all other sources but *F*; a (marginal) painted initial for Strophe III was never entered, so the omission is not obvious.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 9, f. 81r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-III complete; there is space intended for absent, system-high initials to open I and III, and also likely for II, which begins mid-system with a small guide-letter “h” that may be in a different hand and ink.

W2, fasc. 6, no.5, f. 101v: a2 (TD); Strophes I-III complete, with II and III signaled by capitals.

GB-Llp 752 (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 752),² no. 3, f. Br-v: a2 (TD); fragmentary, with most of Strophe II extant.³ These portions are then followed by a likewise fragmentary, two-voice transmission of the conductus *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265), also adjacent to this work in *F*, but in reverse order. Interestingly, Strophe II of *Ortu regis*, as presented in this source, appears to present an independent piece; it begins with a painted, filigreed initial comparable to those in *F*, and is preceded by remains of the last two lines and closing cauda of *Austro terris influente* (G1/26). There is thus no trace of either Strophes I or III of *Ortu regis* in these fragments, and the extent of the transmission thus conforms to the contrasting musical setting of Strophe II in *LoD* (given below).

Text only:

LoD (*GB-Lbl Add. 27630*),⁴ no. 19, f. 15v (34) a2; Strophe II (“Haec est rosa venustatis”), with its last 2 lines (13-14) never included, in a completely unrelated, separate musical setting, with the poem underlaid individually to both parts. For a similar transmission situation, where Strophe II is preserved independently from the others of *Ortu regis*, see the discussion of *Llp752*, above. Rubric: “Item [i.e. *versus*] super A[ntiphonam – *Ave regina caelorum*?] primi vel secundi [toni]” (“Another [*versus*] on the A[ntiphon], first or second [tone]”).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-4: the king is Christ; the figure of his incarnation (often with reference to the Virgin as a necessary accessory) as both a fulfillment of and a replacement of the Mosaic law of the Old Testament is a commonplace. See, for a few examples within the conductus repertory, the notes to lines 19-22 of the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), *F*-6,2. A more complete list of Old-versus-New-Law conductus, as well as a reference to my article on the topic, is included in my notes to the text of *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192). **5-6:** see Song of Songs, 2:1: “Ego flos campi et lilium convallium” (“I am the flower

²Online images of *GB-Llp 752* are available via DIAMM at: <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/451/#/>.

³The specific content of the surviving material follows: f. Br begins with the opening of Strophe II (line 8), continuing up through the first 16-20L or so of the cauda on the first syllable of line 10 (“te[net]”); however all but the first 4L of the cauda that closes line 8 (on “venustatis”) is missing from the folio due to trimming. The verso, beginning with a further loss, contains the T, with most of the D cut away, of line 11,3 starting with its penultimate syllable (“[casti]tatis”) and continuing with the rest of line 11 on its first system. The following two of the four systems on the leaf give both T and D beginning with line 12,2 (“privilegio”) up through the cauda ending Strophe II (“rore”), with the loss of some bits of intervening material due to marginal trimming; much of line 13 is also gone thanks to a large, angled hole cut into main body of the folio.

⁴For a study of this MS, including a facsimile, see Wolfgang Dömling, ed., *Die Handschrift British Museum Add. 27630 (LoD)*, 2 vols., Das erbe Deutscher Musik, nos. 52-53 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972).

of the field and the lily of the valleys.”). Here and throughout the poem, the rose is the Virgin Mary, and the lily, or the never-before-seen flower of heaven, is her son, Jesus; for discussion of the floral imagery applied to these two personages, see the notes to lines 1-2 of the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), at F-7,35. **14:** on dew as a symbol for Christ, cf. Isaiah, 45:8,⁵ as well as the textual notes to *Flos de spina ... misso*, line 3. The text from Isaiah appears often in the liturgy as an introit or antiphon during Advent. **15-16:** cf. Song of Songs, 2:11-12: “Iam enim hiemps transiit imber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt in terra...” (“For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers have appeared in our land...”). Here the winter of the Old Law blossoms into the spring of the new covenant of Christ, in the figure of the newly-born flower.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **2,2:** recall that “nubes” can be singular. **13,2:** F: the “l” of “delusa” is struck through, almost as if the copyist originally intended to write “-f,” then corrected this with upper serifs similar to the “l” letters of the previous word “nullo,” but without erasing the mistake. **21,4:** “alias” here is used adverbially (“elsewhere,” “otherwise”), not as an adjective or substantive. **MUSIC:** **General remarks:** *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256) is one of five conductus that open in three voices and close with a section in two parts. The others pieces that exploit this feature are: *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), and *Transgressus legem domini – Veritati stat obvia* (C8/349).⁶ F is the only source of *Ortu regis* to contain a Tr, and all other central MSS transmit all of the strophes, a feat unusual among the five a3+a2 conductus. As with the previous piece in F-6, *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265), the Tr of *Ortu regis* might be considered optional, since it occurs only in F (as well as being the only source to include any *f-sharp* sigs). **Opening cauda:** The midsection of the opening cauda differs in its readings or ligations among all MSS. Although the F version can be read as given in the source, it has been emended in the transcription in order to allow more consistent ligature readings at this point and to avoid a glaringly empty TL rest in the Tr. The editorial omission here of a single 2li=ag, ending the third phrase of the D in F (within L11, just before the breath mark that appears only in F and W2) and shortening it by a single L, is implied by Ma; see the end of the transcription for alternative, verbatim versions of the opening cauda from all the extant sources. **Cauda on line 2,3:** the rhythm of the T over the first syllable of “in[voluta]” in W1 is 3L (3si=a,g,f); extended rhythmic values are therefore possible (given above the staff) if one reads the Tr of F unusually as 3L as well. – D: F: the 2li,si=fg,g at L3 of this cauda is read rhythmically as 3L according to the rendering of 3si=f,g,g found at this point in W1,W2,Ma; cf. the 2li (fg) with an el first note that starts the next phrase at L9-10, which also implies the reading adopted here for F. **Line 6,3:** D: F: the proposed *b-flat* appears in W1,W2,Ma. **Line 7,1:** Tr: F: the g note 2L prior to the start of “castitate” features an extra succeeding siP=g, written over by the following si,siP=f,feP to show the error. **Cauda on 7,3 (closing Strophe I):** T: F: mode 3 seems possible for the first three phrases over the T, but worse consonance results; and in the following section, at L21, the fourth T phrase of the cauda, the T of W1 implies mode 2 for three phrases, against all other MSS (see the alternative version at the end). **Cauda after line 8,1 (Opening Strophe II):** D: F: the last *b-flat* note in the cauda’s third phrase at L12 is written very small, as if squeezed in as an afterthought. **Cauda on line 8,4:** Tr: F: the rest closing the second phrase at L8 is om, and has been added editorially based on its appearance in the D; an analogous situation applies 6L later to the Tr rest following “que” in line 9,1. **Cauda on line 9,1:** D: F: the si *b-flat* that opens phrase 4 at L 9 is small and squeezed in, as in the cauda after 8,1. **Cauda after line 13,3:** Tr: F: the end

⁵Isaiah, 45:8: “Rorate caeli desuper, et nubes pluant iustum; aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem, et iustitia oriatur simul: ego dominus creavi eum” (“Heavens, drop down dew from on high, and let the clouds rain down what is just; let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior; and let justice spring up at the same time: I the Lord have created him.”)

⁶On these works, see Mark Everist, “Le conduit a nombre de voix variable (1150–1250),” *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, eds. 329-344 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); and *idem*, “The Variable-Voice Conductus,” *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, Tess Knighton and David Skinner, eds., 195–220 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

of the closing Tr phrase for this cauda is om and supplied editorially. **Cauda on line 14,3 (closing Strophe II):** TDTr: for the opening phrase of the melisma, mode 3 yields better consonance with the most typical ligature readings; *Ma* has the TD in mode 1, see the alternative reading supplied at the end. T: F: the rest at the end of phrase 2 at L24 is erased; it has been re-supplied from *W1, W2, Llp752*; it is also erased, but re-entered in *Ma*. The L rest in the D at L25 has its length confirmed by a double stroke in *W1*.

Conductus (F4/257)

Tr. 2161 (8,14) – unspecified rhythms for *cum intera* sections

1. D

Tr

8

8

8

gau - di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet
fla - mi - - ne pri - mus la - vit in a - gni
pa - ti - - tur. pa - ti - ens - que vi - ctor ef -
ta - li - - a su - is no - vit lar - gi - ri

gau - di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet
fla - mi - - ne pri - mus la - vit in a - gni
pa - ti - - tur. pa - ti - ens - que vi - ctor ef -
ta - li - - a su - is no - vit lar - gi - ri

gau - di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet
fla - mi - - ne pri - mus la - vit in a - gni
pa - ti - - tur. pa - ti - ens - que vi - ctor ef -
ta - li - - a su - is no - vit lar - gi - ri

con - ci - o in le - vi - te chri - - sti
san - gui - ne sto - lam su - am pro - cri -
- fi ci - tur. sto - la dup - plex e - i
pre mi a be - ne di - cat plebs o -

con - ci - o in le - vi - te chri - - sti
san - gui - ne sto - lam su - am pro - cri -
- fi ci - tur. sto - la dup - plex e - i
pre mi a be - ne di - cat plebs o -

con - ci - o in le - vi - te chri - - sti
san - gui - ne sto - lam su - am pro - cri -
- fi ci - tur. sto - la dup - plex e - i
pre mi a be - ne di - cat plebs o -

*Note the non-transposing treble clef for the Tr. An alternative presentation follows this reading, with conjecturally rhythmicized *cum littera* segments.

| syllabic/melismatic identity with the opening of the following refrain

sol -
- sti
con -
- mnis

- lem - pni-o.
no - mi-ne.
- ce - di-tur.
e - y - a.

sol -
- sti
con -
- mnis

- lem - pni-o.
no - mi-ne.
- ce - di-tur.
e - y - a.

sol -
- sti
con -
- mnis

- lem - pni-o.
no - mi-ne.
- ce - di-tur.
e - y - a.

[Refrain] (the first three phrases feature syllabic/melismatic identity with the previous cauda; hence the rhythms here have been specified.)

Refr.

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci- or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe-rat hec con - ci-

- o.]

- o.]

- o.

F, 218r (6,14) – with conjectural rhythms specified for all *cum littera* sections (text of Strophe I only)

Tr [Or] tus sum mi per a - cto

2. D [Or] tus sum mi per a - cto

T Or tus sum mi per a - cto

gau di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet

gau di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet

gau di - o le - vi - ta - rum re - sul - tet

con ci - o in le - vi - te chri - sti

con ci - o in le - vi - te chri - sti

con ci - o in le - vi - te chri - sti

| syllabic/melismatic identity with the opening of the following refrain

sol - lem - pni - o.

sol - lem - pni - o.

sol - lem - pni - o.

[Refrain] (the first three phrases feature syllabic/melismatic identity with the previous cauda; hence the rhythms here have been specified in both versions.)

Refr.

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a et e - y - a e - - y - a e - - y - a

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci - or: e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

e - y - a cum gau - di - o pro - fe - rat hec con - ci -

ORTUS SUMMI PERACTO GAUDIO

Conductus (F4/257)

F, f. 218r (6,14)

I Ortus summi peracto gaudio,
levitarum resultet concio
in levite Cristi sollempnio.

Arising from the consummated joy of the
highest, let this band of deacons sing out
on the solemn feast of the deacon of Christ.

Refr. Eya et eya!
Eya! Eya!
Eya! Cum gaudio
proferat hec concio.

5 Hey and a hey!
Hey! Hey!
Hey! Let this assembly
sing forth with joy.

II Hic, divino repletus flamine,
primus lavit in agni sanguine
stolam suam, pro Christi nomine.

10 He, filled with the Holy Spirit,
first washed his robe in the blood
of the lamb, for the name of Christ.

Refr. Eya et eya!
Eya! Eya!
Eya! Cum gaudio
proferat hec concio.

Hey and a hey!
Hey! Hey!
Hey! Let this assembly
sing forth with joy.

III Qui, dum iactus lapidum patitur,
patiensque victor efficitur,
stola duplex ei conceditur.

15 He, to whom a double stole is granted,
as he endures the hurling of stones,
and, suffering, becomes the victor.

Refr. Eya et eya!
Eya! Eya!
Eya! Cum gaudio
proferat hec concio.

20 Hey and a hey!
Hey! Hey!
Hey! Let this assembly
sing forth with joy.

IV Ergo, tanto regi, qui talia
suis novit largiri premia,
benedicat plebs omnis. Eya!

Therefore, let every person bless
so great a king, one who knows to
bestow such rewards to his own. Hey!

Refr. Eya et eya!
Eya! Eya!
Eya! Cum gaudio
proferat hec concio.

25 Hey and a hey!
Hey! Hey!
Hey! Let this assembly
sing forth with joy.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 14, f. 218r: a3; Strophes I-IV with refrain, complete, with II-IV entered into an empty space provided within the writing block at the end of the final system, each subsequent stanza headed by capital letters, and with the refrain signaled each time by “eya etc.” This is a unique transmission of both text and music, the first such piece within *F*-6; rubric (in the right margin aligned with the top of the first system, and likely in a later hand): “De sancto stephano” (“On St. Stephen”). This is the fifth strophic musical setting in *F* and the second within *F*-6. The previous example is *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94 – *F*-6,3, f. 213v), and like it *Ortus summi* offers its additional stanzas separately at the end of the setting, a feature omitted in the following

work in *F*, the strophic refrain song *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227), offered here as a single stanza.¹ *Ortus summi* is also the first conductus in *F* to contain a verifiable refrain outside of the proposed but contestable appearances in *Salvatoris hodie* – *Novus Adam* (C5/315 – F-6,1, f. 201r) and *Tine vocis tripudio* – *Trahunt in precipitia* (E4/351 – F-6, f. 205r).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: **2,1:** For the meaning of “levita” as “deacon,” see the second definition of the term in the *DMLBS*² and *LaNe*,³ both accessible through <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#levita>. **3:** the “deacon of Christ” is St. Stephen, whose feast falls on 26 December. Stephen enjoys the distinction of being the first Christian martyr (“protomartyr”); he was accused of blasphemy and stoned to death.⁴ He is also regarded as one of the first deacons of the early church, being one of the seven Hellenistic Jews chosen by the apostles to render assistance in distributing charity to Hellenistic widows who had complained of receiving less assistance than their Hebrew-speaking counterparts (Acts, 6:1-8). According to the traditions of the so-called Feast of Fools, the deacons had the responsibility for overseeing the celebrations on Stephen’s feast day. For another conductus within the central sources of *F*, *W1*, *W1*, and *Ma* that celebrates Stephen, see *Stephani sollempnia* (F28/340). **9-10:** cf. lines 1-4 of Perotin’s conductus *Salvatoris hodie* – *Novus Adam* (C5/315). Robes washed in the blood of the lamb are metaphors for the salvation of the Christian soul. In Revelation, 7:13-14, there is also an association of this image with persecution or martyrdom;⁵ see also Revelation, 1:5.⁶ **15-16:** Stephen’s martyrdom by stoning is given in Acts, 7:54-59. **17:** for the “double robe,” see Judges, 17, the story of Micah, who set up in his house a shrine that included carved images and idols, and also an ephod and teraphim, glossed in the Vulgate as a “priestly garment” (Judges, 17:5). These latter two items may conceivably be (or be part of)

¹Of the three conductus a4 in *F*-1 – which encompass all other earlier strophic conductus in the MS – extra stanzas are supplied at the end of the music for all but the first, *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92 – F-1,4), whose remaining poetry is transmitted only in *OxRawl*. The other two conductus in *F*-1, *Mundus vergens* (B2/213) and *Vetus abit littera* (B3/379), are *unica*. Related yet contrasting examples of additionally supplied stanzas include the internal versicles of the three sequence forms seen earlier in the fascicle. These are *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351 – F-6,5), f. 205r; *Veni creator spiritus ... recreator* (E13/361 – F-6,7), f. 207v; and *O felix Bituria* (E8/232 – F-6,8), f. 209r., as well as the presentation of all four strophes of *Bulla fulminante* after the musical and verbal material for *Dic Christi*, which provides the music for *Bulla* in the T of its closing cauda.

²R. K. Ashdowne, D. R. Howlett, and R. E. Latham (eds.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford: British Academy, 2018).

³Harm Pinkster, ed., *Woordenboek Latijn/Nederlands*, sixth rev. ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014).

⁴See Acts, 6:9-15, and all of Acts 7, which includes Stephen’s lengthy oration to the council of the Sanhedrin in Acts, 7:1-53.

⁵Revelation, 7:13-14: “Et respondit unus de senioribus dicens mihi, ‘hii qui amicti sunt stolis albis – qui sunt et unde venerunt?’ Et dixi illi: ‘domine mi, tu scis.’ Et dixit mihi: ‘hii sunt qui veniunt de tribulatione magna et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni’ (‘Then one of the elders asked me, ‘These people in white robes – who are they, and where did they come from?’ I answered: ‘my lord, you know.’ And he said to me: ‘These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb’ ”)

⁶Revelation, 1:5: : “Et ab Iesu Christo qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae, qui dilexit nos et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo” (“And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth, who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.”).

the “double suit of clothes” referred to in Judges, 17:10, where Micah hires a Levite⁷ to serve as priest of his domestic shrine.⁸ The connection of the double suit to the Levite, and the use of the word “levita” in the sense of “deacon” above in line 2,1, further ties the biblical image to Stephen. For an analogous figure, referring to a “double” or “twin stole” (*stola gemina*) in connection with the martyr Thomas of Canterbury, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228), lines 5-7. In an allegorical vein, a double stole is invoked by Dante in *Paradiso*, 25:91-96 (which refers to Isaiah, 61:7,10); in this case, the figure signifies the earthly and spiritual bodies of soul vs. flesh. **22-24:** the king here is Christ. Based on the final lines of the stanza, it appears that at least part of the “double robe” is God’s promise of salvation (see the closing remarks for line 17, above).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 10,4:** F: spelled “cristi” with Latin characters throughout (rather than with the more typical Greek letters to open). **4-7 (Refrain):** the repetition is cued in the additional strophes by “eya etc.” **MUSIC:** Notice the high range of the Tr, rendered here without a transposing clef, hence the unusually placed *f-sharp* sig in the transcription. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T(DTr) in cauda “sol[lempnio]” (in line 3, end of Strophe I) = **1a.** T(DTr) of “eya et eya, eya, eya [eya cum gaudio]” (lines 4-5, opening of the refrain); the first phrase includes all three parts. **Line 1,1-2 and the alternative transcription with fixed rhythms:** the setting of the two opening words of this conductus are as ornate as most of the rest of the stanza, but the melismas here seem particularly equivocal in terms of communicating any rhythms (if any specific ones are actually intended). As a result, the figures are especially difficult to assess in terms of their likely coordination of syllable to pitch, and pitch to pitch, a decision that significantly affects the resulting harmonies. Throughout this transcription, therefore, I have attempted to balance such features in order to come up with a workable alignment of parts. Similar types of decisions obtained in the interpretation of the four-voice conductus *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92), q.v., which resulted in two differently coordinated transcriptions. In this case, I offer an additional, second reading of the piece (with the text of only Strophe I underlaid), retaining the alignment of the first, but supplying conjectural rhythms for all *cum littera* segments. I hope this might be taken as a suggestion for performers who may want to attempt this work; it may also serve to propose some possible methods for executing some of the more ornate *cum littera* figures in other pieces.

⁷ A member of the tribe of the descendants of Levi, Jacob and Leah’s son, who originally served the priests who officiated in the Temple (see Numbers, 1:47-53).

⁸ Judges, 17:10: “ ‘Mane,’ inquit, ‘apud me, et esto mihi parens ac sacerdos, daboque tibi per annos singulos decem argenteos, ac vestem duplicem, et quae ad victum necessaria sunt.’ ” (“[Micah] said [to the Levite]: ‘Stay with me, and be for me a father and a priest, and I will give you every year ten pieces of silver, and a double suit of apparel, and those things that are necessary to life.’ ”).

NOVUS ANNUS HODIE (I)

Conductus (F5/227)

F, f. 218v (6,15): Strophe I; Sens, f. 26v: Strophe II

Tr
8
[No - vus an - nus ho - di - e mo - net nos le - ti - ti - e
[Di - gnus est me - mo - ri - a fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - a

D
8
[No - vus an - nus ho - di - e mo - net nos le - ti - ti - e
[Di - gnus est me - mo - ri - a fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - a

T
8
No - vus an - nus ho - di - e mo - net nos le - ti - ti - e
[Di - gnus est me - mo - ri - a fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - a

8
lau - des in - cho - a - re. fe - lix est est prin - ci - pi - um.
so - lent ter - mi - na - re di - gnus est pre - co - ni - is

8
lau - des in - cho - a - re. fe - lix est est prin - ci - pi - um.
so - lent ter - mi - na - re di - gnus est pre - co - ni - is

8
lau - des in - cho - a - re. fe - lix est est prin - ci - pi - um.
so - lent ter - mi - na - re di - gnus est pre - co - ni - is

8
fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - um so - let ter - mi - na - re.
quem tot be - ne - fi - ci - is sci - mus ha - bun - da - re

8
fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - um so - let ter - mi - na - re.
quem tot be - ne - fi - ci - is sci - mus ha - bun - da - re

8
fi - nem cu - ius gau - di - um so - let ter - mi - na - re.
quem tot be - ne - fi - ci - is sci - mus ha - bun - da - re

B c
8
Ce - le - bre - mus i - gi - tur fe - stum an - nu - a - le.
cui cre - a - re pla - cu - it ce - lum ter - ram ma - re

b
8
Ce - le - bre - mus i - gi - tur fe - stum an - nu - a - le.
cui cre - a - re pla - cu - it ce - lum ter - ram ma - re

a
8
Ce - le - bre - mus i - gi - tur fe - stum an - nu - a - le.
cui cre - a - re pla - cu - it ce - lum ter - ram ma - re

B **b** ♩

quo pec - ca - ti sol - vi - tur vin - cu - lum mor - ta - le.
sic in - ver - bo vo - lu - it mun - dum or - di - na - re

C

quo pec - ca - ti sol - vi - tur vin - cu - lum mor - ta - le.
sic in - ver - bo vo - lu - it mun - dum or - di - na - re

a

quo pec - ca - ti sol - vi - tur vin - cu - lum mor - ta - le.
sic in - ver - bo vo - lu - it mun - dum or - di - na - re

C **f**

et in - fir - mis pro - pi - na - tur po - cu - lum vi - ta - - le.
et sic fu - it e - i cu - re ho - mi - nem di - ta - - re

e

et in - fir - mis pro - pi - na - tur po - cu - lum vi - ta - - le.
et sic fu - it e - i cu - re ho - mi - nem di - ta - - re

d

et in - fir - mis pro - pi - na - tur po - cu - lum vi - ta - - le.
et sic fu - it e - i cu - re ho - mi - nem di - ta - - re

C **e**

ad - huc sa - nat e - gro - tan - tes hoc me - di - ci - na - - le.
ut sub - ie - cte cre - a - tu - re pos - sit im - pe - ra - - re

f

ad - huc sa - nat e - gro - tan - tes hoc me - di - ci - na - - le.
ut sub - ie - cte cre - a - tu - re pos - sit im - pe - ra - - re

d

ad - huc sa - nat e - gro - tan - tes hoc me - di - ci - na - - le.
ut sub - ie - cte cre - a - tu - re pos - sit im - pe - ra - - re

C **f**

Un - de psal - li - mus le - tan - tes ad me - mo - ri - a - - le.
et si vel - let im - mor - ta - lis po - tu - is - set sta - - re]

e

Un - de psal - li - mus le - tan - tes ad me - mo - ri - a - - le.
et si vel - let im - mor - ta - lis po - tu - is - set sta - - re]

d

Un - de psal - li - mus le - tan - tes ad me - mo - ri - a - - le.
et si vel - let im - mor - ta - lis po - tu - is - set sta - - re]

[Refrain]*

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu-ne - re.

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu-ne - re.

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu-ne - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

*Given the ambiguous, if not confusing nature of the deployment of signatures in this piece, it is also possible to perform the refrain with *b-naturals* in all parts and with the consistent use of high (and sometimes lower) *f#s* in the Tr. This alternative reading is provided after the main transcription. See the commentary for details on how decisions were made in the use of accidentals.

- re.]

- re.]

- [re.]

ALTERNATIVE READING

Complete refrain with *b-natural*, *f-sharp* ficta readings in all parts

[Refrain]

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu - ne - re.

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu - ne - re.

Ha ha he qui vult ve - re psal - le - re; tri - no psal - lat mu - ne - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

o - re cor - de o - pe - re de - bet la - bo - ra - re.

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

ut sic pos - sit vi - ve - re. de - um et pla - ca -

The image displays a musical score for three staves, likely representing different voices or instruments. The key signature is one sharp (F#), indicating G major. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs. Blue dashed lines and solid blue brackets are used to group notes, while red brackets and a red note head highlight specific passages. The score concludes with a double bar line. The following table summarizes the key features of the notation:

Staff	Key Signature	Time Signature	Notation Features
1	G Major (F#)	Common	Contains a red bracketed note [4] and a blue dashed slur.
2	G Major (F#)	Common	Contains blue dashed slurs and blue brackets, ending with a blue bracketed note - re.]
3	G Major (F#)	Common	Contains blue dashed slurs and blue brackets, ending with a blue bracketed note - [re.]

NOVUS ANNUS HODIE (I)

Conductus (F5/227)

F, f. 218v (6,15): Strophe I; *Sens*, f. 26v (p. 54): Strophe II

I Novus annus hodie monet nos letitie laudes inchoare. Felix est principium finem cuius gaudium solet terminare. Celebremus igitur festum annuale. quo peccati solvitur vinculum mortale et infirmis propinatur poculum vitale, adhuc sanat egrotantes hoc medicinale. Unde psallimus, letantes, ad memoriale. <i>Refr.</i> Ha! Ha! He! Qui vult vere psallere, trino psallat munere. Ore, corde, opere debet laborare, ut sic possit vivere deum et placare[re.] II [Dignus est memoria finem cuius gaudia solent terminare. Dignus est preconiiis, quem tot beneficiis scimus habundare, cui creare placuit celum, terram, mare. Sic in verbo voluit mundum ordinare; et sic fuit ei cure hominem ditare, ut subiecte creature possit imperare et, si vellet, immortalis potuisset stare.] <i>Refr.</i> Ha! Ha! He! qui vult vere psallere, trino psallat munere.	5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40	Today the new year urges us to commence joyful praises. Happy is the beginning whose end joy is accustomed to determine. Therefore let us celebrate the annual feast by which the deadly chain of sin is loosed and the cup of life is offered to the infirm, as this medicinal drought heals the sick at this time . Whence let us, rejoicing, sing of this commemoration. Ha! Ha! Hey! He who truly wishes to sing, should sing with three-fold effort. With mouth, heart, and work he should labor, so that he can live this way and please God. Worthy is the memory whose end joys are accustomed to determine. Worthy is He for commendation, the one we know abounds with so many favors, the one for whom it pleased to create heaven, earth, and sea. Thus He determined, upon a word, to order the world; and so it was a concern for Him to enrich mankind, whereby man could command the creatures placed under him, and, had he wished, could have remained immortal. Ha! Ha! Hey! He who truly wishes to sing, should sing his part three-fold.

Ore, corde, opere		With mouth, heart, and work
debet laborare,		he should labor,
ut sic possit vivere	45	so that he can live this way
deum et placare.]		and please God.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 15, f. 218v: a3, Strophe I and refrain only, the former divided by a capital beginning line 7 (signaled above by extra space), and with another upper-case letter opening the refrain; there is no provision for additional text, and the closing cauda appears only in this source, its end concluding in a separate space at the end of the first system of the piece that follows, *Fulget Nicholaus* (E7/135). This the sixth strophic setting in *F*, and only the second of such pieces not to transmit all its extant stanzas.¹ *Novus annus* is also only the second conductus in *F* to have a verifiable refrain, a feature shared by the piece immediately preceding, *Ortus summi peracto gaudio* (F4/257), q.v.

Sens (*F-SEm* 46; *Sens*, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 46; *Médiathèque Jean-Christophe Rufin*, 46), f. 26v (p. 54):² a1 (T), Strophes I-II, complete, with a painted initial for I and with II shown by a capital letter; rubric: “Conductus ad bacularium” (“Conductus for the staff-bearer”); there is no special signal for the refrain in I, and its cue at the end of Strophe II is likewise undistinguished, indicated only by its opening word and pitch. The piece appears in the context of a Circumcision office, placed immediately after a troped *Deo gratias* (*Virgo gemma virginum*) that closes Vespers; it is then followed by a series of conductus and versus, and the MS concludes with three “epystolae” (troped readings) from the books of Acts, Wisdom, and Revelation that are indicated for the feasts of John, and the Holy Innocents.

F-Pn lat. 1351, f. 72r: a1 (T), Strophes I-II complete; rubric: “Conductus ad lectarium” (“Conductus for the reading”); each word is separated by a stroke in the music (images from this source are presently unavailable to me, the information derives from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:95). According to *AH*, 20:217, no. 1,³ this source is a seventeenth-century copy of *Sens*.

Text only:

A contrasting transmission (= *Novus annus hodie* II in the CPI database):

D-Mbs Clm. 21053 (*Munich*, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, *Clm* 21053), f. 5v: text only; just the opening six lines of the poem are concordant, with a different disposition and continuation. The poem consists of five strophes with a different refrain (images from this source are presently unavailable to me, the information derives from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:95, and the CPI website); Strophes I-II consist of three-line stanzas; Strophes III-IV have four-lines, and Strophe V returns to the three-line scheme of I-II.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

¹The prior exception is *Deus misertus hominis*, (B1/92 at F-1,4), whose remaining poetry stems only from *OxRawl*.

²Images of the complete *Sens* MS can be found [here](#): they are here identified by page, rather than folio number (both are given above).

³*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 20: *Cantiones et Muteti: Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, pt. 1: *Cantiones Natalitiae, Partheniae*, Guido Maria Dreves, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reiland, 1895).

Notes on the Text: 1-3: this work is one of a number of conductus that invoke the new year, and – as verified by the other sources that transmit it – was pressed into service for liturgical or festive use at Circumcision or for the so-called Feast of Fools on 1 January.⁴ For some more information on conductus that conjure up the new year and its celebrations, see the discussions in the textual notes to *Hac in anni janua* (E6/148), lines 1-8, and those of *Ysyas cecinit* (C4/188), lines 25 and 27, along with their references. **4-6:** a bit convoluted in expression, presumably these lines imply that any event that ends in joy has by its nature a happy start. **7-16:** the Incarnation and gift of grace are presented as if they are a medicinal remedy for sin, with implied connections to the wine used in the communion service of the Mass. On the biblical image of the cup working in this fashion, see 1 Corinthians, 10:16 and 11:26.⁵ The spilling of blood during Christ's circumcision was often seen as a foreshadowing of the crucifixion, in which redemption was offered to humanity; cf. the opening lines of Perotin's conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315). **8:** as indicated by the opening lines of the poem, the annual celebration referred to is the Feast of the Circumcision of the Lord (Feast of Fools) on 1 January. **19-21:** the series of nouns “mouth, heart, and work” (the “three-fold effort” of line 19) delineated here suggests the text of the *Confiteor* from the liturgical celebration of Mass, which repents of sins committed through thought, word, and deed: “Confiteor Deo omnipotenti ... quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere” (“I confess to almighty God ... that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed”). For more thorough information on the *Confiteor*, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106). For a biblical counterpart, cf. 2 Thessalonians, 2:17: “exhortetur corda vestra et confirmet in omni opere et sermone bono” (“encourage your hearts and strengthen them in every good deed and word.”). **25-6:** Notice the repetition of the text of lines 4-5 with the subject changed to plural. **27-39:** God shows his favor to mankind by creating the heavens and the earth and placing the human race in charge of it; had it not been for the disobedience that brought on original sin, man would have lived forever. **32-33:** the “word” invoked here may be either the commands uttered by God during the creation, the Word embodied by Christ (as in John, 1:1), or very likely both at once.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 20;43: Sens: corde ore opere. **22-3:** Sens: ut sic deum colere / posset et placare. **23,3:** F: final syllable omitted, supplied from Sens. **28, 1-2:** Sens: quāntot; read as “quantot” in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:95, “quam tot” in the edition of Villetard, p. 185).⁶ **40-46 (second refrain):** Sens: cue for refrain supplied by word and pitch of 40,1 (“ha”). **MUSIC: Form:** the musical form, which here involves repetition in all voices, is similar to a sequence or lai: AABBCCCDEEEE+x (= the final cauda); in addition, the B and C segments feature voice exchange between the upper parts upon repetition. Note that the closing cauda appears only in the F version of this piece. **Signatures:** the question of how to interpret the signs of chromatic inflection in this piece is quite puzzling. All musical concordances indicate *b-flats* for the opening portions of the piece: in Sens, the sig is deployed only for the few *b* pitches that occur in the opening six lines of each stanza. It appears before line 2,3 (“nos [leticie]”), is absent in the system change after 4,3 (“principi[um]”), and returns prior to the second syllable of line 5,3 (“[gau]di[um]”); it is then omitted after line 6,2 in Strophe I

⁴Conductus transmitted in F that refer particularly to the New Year or to the feast of Circumcision include: *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227), *Exultemus socii* (J17/115), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Soli brevem iani lucem* (I26/335), *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148), *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), *Baculi sollempnia* (J52/20), *Ysayas cecinit – Tityre tu patule* (C4/188), *Sonet vox ecclesie* (I28/337), *Gratuletur populus* (H6/147). Of this total, the last four appear not to make specific mention, but allude to either event through the deployment of images or actions associated with the celebrations.

⁵1 Corinthians, 10:16: “Calix benedictionis, cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est? et panis quem frangimus, nonne participatio corporis Domini est?” (“The chalice of benediction, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread, which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord?”). 1 Corinthians, 11:26: “Quotiescumque enim manducabitis panem hunc, et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat” (“For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until he come.”).

⁶Henri Villetard, *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la Circoncision) improprement appelé “Office des Fous”: texte et chant d’après le manuscrit de Sens (XIII^e siècle)*, Bibliothèque musicologique, no. 6 (Paris: Picard, 1907).

(“terminare”) and in Strophe II returns before the third syllable of line 25,3 (“[gaudi]a”) only to disappear after line 27,3 in Strophe II (“preconiis”). Based on Anderson’s critical notes (*NDRC*, 2:95), the copy of *Sens* in *Pn lat. 1351* has flats vanish within the repeat of the A section at the start of line 5 (“festum annuale”). In *F*, the T shows *b-flat* sigs consistently until it encounters a system change with no signs at all just before the final few phrases of the closing cauda; the D, though, has a *b-flat* sig throughout that is eventually replaced by a new clef with only an *f-sharp* sig when the closing cauda begins. For the *F* Tr (perhaps the most confusing part), during the entire setting of the stanza – except for a brief moment from the end of line 7 through the first syll of line 9,3 (“igi[tur ... sol]vitur”) – this voice also flaunts a *b-flat* sig, and its momentary absence does seem to point to a need for a *b-natural* for the dissonant *b/e/a* crunch on the first syllable of line 9,2 (“pec[cati]”) and – retroactively – for its earlier corresponding point in line 7 (“[Ce]le[bremus]”). With the start of the second phrase of the refrain (“qui vult vere”), however, an *f#* sig appears mid-system in the Tr with no express cancellation of the ongoing *b-flats* in it or any of the other parts. After a momentary absence following a system change with a *b-flat* sig in the Tr (affecting “psallat munere,” where I suggest the penultimate Tr *f* is sharpened), this sig quad on *f* is then reinstalled (still with no cancellation of the ongoing *b-flats*) when the music of section E repeats (at line 20,1: “ore”). Finally, at the penultimate system change in the piece (at “ut sic,” line 22,1), the *b-flat* disappears for good from the Tr while its *f#* sig continues to the end. The results in the main transcription reflect my best attempts to accommodate the accidentals according to their various contexts in *F*. As is usual, a single ficta inflection above the staff in the transcription holds true to the end of the phrase (rest or stroke). I therefore assume that (except for the *e/b/e* cadences in Section E) the *b-flat* signature in the T applies up through the end of the refrain, and I propose *b-naturals* as ficta in the T for the entire closing cauda, since, throughout the melisma, both D and Tr have no flats and feature high *f#* sigs, while the final system has no T sigs. The lower, subfinal *fs* in the T, though, I suggest should remain natural. The presence of the *f#* in the Tr earlier in the refrain I have treated as a local inflection that affects only the first *f* that appears in Section E of the Tr’s music; all other Tr *fs*, until the final cauda, I propose as natural. Of course, there are equally valid options for performing the entire refrain with *b-naturals* in all the parts and with high (and lower) *f#s* throughout the Tr and where else they might be needed. For this reason, I supply such an alternative version of the refrain following the principal transcription. **Line 5:** T: F: the brief melisma that follows is 2 higher, corrected after *Sens* and from the earlier use of the same music in *F*. **Sections B, C:** as noted above in the remarks on form, there is voice exchange between the D and Tr for these sections only. The repetition in the other segments includes all parts and retains their initial disposition. **Line 10,2:** Tr: F: on the first syllable of “mortale,” the Pf was previously given as 2li=*fe*, (in the D at line 8,2) at which point I realigned it for consonance with the *a* and *e* in the other parts. For its subsequent appearance I present it as it stands. **18,4 (in refrain):** T: F: a *b* pitch is om on the last syllable of “[psalle]re”; restored to a hypothetical 2li=*ab* that corresponds to all the repeated segments of Section E that follow in *F*; si *bs* appear in *Sens* at these points.

FULGET NICHOLAUS

Conductus (E7/135)

F, f. 219v (6,16)

Tr
8 [Ful - get ni-cho - la-us gem - ma pon-ti - fi-cum. pre - sul e - gre-gi-us.

I D
8 [Ful - get ni-cho - la-us gem - ma pon-ti - fi-cum. pre - sul e - gre-gi-us.

T
8 Ful - get ni-cho - la-us gem - ma pon-ti - fi-cum. pre - sul e - gre-gi-us.

8 de-cus an - ge - li-cum ut sy-dus au-re - um. in ce - li so - li - o.

8 de-cus an - ge - li-cum ut sy-dus au-re - um. in ce - li so - li - o.

8 de-cus an - ge - li-cum ut sy-dus au-re - um. in ce - li so - li - o.

8 so - la - ri ra - di - o ax-em e - the - re-um il - lu - strans cla - ri - us.

8 so - la - ri ra - di - o ax-em e - the - re-um il - lu - strans cla - ri - us.

8 so - la - ri ra - di - o ax-em e - the - re-um il - lu - strans cla - ri - us.

Tr
8 Ni-cho-la - o pre-su - li no - vi den-tur mo-du - li. qui post tot in - si - gni - a

II D
8 Ni-cho-la - o pre-su - li no - vi den-tur mo-du - li. qui post tot in - si - gni - a

T
8 Ni-cho-la - o pre-su - li no - vi den-tur mo-du - li. qui post tot in - si - gni - a

8 vir - tu - tum ma - gna - li - a pro-ba-tus in a - go - ne non ti - mu - it.

8 vir - tu - tum ma - gna - li - a pro-ba-tus in a - go - ne non ti - mu - it.

8 vir - tu - tum ma - gna - li - a pro-ba-tus in a - go - ne non ti - mu - it.

nec de - fu - it mar - ty - ri - i co - ro - ne.

nec de - fu - it mar - ty - ri - i co - ro - ne.

nec de - fu - it mar - ty - ri - i co - ro - ne.

Ni - cho - la - e pon - ti - fex e - gre - gi - e. de - cus cle - ri. spe - cu -

Ni - cho - la - e pon - ti - fex e - gre - gi - e. de - cus cle - ri. spe - cu -

Ni - cho - la - e pon - ti - fex e - gre - gi - e. de - cus cle - ri. spe - cu -

- lum ec - cle - si - e. pa - tri - e so - la - ti - um. tu - o - rum re - fu - gi - um.

- lum ec - cle - si - e. pa - tri - e so - la - ti - um. tu - o - rum re - fu - gi - um.

- lum ec - cle - si - e. pa - tri - e so - la - ti - um. tu - o - rum re - fu - gi - um.

fac ro - ga - mus ut cer - na - mus iu - di - cem pro - pi - ti - um.

fac ro - ga - mus ut cer - na - mus iu - di - cem pro - pi - ti - um.

fac ro - ga - mus ut cer - na - mus iu - di - cem pro - pi - ti - um.

FULGET NICHOLAUS

Conductus (E7/135)

F, f. 219v (6,16)

I Fulget Nicholaus, gemma pontificum, presul egregius, decus angelicum, ut sydus aureum in celi solio, solari radio, axem ethereum illustrans clarius.	Nicholas – a jewel among pontiffs, a renowned bishop, the pride of the angels – 5 shines like a golden star in the throne of heaven, by way of a ray from the sun, brightening even more vividly the celestial axis.
II Nicholao presuli novi dentur moduli. Qui post tot insignia virtutum magnalia, probatus in agone non timuit; nec defuit martyrii corone.	10 To bishop Nicholas let new melodies be given. After so many remarkable great deeds of virtue, he feared not to be 15 proven in combat; nor did he fail to obtain the martyr's crown.
III Nicholae, pontifex egregie. decus cleri, speculum ecclesie, patrie solatium, tuorum refugium. fac, rogamus, ut cernamus iudicem propitium.	Nicholas – renowned pontiff, pride of the clergy, mirror of the church, comfort of heaven, 20 protector of your own – act, we beg, that we may look upon the favorable judge.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 16, f. 219v: a3; Strophes I-III, complete, with the through-composed II and III indicated by capitals. This is the first piece in *F*-6 with no caudae, and *F* is the only source to preserve the whole piece.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 18, f. 85r (76r): a3; fragmentary, due to loss of the original previous folios 83-84;¹ music is preserved only from the middle of Strophe II to the end, beginning with the second syllable of line 13,2 (“[mag]nalia”). Strophe III is prefaced by a painted initial.

CaJ (Cambridge, Jesus College, *MS QB 1*; *GB-Cjec MS QB1*), Fragment A, no. 5, f. 1b^r: a3; fragmentary, end of Strophe III only, from the third syllable of line 17,2 (“[ponti]fex egregie”) to the end, with no major

¹Note that the report on the foliation given by Martin Staehelin (in Staehelin, ed., *Die mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift W1: Vollständige Reproduktion des “Notre Dame”-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, no. 9, [Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1995], pp. 11, 35) appears to be incorrect in proposing that the missing folios are 82 and 83. No actual break occurs after folio 81 (74), and the following leaf, given by Staehelin as 84 (75), actually is 82 (75), as the MS's foliation indicates. The original number for f. 85r (76r) at the top center of the leaf, furthermore, seems to have had its second integer written over, changing what was originally a “5” to a “3” in an attempt to rectify the discrepancy. Such “correction” seems to have progressed no farther.

omissions despite trimming of the right margin.²

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: this conductus poem celebrates Saint Nicholas (15 March 270-6 December 343, bishop from ca. 317), the fourth-century Bishop of Myra (now Demre) in the ancient Lycian region of what is now Turkey. Before his installment, Nicholas is reported to have made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and as a prelate he was supposed to have taken part in the first council of Nicaea in 325 and been involved in the crafting of the Nicene Creed. His many legends and miracles include bringing three murdered children (sometime portrayed as student clerics) back to life, and secretly giving presents of money towards the dowries of a poor man's three daughters, thus allowing them to marry and avoid turning to prostitution. He is a patron saint of children, mariners, merchants, pawnbrokers, students, and clerics (among others). In addition to *Fulget Nicholaus*, another conductus, *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), at F-6,55, also mentions him specifically in connection with his feast day (6 December). Further refrain songs and motets are devoted to him within the Parisian repertory. For more on his life, see the remarks to lines 15-16 and the notes on the text to *Nicholai presulis*, along with the cited references, from which some of this content also draws. **Textual notes: 1,10,17:** the use of Nicholas's name in three different Latin cases (nominative, dative, and vocative) at or near the start of the three extant strophes in *F* makes one curious whether additional stanzas might once have existed that exploited any of the other cases (genitive, accusative, and ablative, e.g.). **7:** the inclusion of the image of the sun's ray (a frequent symbol for Christ) indicates that Nicholas's incandescence comes not directly from him, but rather signifies his reflection of the light emanating from the Godhead. **14-15:** the reference to combat here may refer to the stories of Nicholas's defense of orthodoxy against heretics like Arius at the Council of Nicaea (325). **15-16:** Nicholas was persecuted and imprisoned during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian (reg. 284-305), but later was released upon the accession of Constantine (reg. 306-337). Actually he was not martyred, despite what this conductus relates, but died and was buried in Myra, until a significant portion of his remains were forcibly removed and translated by sailors to Bari, Italy, in 1087. From there his cult began to spread more fully throughout Western Europe. Purportedly, Nicholas's tomb in Bari to this day miraculously exudes a sweet-smelling liquid (called manna or myrrh) that is collected annually on the feast of his translation (9 May). In terms of the translation of the text, note that "defuit" may take the dative (as here with "corone") or the ablative for its object. **18-20:** Nicholas's role as patron of the clergy seems particularly emphasized here.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: Line 1,2:** D: F: note missing for "[nicho]la[us]." Apparently a *c* was initially entered, then erased; the completed *d* is editorial. **15,2:** T: F: 3si=*a,b,c* (2 higher) for "timuit"; reading taken from *W1*; lost from *CaJ*. Tr: F: the ficta *f-sharp* on the last syllable of "timuit" is editorial and speculative. There are no accidentals anywhere in the extant sources for this piece, so I have been hesitant to include any on my own initiative. However, this cadence on "timuit," already emended through the use of the T from *W1* to form the only phrase to close on a *b-f* sonority (which conceivably might have prompted the different reading by the scribe of *F*), seems to sound somewhat more acceptable – although still rather jarring – with the ficta accidental. **17,3:** T: F: the note for the third syllable of "egregie" om; supplied from *W1,CaJ*. **21,4:** Tr: F,CaJ: the 2li over "cernamus" = *de*; the same figure with the pitches *ef*, found in *W1* might also suffice, if realigned. **22,1-2:** Tr: F: for "iudicem pro[pitium]" melody 2 higher; taken from *W1,CaJ*.

²Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

AVE MARIS STELLA VIRGO
Conductus (D1/34)

F, f. 221r (6,17)

Tr
I D
T

[A -
[A -
A

[A] - ve ma-ris stel - la
[A] - ve ma-ris stel - la
[A] - ve ma-ris stel - la

vir - go de-cus vir - gi-num ce -
vir - go de-cus vir - gi-num ce -
vir - go de-cus vir - gi-num ce -

x
x'
x'''

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: [ce] - li re - gis cel - la. The notation includes blue slurs, red square accents, and red square boxes containing 'x' and 'x'.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: me - di - a - trix ho - mi - num. The notation includes blue slurs, red square accents, and red square boxes containing 'x', 'a', and 'b'.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: ne. The notation includes blue slurs, red square accents, and red square boxes containing 'x3', 'c', and 'b'.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: [ne] nos per - e - a - mus. The notation includes blue slurs, red square accents, and red square boxes containing 'b', 'c', and 'ne'.

ad te su - spi - ra-mus. ut [ut] a no - bis cri-mi - num

ad te su - spi - ra-mus. ut [ut] a no - bis cri-mi - num

ad te su - spi - ra-mus. ut [ut] a no - bis cri-mi - num

This system contains the first three staves of the musical score. Each staff begins with the lyrics 'ad te su - spi - ra-mus. ut' and ends with '[ut] a no - bis cri-mi - num'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A red box with the letter 'x' is placed above the first staff, and a red box with the letter 'd' is placed above the third staff.

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

This system contains the next three staves of the musical score. Each staff begins with the lyrics 'pro - cul sit pro-cel -'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A red box with the letter 'x'' is placed above the first staff, and a red box with the letter 'd' is placed above the second staff.

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

This system contains the next three staves of the musical score. Each staff begins with the lyrics 'pro - cul sit pro-cel -'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A red box with the letter 'g' is placed above the first staff, a red box with the letter 'f' is placed above the second staff, and a red box with the letter 'e' is placed above the third staff.

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

pro - cul sit pro-cel -

This system contains the final three staves of the musical score. Each staff begins with the lyrics 'pro - cul sit pro-cel -'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A red box with the letter 'x'' is placed above the first staff, and a red box with the letter 'x' is placed above the second staff.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures featuring beams connecting notes. A blue bracket is placed above a group of notes in the second measure. A red box containing the letter 'x' is positioned above the top staff in the fifth measure. The middle and bottom staves also contain musical notation, with blue brackets and beams indicating phrasing and rhythmic groupings.

The second system of the musical score continues the composition across three staves. The top staff features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures featuring beams connecting notes. A blue bracket is placed above a group of notes in the second measure. A red box containing the letter 'x' is positioned above the top staff in the fifth measure. The middle and bottom staves also contain musical notation, with blue brackets and beams indicating phrasing and rhythmic groupings. The system concludes with a double bar line. The text '- la.]' appears at the end of the middle and bottom staves, indicating a vocal entry or a specific musical phrase.

AVE MARIS STELLA VIRGO

Conductus (D1/34)

F, f. 221r (6,17)

I	<i>Ave, maris stella,</i>		<i>Hail, star of the sea,</i>
	virgo, decus virginum,		virgin, glory of virgins,
	celi regis cella,		chamber of the king of heaven,
	mediatrix hominum.	4	mankind's intercessor.
	Ne nos pereamus,		Lest we perish,
	<i>ad te suspiramus,</i>		<i>to you we sigh,</i>
	ut a nobis criminum		so that the storm of sins
	procul sit procella.	8	be kept far away from us.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 17, f. 221r: a3; Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for further text, here or in any other source.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 2, f. 71r (64r): a3; Strophe I, complete.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 5, f. 113r : a2 (TD); Strophe I, complete; opening initial omitted.

Hu (*E-BULh 11; Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, 11 [olim IX]*;¹ *Las Huelgas Codex*), no. 153, f. 145r : a3; Strophe I, complete; in mensural notation.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1: The opening line of this poem quotes the first line of the well-known Marian hymn . See also in this regard the conductus *Ave maris stella ave singularis* (J53/34) and the closing line of *Ave salus hominum* (F26/37). **6:** This line also occurs as the start of the fourth line of the Marian antiphon *Salve regina*.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** The way the various MSS indicate the presence or absence of sigs rot or quad is inconsistent for some portions, allowing for both Dorian and Mixolydian forms of the mode in some sections, depending on the source. This transcription uses the accidentals in *F* as its point of departure; some specific remarks on sigs appear below. *Hu* occasionally appears to give sigs for unusual pitches as *e*, *c*, and *g* (see also below). **Frequent motive:** there is a recurring melodic motive that begins with the same three notes (*g,g,f* ... and its transpositions), indicated in the transcription by “x” and its variables. This figure first opens the Tr of this piece, and appears in the same place in the conductus *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94). It also occurs in a number of other conductus, in both melismatic and syllabic contexts; see in this regard *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220), *Ista dies celebrari* (H30/189), and *Ave presul gloriose* (F20/36). **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1:** the T of “mediatrix hominum” (l. 4) = **1a.** the D of the following cauda on “[homi]num”; **2:** less convincing and thus unmarked in the score, the T of “ut a nobis criminum” (l. 7) is similar to **2a.** the D of the previous cauda on “ut [a nobis]”; **3:** T of “ut a nobis

¹On the recent change in signature for this manuscript, see David Catalunya, “Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas ‘Solmization Song,’” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8: (2017): 89-133, at 89, note 1.

criminum” (line 7) = **3a.** first phrase of D of following cauda on “[crimi]num.” **Opening cauda:** TD: W1,Hu: *b-flat* sigs start; they supply the ficta sig on *b* in the D, phrase 2 at L7 in *F*; D: F,Ma: no sig. **Cauda after line 3:** D: F: sig quad on *b* precedes; in T also in *W1*, which supplies the ficta; TD: Ma: flat sigs here until last T phrase of this cauda at L9; with its new cl and no sigs; Hu: flats in force until line 4. **Line 4:** TD: Hu: quad sigs clearly entered on *e* (!), perhaps to cancel *b-flats* in force? **Line 4,1:** TDTr: W1: new folio at “[media]trix,” no sigs til cauda after line 7. **Cauda after line 4:** TD: Ma: new sys, no sigs; Tr: F: *b-flat* sig here at start only confirmed by possibly uncanceled sig in *Hu* (see line 4); D: for the last three notes of its third cauda phrase at L8-L10: W1,Ma: 2li,2si=*fe,d,d*; Hu: 2liP,2si=*fePd,cd*. **Line 5,1:** Tr: F: sig quad on *f* precedes “ne”; DTr: *Hu* returns to *b-flats* in DTr, no sig in T. **Line 5,2:** T: Ma: following “nos,” clef with *b-flat* sig crossed out, clef without sig entered at left margin. **Line 7,1:** D: Hu: at “ut,” quad sig on *e* (to cancel *b-flat* in force? – see line 4). **Line 7,2:** T: Ma: *b-flat* sig precedes “a nobis” (Tt is “ad nobis” in *Ma*). **Cauda after line 7:** TDTr: Hu: begins with no sigs; D: Hu: adds *c-flat* sig (= *b-flat*?) for second D phrase at L9; TD: W1: *b-flats* return after long absence since line 4,1 starting last phrase of cauda at L13. **Line 8,1:** Tr: Hu: *c-flat* sig (= *b-flat*?) precedes. **Line 8, 3:** T: W1; D: Ma: prior *b-flat* sig. **Final cauda:** TDTr: Hu: *b-flat* sigs placed six notes (at L10) before end of first phrase of T (the one marked “e” in score). D: Hu: sig quad on *f*? before phrase 5 in Tr at L21 (marked “x” in score). T: Hu: at start of hocket passage in D,Tr at L28, sig quad on *g* (*f* intended?). TDTr: Hu: no sigs to end of piece occur 3 notes before end of T phrase 5 (at L35) in final cauda. T:F: looks like *g* at start of phrase 6 at L38; *f* confirmed by *W1,Ma,Hu*.

VERI SOLIS PRESENTIA
 [with additional contrafact text *Mater patris et filia*]
 Conductus (F6/370 – F34/207)

*F, f. 222r (6,18) [contrafact text *Mater patris et filia* from *Ma*, f. 117v (5,9)]*

Tr
8 [Ve -

I D
8 [Ve -

T
8 Ve -
[Ma -

[Ve]-ri so - lis pre - sen - ti - a

[Ve]-ri so - lis pre - sen - ti - a

[Ve]-ri so - lis pre - sen - ti - a
[Ma]-ter pa - tris et fi - li - a

[Husmann, "Grundlegung," 19-20, suggests that there is a good deal of melodic similarity between these lines and the following cauda, as well as in the later cauda on "[remedi]um"]

le-gis de - let ca - li - gi - nem. um - bra ce-dit. mi-ste - ri - a no-bis pa - tent

le-gis de - let ca - li - gi - nem. um - bra ce-dit. mi-ste - ri - a no-bis pa - tent

le-gis de - let ca - li - gi - nem. um - bra ce-dit. mi-ste - ri - a no-bis pa - tent
mu-li - e - rum le - ti - ci - a stel - la ma-ris ex-i - mi - a au-di no - stra

| also readable in mode 2; T and portions of other parts = transmuted cauda on “[remedi]um” below; cf. also prior *cum littera* section

per vir - gi - nem.

per vir - gi - nem.

per vir - gi - nem.
sus - pi - ri - a

e - cly - psis stel - la ne - sci - a

e - cly - psis stel - la ne - sci - a

e - cly - psis stel - la ne - sci - a
re - gi - na po - li - cu - ri - e

| Mode 1 reading less likely due to the melismatic concordances elsewhere in this piece; TDTr: syllabic/melismatic identity with opening of final cauda with lower two parts exchanged, hence the rhythms are specified here; also TD = middle to near end of final cauda without exchange and with varied Tr; TD of first several phrases here also = part of final cauda of *Ave Maria* (I) (P17/31) in *Hu*.

di - vi - num pro - fert ra-di - um. a quo vir - tus et gra-ti - a sa - lus et lu - men

di - vi - num pro - fert ra-di - um. a quo vir - tus et gra-ti - a sa - lus et lu - men

di - vi - num pro - fert ra-di - um. a quo vir - tus et gra-ti - a sa - lus et lu - men
ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor-di - e in hac val - le mi - se - ri - e sis no - bis por - ta

| Tt: same word appears in the contrafact

men-ti - um. qui vi - te pan-dit o-sti - a. la - psis fun - dis re - me-di - um.

men-ti - um. qui vi - te pan-dit o-sti - a. la - psis fun - dis re - me-di - um.

men-ti - um. qui vi - te pan-dit o-sti - a. la - psis fun - dis re - me-di - um.
ve - ni - e per tu - um vir-go fi - li - um con - fer no - bis re - me-di - um

| D: cf. "morte ... mortis"
(line 12) below

| Mode 1 reading less likely, as before; T and portions of other parts = transmuted cauda on "[virgi]nem" (line 4,4) above and lines 2-4: "legis dedit ... nobis patent per virginem"

Three staves of music (c', b', a') with complex melodic lines. Blue brackets group various phrases. A red box 'c'' is at the start of the first staff, 'b'' at the start of the second, and 'a'' at the start of the third.

| D: see last two phrases of preceding caud for similarity

Three staves of music with Latin lyrics. The lyrics are: chri - stus con-sors no - stre sor-tis mor - te iu-gum sol - vit mor - bo - ne fi - li pre - ce ma-tris per - duc nos ad re - gna pa - . Blue brackets group phrases. A red box 'a' is above the first staff.

| Mode 1 reading less likely due to ligation and consonance; TDTr: syllabic/melismatic identity with lines 6-10 ("divinum profert...remedium"), TD parts exchanged; also = middle to near end of final cauda without exchange and with varied Tr; TD of first several phrases also = part of final cauda of *Ave Maria* (I) (P17/31) in *Hu*.

Three staves of music (f, d, e) with complex melodic lines. Blue brackets group various phrases. A red box 'f' is at the start of the first staff, 'd' at the start of the second, and 'e' at the start of the third.

Three staves of music (f', e, d) with complex melodic lines. Blue brackets group various phrases. A red box 'f'' is at the start of the first staff, 'e' at the start of the second, and 'd' at the start of the third.

First system of musical notation, measures 1-10. The music is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and phrasing slurs. A blue bracket groups the first four measures. A red accent mark is placed above the final note of the third staff in measure 10.

Second system of musical notation, measures 11-20. The notation continues with various note values and rests. A blue bracket groups the first four measures. A red bracket groups the last four measures. A red bracket with a sharp symbol is placed above the first measure of the second staff. The system concludes with the lyrics: - tis.] - tis.] - tis. - tris.]

VERI SOLIS PRESENTIA – [Mater patris et filia I]

Conductus (F6/370) – [F34/207]

F, f. 222r (6,18)

I	Veri solis presentia legis delet caliginem. Umbra cedit. Misteria nobis patent per virginem. Eclypsis stella nescia; divinum profert radium, a quo virtus et gratia, salus et lumen mentium, qui vite pandit ostia, lapis fundis remedium. Christus, consors nostre sortis, morte iugum solvit mortis.		The presence of the true sun abolishes the gloom of the (old) law. The shadow vanishes. The mysteries lie open to us through a virgin. 5 The star knows not eclipse; it produces a divine ray, from which issue virtue and grace, the salvation and light of the mind, which throws open the doorways to life, 10 a remedy shed for those who have erred. Christ, the partner of our lot, in death removes the yoke of death.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 18, f. 222r: a3; Strophe I, complete, with no provision for further text; unique presentation of this music together with this poem.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Partial concordance:

*Ave Maria (II)*¹ (P17/31):

Hu, no. 156, f. 151v: a2 (TD) – here labeled when necessary as *Hu1* – in mensural notation; beginning with the third phrase of the closing cauda, the T and D are concordant with the opening of the same voice in the final caudae of *Veri solis presentia* and the contrafact *Mater patris*; upon the immediate repeat of the same music in *Veri solis* (not in *Hu1*) the T and D are exchanged. For further details and complexities of this shared material, see the discussion below of syllabic-melismatic identity.

Contrafacts:

Mater patris et filia (I) (F34/207) – in the musical transcription of *Veri solis presentia*, the text of *Mater patris* is underlaid to the T, in brackets and in slightly smaller type, in order to facilitate comparison:

Ma: fasc. 5, no. 9, f. 117v: a2 (TD); initial omitted.

Hu: no. 154, f. 147r: a3 (here *Hu2* as necessary); in mensural notation.

Other transmissions of *Mater patris* survive in at least nine other sources, seven of which (corresponding to *Mater patris et filia II* on the CPI website) transmit different melodies than the ones in *Ma* and *Hu*; the remainder offer only the text.

¹In Anderson's catalog, this is given as "*Ave Maria (I)*"; the numbering used here follows the CPI database.

Notes on the Text: Priority of contrafact versions: Robert Falck,² in “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus,” pp. 315-317, suggests that the *Mater patris* redaction of this piece is the original version, due to its state as a pre-existing liturgical text that was then recast into the lyric as it appears in *F*; the reverse situation, he claims, is a less likely occurrence. For a comparable state of affairs, see the conductus *Stella serena* (F29/339), which shares its music with the *Ave Maria III* (O2,O4/30) preserved in *StV*. **Textual notes:** Throughout the poem, the ray refers to Christ (with the “true sun” referring to God the Father), the star to Mary. **2:** cf. Romans 7:6.³ **5:** the lack of eclipse is a metaphor for Mary’s virginity. **8,4:** Tt: F: hostia; the alternative spelling (“ostia”) is used here to avoid confusion with the homographic “sacrifice”. **10,3:** coincidentally, the same word (“remedium”) appears in the contrafact at this point. **12, 2-4:** cf. 1 Corinthians, 15:26; and 15:54-55, for this commonly cited ironic conundrum: death is put to death through the death of Christ which brings grace.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity:** there are an unusually large number of rather complex correspondences among various melismatic and syllabic portions of this piece and its contrafact, as well as a short excerpt shared by a different work (the *Ave Maria* concordance above); see Husmann, “Grundlegung,” 19-20:⁴

1. T(DTr) of “legis delet caliginem” / umbra cedit misteria / “nobis patent per virginem” (lines 2-4).
 - a. = similar T(D) of following cauda on “[virgi]nem” (line 4).
 - b. = T(DTr) in cauda on “[remedi]um” (line 10), modally transmuted.
 - c. T of last 2 phrases of caudae on “[virgi]nem” and “[remedi]um” = T of “morte iugum solvit mor[tis]” (line 12, last line).
2. T(DTr) of “di-vi-num pro-fert ... fun-dis re-me-di-um”(lines 6-10).
 - a. = the opening 5 phrases of the closing cauda on “[mor]tis” with TD exchanged.
 - b. = phrases 6-10 of the same cauda without exchange and with a slightly varied Tr.
 - i. i.e., the closing cauda on “[mor]tis” opens with a five-phrase block of music that is immediately repeated in phrase 6-10, but now with the T and D part exchanged and the Tr slightly varied. Thus the T and D of lines 6-10 correspond with the orientation given in the *second* half of the cauda, but with the same Tr as in the *first* half;
 - ii. while the second portion of the final cauda presents the same TD disposition as the *cum littera* portion, but with the slightly varied Tr.
3. Also, music from this same final cauda appears again in the two-part *Ave Maria (II)*, an unicum in *Hu*.
 - a. The middle segment of the closing cauda of this *Ave Maria* is concordant with the opening few phrases of the D and T from the final cauda of *Veri solis presentia* and *Mater patris*.
 - b. This same music is also repeated slightly later in the caudae of *Veri solis* and *Mater patris* with the T and D exchanged.

For another piece with similarly extensive relationships between *cum* and *sine littera* segments, see the conductus *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336); the connection extends to the fact that *Veri solis/Mater patris* and *Soli nitorem* are both confined to *F* and the two Spanish MSS *Ma* and *Hu*. **Opening cauda:** D: F: penultimate note of phrase 1 om at L6, from *Ma, Hu2*. T: F: the final 2 notes of the cauda are L,DL in *Ma, Hu2*. **Line 1,3:** Tr: F: the *c* of the third syllable of “[presen]ti[a]” om, leaving 2li,4li'2li=*de, fgeffg*; emendation based on *Hu2*: 2li,2li,3li,B=*cd,ef,gef,f,g*. **Line 6,2:** Tr:F: 2 of 2li=*f?*; *e* verified by *Hu2*. **Final cauda:** D: F: midway through

²Robert Falck, “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 [1970]: 315-326.

³Romans 7:6: “Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege morientes, in quo detinebamur; ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae” (“But now we are released from the law of death, wherein we were detained; so that we may serve in the newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter”).

⁴Heinrich Husmann, “Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 9 (1952): 3-26.

phrase 4 at L30, the *bP* is struck through as if in error; it is retained here, due to its untouched presence later in the T when repeated. At the beginning of phrase 6 at L43, where all parts exchange for the repetition of the previous music: T: F: si,2li written close together, looks like 3li – Tr: F: clef om, music 3 too high to end of piece; four phrases later, at L69: D: F: si,3li=*d,edb* written close together, looks like 4li.

VERBUM PATER EXHIBUIT

Conductus (E5/368)

F, f. 223r (6,19)

| T=T of line 8, which has no flats in *F* and an *f#* in the Tr in *F* and *W1*

Tr

8

1. [Ver - bum pa - ter ex - hi - bu-it pro - mis - sum ab i - ni - ti - o.
 2. [Pri - me ma - tris sug - ge - sti-o por - tas mor - tis ap - pe - ru-it.
 3. [Se - cun - da nos re - sti - tu-it e - re - ptos a ti - ran - ni-de
 4. [Ad - ma - lum mor - tis lan - gui-de lan - guen - tes nos pro - sti - tu-it
 5. [Vo - ci fi - dem ad - hi - bu-it ho - stis hu - ma - ni ge - ne-ris
 6. [Den - tes stu - pe - scunt po - ste-ris ex u - va quam ab - sor - bu-it

D

8

1. [Ver - bum pa - ter ex - hi - bu-it pro - mis - sum ab i - ni - ti - o.
 2. [Pri - me ma - tris sug - ge - sti-o por - tas mor - tis ap - pe - ru-it.
 3. [Se - cun - da nos re - sti - tu-it e - re - ptos a ti - ran - ni-de
 4. [Ad - ma - lum mor - tis lan - gui-de lan - guen - tes nos pro - sti - tu-it
 5. [Vo - ci fi - dem ad - hi - bu-it ho - stis hu - ma - ni ge - ne-ris
 6. [Den - tes stu - pe - scunt po - ste-ris ex u - va quam ab - sor - bu-it

T

8

1. Ver - bum pa - ter ex - hi - bu-it pro - mis - sum ab i - ni - ti - o.
 2. Pri - me ma - tris sug - ge - sti-o por - tas mor - tis ap - pe - ru-it.
 3. Se - cun - da nos re - sti - tu-it e - re - ptos a ti - ran - ni-de
 4. Ad - ma - lum mor - tis lan - gui-de lan - guen - tes nos pro - sti - tu-it
 5. Vo - ci fi - dem ad - hi - bu-it ho - stis hu - ma - ni ge - ne-ris
 6. Den - tes stu - pe - scunt po - ste-ris ex u - va quam ab - sor - bu-it

| TDTTr: W1: new system, no flats until D at start of line 7

8

1. no-bis quod pan - di vo - lu - it in vir - gi - na - li gre - mi-o
 2. quas da - to no - bis fi - li - o se - cun - da ma - ter ob - stru-it.
 3. ti - ran - ni cui sup - po - su - it nos gu - la ma - tris a - vi - de.
 4. ma-la ma-tris im - pro - vi - de. que ma - li cau - sam pre - bu - it.
 5. e - va ma-ter quo me - ru - it cul - pe re - a - tum ve - te - ris.
 6. ma-ter cor-ru - pti fe - de - ris. sed quod e - den - do no - cu - it.

8

1. no-bis quod pan - di vo - lu - it in vir - gi - na - li gre - mi-o
 2. quas da - to no - bis fi - li - o se - cun - da ma - ter ob - stru-it.
 3. ti - ran - ni cui sup - po - su - it nos gu - la ma - tris a - vi - de.
 4. ma-la ma-tris im - pro - vi - de. que ma - li cau - sam pre - bu - it.
 5. e - va ma-ter quo me - ru - it cul - pe re - a - tum ve - te - ris.
 6. ma-ter cor-ru - pti fe - de - ris. sed quod e - den - do no - cu - it.

8

1. no-bis quod pan - di vo - lu - it in vir - gi - na - li gre - mi-o
 2. quas da - to no - bis fi - li - o se - cun - da ma - ter ob - stru-it.
 3. ti - ran - ni cui sup - po - su - it nos gu - la ma - tris a - vi - de.
 4. ma-la ma-tris im - pro - vi - de. que ma - li cau - sam pre - bu - it.
 5. e - va ma-ter quo me - ru - it cul - pe re - a - tum ve - te - ris.
 6. ma-ter cor-ru - pti fe - de - ris. sed quod e - den - do no - cu - it.

| f. 223v; TDTTr:F: new system, no sigs

1. pro - ce - dit de prin - ci - pi - o prin - ci - pi - um quod in - du - it;
2. nos re - le - ga - tos te - nu - it pri - me pa - ren - tis a - cti - o.
3. que dum se ma - gis in - vi - de in - al - tum tol - li cen - su - it;
4. qui - a ma - lum ap - po - su - it ma - le ma - lo - rum cu - pi - de.
5. ve - rum non su - i sce - le - ris pe - ne so - la sub - cu - bu - it.
6. vir - go cre - den - do di - lu - it. per quam mi - ser - tus ho - ne - ris

| D: W1: b-flat through first 16 L of cauda; Tr: W1: sig quad on high b

| T=T of line 2, which has b-flats in all parts in F and W1; W1 flat in D continues here

1. car - nem quam mo - ri sta - tu - it pri - me ma - tris sug - ge - sti -
2. re - ver - sos post - li - mi - ni - o se - cun - da - nos re - sti - tu -
3. a bo - no vi - te cor - ru - it ad ma - lum mor - tis lan - gui -
4. quan - do ser - pen - tis cal - li - de vo - ci fi - dem ad - hi - bu -
5. u - vam a - cer - bam sor - bu - it den - tes stu - pe - scunt po - ste -
6. a - stri - ctis lu - to la - te - ris ver - bum pa - ter ex - hi - bu -

| D: W1: new system, no flat;
Tr: W1: f#

1. - o.]
2. - it.]
3. - de.]
4. - it.]
5. - ris.]
6. - it.]

1. - o.]
2. - it.]
3. - de.]
4. - it.]
5. - ris.]
6. - it.]

1. - o.
2. - it.
3. - de.
4. - it.
5. - ris.
6. - it.

VERBUM PATER EXHIBUIT

Conductus (E5/368)

F, f. 223r (6,19)

I <i>Verbum pater exhibuit,</i> promissum ab initio, nobis quod pandi voluit in virginali gremio. Procedit de principio principium, quod induit carnem quam mori statuit <i>prime matris suggestio.</i>	<i>The Father produced the Word,</i> foretold from the start, which he wanted disclosed to us in a virginal womb.	5 The beginning issues from the beginning, which donned the flesh that <i>the encouragement of</i> <i>the first mother</i> condemned to death.
II <i>Prime matris suggestio</i> portas mortis aperuit; quas, dato nobis filio, secunda mater obstruit. Nos relegatos tenuit prime parentis actio; reversos postliminio <i>secunda nos restituit.</i>	<i>The encouragement of the first mother</i> opened the gates of death, which the second mother barricaded when a son was given to us. The action of our first parent kept us exiled;	10 15 restored to our original state, <i>the second mother renewed us.</i>
III <i>Secunda nos restituit,</i> ereptos a tyrannide tiranni cui supposuit nos gula matris avide. Que dum se magis invade in altum tolli censuit, a bono vite corrui <i>ad malum mortis languide.</i>	<i>The second mother renewed us,</i> snatched away from the tyranny of that tyrant to whom the gluttony of the voracious mother subjected us. Although she enviously reckoned herself to be raised up on high to an even greater degree, she fell headlong from the good of life <i>to the evil of languishing death.</i>	20 25
IV <i>Ad malum mortis languide</i> languentes nos prostituit, mala matris improvide, que mali causam prebuit, quia malum apposuit male malorum cupide quando serpentis callide <i>voci fidem adhibuit.</i>	<i>To the evil of languishing death,</i> the mouth of the thoughtless mother – which occasioned the cause of evil – enslaved us as weaklings because she served up the apple to a mouth desirous of evil things when the wily serpent's <i>voice she trusted.</i>	25 30
V <i>Voci fidem adhibuit</i> hostis humani generis, Eva mater quo meruit culpe reatum veteris. Verum non sui sceleris pene sola subcubuit: uvam acerbam sorbuit <i>dentes stupescunt posteris.</i>	<i>She trusted the voice</i> of the enemy of humankind, whereby Mother Eve deserved the charge of original sin. Yet she did not succumb alone to the punishment of her own sin: as she devoured the sour grape, <i>the teeth of posterity were set on edge.</i>	35 40
VI <i>Dentes stupescunt posteris</i>	<i>The teeth of posterity were set on edge</i>	

ex uva quam absorbu		by the grape that the mother
mater corrupti federis.		of the foul covenant devoured.
Sed quod edendo nocuit,		But what she harmed by eating,
virgo credendo diluit.	45	the virgin cleansed by believing.
Per quam, misertus honeris		Through her, pitying the burden placed
astrictis luto lateris,		on those bound to the labor of clay and brick,
<i>verbum pater exhibuit.</i>		<i>the Father produced the Word.</i>

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 19, f. 223r: a3, Strophes I-VI complete, with II-VI provided in an empty space within the writing block at the end of the composition, and each of the subsequent stanzas capped by an upper-case letter. This work begins a series of pieces in *F*-6 that are primarily strophic and often simpler in design, with the first several works featuring the conceit of lines that are strategically repeated during the course of the lyric and (with *Verbum pater exhibuit* excepted) an emphasis on classical literary references. For further information on these points, see the notes on the text, below.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 8, f. 77r (70r): a3, Strophe I only, but with space left upon empty staves occupied by staff lines for about half the concluding system of the piece that could, conceivably, accommodate further text stanzas.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 46, f. 245v (16v): Tt only of Strophes I-VI, complete, with the first lines of II-VI signaled by left-margin pilcrows; rubric: “De effectu incarnationis Jesu Cristi” (“On the result of Jesus Christ’s incarnation”).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: this piece begins a long series of 29 mostly strophic works (or unique, single-strophe pieces) that are much less freighted with caudae than the previous items in *F*-6; this feature continues up through *F*-6,47, *Vhe proclamet clericorum* (F19/357) and includes two motets and a conductus prosula at *F*-6,34-35 and *F*-6,40.¹ The repeated-line poetic construction of *Verbum pater exhibuit*, furthermore, is echoed in three of the four works that follow it in this manuscript, while a different combination of three pieces from this same series of four features an unusual emphasis on quotations from classical authors.

Repetitive poetic structure: the poem presents a complex poetic scheme in which the last line of each of its six stanzas is repeated verbatim as the first of the following strophe, and the entire poem closes with a recapitulation of line 1; these repetitions are signaled in the text, translation, and transcription through the use of italics. This interconnected strophic arrangement is then further consolidated, not only through the use of just two different rhyme sounds within each of its eight-line stanzas, but by a disposition wherein each pair of strophes exchanges their rhymes in the pattern *ababbaab, babaabba*. As a result, the opening *a* rhyme remains unchanged throughout the whole poem; and since a new *b* rhyme is only introduced in every other strophe, this forty-eight line poem makes use of only four different rhyme sounds during its entire course. **Textual notes: 1-7,1:** see John, 1:1-4,14,18; the Word of the Father is Christ, existing from the beginning along with God as a member of the Trinity (as noted in lines 5-6,1). For additional information about Christ’s consubstantiality

¹These are, in order of their appearance in *F*-6: *Latex silice/Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), and *Serena virginum/Manere* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5).

with God the Father, see the remarks on the text to the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2 (at *F*-7,29) and the references to the other compositions given there. **7,2-16:** the first mother is Eve, whose story of the temptation by the serpent (see line 31) and the eating of the fruit of the forbidden tree in the garden of Eden is treated throughout the poem (see Genesis, 3). The second mother (of Strophe III) is the Virgin Mary, set in constant opposition to Eve as the poem continues. Mary's giving birth to Jesus redeemed mankind and negated the effects of original sin through Eve's actions, thus restoring the human race to its initial state before the Fall (as related in lines 15-16). **9-10:** see Job, 38:17: "Numquid apertae sunt tibi portae mortis, et ostia tenebrosa vidisti?" ("Have the gates of death been opened to you, and have you seen the darksome doors?") **11,2-4:** Isaiah, 9:6: "Parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis ..." ("For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us ..."). **18-19:** the tyranny and tyrant here are likely either death or the Devil, or both. **21-22:** The serpent convinces Eve to eat the apple by telling her that she and Adam will become godlike if they partake of the fruit; see Genesis, 3,4-5.² **24,2; 25,2:** "malum" is also translatable as "apple," as the poet is certainly intending a pun here; see also the further jesting with the same homographs in lines 27-30, as well as the same type of *annominatio* in the conductus *Hec est dies triumphalis* (H12/152), line 8. **27-30:** a thoroughgoing bit of wordplay, as the poet juggles the different meanings of "mala" ("jaw/cheek" – here rendered as "mouth," – or "evil things") and "malum" ("apple," "evil"). **31:** the serpent of Genesis 3 is commonly equated with Satan and the Devil. **40:** see Jeremiah, 31:29-30;³ parts of this passage are also quoted in Ezekiel, 18:2. The sour grapes, like the apple, are representative of original sin, which caused discomfort for the descendants of Adam and Eve. **47:** literally "bound to the clay of the brick," a reference to the bondage of the Israelites under the Egyptians; see Exodus, 1:14.⁴

Observations and Variants: TEXT: Textual notes: 1,1: *F*: Vebum, correct in all other sources. **16,2:** quos in both *F* and *OxRawl*, the only two sources to contain this stanza. Although the reading is acceptable as it stands, it has been modified editorially here to "nos" by virtue of the line repetition scheme seen throughout the poem. The departure here in lines 16 and 17 from the otherwise verbatim repetition scheme of the words throughout the rest of the poem is rather curious, and the change in tactic may have been prompted by the prior appearance of "nos" in line 13,1, as well as in 20,1. An alternative emendation could include "quos" for both 16,2 and 17,2. Also, if the word repetition between lines 13 and 16-17 is considered to be an issue, one might use either "nos" or "quos" for line 13, and the other of the two for lines 16 and 17. **19,2:** "cui" is monosyllabic here, in both the poem and musical setting. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** The appearance of signatures in this piece is somewhat confusing, particularly since the music in the T is the same for lines 2 and 8, but both sources seem to imply that these T lines are sung in different *g* modes, the first time with *b-flat*, the second with *b-natural*; hence, that is how they are presented here. Both *F* and *W1* start the piece with *b-flat* sigs in all voices. As indicated by the annotations in the score, *F* omits all flats at the start of line 5 with a new system and the turn to the next folio, whereas *W1* ceases writing flats earlier with a new system and folio that starts at line 3,3. *W1* then curiously reinstates a *b-flat* in the D beginning in line 7, with a possible sig quad on *b* in the Tr at the same exact place; presumably this indicates *b-natural*, although the sig seems to occupy the space for the high *a*.

²Genesis, 3,4-5: "Dixit autem serpens ad mulierem: 'nequaquam morte moriemini. Scit enim Deus quod in quocumque die comederitis ex eo; aperientur oculi vestri et eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum'" ("And the serpent said to the woman: 'No, you shall not die the death. For God knows that on whatever day you should eat of it, your eyes shall be opened; and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.'").

³Jeremiah, 31:29-30: "In diebus illis non dicent ultra, 'patres comederunt uvam acerbam et dentes filiorum obstipuerunt.' Sed unusquisque in iniquitate sua morietur; omnis homo qui comederit uvam acerbam, obstupescant dentes eius" ("In those days they will not say again, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' But everyone will die for his own iniquity; each man who eats the sour grapes, his teeth will be set on edge.").

⁴Exodus, 1:14: "Atque ad amaritudinem perducebant vitam eorum operibus duris luti et lateris, omnique famulatu, quo in terrae operibus premebantur" ("And they [the Egyptians] made their life bitter with hard works in clay, and brick, and with all manner of service, wherewith they were overcharged in the works of the earth.").

This Tr *b-natural* then disappears in *W1* at the start of the next system, at line 7,3, and the *b-flat* is retained in the D for the first 16L of the final cauda. Immediately afterwards in the cauda, at a further system change in *W1*, the *b-flat* is gone in the D and a sig quad on *f* (= *f*♯) occurs in the Tr to finish off the piece. In *F*, after the turn to the new folio at line 5, no further flats appear anywhere in the piece. Instead, an *f*♯ is written in the Tr at line 8,2, and remains in the next and final system to the end of the piece. The result of this evidence has been incorporated in the transcription, which tries to soften some of the harsher clashes that occur if the accidentals are read literally. Performers should feel at liberty to experiment with different choices of accidentals among the ones available. **Final cauda:** T: F: the 4li (= *bcd b*) of T phrases 4 and 6 (at L16 and L24) may actually be a closely grouped si,3li (as given in *W1*) in both instances.

CELUM NON ANIMUM

Conductus (E1/56)

F, f. 223v (6,20)

Tr

8

1. [Ce - lum non a - ni-mum mu - tat sta - bi - li - tas. fir - mans id o - pti - mum

2. [Non e - rat sta - bi - lis gra - dus qui ce - di - dit pes e - ius la - bi - lis

3. [Fa - cti di - mi - di - um ha - bet qui ce - pe - rit. ce - ptum ne - go - ti - um

4. [Co - ro - nat mi - li - tem fi - nis non pre - li - um. dat hoc an - ci - pi - tem

5. [Mu - tat cum pro - the - o fi - gu - ram le - vi - tas. as - sum - mit i - de - o

D

8

1. [Ce - lum non a - ni-mum mu - tat sta - bi - li - tas. fir - mans id o - pti - mum

2. [Non e - rat sta - bi - lis gra - dus qui ce - di - dit pes e - ius la - bi - lis

3. [Fa - cti di - mi - di - um ha - bet qui ce - pe - rit. ce - ptum ne - go - ti - um

4. [Co - ro - nat mi - li - tem fi - nis non pre - li - um. dat hoc an - ci - pi - tem

5. [Mu - tat cum pro - the - o fi - gu - ram le - vi - tas. as - sum - mit i - de - o

T

8

1. Ce - lum non a - ni-mum mu - tat sta - bi - li - tas. fir - mans id o - pti - mum

2. Non e - rat sta - bi - lis gra - dus qui ce - di - dit pes e - ius la - bi - lis

3. Fa - cti di - mi - di - um ha - bet qui ce - pe - rit. ce - ptum ne - go - ti - um

4. Co - ro - nat mi - li - tem fi - nis non pre - li - um. dat hoc an - ci - pi - tem

5. Mu - tat cum pro - the - o fi - gu - ram le - vi - tas. as - sum - mit i - de - o

8

1. quod men - tis fir - mi - tas vo - vet cum a - ni - mi ta - men iu - di - ti - o.

2. do - mus que oc - ci - dit. hinc tu con - si - de - ra quid a - gi cen - se - as

3. si non o - mi - se - rit. non tan - tum de - di - tus cir - ca prin - ci - pi - a.

4. me - tam is bra - vi - um i - ste quod tri - bu - it di - ctat sta - bi - li - tas.

5. for - mas in - co - gni - tas. vul - tum con - stan - ti - a con - ser - vans in - ti - mum

8

1. quod men - tis fir - mi - tas vo - vet cum a - ni - mi ta - men iu - di - ti - o.

2. do - mus que oc - ci - dit. hinc tu con - si - de - ra quid a - gi cen - se - as

3. si non o - mi - se - rit. non tan - tum de - di - tus cir - ca prin - ci - pi - a.

4. me - tam is bra - vi - um i - ste quod tri - bu - it di - ctat sta - bi - li - tas.

5. for - mas in - co - gni - tas. vul - tum con - stan - ti - a con - ser - vans in - ti - mum

8

1. quod men - tis fir - mi - tas vo - vet cum a - ni - mi ta - men iu - di - ti - o.

2. do - mus que oc - ci - dit. hinc tu con - si - de - ra quid a - gi cen - se - as

3. si non o - mi - se - rit. non tan - tum de - di - tus cir - ca prin - ci - pi - a.

4. me - tam is bra - vi - um i - ste quod tri - bu - it di - ctat sta - bi - li - tas.

5. for - mas in - co - gni - tas. vul - tum con - stan - ti - a con - ser - vans in - ti - mum

8 1. nam si tur - pis - si - mi vo - ti con - si - li - o vis sce - lus im - pri - mi
2. dum res est li - be - ra; [sic sta ne ia - ce - as] pri - us de - li - be - ra
3. ne - dum sol - li - ci - tus pro fi - nis glo - ri - a. nam re - rum ex - i - tus
4. i - stud quod me - tu - it in - du - cit le - vi - tas nam pal - mam an - nu - it
5. al - pha prin - ci - pi - a et .o. no - vis - si - mum fle - ctens fit me - di - a

8 1. nam si tur - pis - si - mi vo - ti con - si - li - o vis sce - lus im - pri - mi
2. dum res est li - be - ra; [sic sta ne ia - ce - as] pri - us de - li - be - ra
3. ne - dum sol - li - ci - tus pro fi - nis glo - ri - a. nam re - rum ex - i - tus
4. i - stud quod me - tu - it in - du - cit le - vi - tas nam pal - mam an - nu - it
5. al - pha prin - ci - pi - a et .o. no - vis - si - mum fle - ctens fit me - di - a

8 1. nam si tur - pis - si - mi vo - ti con - si - li - o vis sce - lus im - pri - mi
2. dum res est li - be - ra; [sic sta ne ia - ce - as] pri - us de - li - be - ra
3. ne - dum sol - li - ci - tus pro fi - nis glo - ri - a. nam re - rum ex - i - tus
4. i - stud quod me - tu - it in - du - cit le - vi - tas nam pal - mam an - nu - it
5. al - pha prin - ci - pi - a et .o. no - vis - si - mum fle - ctens fit me - di - a

8 1. fa - cto ne - fa - ri - o de - bet hec per - i - mi fa - cta pro - mis - si - o.]
2. quod fa - ctum sub - e - as. ne di - e pos - te - ra se - ro pe - nit - e - as.]
3. li - brat in - du - stri - a. sub - it in - tro - i - tus pre - cepts in - cu - ri - a.]
4. men - tis in - te - gri - tas. quam da - ri re - spu - it va - ga mo - bi - li - tas.]
5. dans fi - nem o - pti - mum. mu - tans in va - ri - a ce - lum non a - ni - mum.]

8 1. fa - cto ne - fa - ri - o de - bet hec per - i - mi fa - cta pro - mis - si - o.]
2. quod fa - ctum sub - e - as. ne di - e pos - te - ra se - ro pe - nit - e - as.]
3. li - brat in - du - stri - a. sub - it in - tro - i - tus pre - cepts in - cu - ri - a.]
4. men - tis in - te - gri - tas. quam da - ri re - spu - it va - ga mo - bi - li - tas.]
5. dans fi - nem o - pti - mum. mu - tans in va - ri - a ce - lum non a - ni - mum.]

8 1. fa - cto ne - fa - ri - o de - bet hec per - i - mi fa - cta pro - mis - si - o.]
2. quod fa - ctum sub - e - as. ne di - e pos - te - ra se - ro pe - nit - e - as.]
3. li - brat in - du - stri - a. sub - it in - tro - i - tus pre - cepts in - cu - ri - a.]
4. men - tis in - te - gri - tas. quam da - ri re - spu - it va - ga mo - bi - li - tas.]
5. dans fi - nem o - pti - mum. mu - tans in va - ri - a ce - lum non a - ni - mum.]

CELUM NON ANIMUM

Conductus (E1/56)

F, f. 223v (6,20)

I <i>Celum non animum</i> mutat stabilitas, firmans id optimum quod mentis firmitas vovet cum animi tamen iudicio; nam si, turpissimi voti consilio, vis scelus imprimi facto nefario, debet hec perimi facta promissio.	<i>The sky overhead, not your character,</i> is what steadfastness changes, affirming that what the steadiness of the mind wishes for 5 is still best when coupled with discernment of character; for if, by the instigation of a most disgraceful vow, you are willing to mark a crime 10 with a shameful deed, this promise you have made should be revoked.
II Non erat stabilis gradus, qui cecidit; pes eius labilis domus que occidit. Hinc tu considera quid agi censeas dum res est libera. [Sic sta, ne iaceas.] Prius delibera quod factum subeas, ne die postera sero peniteas.	The one who fell was not firm in his step; 15 the foundation of the house that collapses is unsteady. Consider, therefore, what you propose to do while the matter is still open. 20 So stand firm, don't lie low. Ponder well beforehand the action you undertake, lest on a subsequent day you may regret it too late.
III Facti dimidium habet qui ceperit, ceptum negotium si non omiserit. Non tantum deditus circa principia, nedum sollicitus pro finis gloria; nam rerum exitus librat industria: subit introitus preceps incuria.	25 One who begins has half the job done, if he does not neglect the business he started. But one who has not so readily applied 30 himself to the beginnings of a task, is even less concerned for the glory of the end result; for diligence sets in motion the conclusions of things: 35 a hasty beginning fails through negligence.
IV Coronat militem finis, non prelium. Dat hoc ancipitem metam; is bravium. Iste quod tribuit dictat stabilitas; istud quod metuit	It is the final outcome, not the battle, that crowns the warrior. The latter marks an uncertain 40 turning-point; the former bestows the prize. The former confers what steadfastness dictates; the latter fears what

inducit levitas; nam palmam annuit mentis integritas; quam dari respuit vaga mobilitas.		inconstancy represents; for it is integrity of the mind that grants the palm of victory; unsettled fickleness spurns it being awarded.
V Mutat cum Protheo figuram levitas. Assummit ideo formas incognitas; vultum constantia conservans intimum, Alpha principia et .O. novissimum flectens, fit media, dans finem optimum, mutans in varia celum non animum.	45 50 55 60	Inconstancy changes shape as often as Proteus. It consequently takes on unknown forms; but constancy preserves its inmost appearance, weaving together the initial Alpha, and the ultimate Omega, it becomes a mean, giving the best outcome, and changing into different things <i>the sky overhead, not your character.</i>

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 20, f. 223v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V entered in a prepared empty space within the writing block following the musical setting and with capital letters beginning each additional stanza.

W1, fasc. 2, no. 6, f. xv^r (11r): a3; Strophes I-III only, with II-III headed by capitals, written within space left open at the end of the final system of the piece, and extending significantly into the right margin of the leaf.

CB (*D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana*),¹ no. 15, f. 48r: unheightened neumes a1 (of what appears to be the T) set only above Strophes I-II;² text of Strophes I-V, complete, headed by red initials, with that of I much larger and decorated with tracery.

Text only:

OxRawl (*GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510*), no. 52, f. 247r (18r): text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V signaled by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “De stabilitate” (“on steadfastness”).

Add.24659 (*Lbl Add. 24659; London, British Library, Additional MS 2459*), f. 1r: text only of Strophes I-IV (images of this source are presently unavailable to me; variants collated in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:171).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: This poem is raised as a possible work of Philip the Chancellor by David

¹Images of *CB* available [here](#).

²Not I-III as reported on the CPI website.

Traill (“A Cluster of Poems,” 284).³ The text is an extended meditation on the virtues of steadfastness (*stabilitas* and its synonyms *firmitas*, *industria*, *integritas*, and *constantia*) in opposition to inconstancy (*levitas*, *mobilitas*). The final line repeats the opening one, and a number of Classical and Late-Antique references (from Horace’s *Epistles* and Boethius) pepper this song, in addition to several nods to the Bible. Similar features appear in other conductus at this point in *F*-6; see the remarks for *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), which precedes this piece in *F*, for an assessment of this particular section of the MS. Most of the following observations are beholden to the commentaries by Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:xxxviii-ixl, and Vollmann, *Carmina Burana*,⁴ see also Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1:44-49, 475.⁵ **Textual notes:** **1:** cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I,11,27: “caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.” (“Those who rush across the sea change their sky, not their soul”). **13-14:** cf. Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, book I, metrum 1, line 22: “Qui cecidit stabili non erat ille gradu” (“The one who fell was not on a firm stair”). **15-16:** cf. Matthew, 7:24-27, where Jesus relates the contrasting stories of the houses built respectively on rock and sand, where the latter collapses after a great rain and windstorm. **20:** cf. 1 Corinthians, 10:12: “itaque qui se existimat stare videat ne cadat” (“And so he that thinks he stands, let him watch out that he does not fall”). **25-26:** see Horace, *Epistles*, I,2,40-41,1: “dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude, / incipe.” (“He who begins has half of the job done; dare to know! Get started!”). **37-38:** see the similar expression from the versified *Vita beatae Mariae Aegyptiacae*, I,53, attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin and available in *PL*, vol. 171, col 1323, C-D.⁶ For the likely scriptural reference in this remark, see the note for lines 39-40. **39-40:** cf. 1 Corinthians, 9:24.⁷ **49,3:** see Horace, *Epistles*, I,1,90: “Quo teneam uoltus mutantem Protea nodo?” (“With what type of knot might I hold Proteus, as he changes his looks?”). Proteus was a mythical sea god, blessed with the gift of foretelling the future. In order to extract a prophecy from him, he had to be caught and held fast as he attempted to elude his captors by changing into a multitude of different shapes. See, e.g., Virgil, *Georgics*, 4,387-414; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8,730-731. **55-56:** Alpha and Omega are the respective first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. For further significance, see Revelation, 22:13: “ego Alpha et Omega, primus et novissimus, principium et finis” (“I am the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end”); as well as the similar expressions in Revelation, 1:8 and 21:6.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** **13,1-2:** *F*: looks equally likely written as “Noverat.” **14,3:** *F*: decidit; the adopted reading (“cedidit”) is in all other sources (*W1,CB,OxRawl,Add.24659*) and also corresponds to the quotation from Boethius (see above in the notes on the text); but *F*’s “decidit” is nearly synonymous with “cedidit” and would suffice if desired. **20:** *F*: whole line om, restored from *W1,CB,OxRawl,Add.24659*. **22,1:** *F,Add.24659*: quam, from *W1,CB*. **29,2:** *F*: tatum (no abbreviation macron over the “a”). **34,1:** for this meaning of “librat” (“sets in motion”), see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/libro>, s.v. “libro,” *LewisShort*, II.C. **36,1:** *F*: princeps, from *W1,CB,OxRawl,Add.24659*. **39,3:** *F*: amcipitem, from *CB,OxRawl,Add.24659*. **40,2:** *F,OxRawl*: id, from *CB,Add.24659*. It seems necessary that the Latin “is” be used here, in order to agree with

³David A. Traill, “A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36,” *Studi medievali*. ser. 3, 47 (2006): 267-286.

⁴Benedikt K. Vollmann, ed. and trans., *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen, mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift*, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, no. 13 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987), 939-941.

⁵David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1:44-49, 475.

⁶*PL*, vol. 171, col 1323, C-D: “Praemia victorum pendent in fine laborum / ut Scriptura sonat, finis, non pugna coronat” (“The victors’ prizes depend on the completion of labors; as scripture says: it is the result, not the fight that crowns”).

⁷1 Corinthians, 9:24: “nescitis quod hii qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium? Sic currite ut comprehendatis” (“Don’t you know that, of those who run in a race, all certainly run, but only one gets the prize? Run so as to win it.”).

“finis,” just as “hoc” agrees with “prelium.” **41,1-2:** *F*: iste qui; *CB*: istud quod; adopted reading from *OxRawl, Add.24659*. **45,2:** *CB, OxRawl*: formam. **49:** for this meaning of “cum” (“as often as”) see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/cum>, s.v. “cum,” *Lewis*, (2).1 CA-I. **55,1:** “alpha” is an indeclinable noun, and usually neuter in gender. Here it appears to be construed (logically) as feminine. **MUSIC:** The use of strokes or compound notational figures at fairly regular intervals on the third (and sometimes sixth) syllables of most of the lines may suggest opportunities for extension at these places in performance; see Knapp, “Musical Declamation,” 393-395.⁸ **Accidentals:** since only the *Tr* in *F* presents any sigs among the readable musical sources for this piece (none, e.g., are present at all in *W1*, and *CB*’s neumes are staffless), *f-sharps* have been applied very sparingly in the transcription, most typically in conjunction with a *b-natural* in one of the other parts. The same criteria have also provided the reasons for suggesting *f-sharps* in two places in the *D* voice: one at the very start and the other four syllables from the end. The lower *f* pitch, encountered occasionally in the *T* voice and once in the *D* is maintained throughout as *f-natural*.

⁸Janet Knapp, “Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979): 383-407.

LENITER EX MERITO

Conductus (E2/195)

F, f. 224v (6,21)

Tr

8

[b] [b'] [9]

[Le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to fe - ren - dum quod pa - ti - mur. me - re - mur ex de - bi - to
[O - mne in pre - ci - pi - ti cur - su ste - tit vi - ti - um. o - mne ge - nus ve - ti - ti
[Pe - nis no - stris to - ci - ens di - vi - na com - pa - ti - tur cle - men - ti - a quo - ti - ens
[Pe - na do - len - da ve - nit que ve - nit im - mer - it - a. quam nec cul - pa pre - ve - nit.

D

8

[Le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to fe - ren - dum quod pa - ti - mur. me - re - mur ex de - bi - to
[O - mne in pre - ci - pi - ti cur - su ste - tit vi - ti - um. o - mne ge - nus ve - ti - ti
[Pe - nis no - stris to - ci - ens di - vi - na com - pa - ti - tur cle - men - ti - a quo - ti - ens
[Pe - na do - len - da ve - nit que ve - nit im - mer - it - a. quam nec cul - pa pre - ve - nit.

T

8

[a] [a] [9]

Le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to fe - ren - dum quod pa - ti - mur. me - re - mur ex de - bi - to
O - mne in pre - ci - pi - ti cur - su ste - tit vi - ti - um. o - mne ge - nus ve - ti - ti
Pe - nis no - stris to - ci - ens di - vi - na com - pa - ti - tur cle - men - ti - a quo - ti - ens
Pe - na do - len - da ve - nit que ve - nit im - mer - it - a. quam nec cul - pa pre - ve - nit.

8

pe - nas qui - bus sub - di - mur. qui - a dum de - se - ri - mur de - se - ren - tes
pro - di - it in me - di - um. sub - i - it ex - i - li - um a - ctus o - mnis
fe - rox es - se co - gi - tur. do - let et i - ra - sci - tur qui - a pe - nas
nec pre - ce - dunt me - ri - ta. ve - rum nos qui ve - ti - ta non ve - ren - tes

8

pe - nas qui - bus sub - di - mur. qui - a dum de - se - ri - mur de - se - ren - tes
pro - di - it in me - di - um. sub - i - it ex - i - li - um a - ctus o - mnis
fe - rox es - se co - gi - tur. do - let et i - ra - sci - tur qui - a pe - nas
nec pre - ce - dunt me - ri - ta. ve - rum nos qui ve - ti - ta non ve - ren - tes

8

pe - nas qui - bus sub - di - mur. qui - a dum de - se - ri - mur de - se - ren - tes
pro - di - it in me - di - um. sub - i - it ex - i - li - um a - ctus o - mnis
fe - rox es - se co - gi - tur. do - let et i - ra - sci - tur qui - a pe - nas
nec pre - ce - dunt me - ri - ta. ve - rum nos qui ve - ti - ta non ve - ren - tes

8

do - mi - num. nec ad cor con - ver - ti - mur mo - le pres - si cri - mi - num.
li - ci - tus. et su - um of - fi - ci - um ex - er - cet in - hi - bi - tus.
ir - ro - gat. et qui iu - ste pa - ti - tur i - ra - scen - ti de - ro - gat.
se - qui - mur. pe - na non in - de - bi - ta iu - re qui per - cel - li - mur.

8

do - mi - num. nec ad cor con - ver - ti - mur mo - le pres - si cri - mi - num.
li - ci - tus. et su - um of - fi - ci - um ex - er - cet in - hi - bi - tus.
ir - ro - gat. et qui iu - ste pa - ti - tur i - ra - scen - ti de - ro - gat.
se - qui - mur. pe - na non in - de - bi - ta iu - re qui per - cel - li - mur.

8

do - mi - num. nec ad cor con - ver - ti - mur mo - le pres - si cri - mi - num.
li - ci - tus. et su - um of - fi - ci - um ex - er - cet in - hi - bi - tus.
ir - ro - gat. et qui iu - ste pa - ti - tur i - ra - scen - ti de - ro - gat.
se - qui - mur. pe - na non in - de - bi - ta iu - re qui per - cel - li - mur.

| Strophe IV has an extra 4 lines (designated below by "b."), conjecturally disposed here by having them repeat the music of the final 4 lines of the strophe ("a." below)

8 pe - ne pe - nam ad - di - mus lon - ga re - ste tra - hi - mus
ob hoc i - ra do - mi - ni com - mi - na - tur ho - mi - ni.
vi - ce ver - sa sup - pli - cat qui dam - pnan - dum iu - di - cat.
a. per has pe - nas an - nu - as vi - te - mus per - pe - tu - as.
b. a pa - tre qui cor - ri - git fi - li - um quem di - li - git.

8 pe - ne pe - nam ad - di - mus lon - ga re - ste tra - hi - mus
ob hoc i - ra do - mi - ni com - mi - na - tur ho - mi - ni.
vi - ce ver - sa sup - pli - cat qui dam - pnan - dum iu - di - cat.
a. per has pe - nas an - nu - as vi - te - mus per - pe - tu - as.
b. a pa - tre qui cor - ri - git fi - li - um quem di - li - git.

8 pe - ne pe - nam ad - di - mus lon - ga re - ste tra - hi - mus
ob hoc i - ra do - mi - ni com - mi - na - tur ho - mi - ni.
vi - ce ver - sa sup - pli - cat qui dam - pnan - dum iu - di - cat.
a. per has pe - nas an - nu - as vi - te - mus per - pe - tu - as.
b. a pa - tre qui cor - ri - git fi - li - um quem di - li - git.

8 pec - ca - tum im - pli - ci - tum. a pec - ca - to gen - i - tum.]
pe - nas do - lens re - se - rat ut pec - can - tem con - te - rat.]
ad pe - nas im - pro - pe - rat iu - di - cem ex - a - spe - rat.]
gau - de - a - mus cor - ri - pi] ex - pe - ctan - tes re - ci - pi]
ca - sti - ga - to ge - ni - to] le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to.]

8 pec - ca - tum im - pli - ci - tum. a pec - ca - to gen - i - tum.]
pe - nas do - lens re - se - rat ut pec - can - tem con - te - rat.]
ad pe - nas im - pro - pe - rat iu - di - cem ex - a - spe - rat.]
gau - de - a - mus cor - ri - pi] ex - pe - ctan - tes re - ci - pi]
ca - sti - ga - to ge - ni - to] le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to.]

8 pec - ca - tum im - pli - ci - tum. a pec - ca - to gen - i - tum.
pe - nas do - lens re - se - rat ut pec - can - tem con - te - rat.
ad pe - nas im - pro - pe - rat iu - di - cem ex - a - spe - rat.
gau - de - a - mus cor - ri - pi] ex - pe - ctan - tes re - ci - pi
ca - sti - ga - to ge - ni - to] le - ni - ter ex me - ri - to.

OPTIONAL BD CAUDA FROM *W1A* (W1-2,8; f. xvi^v [12v], IV) = BD1 a3, and BD2 a2 (TD) of *Naturas deus singulis* (F-6,10; C7/214)

W1, f. 16v (12v), IV

Tr 8 [Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -]

BD D 8 [Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -]

T 8 Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -

↓ T = melisma [Vir]Go of Gradual *Benedicta. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32) ...

... chant quotation in T ends ↓

- mi - no.]

- mi - no.]

- mi - no.

LENITER EX MERITO

Conductus (E2/195)

F, f. 224v (6,21)

I <i>Leniter ex merito</i> ferendum quod patimur. Meremur ex debito penas quibus subdimur; quia dum deserimur deserentes dominum, nec ad cor convertimur, mole pressi criminum, pene penam addimus. Longa reste trahimus, peccatum implicitum a peccato genitum.	5 10	<i>Calmly, as we deserve,</i> must we bear what we suffer. We merit those penalties to which we are duly subjected; for when we deserters desert the Lord, and are not turned back to the heart, crushed by a bulk of sins, we add punishment to punishment. We trail a long cord, an entangled sin that is born from sin.
II Omne in precipiti cursu stetit vitium. Omne genus vetiti prodiit in medium. Subiit exilium actus omnis licitus, et suum officium exercet, inhibitus. Ob hoc, ira domini comminatur homini. Penas, dolens, reserat ut peccantem conterat.	15 20	Every vice was fixed upon a headlong course. Every type of forbidden thing advanced into the midst. Each lawful action underwent banishment, and, held back, attends to its own business. Due to this, the wrath of the Lord threatens mankind. Grieving, it unlocks its penalties to wear down the sinner.
III Penis nostris tociens divina compatitur clementia. Quotiens ferox esse cogitur, dolet et irascitur quia penas irrogat; et qui iuste patitur irascenti derogat. Vice versa, supplicat qui dampnandum iudicat, ad penas improperat; iudicem exasperat.	25 30 35	Divine mercy feels so much pity for our sins. Whenever it is compelled to be fierce, it is pained and angered that it is inflicting punishments; and yet one who suffers deservedly detracts from that angering. Conversely, he who implores the one who determines who should be damned is reproachful towards his punishments and vexes the judge.
IV Pena dolenda venit que venit immerita, quam nec culpa prevenit. nec precedunt merita. Verum, nos qui vetita non verentes sequimur, pena non indebita	40	A punishment comes painfully that comes undeserved, one that neither a fault anticipates nor merits foresee. Indeed, we who follow forbidden things fearlessly, we are rightly beaten down

	iure qui percellimur.		by a punishment not undeserved.
a.	Per has penas annuas	45	Through these recurring punishments
	vitemus perpetuas.		we avoid permanent ones.
	Gaudeamus corripī,		Let us rejoice in being reproached,
	expectantes recipi		as we await to be received
b.	a patre qui corrigit		by the father who corrects
	filium quem diligit,	50	the son he loves,
	castigato genito		having chastised his offspring
	<i>leniter ex merito.</i>		<i>calmly, as we deserve.</i>

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 21, f. 224v: a3; Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV entered within a prepared empty space within the writing block following the last system of the piece, and with the final, supernumerary lines of IV squeezed into nearly the entire available space from the left to right margin, just above the top line of the staff system below. *F* is the only source to transmit Strophe IV, which itself contains four additional lines (beginning with “b.” above at line 49) in comparison to the other stanzas. This and the following piece in *F*, *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), are also together in *CaJ*, but in reverse order.

This piece occurs twice with the same music and text in *W1*:

W1, fasc. 2, no. 8, f. xvi^r (12r): a3; Strophes I-III only, with II-III, signaled by capitals, entered successively in the bottom margin of f. xvr^v (12v), extending outside the writing block from the left and nearly obscured by the binding on the right. The music closes with a cauda on “Benedicamus Domino” (headed by a capital letter) that occurs in no other source of this piece, but which does appear as part of the transmission history of the conductus *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214), about which see below; collated when necessary as *W1A*. The BD portion from *W1A* is supplied as an optional addition after the transcription of *Leniter*.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 16, f. 81v (74v): a3; Strophes I-III only, with II (lacking an initial) and III (with a painted one) entered successively starting in the bottom margin of f. 82r (75r); the BD cauda found at the end of the earlier transmission of *Leniter ex merito* in *W1* is absent here; collated when necessary as *W1B*.

CaJ (Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1; GB-Cjec MS QB1), Fragment A, no. 4, f. 1a^v: a3; fragmentary, music and text only of the beginning of the piece, lines 1-3,1. This and the previous work in *CaJ*, *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), are also together in *F*, but in reverse order.¹

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 38, f. 243v (14v): text of Strophes I-III, only, with II and III headed by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “Ut a peccatis nostris convertamus” (“that we may be turned back from our sins”).

Music only:

The cauda on “Benedicamus domino,” which appears uniquely at the end of the first of the two versions of *Leniter ex merito* in *W1* (fasc. 2, no. 8, f. 16r [12r]), also occurs in the conductus *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214),

¹Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

transmitted in the following, briefly noted sources. This cauda, furthermore, contains a so-called “hidden” clausula, with a portion of its T (on “do[mino]”) identical to the melisma [*Vir*]*Go* from the gradual *Benedicta. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32). This “hidden” clausula has no known concordances outside its appearances in conductus. See the individual treatment of *Naturas deus* above at F-6,10 for more details.

F, fasc. 6, no. 10, f. 211v: a3, Strophes I-II; fasc. 7, no. 20, f. 286v: a2, Strophes III-IV, complete. The a3 and a2 segments of the piece are separated in this source. The *Benedicamus domino* cauda/clausula that closes the entire work and which fits into the poem in that place, also appears a3 after strophe II, which shows no such connection.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 3, f. 98v (89v): a3, Strophes I-II; f. 100v (91v): a2, Strophes III-IV; the piece is essentially complete, although the *Benedicamus domino* segment occurs only once a2 at the end of Strophe IV; in contrast to *F*, both the a3 and a2 sections occur successively in this source.

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 1, f. 107r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-II only, with closing *Benedicamus domino*.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 3, f. 96r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-II only, with closing *Benedicamus domino*.

Additionally, a fragmentary transmission of *Naturas deus regulis*, with no extant BD is found in *MÜ382* (*D-MÜu 382; Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 382*), f. *2v (back flyleaf).

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-2: cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 5,7: “Leniter, ex merito quicquid patiare, ferendum est” (“Whatever you suffer deservedly must be borne calmly”); the following, complementary line of this elegaic couplet is recalled later in lines 37-38, where it heads the final strophe of the poem, q.v. Furthermore, just as in the previous piece in *F*-6, *Celum non animum* (E1/56), the last line, again deriving from Ovid, recurs at the very end of the poem. Similar features appear in other pieces at this point in *F*; see the remarks for *F*-6,19, *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), for an assessment of this particular section of the MS. **7:** cf. Psalm 84:9.² **37-38:** cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 5,8: “quae venit indigne poena dolenda venit” (“a penalty that comes unworthily, comes painfully”). Thus the two respective members of this couplet open the first and last stanzas of the poem, while its first line closes the text as well. **40,3:** the “merita” could also be understood in a negative sense here (“offenses”).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants **MUSIC: line 11,2:** DTr: F: the om following strokes in all parts supplied from *W1A, W1B*; D: F: in the short cauda following this word (“implicitum”): si,3li=*a,abc*; the adopted reading from *W1A, W1B* assumes that the *F* reading is an error, replicating and transposing the Tr figures at this point. **49-52:** these four verses (designated as “b.” in the text above), are supernumerary to Strophe IV, which is transmitted only in *F*. It is not immediately obvious how the extra lines are to be accommodated to the musical setting. In this case, they have been conjecturally assigned to the music of the final four lines of the stanza (shown above as “a.”), in the manner of a *tornada* or *envoi* as encountered in the vernacular repertory of the troubadours and trouvères. Another alternative would allow for omitting “a.” entirely. This makes a certain amount of structural sense, since this is the point where some extensive musical repetition returns (marked in the score), not seen since the opening lines of the T. **Optional BD cauda:** this portion has been supplied for the sake of completeness from its unique appearance in *W1A*, the only source to

²Psalm 84:9: “Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus, quoniam loquatur pacem in plebem suam, et super sanctos suos, et in eos qui convertuntur ad cor” (“I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me: for he will speak peace unto his people: And unto his saints: and unto them that are converted to the heart.”).

offer the cauda in the context of *Leniter*; the Tr offers a few pitch readings in its phrase prior to the *punctus organi* (after the chant quotation ends) that are more consonant than the a3 *F* version of this cauda associated with *Naturas deus*.

FAS ET NEFAS AMBULANT

Conductus (F7/119)

F, f. 225v (6,22)

Tr

8

1. [Fas et ne - fas am - bu - lant fe - re pas - su pa - ri. pro - di - gus non re - di - mit
2. [Si le - gis - se me - mo - ras e - thi - cam ca - tho - nis in qua scri - ptum le - gi - tur
3. [Vul - tu li - cet hi - la - ri ver - bo li - cet blan - do sis e - qua - lis o - mni - bus;
4. [Da - re non ut con - ve - nit non est a vir - tu - te. bo - num est se - cun - dum quid
5. [Si pru - den - ter tri - ti - cum pa - le - is e - mun - das. fa - mam e - mis mu - ne - re

D

8

1. [Fas et ne - fas am - bu - lant fe - re pas - su pa - ri. pro - di - gus non re - di - mit
2. [Si le - gis - se me - mo - ras e - thi - cam ca - tho - nis in qua scri - ptum le - gi - tur
3. [Vul - tu li - cet hi - la - ri ver - bo li - cet blan - do sis e - qua - lis o - mni - bus;
4. [Da - re non ut con - ve - nit non est a vir - tu - te. bo - num est se - cun - dum quid
5. [Si pru - den - ter tri - ti - cum pa - le - is e - mun - das. fa - mam e - mis mu - ne - re

T

8

1. Fas et ne - fas am - bu - lant fe - re pas - su pa - ri. pro - di - gus non re - di - mit
2. Si le - gis - se me - mo - ras e - thi - cam ca - tho - nis in qua scri - ptum le - gi - tur
3. Vul - tu li - cet hi - la - ri ver - bo li - cet blan - do sis e - qua - lis o - mni - bus;
4. Da - re non ut con - ve - nit non est a vir - tu - te. bo - num est se - cun - dum quid
5. Si pru - den - ter tri - ti - cum pa - le - is e - mun - das. fa - mam e - mis mu - ne - re

8

1. vi - ti - um a - va - ri. vir - tus tem - pe - ran - ti - a qua - dam sin - gu - la - ri
2. am - bu - la cum bo - nis. cum ad dan - di glo - ri - am a - ni - mum dis - po - nis;
3. u - num ta - men man - do. si vis re - cte glo - ri - am pro - me - re - ri dan - do;
4. sed non ab - so - lu - te. di - gne da - re po - te - ris. et me - re - ri tu - te.
5. sed ca - ve - to cum das lar - gi - ta - tis o - le - um ma - le ne of - fun - das.

8

1. vi - ti - um a - va - ri. vir - tus tem - pe - ran - ti - a qua - dam sin - gu - la - ri
2. am - bu - la cum bo - nis. cum ad dan - di glo - ri - am a - ni - mum dis - po - nis;
3. u - num ta - men man - do. si vis re - cte glo - ri - am pro - me - re - ri dan - do;
4. sed non ab - so - lu - te. di - gne da - re po - te - ris. et me - re - ri tu - te.
5. sed ca - ve - to cum das lar - gi - ta - tis o - le - um ma - le ne of - fun - das.

8

1. vi - ti - um a - va - ri. vir - tus tem - pe - ran - ti - a qua - dam sin - gu - la - ri
2. am - bu - la cum bo - nis. cum ad dan - di glo - ri - am a - ni - mum dis - po - nis;
3. u - num ta - men man - do. si vis re - cte glo - ri - am pro - me - re - ri dan - do;
4. sed non ab - so - lu - te. di - gne da - re po - te - ris. et me - re - ri tu - te.
5. sed ca - ve - to cum das lar - gi - ta - tis o - le - um ma - le ne of - fun - das.

8 1. de - bet me - di - um ad u - trum - que vi - ti - um cau - te con - tem - pla - ri.]
 2. su - pra ce - te - ra pri - mum hoc con - si - de - ra quis sit di - gnus do - nis?]
 3. pri - mum vi - de - as gra - num in - ter pa - le - as cu - i des et quan - do.]
 4. fa - mam mu - ne - ris; si me pri - us no - ve - ris in - tus et in cu - te.]
 5. in [te] glo - ri - or. qui - a co - dro co - dri - or. o - mni - bus ha - bun - das.]

8 1. de - bet me - di - um ad u - trum - que vi - ti - um cau - te con - tem - pla - ri.]
 2. su - pra ce - te - ra pri - mum hoc con - si - de - ra quis sit di - gnus do - nis?]
 3. pri - mum vi - de - as gra - num in - ter pa - le - as cu - i des et quan - do.]
 4. fa - mam mu - ne - ris; si me pri - us no - ve - ris in - tus et in cu - te.]
 5. in [te] glo - ri - or. qui - a co - dro co - dri - or. o - mni - bus ha - bun - das.]

8 1. de - bet me - di - um ad u - trum - que vi - ti - um cau - te con - tem - pla - ri.]
 2. su - pra ce - te - ra pri - mum hoc con - si - de - ra quis sit di - gnus do - nis?]
 3. pri - mum vi - de - as gra - num in - ter pa - le - as cu - i des et quan - do.]
 4. fa - mam mu - ne - ris; si me pri - us no - ve - ris in - tus et in cu - te.]
 5. in [te] glo - ri - or. qui - a co - dro co - dri - or. o - mni - bus ha - bun - das.]

FAS ET NEFAS AMBULANT

Conductus (F7/119)

F, f. 225v (6,22)

I Fas et nefas ambulant fere passu pari. Prodigus non redimit vitium avari. Virtus, temperantia quadam singulari, debet medium ad utrumque vitium caute contemplari. II Si legisse memoras Ethicam Cathonis, in qua scriptum legitur “<i>ambula cum bonis.</i>” Cum ad dandi gloriam animum disponis, supra cetera primum hoc considera: quis sit dignus donis? III Vultu licet hilari, verbo licet blando, sis equalis omnibus, unum tamen mando: si vis recte gloriam promereri dando, primum videas granum inter paleas, cui des, et quando. IV Dare non ut convenit non est a virtute. Bonum est secundum quid, sed non absolute. Digne dare poteris. et mereri tute. famam muneris, si me prius <i>noveris</i> <i>intus et in cute.</i> V Si prudenter triticum paleis emundas, famam emis munere. Sed caveto cum das, largitatis oleum male ne offundas.	Right and wrong walk at an almost equal pace. A spendthrift does not compensate for the vice of a miser. 5 Virtue, through a certain special type of moderation, should carefully observe the middle between the vice on either side. 10 If you recall having read Cato’s <i>Ethics</i>, one reads in it the axiom “walk with the good.” When you dispose your soul 15 to the glory of giving, before anything else first consider this: who might deserve the gifts? 20 Though with a merry face and with flattering speech, you may be evenhanded with everyone, I still bid you do one thing: If you rightly wish to earn glory through giving, 25 you first need observe the grain amidst the chaff, those to whom you should give, and when. To give when it is inappropriate, does not arise from virtue. 30 It achieves good to a certain extent, but not absolutely. You will be able to give worthily and be securely entitled to the renown of the gift, 35 if you first come to “know me both inside and out.” If you prudently clean the chaff from the wheat, you purchase fame with your reward. 40 But be aware when you give, that you do not pour out the oil of generosity ineptly.

In [te] glorior,
quia, Codro codrior,
omnibus habundas.

I take great delight in you,
because, being more of a Codrus than poor Codrus himself,
45 you abound with everything.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 22, f. 225v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V entered in a prepared space within the writing block after the end of the last system and headed with capitals; further space is available for at least another three or four lines of text. This and the previous piece in *F*, *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), are also together in *Caj*, but in reverse order.

CaJ (Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1; GB-Cjec MS QB1), Fragment A, no. 3, f. 1a^v: a3; Strophe I only, with no provision for other text; the music is mostly complete, although, from the beginning through line 3,2, portions of the Tr are trimmed from the top of the folio (thus excising any pitch higher than *d* above middle *c*). This and the following piece in *CaJ*, *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), are also together in *F*, but in reverse.¹

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; *Carmina Burana*),² no. 19, f. 1r: a1 (with what appears to be the T), in unheightened neumes with music set to each stanza; Strophes I-V, complete, in the order I, II, IV, III, V, with the subsequent stanzas indicated by painted initials and with a decorated opening letter and smaller painted letters for the first two words of the text. A separate poem entered into the margin at the bottom of f. 1r, *O fortuna velud luna*, interrupts the continuation of *Fas et nefas* after line 28,1 (first word of third stanza) before the turn to the subsequent folio. On a related matter, *Fas et nefas* is preceded by a large, painted illustration depicting Fortune's wheel, with the goddess sitting in the center of her spoked contraption. A crowned individual holding a long scepter sits on a throne atop the wheel, while three other representations of this same person grasp the wheel as it spins them around in a circle at the positions of 3, 6, and 9 o'clock. The rightmost figure (at 3 o'clock) is portrayed upside down, with his crown fallen off, while the crownless, supine figure at the bottom almost appears to be crushed by the weight of the device, and the figure at the left, bareheaded like his predecessors, rides the wheel upward with his left leg draped over one of the spokes. Each of the figures has a label describing their situation. From the top and proceeding clockwise, the captions read "Regno," "regnavi," "sum sine regno," and "regnabo" ("I am reigning," "I reigned," "I am without a kingdom," "I will reign").

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 49, f. 246v (17v): text only of Strophe I, which is rather unusual, as this source typically provides multiple strophes when they are extant; rubric: "De prodigo et avaro" ("On the spendthrift and the miser").

Fulda C11 (D-FUL Hs. C 11; Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, C11): f. 331r;³ this paper MS from the later fifteenth-century gives the text only of Strophes I-III; initials for each stanza were never entered.

Images from the following text-only sources are presently unavailable to me. The information given here

¹For images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

²Images of *CB* available [here](#).

³Images from this source may be found at: <https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/ppnresolver?id=PPN446275026>.

derives from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:96:

F-LYm 623 (*Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale*, 623), f. 142v: text only of Strophes I-V, complete.

GB-Cccc 202 (*Cambridge Corpus Christi College*, 202), f. 71v: text only of Strophes I-IV, in the order I, IV, III, II.

GB-Lbl Add. 24659, f. 1r: text only of Strophes I-III.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

The same poetic structure appears in the following troubadour songs; none of their sources transmits a melody:

Far vuoill un nou sirventes (Pillet-Carstons⁴ 156.6; Folquet de Romans).

Pessamen ai e cossir (Pillet-Carstons 355.10; Peire Raymon de Tolosa).

Notes on the Text: General remarks: as with three other of the five pieces from *F*-6,19-23, this work is notable for its relatively frequent quotations or allusions to classical authors (the exception being *F*-6,19 *Verbum pater exhibuit* [E5/368]); unlike all its companions in this group, though, *Fas et nefas ambulant* does not feature the literal repetition of lines during the course of the poem. For some further information about these works, see the opening remarks in the notes on the text for *Verbum pater*. **Attribution:** the work is ascribed to Walter of Châtillon by David Traill in his edition of Walter's lyrics (no.51);⁵ see also the similar rendering in Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1:56-57, 477-478.⁶ **Textual notes:** this poem, which treats charitable giving, is similar in many respects to the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), transmitted in *F*-7, *W1*, and (now missing from) *OxRawl*; for a slight verbal echo between the two, see the remarks for line 27. Also applicable, in terms of criticizing those who delay the granting of gifts or favors, are the conductus *Premii dilatio* (E3/270) and *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132). Most of the following remarks on *Fas et nefas* are indebted to the observations in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:x-xi, and Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*, lxxx-lxxxi, 168-170. **5-9:** cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I,18,9: "Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum" ("virtue is in the midst of the vices and separated from either side"). **13:** a direct quote from Cato, *Distichs* (known also as *Collectio distichorum vulgaris*, *Disticha Catonis*, *Cato*, and many other names), Prologue, monostich 6. This collection of aphorisms by an unknown author of the third- or fourth-century, sometimes identified as Dionysius Cato and sometimes incorrectly attributed to either the elder or younger Marcus Portius Cato, (grandfather and grandson, 234-149 and 95-46 BCE, respectively), was extremely long-lived; it served as late as the eighteenth century as a Latin reader and moralistic instructional guide. For a further nod to Cato's collection, see the following conductus in *F*-6: *Cum animadverterem* (F12/73), and the notes on lines 27 and 40, below. **14:** cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, 5,110-111: "... namque et titulis et fascibus olim / maior habebatur donandi gloria" ("... for at one time the glory of giving was held in greater esteem than either the titles or trappings of

⁴This catalog reference points to Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

⁵David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

⁶David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

office.”). **26:** The separation of wheat grains from chaff through winnowing on the threshing floor comes from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, where it is presented as a symbol of the faithful achieving salvation by their separation from the damned. Here it is repurposed to separate worthy from undeserving recipients of largesse. The biblical image is rife among pieces in the Parisian repertory (for some samples, see the notes on the text to line 4 of the conductus *Relegentur ab area* [C6/304], F-6,2). **27:** cf. Cato, *Distichs*, Prologue, monostich 17: “Cui des videto” (“Consider to whom you should give”). See also the note on line 40 and the remarks on the text for *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), line 3: “quis quid cui det, et qualiter” (“who might give what to whom, and how”), with its possible connections to Seneca’s *De beneficiis*, as well as other authors. **35,5-36:** cf. Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus, 34-62 C.E.), *Satires*, 1,30: “ego te intus et in cute novi” (“I knew you inside and out”). **37-38:** see the notes for line 26 on the wheat and chaff. **40:** more from Cato, see the notes for line 27. **41:** cf. Isaiah, 61:3: “oleum gaudii” (“the oil of joy”); Hebrews, 1:9: “oleo exultationis” (“the oil of gladness”). **43-45:** the actual referent of these concluding lines, whether it is the person addressed in the poem or the narrator, is not immediately clear; but, following Traill, I am assuming that the reference to Codrus in line 44 pertains to the addressee and is not the narrator describing his own unfortunate state in comparison to the addressee (i.e., “I am more poor than poor Codrus himself, [whereas] you abound with everything”). In the adopted interpretation, it turns out that the person being advised of his giving by the narrator has nothing to offer except the smiles and flattery alluded to in lines 19-20, and yet with such gifts he has everything anyone should ultimately need. **44:** for the most likely candidate for Codrus, see Juvenal, *Satires*, 3,203-210, which speaks of a poor man who had almost no possessions to speak of, but who lost even that small portion in a fire. The main point of irony in the Juvenalian passage is provided by lines 208-209: “Nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud / perdidit infelix totum nihil” (“Codrus had nothing, for who would deny that? And yet this unhappy man lost all that nothing”).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 34:** F: famam emis munere (replicates line 39); corrected from CB. **43,2:** “te” om; supplied from CB. **MUSIC: line 3,1:** Tr: F: possibly *g* for *f* on second syllable of “prodigus”? **Line 5,1-2:** T: F: the first three notes of the phrase over “virtus tem[perantia]” 2 higher; emended from CaJ. **Line 8,3:** TDr: F: following strokes om; supplied from CaJ – T: F: the *a* over the second syllable of “vitium” originally was 2li=*ag*, erased and never corrected; *a* supplied from CaJ.

CUM ANIMADVERTEREM – *F* and *WI* versions, realignments, editorial reconstructions
Conductus (112/73)

F, f. 225v (6,23) – MS alignment, no ficta

Tr

8

1. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re
2. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro que quan - ta quot e - ger - o; re - cte fle - re
3. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ris in qui - bus de - lin - que - ris bo - ni ni - chil
4. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - re te po - tes in sce - le - re ver - te - re re -
5. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur dum in car - ne vi - vi - tur. quid a no - bis

1. D

8

1. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re
2. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro que quan - ta quot e - ger - o; re - cte fle - re
3. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ris in qui - bus de - lin - que - ris bo - ni ni - chil
4. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - re te po - tes in sce - le - re ver - te - re re -
5. [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur dum in car - ne vi - vi - tur. quid a no - bis

a b a'

T

8

1. Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re
2. Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro que quan - ta quot e - ger - o; re - cte fle - re
3. Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ris in qui - bus de - lin - que - ris bo - ni ni - chil
4. Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - re te po - tes in sce - le - re ver - te - re re -
5. Cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur dum in car - ne vi - vi - tur. quid a no - bis

8

1. la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem
2. po - te - ro. ni - si de - cli - na - ve - ro. ni - si me de ce - te - ro
3. o - pe - ris. ni - chil in - quam re - pe - ris er - go ni - si fal - le - ris
4. ver - te - re. dum po - tes re - sur - ge - re. men - tis ho - mo li - be - re
5. a - gi - tur; ni - chil si - quid i - gi - tur ra - ti - o - ne re - gi - tur;

8

1. la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem
2. po - te - ro. ni - si de - cli - na - ve - ro. ni - si me de ce - te - ro
3. o - pe - ris. ni - chil in - quam re - pe - ris er - go ni - si fal - le - ris
4. ver - te - re. dum po - tes re - sur - ge - re. men - tis ho - mo li - be - re
5. a - gi - tur; ni - chil si - quid i - gi - tur ra - ti - o - ne re - gi - tur;

c a'

8

1. la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem
2. po - te - ro. ni - si de - cli - na - ve - ro. ni - si me de ce - te - ro
3. o - pe - ris. ni - chil in - quam re - pe - ris er - go ni - si fal - le - ris
4. ver - te - re. dum po - tes re - sur - ge - re. men - tis ho - mo li - be - re
5. a - gi - tur; ni - chil si - quid i - gi - tur ra - ti - o - ne re - gi - tur;

[note that the cauda melodies in T and D are configured slightly differently in the W1 version, which also contains an additional opening phrase

or: ♩ ♪ (all voices, each phrase)

1. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem]
2. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro.]
3. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ris.]
4. cum a - ni - mad - ver - re.]
5. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur.]

1. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem]
2. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro.]
3. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ris.]
4. cum a - ni - mad - ver - re.]
5. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur.]

1. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem.
2. cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - ro.
3. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ris.
4. cum a - ni - mad - ver - re.
5. cum a - ni - mad - ver - ti - tur.

F, f. 225v (6,23) – ligatures realigned for greater consonance, minimal use of editorial ficta

Tr 8 [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re
2. D 8 [Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re
T 8 Cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem ve - ne - ran - do ve - ne - rem me la - va - re

8 la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem
8 la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem
8 la - te - rem sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem

| note that the cauda melodies in T and D in F are configured slightly differently in the W1 version, which also contains an additional phrase

or:   (all voices, each phrase)



8 cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem]

8 cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem]

8 cum a - ni - mad - ver - te - rem.

W1, f. 117r (108r) (9,31) – MS alignment, no ficta

3. D                    

| D: music for this line after F; W1: c,b,a,bc,b,ba,g (erroneously repeats previous D phrase)

sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

sen - si quod suc - cum - be - rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te - rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

[#] or: ♯ (all voices, each phrase)

- te - rem]

- te - rem]

- te - rem.

Second editorial reconstruction a3 – relies on both *F* and *W1* throughout, Tr pitches occasionally emended and ligatures realigned for greater consonance; longer cauda based on *W1*, no ficta| Tr: *F: f*

[Cum a - ni - mad-ver - te-rem ve-ne - ran-do ve - ne-rem me la - va-re la - te-rem

[Cum a - ni - mad-ver - te-rem ve-ne - ran-do ve - ne-rem me la - va-re la - te-rem

Cum a - ni - mad-ver - te-rem ve-ne - ran-do ve - ne-rem me la - va-re la - te-rem

| D: music for this line after *F*; *W1*: repeats previous D phrase | TD: music for these syllables mostly after *F*. D: *F: c,b,a,b,d*; *W1*: *c,b,a,g,dd*; T: *W1*: *c,d,e,dd*| Tr: *F: f*

sen - si quod suc - cum - be-rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te-rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

sen - si quod suc - cum - be-rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te-rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

sen - si quod suc - cum - be-rem. ni - si cul - pam ve - te-rem cum a - ni - mad - ver -

[#] or: ♩ ♪ (all voices, each phrase)

- te - rem]

- te - rem]

- te - rem.

CUM ANIMADVERTEREM – *F* and *Wl* versions, realignments, editorial reconstructions
Conductus (I12/73)

F, f. 225v (6,23)

I <i>Cum animadverterem</i> venerando Venerem me lavare laterem, sensi quod succumberem, nisi culpam veterem <i>cum animadverterem.</i>	<i>When I considered</i> that in worshiping Love I am washing a brick, I thought I was succumbing, 5 except <i>when I considered</i> that sin of old.
II <i>Cum animadvertero</i> que, quanta, quot egero, recte flere potero, nisi declinavero, nisi me de cetero, <i>cum animadvertero.</i>	<i>When I shall have considered</i> what, how much, and how many things I have done, I can readily 10 despair, if at that point I have not yet shunned them, <i>when I shall have considered.</i>
III <i>Cum animadverteris</i> in quibus deliqueris, boni nichil operis – nichil inquam – reperis, ergo nisi falleris, <i>cum animadverteris.</i>	<i>When you considered</i> those things in which you were wanting, 15 you find there is no good deed – nothing, I say – unless you consequently deceive yourself, <i>when you considered.</i>
IV <i>Cum animadvertere</i> te potes in scelere vertere, revertere dum potes resurgere mentis homo libere, <i>cum animadvertere.</i>	<i>When you can consider</i> 20 that you are turning towards sin, reverse your course while you are still able to rise up again as a man of free will, <i>when you can consider.</i>
V <i>Cum animadvertitur</i> dum in carne vivitur quid a nobis agitur, nichil siquid igitur ratione regitur, <i>cum animadvertitur.</i>	25 <i>When one considers</i> just what it is we do while we live in the flesh, then nothing whatever is ruled by reason, 30 <i>when one considers.</i>

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 23, f. 225v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V headed by capitals, entered into a thin empty space within the writing block provided at the end of the final system of the piece, and extending further downwards into the rightmost part of an area otherwise inhabited by the first system of the following item (*Procurans odium* [E9/274]). Both these adjacent conductus treat the rather unusual subject of earthly love.

Wl, fasc. 9, no. 31; f. 117r (108r): a2 (TD); text of Strophe III omitted; the three subsequent text stanzas otherwise included in this redaction (II, IV, V) are entered successively at the bottom of the page below the writing block, in three long lines extending from margin to margin, each headed by a painted initial. This version shows some interesting departures from that of *F*. It is supplied among the alternative readings for

comparison; see no. 3 of the five different redactions of the music presented here.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 41, f. 244r (15r): text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V headed by pilcrows; unusually, the indicators for III and V occur within successively written lines of text, rather than beginning a new line near the left border of the writing block; rubric: “Ut animadvertamus que bona sunt et que mala” (“That we may recognize what things are good, and what are bad”)

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: as with a number of the other poems in this segment of *F-6*, *Cum animadverterem* indulges in the repetition of lines as part of its stanzaic construction (as in *F-6*, 19-21 and 23) and invokes antique authors (*F-6*, 20-23). In addition to beginning and ending each strophe with identical lines and confining a single rhyme sound to each stanza that is never repeated in any other, each set of recurring lines runs through various tenses, persons, voices, and moods of the verb *animadverto*, with each specific configuration also not repeated. The various verb forms are: **I:** first-person singular imperfect active subjunctive; **II:** first-person singular future perfect active indicative; **III:** second-person singular perfect active subjunctive; **IV:** present active infinitive complementary to a second-person singular present active indicative; **V:** third-person singular present passive indicative. For a comprehensive discussion of *Cum animadverterem* within the context of medieval refrain songs, didactic mnemonic devices, the recasting of preexistent textual material, and moral and spiritual education, see Mary Channen Caldwell, “Singing Cato,” especially pp. 10-18.¹ The wordplay in this poem poses a number of challenges to translation if the result is intended to reflect the verbal conceits of the original lyric. As a result, I have decided to replicate as closely as I can the repetition of lines within the stanzas and also have tried to differentiate the various tenses of “animadverto” as well as the other verbs in the lyric, even if the results in English may seem a bit stilted. This is one of the few conductus preserved in *F* to treat the subject of earthly or erotic love; for a full list of such pieces see the remarks on the text of *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128, at *F-6*, 28). Interestingly, two pairs of pieces in this list are contiguous in *F-6* (*Cum animadverterem* / *Procurans odium* and *Flos in monte cernitur* / *Veris ad imperia* [F11/373]).

Textual notes: **1:** this line is a nod to the very opening of the prologue of Cato’s *Distichs* (known also as *Collectio distichorum vulgaris*, *Disticha Catonis*, the *Cato*, and many other names).² For additional information about this collection of aphorisms, see the notes on the text to the preceding piece in *F-6*, *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), lines 13 and 27, where Cato is also quoted. **3,2-3:** The phrase “to wash a brick” (*laterem lavare*) means to perform a useless task (see Terence, *Phormio*, line 186 [act I, scene 4, line 8]). The expression also

¹Mary Channen Caldwell, “Singing Cato: Poetic Grammar and Moral Citation in Medieval Latin Song, *Music and Letters*, 102 (2021): 191-233. Previous discussion by this author of this topic appears in her “Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582” (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2013), 340-347.

²The beginning of the prologue reads: “Cum animaduerterem, quam plurimos grauitur in uia morum errare, succurrendum opinioni eorum et consulendum famae existimaui, maxime ut gloriose uiuerent et honorem contingerent. Nunc te, fili karissime, docebo, quo pacto morem animi tui conponas. Igitur praecepta mea ita legito, ut intellegas. Legere enim et non intellegere nec legere est” (“When I noticed how very many go seriously wrong in their manner of living I concluded that I must apply a corrective to their belief and take counsel of the experience of mankind in order that they may live most gloriously and attain honor. Now I will teach thee, dearest son, in what way thou mayest fashion a rule for thy life. Therefore, so read my precepts that thou mayest understand them, for to read and not to understand is equivalent to not reading.”). The translation comes from Wayland Johnson Chase, *The Distichs Of Cato: A Famous Medieval Textbook*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, 7 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1922), 12-13.

appears in the motet/conductus *Qui servare puberem* / [*Domi*]*Ne* (A6/285 – VdW 59/M3), line 3; and in the triplum voice of the double motet *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* / *Velut stelle firmamenti* / *Et gaudebit* (VdW 316 / 315 / M24), line 21. Nonetheless, the speaker seems tempted to experience love until he recalls the fall of humankind, implied in line 5. **5,2-3:** Anderson (*NDRC*, 4:xiii) considers this a reference to original sin and the fall of Adam and Eve (see Genesis, 3). **7-12:** this stanza is rather difficult to construe, and my translation is offered with due caution. My sense is that the speaker, looking forward to a future time when he will be considering his past actions, hopes that he will have no reason to despair for not having turned away from prior bad behavior, perhaps referring to the appeal of erotic love mentioned in Strophe I. **11,3-4:** the phrase “de cetero” is here construed idiomatically, more along the lines of “henceforward,” “in the future,” “at that point,” rather than “from the rest,” or “as for the rest”; the latter connotations, though, are certainly possible.³ **14,3:** from the verb “delinquo”; “deliqueris” may also be formed from “deliquo” meaning “clarify” or “explain”; the connotation of lacking something adopted in the translation appears more applicable here. **21,2:** construed here as the imperative of the deponent “revertor,” not an infinitive as is 19,2.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 4,3: *F*: subcunberem (a minor orthographical variant); adopted reading from *W1*. **9-11:** these three lines occur in reverse order (11,10,9) in *W1*. **28,3:** *F*, *OxRawl*: siquis; from *W1*. **MUSIC:** Both the *F* and *W1* redactions are presented here (as nos. 1 and 3, respectively), since they show several interesting variants, particularly in the final cauda. Although both ending melismas are similar in contour, they differ slightly, and the one in *W1* has an additional phrase that could suggest omission or corruption in *F*. Also, the *F* Tr throughout presents some very prominent dissonances, that could sound too pungent in certain performance contexts. Performers may, for example, want to experiment with a mode-1 syllabic performance of the type frequently encountered in recorded examples of this piece. Further conjectural alternatives to obviate some of the dissonance are provided by the hypothetical realignment of ligatures in two of the renditions presented here (nos. 2 and 5), as well as two transcriptions that conflate the *F* and *W1* versions (nos. 4 and 5, where *W1* is the main source for the T and D in both), and one (no. 5) that also applies a minimal amount of emendation to some of the MS readings (most particularly the *F* Tr), reported in all cases above the top staff). **Line 5:** D: *W1*: *c, b, a, bc, b, ba, g*, which erroneously repeats the previous D phrase, corrected after *F*.

³For the former connotations, see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ceterus>, s.v. “ceterus,” *DMLBS*, 4.

PROCURANS ODIUM Conductus (E9/274)

F, f. 226r (6,24)

Tr
8 [Pro - cu - rans tus o - di - um ef - fe - ctu pro - pri - o vix de - tra - hen - ti - um
[In - sul - tus ta - li - um pro - des - se sen - ti - o. tol - len - di te - di - um

D
8 [Pro - cu - rans tus o - di - um ef - fe - ctu pro - pri - o vix de - tra - hen - ti - um
[In - sul - tus ta - li - um pro - des - se sen - ti - o. tol - len - di te - di - um

T
8 Pro - cu - rans tus o - di - um ef - fe - ctu pro - pri - o vix de - tra - hen - ti - um
In - sul - tus ta - li - um pro - des - se sen - ti - o. tol - len - di te - di - um

gau - det in - ten - ti - o. ne - xus est cor - di - um i - psa de - tra - cti - o.
flu - xit oc - ca - si - o. sus - pen - dunt gau - di - um pra - vo con - si - li - o.

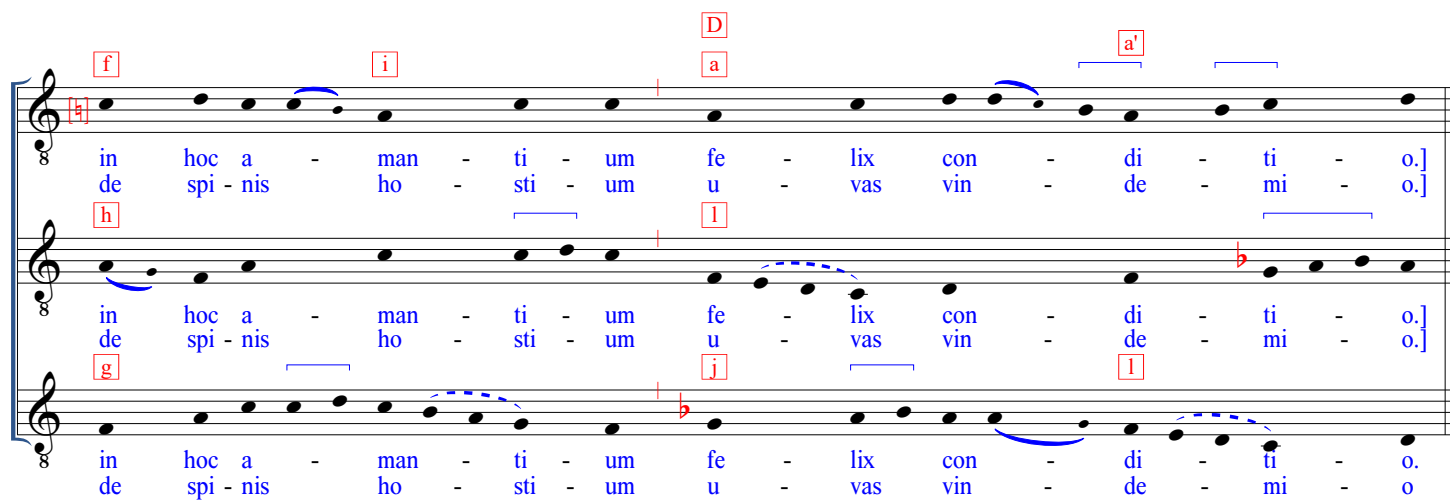
gau - det in - ten - ti - o. ne - xus est cor - di - um i - psa de - tra - cti - o.
flu - xit oc - ca - si - o. sus - pen - dunt gau - di - um pra - vo con - si - li - o.

gau - det in - ten - ti - o. ne - xus est cor - di - um i - psa de - tra - cti - o.
flu - xit oc - ca - si - o. sus - pen - dunt gau - di - um pra - vo con - si - li - o.

sic per con - tra - ri - um ab ho - ste ne - sci - o fit hic pro - vi - si - o
sed de - si - de - ri - um au - get di - la - ti - o. ta - li re - me - di - o

sic per con - tra - ri - um ab ho - ste ne - sci - o fit hic pro - vi - si - o
sed de - si - de - ri - um au - get di - la - ti - o. ta - li re - me - di - o

sic per con - tra - ri - um ab ho - ste ne - sci - o fit hic pro - vi - si - o
sed de - si - de - ri - um au - get di - la - ti - o. ta - li re - me - di - o



8 f i D a a'

in de hoc a - nis - man ho - ti sti - um fe u - lix vas con vin - di de - ti mi - o.]

8 h l

in de hoc a - nis - man ho - ti sti - um fe u - lix vas con vin - di de - ti mi - o.]

8 g j l

in de hoc a - nis - man ho - ti sti - um fe u - lix vas con vin - di de - ti mi - o.]

PROCURANS ODIUM

Conductus (E9/274)

F, f. 226r (6,24)

I	Procurans odium effectu proprio, vix detrahentium gaudet intentio. Nexus est cordium ipsa detractio. Sic, per contrarium ab hoste nescio, fit hic provisio in hoc, amantium felix conditio.		Fomenting animosity – the objective of detractors – hardly ever gets to take pleasure in its own result. 5 The slander itself prompts the joining together of hearts. So, through opposition from an ignorant foe, a hindrance in this case 10 results in a happy match between lovers.
II	Insultus talium prodesse sentio. Tollendi tedium fluxit occasio. Suspendunt gaudium pravo consilio, sed desiderium auget dilatio. Tali remedio, de spinis hostium uvas vindemio		I consider the attacks of such people to be beneficial. They provide an opportunity 15 for relieving vexation. They withhold joy for a vicious purpose, but this postponement increases the desire. 20 Thanks to such a solution, I harvest grapes from the brambles of the enemy.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 24, f. 226r: a3; Strophes I-II complete, with II added in a blank space provided within the writing block after the last system; there is room for more text, but no source gives additional stanzas. The piece that follows in this source, *Si mundus viveret* (E10/327), is the same in *CaJ*; and the prior work in *F*, *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73), like *Procurans odium*, also treats the theme of earthly love.

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 2, f. 124r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, with no provision for further text; initial never entered.

CaJ (*Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1; GB-Cjec MS QB1*), Fragment A, no.1, f. 1a^r: a3; fragmentary; end of Strophe I only, beginning with the second syllable of line 7 (“[con]trarium”) to the close of the stanza, with no space for further text and with nearly everything cut away from the Tr that is written higher than the *d* above the *c3* clef; the D and remains of the Tr differ significantly from the version of *Procurans* as transmitted in *F*, *Ma*, and *MüC*, but are relatively similar to the three-voice transmission of the contrafact *Purgator criminum* in *W1* (see below); similarly, the T and D – but not the independent Tr – of the contrafact *Sanctorum meritis* (see below) also align closer with *CaJ* than the other sources. The next piece in this MS, *Si mundus viveret* (E10/327), is the same in *F*.¹

¹Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

MüC (*D-Mbs Clm.* 5539), no. 9, f. 38r:² transmits a setting of Strophe I a2 (TD), followed immediately with one of Strophe II a1 (T) beginning on f. 39r; both stanzas are headed with similar initials; the text and music of the final word of Strophe II, which begins at the top of f. 39v, has been erased, leaving it incomplete.

Text only:

CB (*D-Mbs Clm.* 4660), no. 12, f. 47v;³ text only of Strophes I-II, complete, with II signaled by a small painted initial. Although there is space for music above the text lines, neumes were never entered for this poem, even though *O varium fortune lubricum* (J27/247), the subsequent song but one, at the bottom of this leaf, has them.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

Purgator criminum (F2/277), preserved with music in the following MS:

W1, fasc. 8, no. 13, f. 80r (73r): a3; the T is the same, but the D and Tr of this redaction are much closer in their readings to the a3 setting of *Procurans odium* in *CaJ* (see above); see also the remarks on the contrafact *Sanctorum meritis*, below.

The text of *Purgator* is presented without music in three other MSS:

A-Gu 258 (*Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS* 258), f. 2v.

OxAdd (*GB-Ob Add. A.44*), no. 38, f. 65r.

OxRawl (*GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510*), no. 39, f. 244r (15r).

Sanctorum meritis (-/-; olim Anderson catalog O3, removed from his conductus edition due to his reclassification of it as a hymn):

LoA, part 1, appendix 1, no. 6, f. 76v: a3; except for the omission of the middle portion (equivalent to lines 5-8 of *Procurans*) to accommodate the shorter stanza of this lyric, the T is essentially identical to the other songs in this family; much of the D here is also similar to the *CaJ* transmission of *Procurans* and the *W1* version of *Purgator*, while the Tr differs notably from both redactions.

The T melody of *Sanctorum meritis* as given above in *LoA*, is transmitted as a hymn in other liturgical MSS; see the *Cantus Index* (<http://cantusindex.org>), ID no. 008390.

Suspirat spiritus (L6/344); attributed to Philip the Chancellor in both sources; preserved with music in the following MS:

LoB, no. 15, f. 39v: a1 (T).

The text alone of *Suspirat* appears in *Praha*, f. 38r.

²The CPI database mistakenly gives 37r. Images of *MüC* may be accessed [here](#).

³Images of *CB* are available [here](#).

Amour dont sui espris m'efforce (Linker no. 24-4, Raynaud/Spanke no. 1545);⁴ attributed to Blondel de Nesle (unless indicated below); preserved with music a1 (T) in the following MSS:

F-Pa 5198, f. 114v.
F-Pn fr. 12615, f. 92r.
F-Pn fr. 24406, f. 107r (unattributed).
F-Pn fr. 844, f. 143r.
F-Pn fr. 845, f. 42v.
F-Pn fr. 846, f. 79r.
F-Pn fr. 847, f. 41r.
F-Pn NAF 1050, f. 80v.

The text alone of *Amour don't ... m'efforce* occurs in *CH-BE*su 389, f. 57v (ruled for music a1, unattributed).

Amours dont sui espris de chanter (Linker no. 72-2, Raynaud/Spanke no. 1546); from the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coincy, preserved with music a1 (T) in the following MSS:

B-Br 10747, f. 108r.
F-BL 34, f. 128r.
F-Pa 3517, f. 142v.
F-Pn fr. 1530, f. 146r.
F-Pn fr. 1536, f. 112v.
F-Pn fr. 2193, f. 16r and 146r (copied twice).
F-Pn fr. 22928, f. 157v.
F-Pn fr. 25532, f. 108r.
F-Pn NAF 24541, f. 116r.
GB-Lbl Harl. 4401, f. 107r.
RUS-SPe fr. F. v. XIV 9, f. 141v.

The text of *Amours don't ... de chanter* is preserved without music in four other MSS (three of them ruled for music a1 that was never entered):

CH-N 4816, f. 138r (without ruling).
F-B 551, f. 91v;
F-Pn fr. 1533, f. 138v.
I-Rvat Pal. lat. 1969, f. 102r.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: Both strophes have the same rhyme sounds. This is one of the few conductus preserved in *F* to treat the subject of earthly or erotic love; for a full list of such pieces see the remarks on the text of *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128, at F-6,28). Interestingly, two pairs of pieces in this list are contiguous in *F*-6 (*Cum animadverterem* [I12/73] / *Procurans odium* and *Flos in monte cernitur* [F10/128] / *Veris ad imperia* [F11/373]). **5-6:** more literally: “the slander itself equals/is (*est*) the joining of hearts.” **7-11:** This sentence is a bit difficult to construe; to read it more literally: “Thus, through opposition from an ignorant foe, here (*hic*) the hindrance (*provisio*) upon this/it (*in hoc*, i.e. the ‘joining together’ in line 5) becomes (*fit*) a

⁴These two references point to the following catalogs: Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, no. 31 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979); and Hans Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil: ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangsbuchstaben hergestellt von A. Bahat* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

happy match of lovers (*amantium felix conditio*; this is the spelling of the last word in *F*, retained in the text above, but see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/condicio>, s.v. “condicio,” *LewisShort*, I.B., for the specific connotation here). **14-15**: this expression may possibly be sarcastic; more literally the passage reads: “an occasion of removing vexation has passed through.” **18-19**: see in the *Sermo in festo omnium sanctorum*, attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin (*PL*, 171, col. 701, C): “Dilatio vero auget desiderium, quia quanto crescit, tanto crescit et meritum.” (“Postponement certainly augments desire, because however much one increases, so increases the other, along with the benefit”). The *Aurifodina universalis* of Robert of Cambrai (as in the ed. Paris: Vives, 1865, p. 579), however, ascribes the quote not to Hildebert, but to Peter of Blois. **21-22**: cf. Luke, 6:44,⁵ and the related passage in Matthew, 7:16.⁶

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 3,1: F,MüC: vis or ius; from *Ma,CB*. **7,1**: F: si, from *Ma,MüC*; *CB* has “sed desiderium” for line 7 (replicating line 18). **17,1**: F: possibly written provo?; from *CB*; MüC: parvo. **MUSIC**: note the thorough use of voice exchange and large-scale (AABCB--D) as well as smaller-scale repetition throughout this piece. The use of strokes or compound notational figures at fairly regular intervals on the third (and sometimes sixth) syllables of most of the lines may suggest opportunities for extension at these places in performance; see Knapp, “Musical Declamation,” especially 387-388, 396.⁷ **Line 22**: D: F: music for first three syllable of this line 3 higher, from *Ma,MüC*.

⁵Luke, 6:44: “Unaquaeque enim arbor de fructu suo cognoscitur; neque enim de spinis colligunt ficus, neque de rubo vindemiant uvam” (“For every tree is known by its fruit. For men neither gather figs from thorns, nor do they gather the grape from a bramble bush.”).

⁶Matthew, 7:16: “numquid colligunt de spinis uvas aut de tribulis ficus” (“surely people do not gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?”).

⁷Janet Knapp, “Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979): 383-407.

SI MUNDUS VIVERET

Conductus (E10/327)

F, f. 226v (6,25)

A

Tr

8 1. [Si mun-dus vi - ve-ret mun - dus pe - cu - ni - a; re - gna-ret in - ter nos
2. [Quid sci-re pro - de-rit no - va et ve - te - ra. num - mus dat que - li - bet
3. [Dan - tur of - fi - ci-a bur - se con - si - li - o. fit iam de mo - ri - bus
4. [Proh do - lor ar - ti - um doc - tri-na sper - ni - tur. que pre-stant red - di - tus
5. [Ne - mo tam de - ge-ner tam de-te - sta - bi - lis; qui non sit gra - ti - a

D

8 1. [Si mun-dus vi - ve-ret mun - dus pe - cu - ni - a; re - gna-ret in - ter nos
2. [Quid sci-re pro - de-rit no - va et ve - te - ra. num - mus dat que - li - bet
3. [Dan - tur of - fi - ci-a bur - se con - si - li - o. fit iam de mo - ri - bus
4. [Proh do - lor ar - ti - um doc - tri-na sper - ni - tur. que pre-stant red - di - tus
5. [Ne - mo tam de - ge-ner tam de-te - sta - bi - lis; qui non sit gra - ti - a

T

8 1. Si mun-dus vi - ve-ret mun - dus pe - cu - ni - a; re - gna-ret in - ter nos
2. Quid sci-re pro - de-rit no - va et ve - te - ra. num - mus dat que - li - bet
3. Dan - tur of - fi - ci-a bur - se con - si - li - o. fit iam de mo - ri - bus
4. Proh do - lor ar - ti - um doc - tri-na sper - ni - tur. que pre-stant red - di - tus
5. Ne - mo tam de - ge-ner tam de-te - sta - bi - lis; qui non sit gra - ti - a

B

Tr

8 1. pax et con - cor - di - a. sed cum pre - ci - pi - tet nos a - va - ri - ti - a;
2. et mol - lit a - spe - ra. ne - mo va - ne ro - gat qui ten - dit mu - ne - ra.
3. su - pre - ma que - sti - o. di - ci - tur o - mni - bus qui ca - ret pre - ci - o
4. bur - sis in - ten - di - tur. cui res est te - nu - is ne - mo di - li - gi - tur.
5. num - mo - rum ha - bi - lis. qui ha - bet plus; plus est do - ctus a - ma - bi - lis.

D

8 1. pax et con - cor - di - a. sed cum pre - ci - pi - tet nos a - va - ri - ti - a;
2. et mol - lit a - spe - ra. ne - mo va - ne ro - gat qui ten - dit mu - ne - ra.
3. su - pre - ma que - sti - o. di - ci - tur o - mni - bus qui ca - ret pre - ci - o
4. bur - sis in - ten - di - tur. cui res est te - nu - is ne - mo di - li - gi - tur.
5. num - mo - rum ha - bi - lis. qui ha - bet plus; plus est do - ctus a - ma - bi - lis.

T

8 1. pax et con - cor - di - a. sed cum pre - ci - pi - tet nos a - va - ri - ti - a;
2. et mol - lit a - spe - ra. ne - mo va - ne ro - gat qui ten - dit mu - ne - ra.
3. su - pre - ma que - sti - o. di - ci - tur o - mni - bus qui ca - ret pre - ci - o
4. bur - sis in - ten - di - tur. cui res est te - nu - is ne - mo di - li - gi - tur.
5. num - mo - rum ha - bi - lis. qui ha - bet plus; plus est do - ctus a - ma - bi - lis.

B

8 1. plan - tat et in - se - rit li - tes et o - di - a. du - ce dis - cor - di - a.]
 2. pre - ces sunt va - cu - e va - cu - a dex - te - ra nil iu - vat li - te - ra.]
 3. a - men di - co vo - bis qui - a vos ne - sci - o. nec ta - les au - di - o.]
 4. in u - sum ni - mis est il - lud quod le - gi - tur ha - ben - ti da - bi - tur.]
 5. ri - den - tur in - o - pes e - ti - am no - bi - lis pau - per ia - cet vi - lis.]

8 1. plan - tat et in - se - rit li - tes et o - di - a. du - ce dis - cor - di - a.]
 2. pre - ces sunt va - cu - e va - cu - a dex - te - ra nil iu - vat li - te - ra.]
 3. a - men di - co vo - bis qui - a vos ne - sci - o. nec ta - les au - di - o.]
 4. in u - sum ni - mis est il - lud quod le - gi - tur ha - ben - ti da - bi - tur.]
 5. ri - den - tur in - o - pes e - ti - am no - bi - lis pau - per ia - cet vi - lis.]

8 1. plan - tat et in - se - rit li - tes et o - di - a. du - ce dis - cor - di - a.]
 2. pre - ces sunt va - cu - e va - cu - a dex - te - ra nil iu - vat li - te - ra.]
 3. a - men di - co vo - bis qui - a vos ne - sci - o. nec ta - les au - di - o.]
 4. in u - sum ni - mis est il - lud quod le - gi - tur ha - ben - ti da - bi - tur.]
 5. ri - den - tur in - o - pes e - ti - am no - bi - lis pau - per ia - cet vi - lis.]

FAS ET NEFAS AMBULANT

Conductus (F7/119)

F, f. 225v (6,22)

I Fas et nefas ambulant fere passu pari. Prodigus non redimit vitium avari. Virtus, temperantia quadam singulari, debet medium ad utrumque vitium caute contemplari. II Si legisse memoras Ethicam Cathonis, in qua scriptum legitur “<i>ambula cum bonis.</i>” Cum ad dandi gloriam animum disponis, supra cetera primum hoc considera: quis sit dignus donis? III Vultu licet hilari, verbo licet blando, sis equalis omnibus, unum tamen mando: si vis recte gloriam promereri dando, primum videas granum inter paleas, cui des, et quando. IV Dare non ut convenit non est a virtute. Bonum est secundum quid, sed non absolute. Digne dare poteris. et mereri tute. famam muneris, si me prius <i>noveris</i> <i>intus et in cute.</i> V Si prudenter triticum paleis emundas, famam emis munere. Sed caveto cum das, largitatis oleum male ne offundas.	Right and wrong walk at an almost equal pace. A spendthrift does not compensate for the vice of a miser. 5 Virtue, through a certain special type of moderation, should carefully observe the middle between the vice on either side. 10 If you recall having read Cato’s <i>Ethics</i>, one reads in it the axiom “walk with the good.” When you dispose your soul 15 to the glory of giving, before anything else first consider this: who might deserve the gifts? 20 Though with a merry face and with flattering speech, you may be evenhanded with everyone, I still bid you do one thing: If you rightly wish to earn glory through giving, 25 you first need observe the grain amidst the chaff, those to whom you should give, and when. To give when it is inappropriate, does not arise from virtue. 30 It achieves good to a certain extent, but not absolutely. You will be able to give worthily and be securely entitled to the renown of the gift, 35 if you first come to “know me both inside and out.” If you prudently clean the chaff from the wheat, you purchase fame with your reward. 40 But be aware when you give, that you do not pour out the oil of generosity ineptly.

In [te] glorior,
quia, Codro codrior,
omnibus habundas.

I take great delight in you,
because, being more of a Codrus than poor Codrus himself,
45 you abound with everything.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 22, f. 225v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V entered in a prepared space within the writing block after the end of the last system and headed with capitals; further space is available for at least another three or four lines of text. This and the previous piece in *F*, *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), are also together in *Caj*, but in reverse order.

CaJ (Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1; GB-Cjec MS QB1), Fragment A, no. 3, f. 1a^v: a3; Strophe I only, with no provision for other text; the music is mostly complete, although, from the beginning through line 3,2, portions of the Tr are trimmed from the top of the folio (thus excising any pitch higher than *d* above middle *c*). This and the following piece in *CaJ*, *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), are also together in *F*, but in reverse.¹

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; *Carmina Burana*),² no. 19, f. 1r: a1 (with what appears to be the T), in unheightened neumes with music set to each stanza; Strophes I-V, complete, in the order I, II, IV, III, V, with the subsequent stanzas indicated by painted initials and with a decorated opening letter and smaller painted letters for the first two words of the text. A separate poem entered into the margin at the bottom of f. 1r, *O fortuna velud luna*, interrupts the continuation of *Fas et nefas* after line 28,1 (first word of third stanza) before the turn to the subsequent folio. On a related matter, *Fas et nefas* is preceded by a large, painted illustration depicting Fortune's wheel, with the goddess sitting in the center of her spoked contraption. A crowned individual holding a long scepter sits on a throne atop the wheel, while three other representations of this same person grasp the wheel as it spins them around in a circle at the positions of 3, 6, and 9 o'clock. The rightmost figure (at 3 o'clock) is portrayed upside down, with his crown fallen off, while the crownless, supine figure at the bottom almost appears to be crushed by the weight of the device, and the figure at the left, bareheaded like his predecessors, rides the wheel upward with his left leg draped over one of the spokes. Each of the figures has a label describing their situation. From the top and proceeding clockwise, the captions read "Regno," "regnavi," "sum sine regno," and "regnabo" ("I am reigning," "I reigned," "I am without a kingdom," "I will reign").

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 49, f. 246v (17v): text only of Strophe I, which is rather unusual, as this source typically provides multiple strophes when they are extant; rubric: "De prodigo et avaro" ("On the spendthrift and the miser").

Fulda C11 (D-FUL Hs. C 11; Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, C11): f. 331r;³ this paper MS from the later fifteenth-century gives the text only of Strophes I-III; initials for each stanza were never entered.

Images from the following text-only sources are presently unavailable to me. The information given here

¹Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

²Images of *CB* available [here](#).

³Images from this source may be found at: <https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/ppnresolver?id=PPN446275026>.

derives from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:96:

F-LYm 623 (*Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale*, 623), f. 142v: text only of Strophes I-V, complete.

GB-Cccc 202 (*Cambridge Corpus Christi College*, 202), f. 71v: text only of Strophes I-IV, in the order I, IV, III, II.

GB-Lbl Add. 24659, f. 1r: text only of Strophes I-III.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

The same poetic structure appears in the following troubadour songs; none of their sources transmits a melody:

Far vuoill un nou sirventes (Pillet-Carstons⁴ 156.6; Folquet de Romans).

Pessamen ai e cossir (Pillet-Carstons 355.10; Peire Raymon de Tolosa).

Notes on the Text: General remarks: as with three other of the five pieces from *F*-6,19-23, this work is notable for its relatively frequent quotations or allusions to classical authors (the exception being *F*-6,19 *Verbum pater exhibuit* [E5/368]); unlike all its companions in this group, though, *Fas et nefas ambulant* does not feature the literal repetition of lines during the course of the poem. For some further information about these works, see the opening remarks in the notes on the text for *Verbum pater*. **Attribution:** the work is ascribed to Walter of Châtillon by David Traill in his edition of Walter's lyrics (no.51);⁵ see also the similar rendering in Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1:56-57, 477-478.⁶ **Textual notes:** this poem, which treats charitable giving, is similar in many respects to the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), transmitted in *F*-7, *W1*, and (now missing from) *OxRawl*; for a slight verbal echo between the two, see the remarks for line 27. Also applicable, in terms of criticizing those who delay the granting of gifts or favors, are the conductus *Premii dilatio* (E3/270) and *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132). Most of the following remarks on *Fas et nefas* are indebted to the observations in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:x-xi, and Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*, lxxx-lxxxi, 168-170. **5-9:** cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I,18,9: "Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum" ("virtue is in the midst of the vices and separated from either side"). **13:** a direct quote from Cato, *Distichs* (known also as *Collectio distichorum vulgaris*, *Disticha Catonis*, *Cato*, and many other names), Prologue, monostich 6. This collection of aphorisms by an unknown author of the third- or fourth-century, sometimes identified as Dionysius Cato and sometimes incorrectly attributed to either the elder or younger Marcus Portius Cato, (grandfather and grandson, 234-149 and 95-46 BCE, respectively), was extremely long-lived; it served as late as the eighteenth century as a Latin reader and moralistic instructional guide. For a further nod to Cato's collection, see the following conductus in *F*-6: *Cum animadverterem* (F12/73), and the notes on lines 27 and 40, below. **14:** cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, 5,110-111: "... namque et titulis et fascibus olim / maior habebatur donandi gloria" ("... for at one time the glory of giving was held in greater esteem than either the titles or trappings of

⁴This catalog reference points to Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

⁵David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

⁶David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

office.”). **26:** The separation of wheat grains from chaff through winnowing on the threshing floor comes from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, where it is presented as a symbol of the faithful achieving salvation by their separation from the damned. Here it is repurposed to separate worthy from undeserving recipients of largesse. The biblical image is rife among pieces in the Parisian repertory (for some samples, see the notes on the text to line 4 of the conductus *Relegentur ab area* [C6/304], F-6,2). **27:** cf. Cato, *Distichs*, Prologue, monostich 17: “Cui des videto” (“Consider to whom you should give”). See also the note on line 40 and the remarks on the text for *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), line 3: “quis quid cui det, et qualiter” (“who might give what to whom, and how”), with its possible connections to Seneca’s *De beneficiis*, as well as other authors. **35,5-36:** cf. Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus, 34-62 C.E.), *Satires*, 1,30: “ego te intus et in cute novi” (“I knew you inside and out”). **37-38:** see the notes for line 26 on the wheat and chaff. **40:** more from Cato, see the notes for line 27. **41:** cf. Isaiah, 61:3: “oleum gaudii” (“the oil of joy”); Hebrews, 1:9: “oleo exultationis” (“the oil of gladness”). **43-45:** the actual referent of these concluding lines, whether it is the person addressed in the poem or the narrator, is not immediately clear; but, following Traill, I am assuming that the reference to Codrus in line 44 pertains to the addressee and is not the narrator describing his own unfortunate state in comparison to the addressee (i.e., “I am more poor than poor Codrus himself, [whereas] you abound with everything”). In the adopted interpretation, it turns out that the person being advised of his giving by the narrator has nothing to offer except the smiles and flattery alluded to in lines 19-20, and yet with such gifts he has everything anyone should ultimately need. **44:** for the most likely candidate for Codrus, see Juvenal, *Satires*, 3,203-210, which speaks of a poor man who had almost no possessions to speak of, but who lost even that small portion in a fire. The main point of irony in the Juvenalian passage is provided by lines 208-209: “Nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud / perdidit infelix totum nihil” (“Codrus had nothing, for who would deny that? And yet this unhappy man lost all that nothing”).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 34:** F: famam emis munere (replicates line 39); corrected from *CB*. **43,2:** “te” om; supplied from *CB*. **MUSIC: line 3,1:** Tr: F: possibly *g* for *f* on second syllable of “prodigus”? **Line 5,1-2:** T: F: the first three notes of the phrase over “virtus tem[perantia]” 2 higher; emended from *CaJ*. **Line 8,3:** TDTr: F: following strokes om; supplied from *CaJ* – T: F: the *a* over the second syllable of “vitium” originally was 2li=*ag*, erased and never corrected; *a* supplied from *CaJ*.

IN PRECIO PRECIUM – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus F8/180

F, f. 227r (6,26)

| cauda as it stands in *F*, here in mode 1=18L, the rhythms fit, but dissonance level is extremely high; in *Fauv*: the related T corresponds roughly to pitches of first 10L here; see * alternatives at end*

Tr
8
[In
[Si

1. D
8
[In
[Si

T
8
In
Si

pre - ci - o pre - ci - um nunc est cen - sus pre - mi - um dat per par - ti -
ni - chil at tu - le - ris ho - me - re si ve - ne - ris ple - nus tan - tis

pre - ci - o pre - ci - um nunc est cen - sus pre - mi - um dat per par - ti -
ni - chil at tu - le - ris ho - me - re si ve - ne - ris ple - nus tan - tis

pre - ci - o pre - ci - um nunc est cen - sus pre - mi - um dat per par - ti -
ni - chil at tu - le - ris ho - me - re si ve - ne - ris ple - nus tan - tis

| *F*: rather dissonant and with irregular readings of ligatures here; possible missing figures in D and Tr? – *Fauv*: T related but with different ligation and 5 lower; see ** alternatives at end

- ci - pi - um lau - des a - mi ci - ti - a[s]. O
lit - te - ris. pre - su - mens de fri - vo - la tu -

- ci - pi - um lau - des a - mi ci - ti - a[s]. O
lit - te - ris. pre - su - mens de fri - vo - la tu -

- [ci] - pi - um lau - des a - mi ci - ti - a[s]. O
lit - te - ris. pre - su - mens de fri - vo - la tu -

*See the end of the transcription for some conjectural versions of this cauda, as well as others portions in this piece; even further speculations are possible.

[O] cre - se si ve - ni - as; cum tu - a pe - cu - ni - a
[tu] - a sci - en - ti - o - la; cum pi - us ap - pa - re - as.

| T: F: a melody similar to the D used for these two phrases in *Fauv*| T: *Fauv*: no cauda; TD: F: irregular reading of ligatures; see *** alternatives

non ca - re - bis gra - ti - a po - si - to quod pro - bi - tas
au - lam no - stram ex - e - as. pi - e - ta - tis o - pe - ra

| T: *Fauv*: 3li,2li; TDTr: F: irregular readings of ligatures here; see **** alternatives

ge - nus for - ma di - gni - tas vir - tu - tis pre - si - di - um
non que - rit sed mu - ne - ra iu - dex hu - ius tem - po - ris.]

| Tt: F: II: remainder missing

ti - bi non a - sti - te - rint. nec tu - um e - le - ge - rint si - bi
...
ti - bi non a - sti - te - rint. nec tu - um e - le - ge - rint si - bi
...

| T: Fauv: cauda different, only 4 notes=last 4 notes of D in F

con - tu - ber - ni - um.]

con - tu - ber - ni - um.]

con - tu - ber - ni - um.

| T: Fauv: opening cauda varied and much curtailed from F (Fauv=approximately first 10L of F)

Fauv, f. 5r^e (no. 16)

In pre-ci-o pre-ci-um nunc est cen - sus pre - mi-um

| T: F: different, but related to Fauv and 5 lower

dat per par - ti - ci - pi - um lau-des a - mi - ci - ti - as. O

| T: Fauv: the melody for these two phrases is more like the D in F

F: cauda follows |

[O] cre-se si ve - ni-as cum tu-a pe - cu-ni-a non ca-re - bis gra - ti-a. po-si-to quod pro-bi - tas

ge - nus for - ma di - gni-tas vir - tu - tis pre-si - di-um ti - bi non a - sti - te - rint.

| T: Fauv: final 4li= last 4 cauda notes of D in F

nec tu-um e - le - ge-rint si - bi con - tu - ber - ni-um.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*F, f. 227v, l: opening cauda:

a. in mode 3 – does not mollify the dissonance significantly

[In]

[In]

[In]

b. in mode 6 – better in places, but still not satisfying

c. in mode 1 and editorially transposed in various places (indicated by smaller notes) – not very justifiable, but serviceable

**F, f. 227r, III: cauda opening line 5

a. reading ligatures as mixed rhythmic modes; with possible omission in Tr

b. as before with first phrase of D 5 lower

c. additional mixing of modes and with quicker values in T and D to accommodate Tr

d. as before with first phrase of D 5 lower

The following two caudae share related material, exchanged between T and D

***F, f. 227v, I: cauda following line 8; absent in *Fauv*
assumes a possible omission in T; D read irregularly

(probitas)

****F, f. 227v, I: cauda following line 9
assumes possible omissions in T and D;
T, Tr read irregularly, prompted by *Fauv*

(dignitas)

IN PRECIO PRECIUM – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (F8/180)

F, f. 227r (6,26)

I	In precio precium nunc est. Census premium dat per participium, laudes, amicitias.		Nowadays wealth lies in wealth. Riches by association confer reward, commendations, and alliances.
	O Crese, si venias cum tua pecunia, non carebis gratia, posito quod probitas, genus, forma, dignitas, virtutis presidium tibi non astiterint; nec tuum elegerint sibi contubernium.	5	Croesus, should you arrive with your cash, you won't be lacking for favor, given that integrity, lineage, appearance, dignity, 10 and the protection of virtue won't be at hand for you; nor would they have chosen your society for themselves.
II	Si nichil attuleris, Homere, si veneris plenus tantis litteris, presumens de frivola tua scientiola, cum pius appareas, aulam nostram exeas. Pietatis opera non querit, sed munera, iudex huius temporis.	15	Homer, if you should come, filled with such great learning, and bring nothing else, trusting in your meager smattering of knowledge, although you may appear honorable, 20 you should leave our court. The judge of today seeks not works of honor, but gifts.
	...		...
	...	25	...
	...		...

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 26, f. 227r: a3; Strophes I-II, but apparently with three lines of II omitted and unrecoverable from any other extant source; I is divided by a capital initial at line 5 (also in *Fauv*, shown by extra space in the text above); II is entered on f. 227v in a blank space provided within the writing block to the right of the first system of the following piece (*Quid frustra consumeris* [F9/286]); there is also some extra space that might accommodate the supposedly missing text. The resolution of many of the caudae in this transmission poses a host of problems that I have so far been unable to solve (see below). The previous poem in *F*, *Si mundus viveret* (E10/387), shares a theme similar to *In precio precium*.

Fauv, no 16, f. 5r^c: a1 (T);¹ Strophe I only, divided by a capital initial at line 5 (as in *F*); in mensural notation; the cauda portions are often related to those in *F*, but usually are abridged and some phrases appear to be transposed; the melody of the *cum littera* segments corresponds more closely to the T in *F*, although it appears to use a phrase from the D for lines 7-8 and the final cauda.

¹Images from *Fauv* available [here](#).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-4: derived from Ovid, *Fasti*, I:217-218: “in pretio pretium nunc est: dat census honores, / census amicitias; pauper ubique iacet” (“Nowadays the wealth is in wealth: riches grant honors, riches grant friendships; everywhere the poor man lies low.”). The quotation of the first line of this elegiac couplet also appears in two poems of Walter of Châtillon: *Stulti cum prudentibus* and *Cum declinet homines*; see David Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*, nos. 43 and 44, at pp. 116-117 and 128-129, respectively.² Traill also identifies allusions to it in *Captivata largitas* and *Felix erat studium* by the same author; see nos. 38 and 65 at pp. 90-91 and 274-275 in Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*. For further connections in Walter’s works to some of the Classical expressions in this poem, see below, lines 6-9 and 14-21. Note also the use of the second line of this segment of the *Fasti* in lines 44-45 of the conductus *Si mundus viveret* (E10/327), immediately preceding *In precio precium* in *F*. **5,2:** Croesus (reg. 560-546) was the last reigning monarch of the Lydian people, and renowned for his amassed wealth; his conquering and capture by the Persian king Cyrus II (“the Great”) during the siege of Sardis ended his rule. He is briefly invoked in Horace, *Epistles* (I:11,2), which another reference points to below in lines 6-9. Croesus is invoked here to serve in opposition to Homer in the following stanza: Croesus is rich, and gains entry to the court; Homer has only his learning, and is rebuffed. **6-9:** see Horace, *Epistles*, I:6,36-38: “Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos / et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat, / ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.” (“Of course, the queen of Coin provides a wife with a dowry, and credit and friends, and lineage and beauty; the goddesses of Persuasion and Love also distinguish a well-moneyed man”). Line 37 (“et genus ... donat”) of this passage is also quoted at the end of Strophe 6 of Walter of Châtillon’s *Missus sum in vineam* (ed. and trans. in David Traill, *Walter*, no. 42, pp. 104-111, specifically pp. 106-107; see also the remarks for lines 1-4 and 14-21. **8,1-2:** for meanings of the idiom “posito quod,” (“having posited that,” “assuming that,” “granted that,” “on the supposition that,” “supposing that”) see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ponere>, s.v. “ponere,” *DMLBS*, 18,e. **14-21:** see Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, II:279-280: “Ipse licet venias Musis comitatus, Homere, / si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.” (“Homer, even if you yourself should arrive accompanied by the Muses, if you have brought nothing, Homer, you’ll be shown the door.”). This distich is quoted in Walter of Châtillon’s *Missus sum in vineam*, as the final lines of Strophes 7 and 8, respectively (Traill, *Walter*, 106-107); see also the remarks above for lines 1-4 and 6-9. **17-18:** the disparagement here of Homer’s learning is set in opposition to Croesus’s wealth in lines 5-13. **24-26:** based on comparison with Strophe I, three lines seem to be omitted from Strophe II and are not otherwise available from any known source. Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xii,21,96) supplies a conjectural completion (not attempted here) and reports that the omission embraces the three lines before the final line of this stanza, thanks to comparison with the rhyme scheme of Strophe I, which he sees reflected in II. However, the final line as transmitted in *F*: “iudex huius temporis,” could just as easily supply any of the remaining lines from 23 to 26. Since this closing line does not actually rhyme with the first three verses of the strophe (which was the case for Strophe I), it may be argued with equal weight that it may have been intended for the penultimate or antepenultimate lines of II, where, in I, a new rhyme is introduced for this couplet. Additionally, if we postulate that the identical rhymes closing the tenth and thirteenth lines of these strophes do not necessarily need to replicate the rhymes of their opening lines – even though the rhymes do happen to concur in Strophe I – then “iudex huius temporis,” could also be used for either line 23 or 26 of II. I have decided to include it as line 23, where it furnishes the subject of the verb in line 22. I therefore posit the scribe neglected to conclude the stanza, rather than skip any verses and then offer the final line.

²David A Traill, ed. and trans., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: Since both the *F* and *Fauv* versions are presented here, variants between both sources are listed. **2,3:** *Fauv*: sensus, supplied from *F*. **3,3:** *F*: text of third syllable (“[parti]ci[pium]”) om at system change, supplied from *Fauv*. **4,2:** *F*: “amicitia,” omitting the final letter “-s”; supplied by *Fauv* and prompted here by the rhyme scheme, grammar, and the Ovidian reference. **7,2:** *Fauv*: carebit, supplied from *F*. **17,1:** *Fauv*: presumens. **24-26:** these lines are om in *F* and are not transmitted in *Fauv*; see the discussion at this place in the notes on the text above. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *F* version: the state of the piece in this manuscript is very curious in comparison to its colleagues, both here and in other fascicles. From even a brief consideration of it, it appears to be riddled with errors and omissions; a number of details have been presented in notes furnished above the score. One conceivably could also consider it a redaction from a different type of notation. In addition to the incomplete second stanza (for which see the remarks above to lines 24-26) and the verifiable lack of music and text for the third syllable of line 3, the caudae segments seem particularly compromised. Every melisma except the last shows either a level of dissonance that appears excessive (even when allowing for the conventions of thirteenth-century part writing a3), or the phrases do not appear to contain the requisite number of rhythmic figures in each part to fill out the cauda. Sometimes these discrepancies may be offset by repeatedly reading ligatures in an irregular manner, or positing omitted entries (as Anderson does in his edition, see *NDRC*, 2:20-21). Additionally, alternative readings are possible, and a number have been supplied at the end of the transcription. None however, offers a particularly satisfactory rendering. The opening cauda is particularly curious, as the segment works perfectly fine in terms of length and rhythmic coordination when the ligatures are read in their most typical manner, but, even allowing for different rhythmic modes, the level of discord is so high that some type of corruption appears to have set in. *Fauv*, unfortunately, is of little help in this regard, as its caudae, although related, are typically abridged in comparison to *F*. Furthermore, some show some additional discrepancies, such as the transposition a fifth lower in *Fauv* of the cauda that opens line 5, and the complete omission from *Fauv* of the cauda following line 8 in *F*. In contrast, however, the *cum littera* segments show very few of the same problems. The most startling curiosity in this area is the appearance of the D for lines 7-8,2 from *F* as the T melody for the same place in *Fauv*, which then goes on to conclude the second of these phrases differently by cadencing on *a*. Barring the discovery of a further source that could address these issues, it appears that the caudae of this piece will remain intractable in terms of their interpretation. **Opening cauda:** T: *Fauv*: the final 3li=*gfg* is written cum-cum=BBL; changed editorially to fit in with rhythmic mode 1 apparent in remainder of cauda; it may also be conjecturally rendered in the alternative version given above the staff. **Line 2,1-2:** T: *Fauv*: a system change with no *b-flat* sig for the music over “nunc est.” **3,3:** TDTr: *F*: music of third syllable of “participium” om at system change, T supplied from *Fauv*; D, Tr are editorial conjectures. **7-8,2:** D: *F*: a melody similar to the T used for these two phrases in *Fauv*. **7,3:** D: *Fauv* (in T) has cop 3li=*dcb* above the first syllable of “gratia.” **8,1:** T: *Fauv*: a system change with no *b-flat* sig for 2 notes for the music starting on the second syllable of “posito”; D: the *e-flat* is from *Fauv*; *F*: a stroke following “posito” is partly erased, not included in transcription. **8,3:** T: *Fauv*: cop 3li over second syllable of “probitas”=SSB; emended editorially. **Cauda following line 9:** T: *Fauv*: starting with the penultimate note *e* of this cauda, there is a system change with no *b-flat* sig for 5 notes. **11,3:** T: *Fauv*: cop 2li=*dc* on second syllable of “astiterint.” **Final cauda:** *Fauv*: consists of only 4 notes, corresponding to the ending notes of the D.

QUID FRUSTRA CONSUMERIS

Conductus (F9/286)

F, f. 227v (6,27)

Tr
8
[Quid fru - stra con - su-me-ris y - po - cri-ta. quid lau - da-ri ni-te-ris

I D
8
[Quid fru - stra con - su-me-ris y - po - cri-ta. quid lau - da-ri ni-te-ris
a b c

T
8
Quid fru - stra con - su-me-ris y - po - cri-ta. quid lau - da-ri ni-te-ris

men-te sol - li-ci-ta. quid te re - bus in - ge-ris et ve - ti-ta ar - den - ter

men-te sol - li-ci-ta. quid te re - bus in - ge-ris et ve - ti-ta ar - den - ter
d a b c

men-te sol - li-ci-ta. quid te re - bus in - ge-ris et ve - ti-ta ar - den - ter

am - ple-cte-ris. non cu - rans li-ci - ta. vi-de qui - a me - ri-ta iam a-mi - se-ris

am - ple-cte-ris. non cu - rans li-ci - ta. vi-de qui - a me - ri-ta iam a-mi - se-ris
d

am - ple-cte-ris. non cu - rans li-ci - ta. vi-de qui - a me - ri-ta iam a-mi - se-ris

dum lau - dem con - se - que-ris et sic o - pe - ris pe - rit mer - ces de - bi - ta.]

dum lau - dem con - se - que-ris et sic o - pe - ris pe - rit mer - ces de - bi - ta.]

dum lau - dem con - se - que-ris et sic o - pe - ris pe - rit mer - ces de - bi - ta.

QUID FRUSTRAM CONSUMERIS

Conductus (F9/286)

F, f. 227v (6,27)

I	Quid frustra consumeris, ypocrita?		Why do you exhaust yourself to no avail, you hypocrite?
	Quid laudari niteris, mente sollicita?		Why are you striving with an anxious disposition to be praised?
	Quid te rebus ingeris et vetita	5	Why do you load yourself up with possessions and ardently embrace the forbidden,
	ardenter amplecteris, non curans licita?		caring nothing for what is right?
	Vide, quia merita iam amiseris	10	Watch out, because you may already have lost favor
	dum laudem consequeris; et sic operis		while you were pursuing adulation; and so perishes the reward
	perit merces debita.		that good works deserve.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 27, f. 227v: a3; Strophe I complete, with prepared empty space at end of the last system for further text, though no further stanzas are known; a unique transmission of the text here, although there is a French contrafact for the music. This piece ends the clustered series in *F*-6 of social-critical pieces with frequent Classical (or in this case Patristic) references transmitted together, beginning with *F*-6,20, *Celum non animum* (E1/56). It is followed by two works treating earthly love, *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128) and *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373); note the two earlier consecutive pieces on love, *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73) and *Procurans odium* (E9/274), at *F*-6,23 and 24, respectively.

Text only: none**Music only:****Contrafacts:**

Bien font amours lor talent (Linker no. 255-3, Raynaud/Spanke no. 738),¹ with various attributions (given below), preserved with music a1 (T) in the following MSS:

- F*-Pa 5198, f. 126 (Gautier Dargies).
- F*-Pn fr. 12615, f. 107r (Thibaut de Blaison).
- F*-Pn fr. 844, f. 18r (Thibaut de Blaison).
- F*-Pn fr. 845, f. 74v (Gautier Dargies).
- F*-Pn fr. 846, f. 17v (Gautier Dargies).
- F*-Pn fr. 847, f. 52r (Gautier Dargies).
- F*-Pn NAF 1050, f. 88r (Gautier Dargies).
- I*-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 31r (unattributed).

¹References to the following catalogs: Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, no. 31 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979); and Hans Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil: ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangsbuchstaben hergestellt von A. Bahat* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

The text alone of *Bien font amours lor talent* appears in:

*CH-BE*su 389, f. 31v (Chardon de Croissilles), and in

F-Pn fr. 20050, f. 74r (Thibaut de Blason); both these sources are ruled for musical notation a1.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: see the *Lausiac History* of Palladius of Galatia (sometimes identified as a bishop of Aspuna), chap. 15 (“De Ptolomeo”); available in *PL*, 74, col. 292 C-D, where it is titled *Paradisus* and ascribed to a Heraclides of Alexandria. In this story, a desert hermit named Ptolemy has separated himself so completely from society and the Christian sacraments that he even begins to question the existence of divine providence. The following passage (the italics are mine) from this account evokes the words that open the conductus, although it is likely a Latin accretion to the original Greek text: “Persuasit igitur ei vitae hostis humanae, in ejus animam prorsus ingrediens, atque dicens: ‘His ita se habentibus, *quid frustra consumeris, Ptolomaeae*, aut qua mercedis retributione laboras; cum nulla sit remuneratio meritorum? quod si esset etiam retributio, quae merces pro tantis laboribus tibi sufficeret? quale vero iudicium scripturae minantur: ubi sine providentia cuncta labuntur?’ ” (“Therefore the enemy of human life [i.e., the Devil] egged him [Ptolemy] on, even entering into his mind, saying: ‘With things being the way they are, *why are you exhausting yourself for no reason, Ptolemy*, or for what receipt of reward do you labor, since there is no remuneration of value? Because even if there were recompense, what reward for such great labors would suffice for you? Indeed what kind of judgment does scripture threaten where everything passes away without divine providence?’ ”)

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 1,3: F: consumeris (the extra “m” supplied via an abbreviation stroke). **12,3:** “operis” may be construed as the genitive singular of “opus,” or, as here, the dative (or ablative) plural of the feminine singular noun “opera,” which means much the same thing as “opus.” **MUSIC: Line 2:** D: F: following stroke om, supplied editorially. **Line 9,2:** Tr: F: following stroke om, supplied editorially.

FLOS IN MONTE CERNITUR

Conductus (F10/128)

F, f. 228r (6,28)

Tr
[Flos in mon - te cer ni - tur. gau - det cor a - man - tis.
[O - dor flo - rum iu - ve - nem re - no - vans a - mo - re.

D
[Flos in mon - te cer ni - tur. gau - det cor a - man - tis.
[O - dor flo - rum iu - ve - nem re - no - vans a - mo - re.

T
Flos in mon - te cer ni - tur. gau - det cor a - man - tis.
O - dor flo - rum iu - ve - nem re - no - vans a - mo - re.

a b

cir mul - ca flo - rem ne co - mo - ra. nul - la vox cla - man - tis.
mul - ta se - cum co - gi - tans flo - rem tan - git o - re.

a c

cir mul - ca flo - rem ne co - mo - ra. nul - la vox cla - man - tis.
mul - ta se - cum co - gi - tans flo - rem tan - git o - re.

a

lo - cus est y - do ne - us pla - ci - to man - dan - tis.
flex - o ge - nu gra - tu - lans flo - ris in ho - no - re.

lo - cus est y - do ne - us pla - ci - to man - dan - tis.
flex - o ge - nu gra - tu - lans flo - ris in ho - no - re.

lo - cus est y - do ne - us pla - ci - to man - dan - tis.
flex - o ge - nu gra - tu - lans flo - ris in ho - no - re.

b

fi - at a - mor au - re - us gra - ti - a do - nan - tis.]
flo - rem car - pit ma - ni - bus non [est] tem - pus mo - re.]

fi - at a - mor au - re - us gra - ti - a do - nan - tis.]
flo - rem car - pit ma - ni - bus non [est] tem - pus mo - re.]

fi - at a - mor au - re - us gra - ti - a do - nan - tis.
flo - rem car - pit ma - ni - bus non [est] tem - pus mo - re.

FLOS IN MONTE CERNITUR

Conductus (F10/128)

F, f. 228r (6,28)

I Flos in monte cernitur; gaudet cor amantis. Circa florem nemora, nulla vox clamantis. Locus est ydoneus placito mandantis. Fiat amor aureus gratia donantis.	A flower is spied on the mountain; the lover's heart rejoices. There are groves around the flower, and no sound of crying. 5 It is a place fitting for the pleading of a request. May love become golden from the favor of the giver.
II Odor florum iuvenem renovans amore. Multa secum cogitans, florem tangit ore. Flexo genu, gratulans floris in honore, florem carpit manibus; non [est] tempus more.	The scent of the flowers is reviving the youth with love. 10 Imagining many things to himself, he touches the flower to his mouth. On bent knee, rejoicing in the flower's honor, 15 he plucks the flower with his hands; there is no time for delay.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 28, f. 228r, a3: Strophes I-II, complete; unique text-music transmission; Strophe II is written within a prepared empty space within the writing block at the end of the first system of the following piece, with not enough room left for a further stanza. This and the following conductus in *F*-6, *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373) are both concerned with the rather rare topic of earthly love.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: My translation has benefitted immensely from the discussion in Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 390-391. This is one of the very few conductus in *F* that deals principally with the subject of earthly or erotic love (a more complete list includes *Cum animadverterem* [I12/73], *Procurans odium* [E9/274], *Flos in monte cernitur* [F10/128], *Veris ad imperia* [F11/373], *Veneris prosperis* [J28/359], *Olim sudor Herculis* [K4/250], *Vitam duxi iocundam* [K36/386], and *A globo veteri* [K74/2]; a further possible work, *Si quis amat quod amare* [J2/328], is unique to *WI*). Interestingly, two pairs of pieces in this list are contiguous in in *F*-6 (*Cum animadverterem* / *Procurans odium* and *Flos in monte cernitur* / *Veris ad imperia*). Also, despite the fact that erotic love is treated (if only briefly) in the *Cum animadverterem* / *Procurans odium* pair (at *F*-6,23-24), the more favorable qualities granted to love in the duo of *F*-6,28-29 effectively calls a halt to the series of predominantly critical and admonitory poems that began with *F*-6,20, *Celum non animum* (E1/56). This latter pair of love songs does, however, continue the stylistic penchant in this part of the MS for strophic works with fewer, smaller, or no caudae, a quality that is first noticeable in *F*-6,19 (*Verbum pater exhibuit* [E5,368]), a sacred work that juxtaposes Mary and Eve. See also the notes on the text for the following piece, *Veris ad imperia*, for further relevant details. **Textual notes: 3-5:** conceivably a nod to the literary conceit of the *locus amoenus*, the

“pleasant place” (an idealized rural landscape tract suitable for seeking refuge and privacy) that was inherited from antique classical literature through authors such as Virgil and Horace. **4,2-3:** cf. Isaiah, 40:3, quoted in Matthew, 3:3 in regard to John the Baptist: “Hic est enim qui dictus est per Esaia prophetam, dicentem: ‘vox clamantis in deserto’...” (“For this is he that was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, saying: ‘A voice of one crying in the desert’...”); the Isaiah passage is also cited in Mark, 1:3; Luke, 3:4; and John, 1:23. In the conductus, the association (if intended) may be to contrast the more lamentable and inhospitable biblical setting with the quieter and more placid environment in the song’s text. **5-6:** a bit difficult to construe: both words in line 6 have legalistic connotations, as if either the beloved or the lover might call to mind the defendant or plaintiff in a lawsuit (*placitum*), possibly to be settled by a fine (also termed *placitum*) imposed by a judge or executed by a commissioner (*mandatus/mandans* – “one who commands or orders”), which conceivably could cause the love to become “golden,” as in lines 7-8.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 16,2:** word om; supplied by conjecture. **MUSIC: Line 7,2:** Tr: F: *b-flat* on the second syllable of “amor” added editorially to avoid cross relation with T.

VERIS AD IMPERIA

Conductus (F11/373)

F, f. 228v (6,29)

Tr
8
[c] [f] [b] [e]

[Ve - ris ad im - pe - ri - a e - y - a. re - na - scun - tur o - mni - a e - y - a.
[Su - spi - rat lu - ci - ni - a e - y - a. no - stra si - bi con - sci - a. [e - y - a.]

D
8
[b] [e] [c'] [f]

[Ve - ris ad im - pe - ri - a e - y - a. re - na - scun - tur o - mni - a e - y - a.
[Su - spi - rat lu - ci - ni - a e - y - a. no - stra si - bi con - sci - a. [e - y - a.]

T
8
[a] [d] [a] [d]

Ve - ris ad im - pe - ri - a e - y - a. re - na - scun - tur o - mni - a e - y - a.
Su - spi - rat lu - ci - ni - a e - y - a. no - stra si - bi con - sci - a. [e - y - a.]

[c'] [f] [b]

a - mo - ris pro - e - mi - a e - y - a cor - da pre - munt sau - ci - a, que - ru - la
im - pe - trent sus - pi - ri - a e - y - a. quod se - qua - tur ve - ni - a. di - ri - ge

[b] [e] [c''] [d]

a - mo - ris pro - e - mi - a e - y - a cor - da pre - munt sau - ci - a, que - ru - la
im - pe - trent sus - pi - ri - a e - y - a. quod se - qua - tur ve - ni - a. di - ri - ge

[a] [d] [a']

a - mo - ris pro - e - mi - a e - y - a cor - da pre - munt sau - ci - a, que - ru - la
im - pe - trent sus - pi - ri - a e - y - a. quod se - qua - tur ve - ni - a. di - ri - ge

↓ TD=closing portions of the cauda "[ag]mina" from the conductus *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66)

[i] [i'] [i''] [i] [i]

me - lo - di - a gra - ti - a pre - vi - a cor - da mar - cen - ti - a me - di - a
vi - te vi - a. gra - ti - a pre - vi - a vi - e dis - pen - di - a gra - vi - a

[h] [g] [g]

me - lo - di - a gra - ti - a pre - vi - a cor - da mar - cen - ti - a me - di - a
vi - te vi - a. gra - ti - a pre - vi - a vi - e dis - pen - di - a gra - vi - a

[g] [h] [h]

me - lo - di - a gra - ti - a pre - vi - a cor - da mar - cen - ti - a me - di - a
vi - te vi - a. gra - ti - a pre - vi - a vi - e dis - pen - di - a gra - vi - a

[Refrain]

8 vi - ta ver - nat flos in - tra nos.
vi - te ver - na[t] flos in - tra nos.]

Refr.

8 vi - ta ver - nat flos in - tra nos.
vi - te ver - na[t] flos in - tra nos.]

8 vi - ta ver - nat flos in - tra nos.
vi - te ver - na[t] flos in - tra nos.]

VERIS AD IMPERIA

Conductus (F11/373)

F, f. 228v (6,29)

I Veris ad imperia – eya! – renascuntur omnia. – eya! – Amoris proemia – eya! – corda premunt saucia. Querula melodia, gratia previa corda marcentia: media	At Spring’s commands – hey! – all things are reborn. – hey! – The first stirrings of love – hey! – press upon smitten hearts. 5 With a plaintive melody, with grace leading the way for those faint of heart: in the midst of
<i>Refr.</i> vita, vernat flos intra nos.	life, a flower 10 blossoms among us.
II Suspirat lucinia. – eya! – nostra, sibi conscia, [– eya! –] impetrent suspiria – eya! – quod sequatur venia. Dirige vite via, gratia previa, vie dispendia gravia:	The nightingale sighs. – hey! – Let our sighs, known to her, – hey! – obtain – hey! – what may follow with mercy. 15 Upon the path of life, with grace leading the way, make straight the troublesome twisting of the road:
<i>Refr.</i> vite verna[t] flos intra nos.	the flower of life 20 blossoms among us.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 29, f. 228v, a3; Strophes I-II complete, with no special markings for what are here labeled as refrains; a unique setting of this text, with a Franco-Occitan contrafact (see below), and with some portions of the music occurring in other conductus. Strophe II, along with the assumed second refrain, is inscribed within a prepared empty space within the writing block at the end of the last system of the piece; only about one third of the available area is filled, but no further stanzas exist for this poem. This and the previous conductus in *F*-6, *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128), are both concerned with the rather exceptional topic for this repertory of earthly love.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Legis in volumine (F13/193): *F*, fasc. 6, no. 38, f. 234r, a3; the opening two phrases of this conductus (the first two poetic lines), with slight variants, are essentially equivalent in all three parts to the multiply repeated opening gesture (line) of *Veris ad imperia*.

Columbe simplicitas (J16/66); portions of the cauda on “[ag]mina” (ending line 11, just prior to a concluding, otherwise unrelated BD setting – q.v., below) are equivalent to the T and D of the ending section (“gratia previa” ... “intra nos”) from *Veris ad imperia*. *Columbe* is preserved in the following MSS:

F, fasc. 7, no. 68, f. 328v, a2.

Hu, no. 148, f. 137r, a2.

Additionally, although it has no bearing on *Veris ad imperia*, the *F* version of *Columbe simplicitas* ends with a *Benedicamus domino* conclusion that consists of a discant clausula on “[Domi]Ne” [M3], found also in the *F MLO* and in the clausula fascicle of *W1*, that is largely equivalent to the motet *Qui servare puberem / Domine* (vdW 59/M3 – see *Columbe simplicitas* for further sources and for some further speculation on the possible significance of the multiple quotations that appear in the latter conductus).

Contrafacts:

A l’entradre del tens clar (Pillet-Carstons, no. 461-12):¹ *Pbn. fr. 20050* (trouvère MS *U*, troubadour MS *X*, *Chansonnier St. Germain*), f. 82v (lxxix): a1 (T); as this is a contrafact of *Veris ad imperia*, it also shares its initial gestures with the opening of the T in *Legis in volumine*. Some of the phrases in the latter part of this song occur at what appear to be different levels of transposition when compared to the conductus: the opening of the chanson, similar to lines 1-4, is pitched a fourth lower, while after a rather ambiguous presentation of what is line 5 above, the portion corresponding with the section beginning at line 6 to the end appears a fifth lower.²

Notes on the Text: General remarks: The translation has benefitted immensely from the discussion in Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 392.³ This is one of the few conductus preserved in *F* to treat the subject of earthly or erotic love; for a full list of such pieces as well as further observations, see the remarks on the text of *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128, just prior at *F*-6,28). Interestingly, two pairs of pieces in this list are contiguous in *F*-6 (*Cum animadverterem / Procurans odium* [F-6,23-24] and *Flos in monte cernitur / Veris ad imperia*). Also telling in terms of the placement of the pieces here is that the next work (*Veri floris sub figura* [C1/369]) returns to religious matters, and possesses many more concordances; it and the following pieces, though, retain the strophic form and simpler style of the ones before. **Textual notes: 6-8:** this is also possible to be understood as “with grace in front and those faint of heart following (i.e., “in the middle”), a flower of life blossoms among us.” This rendering would allow the refrain here to be construed independently from the rest of the stanza, in the same way as the one that follows Strophe II; see also the remarks among the textual variants below for line 19,2. **8-9,1:** cf. the non-biblical text often used as an antiphon in Lent: “Media vita in morte sumus. Quem quaerimus adiutorem nisi te, domine? ...” (“In the midst of life we are in death. Whom do we seek for aid unless you, O Lord? ...”). **14:** also able to be rendered as: “obtain ... that which mercy may follow.” **19,2:** see also the remarks at this place in the observations below.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 12,4: F: “eya” om; supplied by reference to Strophe I. **19,2:** F: verna; the possibly om letter “-t” is supplied editorially, from comparison to the refrain in Strophe I; conceivably the reading in *F* could be used *ut stat* as an imperative, with the meaning “O flower of life, blossom within us” (as in Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 392); interestingly, there is a larger space after this word than is usual, which might accommodate (or imply) the missing letter. **MUSIC: Lines 5-10:** on the corresponding passages between

¹From the catalog of Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

²Images of *Pbn 20050* may be accessed [here](#).

³Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

Columbe simplicitas and *Veris ad imperia*, see Janet Knapp, “Which Came First,” 16-18.⁴ In this study, Knapp suggests that the cauda from *Columbe* was derived from *Veris*, which itself was likely a later contrafact of the *dansa A l’entree del tens clar*. This furnishes a compelling reason for performing at least this section of the conductus (and, conceivably, the *dansa* as well) in the rhythms suggested by the *Columbe* cauda.

⁴Janet 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*. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner, eds., pp. 16-25 (n.p.: American Musicological Society, 1990).

VERI FLORIS SUB FIGURA

Conductus (C1/369)

F, f. 229r (6,29)

Tr

8

1. [Ve - ri flo - ris sub fi - gu - ra quem pro - du - xit ra - dix pu - ra
 2. [Flo - ris de - cor non de - cre - scit. qui non a - ret non mar-ce - scit.
 3. [Au - rum fa - ber su - o mo - re i - gnis do - mans in ar - do - re
 4. [Ex hoc ig - ne pi - e - ta - tis flos e - mer - sit ca - ri - ta - tis.
 5. [Hic flos mu - ltis ar - gu - men - tis sen - sum pi - e mo - vet men - tis.

D

8

1. [Ve - ri flo - ris sub fi - gu - ra quem pro - du - xit ra - dix pu - ra
 2. [Flo - ris de - cor non de - cre - scit. qui non a - ret non mar-ce - scit.
 3. [Au - rum fa - ber su - o mo - re i - gnis do - mans in ar - do - re
 4. [Ex hoc ig - ne pi - e - ta - tis flos e - mer - sit ca - ri - ta - tis.
 5. [Hic flos mu - ltis ar - gu - men - tis sen - sum pi - e mo - vet men - tis.

T

8

1. Ve - ri flo - ris sub fi - gu - ra quem pro - du - xit ra - dix pu - ra
 2. Flo - ris de - cor non de - cre - scit. qui non a - ret non mar-ce - scit.
 3. Au - rum fa - ber su - o mo - re i - gnis do - mans in ar - do - re
 4. Ex hoc ig - ne pi - e - ta - tis flos e - mer - sit ca - ri - ta - tis.
 5. Hic flos mu - ltis ar - gu - men - tis sen - sum pi - e mo - vet men - tis.

8

1. cle - ri no - stri pi - a cu - ra flo - rem fe - cit mi - sti - cum
 2. sic flos il - le ca - sum ne - scit quem pro - du - xit vir - gi - nis
 3. fle - xu du - cit le - vi - o - re. sic con - fla - vit me - di - a
 4. in in - cu - de ca - sti - ta - tis quem fa - ber pa - ra - cl - itus
 5. sce - ptrum re - gis pre - po - ten - tis si - gnat au - ri pre - ci - um.

8

1. cle - ri no - stri pi - a cu - ra flo - rem fe - cit mi - sti - cum
 2. sic flos il - le ca - sum ne - scit quem pro - du - xit vir - gi - nis
 3. fle - xu du - cit le - vi - o - re. sic con - fla - vit me - di - a
 4. in in - cu - de ca - sti - ta - tis quem fa - ber pa - ra - cl - itus
 5. sce - ptrum re - gis pre - po - ten - tis si - gnat au - ri pre - ci - um.

8

1. cle - ri no - stri pi - a cu - ra flo - rem fe - cit mi - sti - cum
 2. sic flos il - le ca - sum ne - scit quem pro - du - xit vir - gi - nis
 3. fle - xu du - cit le - vi - o - re. sic con - fla - vit me - di - a
 4. in in - cu - de ca - sti - ta - tis quem fa - ber pa - ra - cl - itus
 5. sce - ptrum re - gis pre - po - ten - tis si - gnat au - ri pre - ci - um.

1. pre - ter u - sum la - y - cum sen - sum tra - hens tro - pi - cum flo - ris a na - tu - - ra.]
 2. or - tus ex - pers se - mi - nis quem no - stre pro - pa - gi - nis mo - dus ex - pa - ve - - scit.]
 3. i - gnem pi - um gra - ti - a quo fle - cti iu - sti - ci - a pos - set a ri - go - - re.]
 4. for - ma - vit di - vi - ni - tus. in - fun - dens hu - ma - ni - tus. au - rum de - i - ta - - tis.]
 5. [ru - bor la - tus sau - ci - um] splen - dor ve - ro gau - di - um chri - sti re - sur - gen - - tis.]

1. pre - ter u - sum la - y - cum sen - sum tra - hens tro - pi - cum flo - ris a na - tu - - ra.]
 2. or - tus ex - pers se - mi - nis quem no - stre pro - pa - gi - nis mo - dus ex - pa - ve - - scit.]
 3. i - gnem pi - um gra - ti - a quo fle - cti iu - sti - ci - a pos - set a ri - go - - re.]
 4. for - ma - vit di - vi - ni - tus. in - fun - dens hu - ma - ni - tus. au - rum de - i - ta - - tis.]
 5. [ru - bor la - tus sau - ci - um] splen - dor ve - ro gau - di - um chri - sti re - sur - gen - - tis.]

1. pre - ter u - sum la - y - cum sen - sum tra - hens tro - pi - cum flo - ris a na - tu - - ra.]
 2. or - tus ex - pers se - mi - nis quem no - stre pro - pa - gi - nis mo - dus ex - pa - ve - - scit.]
 3. i - gnem pi - um gra - ti - a quo fle - cti iu - sti - ci - a pos - set a ri - go - - re.]
 4. for - ma - vit di - vi - ni - tus. in - fun - dens hu - ma - ni - tus. au - rum de - i - ta - - tis.]
 5. [ru - bor la - tus sau - ci - um] splen - dor ve - ro gau - di - um chri - sti re - sur - gen - - tis.]

ALTERNATIVE READING:

*W2, f. 40r, II-III: line 7 and unique cauda, underlaid additionally with the opening words of *Quis tibi Christe meritas* (F33/290), the next piece to appear in W2

Tr [flo - ris a na - tu - ra.]
 D [flo - ris a na - tu - ra.]
 T flo - ris a na - tu - ra.] Quis tibi

[tu - ra.]
 [tu - ra.]
 tu - ra.

VERI FLORIS SUB FIGURA

Conductus (C1/369)

F, f. 229r (6,30)

I Veri floris sub figura, quem produxit radix pura, cleri nostri pia cura flore[m] fecit mysticum preter usum laycum, sensum trahens tropicum floris a natura. II Floris decor non decrescit, qui non aret, non marcescit. Sic flos ille casum nescit, quem produxit virginis ortus expers seminis, quem nostre propaginis modus expavescit. III Aurum faber, suo more, ignis domans in ardore, flexu ducit levio[r]e. Sic conflavit media ignem pium gratia, quo flecti iusticia posset a rigore. IV Ex hoc igne pietatis flos emersit caritatis, in incude castitatis, quem faber, Paraclitus, formavit divinitus, infundens humanitus. aurum deitatis. V Hic flos, multis argumentis, sensum pie movet mentis: scep[tr]um regis prepotentis signat auri precium, [rubor latus saucium], splendor vero gaudium Christi resurgentis.	In the shape of the true flower, which the pure root produced, the devout industry of our clergy created a mystical flower 5 beyond the comprehension of the laity, drawing forth a figurative meaning from the flower's nature. The beauty of the flower never wanes, it neither withers, nor decays. 10 And so that flower, which the Virgin's birthing produced without seed, knows not the fall that the state of our ancestors so greatly feared. 15 In his own fashion, the metalworker, softening gold in the heat of the flame, shapes it with a very gentle flexion. Thus, with the help of grace, He kindled a devout fire, 20 whereby justice was able to be deflected from rigidity. From this fire of piety emerged the flower of charity, which the metalworker, the Holy Spirit, 25 divinely shaped upon the anvil of chastity, casting the gold of the deity in human form. This flower, by many demonstrations, 30 stirs the feeling of a devout mind: the scepter of the very mighty king sets its seal on the value of the gold, its red glow represents His wounded side, and its gleam the joy 35 of Christ arising.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 30, f. 229v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V headed with capitals and entered in an empty space within the writing block following the last system of the piece. This then extends down vertically into additional space provided for the stanzas after the first system of the following piece, *Nemo sane spreverit* (F12/215).

W1, fasc. 2, no. 7, f. 15v (11v): a3: Strophes I-IV only, with II-IV indicated by capitals, entered into space provided after the final system of the piece, and extending significantly into the right margin; IV appears squeezed into the remaining vertical space after III, in a different hand and with differently colored ink.

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 12, f. 129v: a2 (TD): Strophe I only, as usual; opening initial never executed, as typical; numerous DL and doubled, plicated shapes (also seen in other sources) may suggest relative durations that could be used to declaim the text of this piece rhythmically; for a discussion concerning this aspect of the piece, see Knapp, “Musical Declamation,” especially 402-405.¹

W2, fasc. 3, no. 6, f. 39v: a3: Strophe I only; rather messily presented as follows, with the prior work (*Ysayas cecinit* [C4/188]) exhibiting erasures and corrections: the first system of *Veri solis*, begun at the left margin of the second system on the leaf, gives only the material of the first three syllables of line 1, as the rest of the accolade (about three-quarters of it) is taken up with the final portions of *Ysayas*. Furthermore, at the end of the piece, later on f. 40r at the bottom of the folio, redundant music and text for the last two syllables of *Veri solis*, follow instantly upon a cauda beginning at the left margin of its last system that seems to be intended to conclude *Veri floris*, but which is evidently (though illogically) placed above the first three text syllables (headed by a decorated initial) of the following work in *W2* (*Quis tibi Christe meritas* [F33/290]). Through comparison with the other sources, it seems unlikely that this cauda should form part of *Veri solis*, nonetheless space was prepared for it by the text scribe, who placed the last two text syllables of *Veris* on the same system following the cauda with considerable space between them. The actual music for these concluding syllables – sans text – was already included at the end of the system preceding the cauda, and the cauda itself is absent from the only other extant source of *Quis tibi* (*GB-Occc 497*).² This unique and apparently extraneous cauda in *W2* is offered as an alternative example at the end of the transcription. The concluding musical figures in each voice closing the cauda are then drawn over the penultimate text syllable of *Veri floris* as a 2li (where 2si would actually seem required), with the first element of the ligature broadened significantly to the right in a horizontal direction and struck through multiple times with vertical pen strokes; the final text syllable of the last word of the strophe is flush with the right system margin and has no notational figures above it.³

Harley524 (*GB-Lbl Harley 524*), f. 63r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-III only, II-III headed by capitals, with music set from Strophe I up through line 10,2 from Strophe II, thus filling up the entire third system. The text of the remainder of Strophes II and that of III appears below this last system, extending from the left to right margins; frequent strokes appear through the entire system after most words or word pairs.⁴

¹Janet Knapp, “Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979): 383-407.

²*Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 497*. *Quis tibi*, furthermore, starts again on the next page (the verso of the folio) of *W2*, recopied and starting with another elaborate initial and a cauda that opens like the one in *Occc 497*. The two versions of this piece show some significant further divergences in addition to the initial caudae. Both redactions are presented in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:78-83.

³For more information on the state of this piece in the context of its inscription in *W2*, see Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concorde: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music From British Universities (Hamden, Connecticut: Garland, 1994), 42-47; and Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Les Organa à Deux Voix du Manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel*, *Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.*, 1 vol. in 2, *Le Magnus liber organi* de Notre-Dame de Paris, no. 6 A-B (Les Remparts, Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1996), 6A: lxxv.

⁴An image of the music in this source can be found here online: <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/430/#/images>.

CH-SGs 383 (*St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383*), conductus collection 2, no. 9 (no. 13),⁵ p. 175: a1 (T); Strophes I-V, complete, with music set from Strophe I up through line 9,3 of Strophe II, thus filling up the entire last system; the remainder of II-V, each stanza headed by capitals decorated with a fleck of red paint, appears below this system, extending from the left to right margins, with the final syllable of V elaborated and centered at the bottom of the page.

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95), no. 40, f. 31v (29v):⁶ a1 (T?), in unheightened neumes; Strophes I-V, complete, indicated by red painted capitals, with a larger one for Strophe I, and with the neumes set above the text throughout.

Tort (Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cód. 97; E-TO Cód. 97), no. 2, f. 81v (i.e., the front flyleaf of the third of three MSS bound together in this composite source): a2 (TD); Strophe I only. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; it is collated in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:162, and described in DIAMM, which indicates it is written in Aquitanian point notation with shapes resembling 14th-century semibreves on dry-point lines.

Hortus (F-Sm; Hortus deliciarum), no. 2, f. 29r: a1 (T?); Strophes I-V, complete; rubric: “Item de nativitate Domini” (“another about the nativity of the Lord”); this source is now lost or destroyed, the presence of music a1 is confirmed by earlier witnesses.⁷ Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:162 reportedly collates variants from the materials in Christian Moritz Engelhardt, *Herrad von Landsperg, Äbtissin zu Hohenburg ... Hortus deliciarum* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1818).

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 51, f. 246v (17v): text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V indicated by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “Comendatio [sic] cuiusdam nobilis viri” (“Commendation of a certain noble man”).

F-CV190 (Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, 190; Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles - 190), f. 158v (clxi^v): text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with III and IV in reverse order; II-V are headed by capitals.⁸

F-Pn lat.4880, f. 84v^b: text only of Strophes I-V, complete; begins near the bottom of the second column on the leaf; headed with an initial, with the subsidiary stanzas capitalized.⁹

⁵Image from this source available [here](#). Pieces are cited here first by collection and number within the collection, according to their appearance within the two series of Notre Dame conductus that appear within *CH-SGs 383* from pp. 135-144 and 158-176 (4 and 10 pieces respectively). These two groups of pieces are separated by a collection of Sanctus and Agnus tropes, some of which are also in *W1*, fasc. 10. The following number in parentheses then gives the enumeration of the piece according to the total tally of Notre Dame conductus within this manuscript.

⁶Given as f. 29v on the CPI website; f. 31v is the leaf as designated by the online images provided by the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart [here](#). The folio in parentheses appears on the CPI website and Anderson’s catalog and edition.

⁷See M. Vogeleis, *Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters im Elsass, 500–1800* (Strassburg: LeRoux, 1911).

⁸Images of this source available here: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md62s4655p3z>; the folio is available as image 169 out of the 173 that make up the online source.

⁹Images available [here](#).

F-CHRM341 (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 341), f. 158v: this MS is now lost; no indication of the extent of the text it contained.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: although the present and following pieces in *F-6* continue with strophic forms in relatively simple musical settings, *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369) seems to mark a new layer within the fascicle, as it returns to religious subjects and possesses many more concordances than the four pieces that immediately precede it. The preceding poems are primarily concerned with critical and admonitory matters, an emphasis that began with *F-6,20 (Celum non animum [E1/56])*, and which is broken with the pair of erotic love songs, *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128) and *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373), at *F-6,28-29* just prior to *Veri floris*.

Authorship: André Wilmart¹⁰ has argued for Walter of Châtillon's authorship for this poem; this conjecture has been dismissed by Peter Dronke.¹¹ The work also does not appear as Walter's in David A. Traill's 2013 edition of his lyrics.¹² **Textual notes: 1-2:** throughout the poem the flower is Christ and the root his ancestral lineage; see Isaiah, 11:1;¹³ and cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16);¹⁴ in this case the "root" referred to in the text of *Veri floris* is almost certainly associated as well with the Virgin. **4-7:** these lines appear to reflect the distinction between literal and allegorical or figurative readings of scripture according to the four-fold method of biblical exegesis common in the middle ages. The poem here suggests that figural reading and interpretation of scripture is something confined to the clerical elite and not comprehensible or conceivable to the sensibilities of the laity. **8-14 (Strophe II):** Jesus (the flower) was conceived without original sin (see Genesis, 3); as a result, his beauty never suffers deterioration. Similarly, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, although under debate during the middle ages, held that Mary was also free from original sin. **15-21 (Strophe III):** the goldsmith here is a figure for God, or more specifically the Holy Spirit (see line 25); the flame imbued by grace allows the flower to render forgiveness from the righteous punishment of justice (lines 19-21); and the golden work being shaped by God/the Spirit is Christ, who, like the flower in Strophe II, never loses beauty nor tarnishes, since he is born without sin.¹⁵ **22-28 (Strophe IV):** replete with figures of the Trinity and the Virgin: the gold flower in human form is Christ the Son; the goldworker the Spirit (see lines 15-17); the anvil of chastity the Virgin Mary; the gold shaped into the flower is the divine essence of God the Father. **29-35 (Strophe V):** possibly a continuation of figures that relate to the persons of the Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, respectively, for each of the three images of gold, the

¹⁰In André Wilmart, "Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville," *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937): 121-169, 322-365, at p. 131.

¹¹Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Medieval Studies*, 38 (1976): 185-235; repr./rev. in *The Medieval Poet and his World*, Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, no. 164 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), 281-339, at p. 286, n. 19.

¹²David A. Traill, ed. and trans., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

¹³Isaiah, 11:1: "Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet" ("And a shoot shall come forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.").

¹⁴ Responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16), text of the verse: "Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son").

¹⁵Cf. Isaiah, 40:18-19: "Cui ergo similem fecistis Deum, aut quam imaginem ponetis ei? Numquid sculptile conflagavit faber, aut aurifex auro figuravit illud, et lamminis argenteis argentarius?" ("To whom then have you likened God, or what image will you make for him? Has the workman cast a graven statue, or has the goldsmith formed it with gold, or the silversmith with plates of silver?")

wounded side, and the splendor of Christ's resurrection. **31:** perhaps significantly, the scepter is an indicator of forgiveness in Esther, 8:4.¹⁶

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 11,3: F: for “virginis,” only “vi” given (with the “i” as a superscript abbreviation). **33:** F: line om; supplied from all other sources that transmit Strophe V: *CH-SGs383, OxRawl, F-Pn lat.4880, F-CV190, Stutt, Hortus*. **34,2:** only *F* and *OxRawl* have “vero”; “signat” appears in all other applicable MSS (cf. the above remark for line 33); the *F, OxRawl* reading is chosen because the other merely repeats the same verb as before, while “vero” functions as an indicator of the end of the list of *argumenta* presented in this stanza. **MUSIC: 5,3:** D: F: the figures over the three syllables of “laycum”=*a, c, a*, with a folio change prior to the last syllable; adopted reading of *d, dc, a* taken from *W1, Harley524*; Ma: *d, dc, ↓f* (the last pitch a transposition error of a third too low?); W2: *c, d, Pd, a*; Tort: possibly *c, d, a*. **Alternative reading (line 7 and unique cauda in W2):** in addition to the information in the source report on *W2* above, notice that notational figures are supplied here at the end of line 7 that could accommodate its last two syllables (given here in brackets), and the actual text for these last two syllables appears under the final, unbroken 2li notational figure in the T of the cauda with its significantly extended penultimate notes in all parts; the closing syllable is aligned with the end of the system. D: F: phrase 2 of the cauda (at L5-8) om; supplied by editorial conjecture.

¹⁶Esther, 8:4: “At ille, ex more, sceptrum aureum protendit manu, quo signum clementiae monstrabatur, illaque consurgens stetit ante eum ...” (“But he [King Ahasuerus/Assuerus], as was the custom, held out the golden scepter with his hand, by which was indicated a sign of clemency, and she [Queen Esther], rising up, stood before him ...”).

NEMO SANE SPREVERIT

Conductus (F12/218)

F, f. 229v (6,31)

Tr

8

[Ne - mo sa - ne spre - ve - rit me mo - no - cu - lum
[U - num lu - men ni - tu - it in for - ci - di - bus.
[Re - ctum u - bi de - vi - et nunc per - spi - ci - o

D

8

[Ne - mo sa - ne spre - ve - rit me mo - no - cu - lum
[U - num lu - men ni - tu - it in for - ci - di - bus.
[Re - ctum u - bi de - vi - et nunc per - spi - ci - o

T

8

Ne - mo sa - ne spre - ve - rit me mo - no - cu - lum
U - num lu - men ni - tu - it in for - ci - di - bus.
Re - ctum u - bi de - vi - et nunc per - spi - ci - o

8

cum di - e suf - fe - ce - rit u - ni - cum lu - cis spe - cu - lum.
lu - scus ro - mam do - mu - it ha - ni - bal ter - ror ho - sti - bus.
ca - sus hic ad - di - ci - et quod ma - ior sim ma - cha - ri - o.

8

cum di - e suf - fe - ce - rit u - ni - cum lu - cis spe - cu - lum.
lu - scus ro - mam do - mu - it ha - ni - bal ter - ror ho - sti - bus.
ca - sus hic ad - di - ci - et quod ma - ior sim ma - cha - ri - o.

8

cum di - e suf - fe - ce - rit u - ni - cum lu - cis spe - cu - lum.
lu - scus ro - mam do - mu - it ha - ni - bal ter - ror ho - sti - bus.
ca - sus hic ad - di - ci - et quod ma - ior sim ma - cha - ri - o.

8

so - lum e - nim ex - e - rit so - lis o - cu - lum.]
po - li - phe - mus cla - ru - it in gi - gan - ti - bus.]
me - ce - co - rum fa - ci - et re - gem re - gi - o.]

8

so - lum e - nim ex - e - rit so - lis o - cu - lum.]
po - li - phe - mus cla - ru - it in gi - gan - ti - bus.]
me - ce - co - rum fa - ci - et re - gem re - gi - o.]

8

so - lum e - nim ex - e - rit so - lis o - cu - lum.
po - li - phe - mus cla - ru - it in gi - gan - ti - bus.
me - ce - co - rum fa - ci - et re - gem re - gi - o.

NEMO SANE SPREVERIT

Conductus (F12/218)

F, f. 229v (6,31)

I	Nemo sane spreverit me monoculum, cum die suffecerit unicum lucis speculum, solum enim exerit solis oculum.		No one, to be sure, should discount me because I am one-eyed, since a single reflection of light 5 suffices for daylight, for it reveals the solitary eye of the sun.
II	Unum lumen nituit in Forcidibus; luscus Romam domuit Hanibal terror hostibus; Poliphemus claruit in gigantibus.	10	One eye shone among the daughters of Phorcys; one-eyed Hannibal, the terror of hosts, tamed Rome; and Polyphemus was renowned among the giants.
III	Rectum ubi deviet nunc perspicio. Casus hic addiciet quod maior sim machario: me cecorum faciet regem regio.	15 20	I now see clearly where justice may go astray. Opportunity will increase here so that I become greater than one blessed: the land of the blind will make me king.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 31, f. 229v: a3; Strophes I-III, complete, of the only extant transmission of this music and text, with II-III headed by capitals and entered into an empty space within the writing block provided at the right margin of the closing system of the piece, which itself impinges upon the first system devoted to the following work in *F*-6, *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148). This latter work begins at the left margin and takes up most of the area allotted to this same system, with a slender strip of empty space separating the music of the very end of *Nemo sane spreverit* from the portion allotted to *Hac in anni ianua*.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-2: Léopold Delisle suggests that this poem concerns King Philip Augustus, who, according to some witnesses, was said to be blind in one eye.¹ Ernest Sander disputes this connection, noting

¹Léopold Delisle, "Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 23 (1885): 82-139, on p. 111, n. 6.

that reports of the king's blindness are sparsely documented;² this question of identity deserves further investigation, particularly in view of the first-person voice that applies throughout this conductus text. **8-9:** the Phorcides, or Graeae ("Gray Sisters"), Pe(m)phredo, Enyo, and Dino (or Persis), shared a single eye and tooth among the three of them. Gray-haired from birth, these daughters of the primordial sea gods Phorcys and his wife Ceto, counted a number of monstrous offspring among their siblings: the Gorgons (including Medusa); Ladon the dragon, who guarded the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides (another set of sibling relations) and who was conquered by Hercules as part of his eleventh labor; Echidna the half-woman, half-snake; and the sea nymph Thoösa, the mother of Polyphemus (see lines 13-14). Perseus, in his quest to bring the head of Medusa to Polydectes, his mother's suitor, blackmails the Graeae by stealing their eye and withholding it from them until they reveal the whereabouts of the garden of the Hesperides, where Perseus will receive weapons to aid him in his conflict with Medusa (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4:772-781). **10-12:** Hannibal Barca (247-181/183 BCE) was the famous Carthaginian general who so threatened Rome, particularly during the course of the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE), which featured his crossing the Alps with a large military contingent that included numerous elephants. During this encounter, in the run-up to the Battle of Lake Trasimene (217 BCE), Hannibal suffered an infection that caused him to lose his right eye. He was eventually defeated by the Roman commander Scipio Africanus at the decisive battle of Zama (202 BCE), which effectively ended the conflict. **13-14:** Polyphemus, the well-known, horrific monocular giant, is best known from the ninth book of the *Odyssey*, and also from a much different story told by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, 13:738-897, where the giant is in love with the nymph Galatea and jealous of her affection for the shepherd Acis, whom Polyphemus kills by crushing him with a rock. This causes Galatea to change Acis into a river spirit. **17-19:** this passage as a whole is rather difficult to construe and the translation offered here is offered with caution. In particular, the reference to "macharius/macarius" in line 19,2 poses several problems, as it may refer to a wide variety of persons or characters, such as those given in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xv, n. 5, as well as a number of Eastern monks, bishops, and patriarchs from the fourth to the twelfth centuries (none of whom, apparently, has an attribute of being blind or one-eyed); but this Greek-derived word was also used as a synonym for *beatus* (see, s.v. "macarius," in the *DMLBS*, and Ducange, *Glossarium*, both available through <http://logeion.uchicago.edu>); this is the connotation of the word as it is used here. **20-21:** these lines undoubtedly allude to the proverbial saying "in the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king" ("in regione caecorum rex est luscus"), an aphorism likely of extremely long standing, having been recorded in numerous venues and variants, the most notable being the *Adagia* of Erasmus (3.4.96) in its various editions. These feature not only the given version, but also: "inter caecos regnat strabus" ("among the blind the squinter rules"), "scitum est inter caecos luscum regnare posse" ("one knows that the one-eyed man can rule among the blind"). Other, related phrases include one from the fourth-to-fifth-century rabbinical midrash commentaries of the Genesis Rabbah: "in the street of the blind, the one-eyed man is called the guiding light," and "beatus monocolus in terra caecorum" ("blessed is the one-eyed man in the land of the blind" – cf. in this regard the discussion of lines 17-19).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** no variants.

²Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Notre Dame Conductus," *Gordon A. Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 39, ed. Luther Dittmer, 2:505-530 (Henryville, PA: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1985), on p. 521, n. 42,

HAC IN ANNI IANUA

Conductus (E6/148)

F, f. 229v (6,32)

Tr

8

1. [Hac in an - ni ia - nu - a hoc in ia - nu - a - ri - o

2. [An - ni no - vi no - vi - tas no - vas le - ges af - fe - rens

3. [O fe - li - ces nu - pti - e. o fe - lix hu - ma - ni - tas.

4. [No - stris lu - men te - ne - bris dat lu - men de lu - mi - ne

5. [Car - nis cir - cum - ci - si - o mi - ste - ri - i va - cu - a

D

8

1. [Hac in an - ni ia - nu - a hoc in ia - nu - a - ri - o

2. [An - ni no - vi no - vi - tas no - vas le - ges af - fe - rens

3. [O fe - li - ces nu - pti - e. o fe - lix hu - ma - ni - tas.

4. No - stris lu - men te - ne - bris dat lu - men de lu - mi - ne

5. [Car - nis cir - cum - ci - si - o mi - ste - ri - i va - cu - a

T

8

1. Hac in an - ni ia - nu - a hoc in ia - nu - a - ri - o

2. An - ni no - vi no - vi - tas no - vas le - ges af - fe - rens

3. O fe - li - ces nu - pti - e. o fe - lix hu - ma - ni - tas.

4. No - stris lu - men te - ne - bris dat lu - men de lu - mi - ne

5. Car - nis cir - cum - ci - si - o mi - ste - ri - i va - cu - a

8

1. ten - da - mus ad ar - du - a vir - tu - tis sub - si - di - o.

2. se - qui ve - tat ve - ti - tas ve - tu - sta tem au - fe - rens.

3. cu - i nu - bit ho - di - e fi - li - i di - vi - ni - tas.

4. pri - me cul - pe fu - ne - bris ex - clu - sa ca - li - gi - ne.

5. non fu - it in fi - li - o. per quam no - bis con - gru - a

8

1. ten - da - mus ad ar - du - a vir - tu - tis sub - si - di - o.

2. se - qui ve - tat ve - ti - tas ve - tu - sta tem au - fe - rens.

3. cu - i nu - bit ho - di - e fi - li - i di - vi - ni - tas.

4. pri - me cul - pe fu - ne - bris ex - clu - sa ca - li - gi - ne.

5. non fu - it in fi - li - o. per quam no - bis con - gru - a

8

1. ten - da - mus ad ar - du - a vir - tu - tis sub - si - di - o.

2. se - qui ve - tat ve - ti - tas ve - tu - sta tem au - fe - rens.

3. cu - i nu - bit ho - di - e fi - li - i di - vi - ni - tas.

4. pri - me cul - pe fu - ne - bris ex - clu - sa ca - li - gi - ne.

5. non fu - it in fi - li - o. per quam no - bis con - gru - a

1. gau - di - a sint mu - tu - a mu - to fa - cto vi - ti - o.
 2. pro - bos pro - bet pro - bi - tas pro - bis pro - ba con - fe - rens.
 3. hinc di - vi - ne glo - ri - e non de - cre - scit quan - ti - tas
 4. de lu - ce lux ce - le - bris na - sci - tur de vir - gi - ne
 5. dat - [ur] de - mon - stra - ti - o tol - le - re su - per - flu - a

1. gau - di - a sint mu - tu - a mu - to fa - cto vi - ti - o.
 2. pro - bos pro - bet pro - bi - tas pro - bis pro - ba con - fe - rens.
 3. hinc di - vi - ne glo - ri - e non de - cre - scit quan - ti - tas
 4. de lu - ce lux ce - le - bris na - sci - tur de vir - gi - ne
 5. dat - [ur] de - mon - stra - ti - o tol - le - re su - per - flu - a

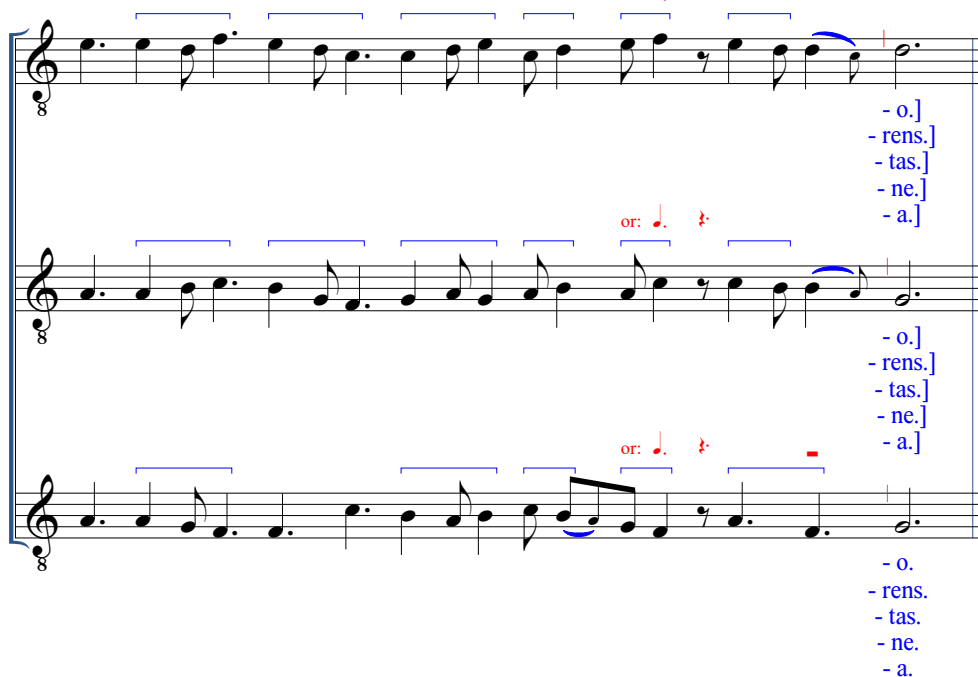
1. gau - di - a sint mu - tu - a mu - to fa - cto vi - ti - o.
 2. pro - bos pro - bet pro - bi - tas pro - bis pro - ba con - fe - rens.
 3. hinc di - vi - ne glo - ri - e non de - cre - scit quan - ti - tas
 4. de lu - ce lux ce - le - bris na - sci - tur de vir - gi - ne
 5. dat - [ur] de - mon - stra - ti - o tol - le - re su - per - flu - a

1. re - pro - bo - rum fa - tu - a re - pro - be - tur a - cti -
 2. con - te - ra - tur pra - vi - tas pro - bi - ta - tem con - te -
 3. sed ad gra - dum gra - ti - e no - stra cre - scit par - vi -
 4. non car - nis il - le - ce - bris sed di - vi - no fla - mi -
 5. cir - cum - ci - so vi - ti - o hac in an - ni ia - nu -

1. re - pro - bo - rum fa - tu - a re - pro - be - tur a - cti -
 2. con - te - ra - tur pra - vi - tas pro - bi - ta - tem con - te -
 3. sed ad gra - dum gra - ti - e no - stra cre - scit par - vi -
 4. non car - nis il - le - ce - bris sed di - vi - no fla - mi -
 5. cir - cum - ci - so vi - ti - o hac in an - ni ia - nu -

1. re - pro - bo - rum fa - tu - a re - pro - be - tur a - cti -
 2. con - te - ra - tur pra - vi - tas pro - bi - ta - tem con - te -
 3. sed ad gra - dum gra - ti - e no - stra cre - scit par - vi -
 4. non car - nis il - le - ce - bris sed di - vi - no fla - mi -
 5. cir - cum - ci - so vi - ti - o hac in an - ni ia - nu -

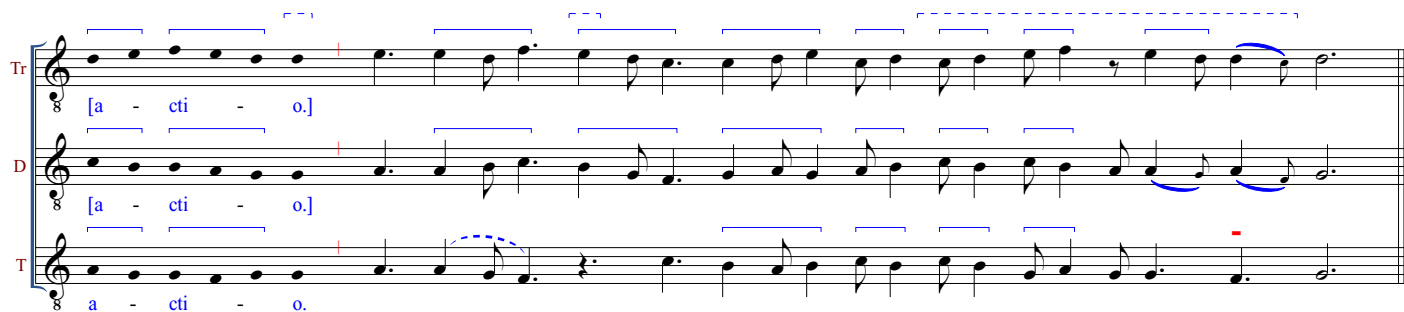
*W1's cauda is slightly expanded; see the following alternative

or: 


- o.]
- rens.]
- tas.]
- ne.]
- a.]

- o.]
- rens.]
- tas.]
- ne.]
- a.]

- o.
- rens.
- tas.
- ne.
- a.

ALTERNATIVE READING:*W1, f. 78v (71v): final word of Strophe I and closing cauda (modes 3 and 6 also possible); material differing from *F* indicated by dashed horizontal brackets above the Tr


Tr
8 [a - cti - o.]

D
8 [a - cti - o.]

T
8 a - cti - o.

HAC IN ANNI IANUA

Conductus (E6/148)

F, f. 229v (6,32)

I <i>Hac in anni ianua,</i> <i>hoc in Ianuario,</i> <i>tendamus ad ardua,</i> <i>virtutum subsidio.</i> <i>Gaudia sint mutua,</i> <i>muto facto vitio.</i> <i>Reproborum fatua</i> <i>reprobetur actio.</i>	<i>At this portal of the year,</i> <i>in this January,</i> <i>let us strive to the heights</i> <i>with the support of the virtues.</i> 5 <i>Let our joys be shared,</i> <i>as vice is rendered speechless.</i> <i>Let this action reprove</i> <i>the idiocies of reprobates.</i>
II <i>Anni novi novitas,</i> <i>novas leges afferens,</i> <i>sequi vetat vetitas,</i> <i>vetustatem auferens.</i> <i>Probos probet probitas,</i> <i>probis proba conferens.</i> <i>Conteratur pravitas,</i> <i>probitatem conterens.</i>	<i>The newness of the new year,</i> 10 <i>ushering in new laws</i> <i>and bearing away the old,</i> <i>forbids following the forbidden.</i> <i>Let probity approve the proper,</i> <i>providing prowess to the well-proven.</i> 15 <i>Let perversity, crushing</i> <i>probity, be crushed.</i>
III <i>O felices nuptie,</i> <i>O felix humanitas,</i> <i>cui nubit hodie</i> <i>fili divinitas.</i> <i>Hinc divine glorie</i> <i>non decrescit quantitas,</i> <i>sed ad gradum gratie</i> <i>nostra crescit parvitas.</i>	<i>O the happy marriage,</i> <i>O the happy humanity</i> <i>that the Son's divinity</i> 20 <i>weds today.</i> <i>The measure of His divine</i> <i>glory does not grow less,</i> <i>but rather our slightness grows</i> <i>greater with each step to grace.</i>
IV <i>Nostris lumen tenebris</i> <i>dat lumen de lumine,</i> <i>prime culpe funebris</i> <i>exclusa caligine.</i> <i>De luce, lux celebris</i> <i>nascitur de virgine,</i> <i>non carnis illecebris,</i> <i>sed divino flamine.</i>	25 <i>The light of light gives</i> <i>light to our shadows,</i> <i>having banished the darkness</i> <i>of the deadly first offense.</i> <i>Out of the light, an illustrious light</i> 30 <i>is born of a virgin,</i> <i>not from the allurements of the flesh,</i> <i>but by the Holy Spirit.</i>
V <i>Carnis circumcisio</i> <i>misterii vacua</i> <i>non fuit in filio.</i> <i>Per quam nobis congrua</i> <i>dat[ur] demonstratio</i> <i>tollere superflua,</i> <i>circumciso vitio</i> <i>hac in anni ianua.</i>	<i>The circumcision of the flesh</i> <i>was not devoid of mystery</i> 35 <i>with respect to the son.</i> <i>Through it a fitting</i> <i>indication is given</i> <i>to eliminate the unnecessary,</i> <i>by circumcising vice</i> 40 <i>in this portal of the year.</i>

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 32, f. 229v: a3; Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V capitalized at their start and entered into a prepared space within a system-high writing block provided at the end of the piece.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 9, f. 78r (71r): a3: Strophes I-II only,¹ with II (all in lower case and apparently in a different hand from the main scribe) entered into the four spaces of the Tr staff of the remaining empty half of the system after the final cauda of the piece.

Text only:

OxRawl (*GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510*), no. 48, 246r (17r): text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with subsequent stanzas shown by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “Ut virtutibus renovemur anno renovato” (“That we may be renewed by the virtues as the year is renewed”).

Music only:

Contrafacts:

Notes on the Text: As with a number of other pieces that occur together earlier in *F*-6 (for which, see the remarks on *Verbum pater exhibuit* [E5/368, at *F*-6,19] – a piece that just so happens to precede *Hac in anni* in *W1*), *Hac in anni ianua* features the conceit of line repetition, in this case regarding the very first and last verses of the entire five-strophe complex. **1-8 (Strophe I):** For a list of conductus that invoke the new year and the associated celebrations of Circumcision and the Feast of Fools, see the notes to lines 1-3 of *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227). The first day of January was not consistently regarded as the beginning of the year in many parts of Europe until the sixteenth century; other candidates included Easter, Christmas, and the feast of the Annunciation (March 25). The custom of denoting January as the first month originally began in ancient Rome and, although condemned by the second Council of Tours in 567 CE due to its pagan associations, retained that affinity in a number of quarters (as attested by *Hac in anni ianua*), sometimes in combination with alternative starts to the calendar year. In addition, and again as a holdover from pagan Roman practices, January was regarded as a month of gift-giving and well-wishing, and prompted (and still does) numerous rites and superstitions associated with the symbolism of renewal and the granting of good fortune; some of these sentiments seem to lie behind the content of lines 3-5 of the conductus poem.² **9-16 (Strophe II):** As in other parts of this poem, I have attempted to reflect in the translation the rampant *annominatio* throughout this stanza (which actually begins with the expressions in lines 7-8); lines 13-14 are particularly challenging to replicate; more literally rendered, they might read: “Let goodness regard as good those who are virtuous, conferring evidence [of their virtuousness] upon the virtuous.” **9-12:** the frequent trope of the Old-versus-New-Law typology appears here as well; in this case, the connection of the renewal of the year is associated with the circumcision of Christ on 1 January, an act that signifies the new covenant that overturns the ones made with the descendants of Abraham (as in Genesis, 17:7-14); an analogous metaphor of Christ as a new Adam, born without sin, but who will eventually assume the sufferings of the world, appears in *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), lines 14-15; see also Mary Channen Caldwell’s dissertation, “Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round,” 557-568,³ for an extensive treatment of the intertwined themes of circumcision, the new year, and spiritual renewal in musical representations; see also the later treatment of circumcision in Strophe V,

¹The CPI website mistakenly indicates that only Strophe I is transmitted.

²For many of these preceding points, see, for example, John J. Tierney, s.v. “New Year’s Day,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 volumes (New York: Appleton, 1911), 11:19-20.

³Mary Channen Caldwell, “Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582” (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2013).

especially the comments below on lines 33-35. **21-22:** a common theme: God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ; see, e.g., *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 1-4 and *passim*. **25-30:** cf. I John, 1:5.⁴ **26,2-4:** see the text of the Credo (the Nicene Creed): "Deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero ..." ("God from God, light from light, true God from true God ..."). **27-28:** the first offense is the succumbing of Adam and Eve to the serpent and the imposition of original sin (see Genesis, 3). **33-35:** Christ's circumcision is replete with figurative and allegorical significance; see the remarks for lines 9-12, above; in this case, a moral teaching comes forth, as delineated in the remaining lines of the poem, urging the listener to cast off unnecessary sinful practices, essentially circumcising vice.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 5,2:** W1, OxRawl: sunt; the indicative form could also serve here, although the parallelism with the subjunctive mood of all of the other verbs in this strophe argues more strongly for retaining the *F* reading. **17,3:** *F*: nativitas, supplied from *OxRawl*; the *F* reading could be used, but the correlation with "divinitas" in 20,2 seems a more graceful fit. **34,1:** most other editions have "mysteriis," but *F* shows no terminal "s" and OxRawl appears to give "misteris" with a horizontal stroke (an abbreviation?) above the "s"; I use the unchanged *F* reading, as it makes sense as is, since "vacua" can take the genitive as well as the ablative case. **37,1:** *F*: dat; the missing syllable attested by *OxRawl*. **MUSIC: Line 3,3:** T: *F*: *b,baP* over the third syllable of "ardua," which is acceptable, but slightly less consonant than the adopted reading 2 higher from *W1*; it also prevents it from being the third T cadence on *b* within the opening four phrases in the piece. **6,2-3:** T: W1: the phrase over "facto vitio," *b,Pc,ag,gf,g'*, is slightly less ornate than *F* and has possibilities for a less dissonant reading, if adopted. **8,2:** TDTr: W1: the phrase ending on the second syllable of "[a]cti[o]" features an added si note in all voices that repeats the pitch immediately before, to which *W1* underlays the final syllable of the stanza (see the alternative reading of the cauda immediately following). **Final cauda:** *W1* has a slightly different rendering with some additional material near the end of the melisma; this alternative is supplied after the main transcription.

⁴I John, 1:5: "Et haec est adnuntiatio quam audivimus ab eo et adnuntiamus vobis: quoniam Deus lux est et tenebrae in eo non sunt ullae" ("And this is the declaration which we have heard from him and declare to you: That God is light, and in him there is no darkness").

NOVUS MILES SEQUITUR – *F* and *Hu* settings
Conductus (E11/228)

F, f. 230r (6,33)

Tr

8

[No - vus mi - les se - qui - tur vi - am no - vi re - gis. bo - nus
[O - pus e - rat me - di - co mun - do mo - ri - en - ti. et gre -
[Tho - ma na - ti par - vu - li mi - les tri - um - pha - lis. sis cle -

1. D

8

[No - vus mi - les se - qui - tur vi - am no - vi re - gis. bo - nus
[O - pus e - rat me - di - co mun - do mo - ri - en - ti. et gre -
[Tho - ma na - ti par - vu - li mi - les tri - um - pha - lis. sis cle -

T

8

No - vus mi - les se - qui - tur vi - am no - vi re - gis. bo - nus
O - pus e - rat me - di - co mun - do mo - ri - en - ti. et gre -
Tho - ma na - ti par - vu - li mi - les tri - um - pha - lis. sis cle -

8

pa - [stor pa] - ti - tur pro sa - lu - te gre - gis. tho - mas a - gni san - gui - ne
-gi do - mi - ni - co pa - sto - re pru - den - ti. san - guis tho - me me - di - ci
-ri. sis po - pu - li pa - stor spi - ri - ta - lis. au - di le - ge - ce - stri - am.

8

pa - [stor pa] - ti - tur pro sa - lu - te gre - gis. tho - mas a - gni san - gui - ne
-gi do - mi - ni - co pa - sto - re pru - den - ti. san - guis tho - me me - di - ci
-ri. sis po - pu - li pa - stor spi - ri - ta - lis. au - di le - ge - ce - stri - am.

8

pa - [stor pa] - ti - tur pro sa - lu - te gre - gis. tho - mas a - gni san - gui - ne
-gi do - mi - ni - co pa - sto - re pru - den - ti. san - guis tho - me me - di - ci
-ri. sis po - pu - li pa - stor spi - ri - ta - lis. au - di le - ge - ce - stri - am.

8

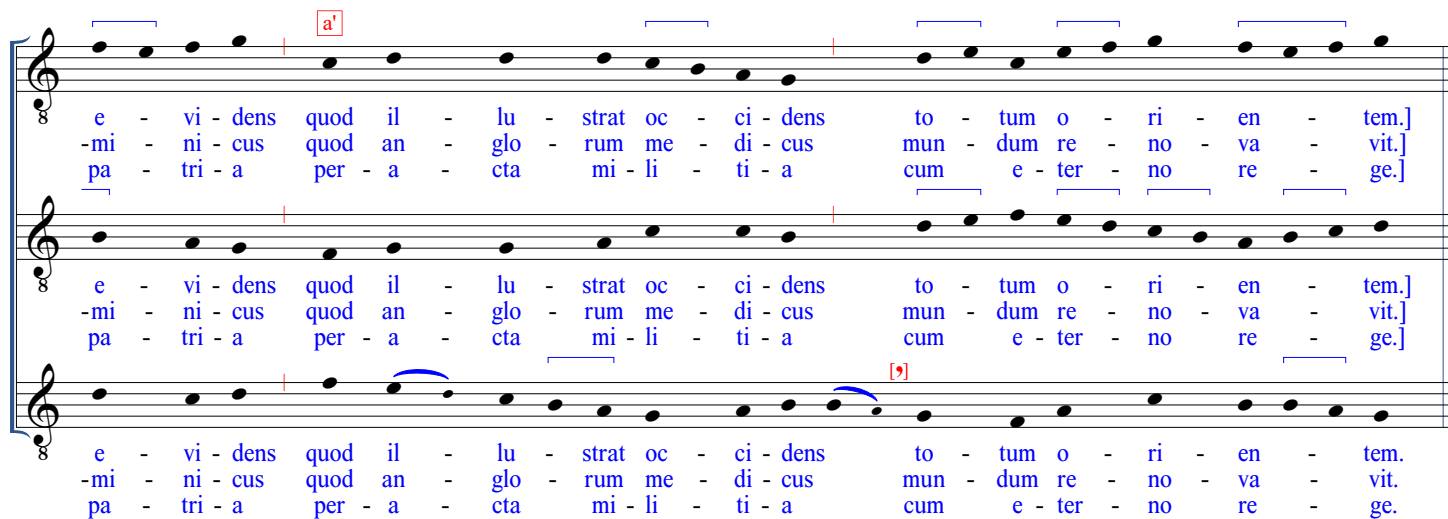
la - vat sto - le ge - mi - ne pur - pu - ram ru - ben - tem. res est sa - tis
mun - di pa - ra - li - ti - ci vul - ne - ra sa - na - vit. cla - mat grex do -
cle - rum et mi - li - ti - am e - ius i - ta re - ge. ut re - gnat in

8

la - vat sto - le ge - mi - ne pur - pu - ram ru - ben - tem. res est sa - tis
mun - di pa - ra - li - ti - ci vul - ne - ra sa - na - vit. cla - mat grex do -
cle - rum et mi - li - ti - am e - ius i - ta re - ge. ut re - gnat in

8

la - vat sto - le ge - mi - ne pur - pu - ram ru - ben - tem. res est sa - tis
mun - di pa - ra - li - ti - ci vul - ne - ra sa - na - vit. cla - mat grex do -
cle - rum et mi - li - ti - am e - ius i - ta re - ge. ut re - gnat in

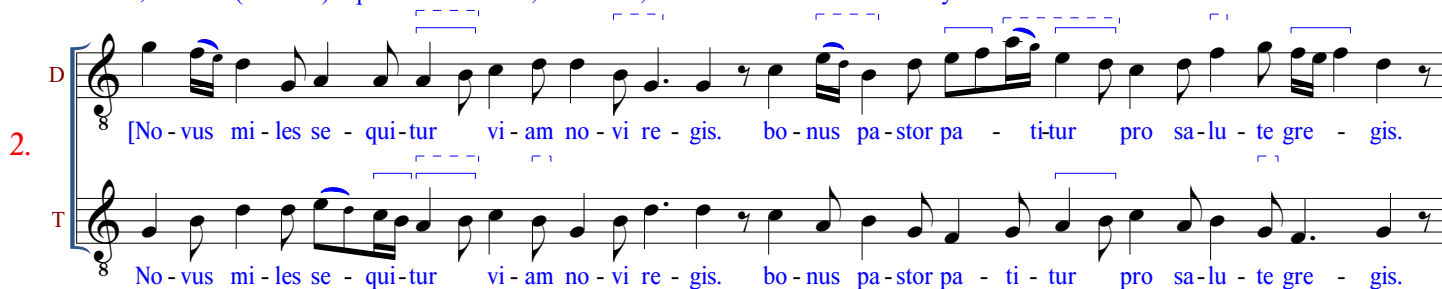


e - vi - dens quod il - lu - strat oc - ci - dens to - tum o - ri - en - tem.]
- mi - ni - cus quod an - glo - rum me - di - cus mun - dum re - no - va - vit.]
pa - tri - a per - a - cta mi - li - ti - a cum e - ter - no re - ge.]

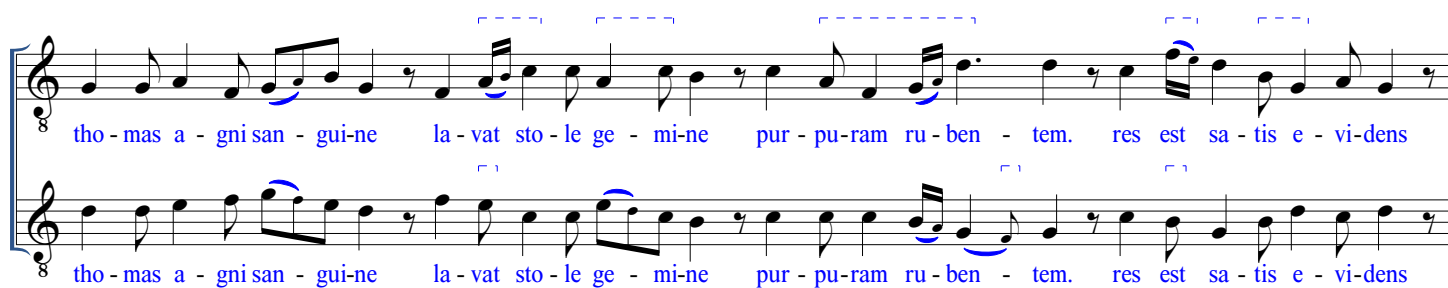
e - vi - dens quod il - lu - strat oc - ci - dens to - tum o - ri - en - tem.]
- mi - ni - cus quod an - glo - rum me - di - cus mun - dum re - no - va - vit.]
pa - tri - a per - a - cta mi - li - ti - a cum e - ter - no re - ge.]

e - vi - dens quod il - lu - strat oc - ci - dens to - tum o - ri - en - tem.]
- mi - ni - cus quod an - glo - rum me - di - cus mun - dum re - no - va - vit.]
pa - tri - a per - a - cta mi - li - ti - a cum e - ter - no re - ge.]

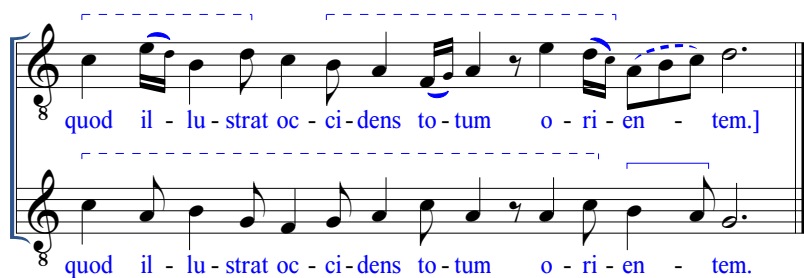
Hu, f. 101v (no. 102) – pitch differences, additions, omissions from *F* marked by dashed brackets



[No - vus mi - les se - qui - tur vi - am no - vi re - gis. bo - nus pa - stor pa - ti - tur pro sa - lu - te gre - gis.]
No - vus mi - les se - qui - tur vi - am no - vi re - gis. bo - nus pa - stor pa - ti - tur pro sa - lu - te gre - gis.]



tho - mas a - gni san - gui - ne la - vat sto - le ge - mi - ne pur - pu - ram ru - ben - tem. res est sa - tis e - vi - dens
tho - mas a - gni san - gui - ne la - vat sto - le ge - mi - ne pur - pu - ram ru - ben - tem. res est sa - tis e - vi - dens]



quod il - lu - strat oc - ci - dens to - tum o - ri - en - tem.]
quod il - lu - strat oc - ci - dens to - tum o - ri - en - tem.]

NOVUS MILES SEQUITUR – *F* and *Hu* settings

Conductus (E11/228)

F, f. 230r (6,33)

I	Novus miles sequitur viam novi regis. Bonus pa[stor pa]titur pro salute gregis. Thomas agni sanguine lavat stole gemine purpuram rubentem. Res est satis evidens quod illustrat occidens totum orientem.		A new soldier follows the path of a new king. A good shepherd suffers for the safety of the flock. 5 Thomas washes the purple of the double stole red in the blood of the Lamb. The event is glaring enough that the West illuminates 10 the whole of the East.
II	Opus erat medico mundo morienti, et gregi dominico pastore prudenti. Sanguis Thome medici mundi paralitici vulnera sanavit. Clamat grex dominicus quod Anglorum medicus mundum renovavit.		There was a need of a doctor for a dying world, and of a prudent pastor for the Lord's flock. 15 The blood of Thomas the physician healed the wounds of a palsied world. The Lord's flock proclaims that doctor of the English 20 has renewed the world.
III	Thoma nati parvuli miles triumphalis, sis cleri, sis populi pastor spiritalis. Audi Legecestriam. Clerum et militiam eius ita rege, ut regnat in patria, peracta militia, cum eterno rege.		Thomas, victorious soldier of the (king's) young son, be the clergy's, be the people's spiritual shepherd. 25 Give ear to Leicester. Direct his clergy and soldiery in such a way that (the young son) may reign in the land, when the war is over, 30 with the eternal king.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 33, f. 230r: a3; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III capitalized and entered into a prepared space within a system-high writing block following the last system of the piece.

Both of the remaining extant sources, interestingly, are associated with Spain:

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 30, f. 139r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only (with incipit "Novus mille"); initial omitted. This is the last piece in the codex; it follows approximately 12 works (11 motets and one conductus – *Salve sancta parens patrie* [J58/317]) that are either unique, or – with some exceptions like *Novus miles sequitur* – transmitted

only in *Hu*.¹ Three further folios, ruled for music but unused except for pentrics, conclude the MS.

Hu (E-BULh 11; Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, 11 [olim IX]);² *Las Huelgas Codex*, no. 102, f. 101v: a2 (TD), in mensural notation, with the D melody and occasionally the T departing in several places from that in *F* and *Ma*, especially for the last two lines of the stanza; Strophe I only, with the music and text of the final syllable entered near the right margin of the last system on the folio, after a large, empty gap following the material for the penultimate syllable. This version is provided for comparison as an additional setting following that of *F*.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: *Novus miles sequitur* is followed in *F* by *Latex silice* (A2/190), a strophic motet a4, and *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), a strophic conductus prosula a3, both of which briefly interrupt the series of conductus that are mostly strophic and *sine caudis* that began with *F*-6,19, *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368) and continues up through *F*-6,47, *Vhe proclamet clericorum* (F19/357). The motet and prosula are published in my 2011 edition *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*,³ but I offer them here as well in more recently rendered versions in this series of *F*-6 pieces. **Historical circumstances:** *Novus miles* celebrates St. Thomas of Canterbury, born Thomas Becket (21 December 1118 or 1120), Lord Chancellor of England (1155-1162) and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury (1162-1170) under his one-time close friend King Henry II (reg. 1154-1189).⁴ Becket was infamously murdered on 29 December 1170 by four of the king's knights while at prayer in Canterbury cathedral. He had previously spent the years 2 November 1164 to 1 December 1170 in exile in France as the guest of King Louis VII (reg. 1137-1180) during his ongoing conflicts with Henry.⁵ Becket was canonized as early as 21 February 1173 and immediately venerated as a martyr throughout Europe, while Henry was compelled to do public penance for the crime at Canterbury on 12 July 1174. See also the conductus *Christi miles Christo* (J55/58) for another, likely later conductus that concerns Thomas. Additional references in Strophe III to a revolt between Henry II and his sons suggest that this text and possibly its music were crafted sometime early during this conflict, possibly in the Spring or early Summer of 1173; see the remarks for lines 2 and 25-30. **Textual notes: 1:** for a biblical reference to the common

¹The other exceptions (respectively nos. 18, 20, and 23 in the fascicle) comprise the three motets *Veni vena venie / Et super* (vdW 546a [olim 952]/M66), in *MüB* as well as *Hu*; *O felix puerpera domina / In seculum* (vdW 148a/M13), otherwise only in *MüB*; and *Doceas* (or *Doce nos*) *hac die / Docebit* (vdW 344/), more widely transmitted in at least four other sources.

²On the recent change in signature for this manuscript, see David Catalunya, “Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas ‘Solmization Song,’” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8: (2017): 89-133, at 89, note 1.

³Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011).

⁴For a thorough account of Henry's reign, upon which many of the following points in these notes rely, see Wilfred Lewis Warren, *Henry II*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

⁵This period of time is alluded to in the monophonic conductus *In Rama sonat gemitus* (L1/181), uniquely preserved in *W1*, f. 185v (168v).

appellation “soldier of Christ,” see II Timothy, 2:3-4.⁶ A similar expression is used in reference to St. Thomas in the opening lines of *Christi miles Christo*, and the soldier figure returns at the start of Strophe III of *Novus miles*. Since Thomas is designated as a “new” soldier, this expression could indicate his recent canonization and further delimit the possible dates for the text’s creation; see additionally the remarks below for lines 25-30. **2:** the “new king” is Henry the Young King (28 February 1155-11 June 1183), who was crowned (14 June 1170) by his father King Henry II prior to his own decease, a practice earlier adopted by the Capetian monarchs of France to avoid disputes over royal succession. Becket, significantly, was the young Henry’s instructor in his early years. Thomas and the young king are again invoked together in lines 21-22, and young Henry’s participation in the Great Rebellion or Great Revolt of 1173-74 against his father is mentioned in lines 25-30.⁷ **5-7:** the meaning of the images in this part of the poem are a bit difficult to sort out; the following remarks represent some provisional attempts at explanation. Assuming that the translation is accurate, it seems that Thomas’s efforts at washing a purple “double stole” in the “blood of the Lamb” (i.e., Christ) cause the stole to change its color to red; whereas, given other appearances of this image prompted by biblical echoes (some of which are provided below), one might expect the color to shift to white. On the “double stole,” see, e.g., the sacrament of baptism, which calls for the priest to change from a purple to a white stole during the course of the ceremony, or to use a double (reversible) stole, one side of which is purple, the other white, which is similarly changed over during the sacrament. Additionally, the colors of liturgical decorations such as altar cloths, and those of vestments such as stoles, also reflect the colors (which include violet, red, and white) appropriate to the time of the liturgical year. In addition to its affiliation with royalty, purple is a color associated with liturgical feasts that involve penance (as in Advent or Lent), while red serves for celebrations involving blood and sacrifice (as in feasts of the Passion or of martyrs), and white for those connected to purity, triumph, or glory, such as Christmas and Easter. In an allegorical vein, a double stole is invoked by Dante in *Paradiso*, 25:91-96 (which refers to Isaiah, 61:7,10); in this case, the figure signifies the earthly and spiritual bodies of soul vs. flesh. Conjecturally, then, in the conductus the purple of penance and/or royalty, conceivably embracing Henry’s crime as well, is washed by Thomas in the purifying blood of Christ the Lamb; but the result is not a cleansing white, but the red of bloodshed and martyrdom. For an analogous image, referring to a “double stole” (*stola duplex*) in connection with Saint Stephen, the protomartyr, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Ortus summi peracto gaudio* (F4/257), line 17, which evokes the biblical story of Micah from Judges, 17. **7:** for the expression “blood of the Lamb,” see, e.g., Revelation, 7:13-14;⁸ and, in a related manner, Revelation, 1:5.⁹ These passages are also alluded to in the conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315) in connection with the feast of the Circumcision. **8-10:** depending on the interpretation given to lines 5-7, the assassination of Thomas was significant enough to invert the fact that the light of the sun originates in the East and through its course eventually shines upon the West. **21-22:** see the remarks for lines 1 and 2. **25-30:** this portion of the poem refers to the Great Rebellion or Great Revolt of 1173-74, where three of Henry II’s sons,

⁶II Timothy, 2:3-4: “Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu. Nemo militans implicat se negotiis saecularibus; ut ei placeat cui se probavit” (“Labor as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No man, serving as a soldier, entangles himself in secular business; this is so he may please the one who has enlisted him”)

⁷For a study devoted to Henry, see Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

⁸Revelation, 7:13-14: “Et respondit unus de senioribus dicens mihi, ‘hii qui amicti sunt stolis albis – qui sunt et unde venerunt?’ Et dixi illi: ‘domine mi, tu scis.’ Et dixit mihi: ‘hii sunt qui veniunt de tribulatione magna et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni’ (‘Then one of the elders asked me, ‘These people in white robes – who are they, and where did they come from?’ I answered: ‘my lord, you know.’ And he said to me: ‘These are they who have come out of the great tribulation; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.’ ”).

⁹Revelation, 1:5: “Et ab Iesu Christo qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae, qui dilexit nos et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo” (“And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth, who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.”).

Henry the Young King, Richard (later king Richard I “Lionheart”), and Geoffery Duke of Brittany, conspired against him with assistance from their mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and a number of the aristocracy. The conflict was prompted by Henry the younger’s frustration at the lack of power, authority, and monetary resources that followed his crowning during his father’s lifetime (see the remarks for line 2), as well as Henry II’s dispersal of several castles to his youngest son John (“Lackland”) that were part of the younger Henry’s birthright. Beginning in April of 1173, just weeks after Thomas Becket’s canonization, Henry the son, assisted by a band of aristocratic rebels under the general guidance of Robert de Beaumont, the third Earl of Leicester, began a multi-pronged assault on Normandy, combined with attacks from the North by William the Lion, king of Scotland. The attempts failed and the subsequent negotiations between the father and his son’s faction fell short in quelling the uprising. Further battles in the fall of 1173, and others beginning in the spring of 1174 by various rebel forces came to nought, and by 30 September 1174 the sons were forced seek reconciliation with their father. On 11 June 1183, as the result of contracting dysentery, Henry the Young King died in Martel, France, still not fully at peace with his father. He has been proposed as a subject of lament in three different conductus transmitted in *F*: *Eclipsim patitur* (I7/105), *In occasu syderis* (I11/178), and – as part of a *planctus* for his father who died in 1186 – *Anglia planctus itera* (K12/14); see the remarks on the texts of these pieces for further information and references. **28:** cf. lines 1-2; although the referent is not spelled out clearly, the one who is expected to rule after the conflict is most likely Henry the Young King, rather than Thomas or Leicester; however, rendering *patria* as “heaven” could allow Thomas to become the subject.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 3,2-3:** F: the syllables “-stor pa-” of “pastor patitur” and their music om; supplied from *Ma, Hu*; see also the remarks for the music in the same place, below. **7:** Hu: purpura rubente. **23,2:** F: the final letter “-i” of “cleri” is a bit difficult to decipher, as it looks somewhat more like an “o”; it seems that the scribe attempted a final upsweeping flourish of the pen to add a midline period following the word and the result makes the final letter look circular. **MUSIC: line 3,2-3:** TDTr: F: the music and text for the second and third syllables of the two words “[pa]stor pa[titur]” om – TD from *Ma, Hu* – Tr: editorial conjecture. **8,3:** D: F: music over second syllable of “satis” om due to repetition; taken from *Ma*; for the different reading here in *Hu*, see the alternative transcription that follows, which indicates its differences from *F* through dashed brackets above the staves. **10,2:** Hu: D: notice in this source the unusual *ascending* 3C figure (=L+2C – or +2S) over “[ori]en[tem].”

LATEX SILICE / LATUS
Motet a4, Conductus a3 (A2/190 — vdW 228/M14 — Easter)

F, f. 230v (6,34): Strophes I-II; *WI*, f. 81r (74r) (8,15): Strophe III

Q

8

[La - tex si - li - ce mel pe - tra pro - flu - it. me - dul - la cor - ti - ce.
[In sup - pli - ci - is hec sup - plex ho - sti - a dum stat in o - sti - is
[Quod cor a - spe - rum cor sax - o du - ri - us tot fru - ctus o - pe - rum

Tr

8

[La - tex si - li - ce mel pe - tra pro - flu - it. me - dul - la cor - ti - ce.
[In sup - pli - ci - is hec sup - plex ho - sti - a dum stat in o - sti - is
[Quod cor a - spe - rum cor sax - o du - ri - us tot fru - ctus o - pe - rum

Mot

8

La - tex si - li - ce mel pe - tra pro - flu - it. me - dul - la cor - ti - ce.
In sup - pli - ci - is hec sup - plex ho - sti - a dum stat in o - sti - is
[Quod cor a - spe - rum cor sax - o du - ri - us tot fru - ctus o - pe - rum

T

8

a. La -

15

man - na ter - ra com - plu - it. in ar - den - ti fru - ti - ce flam - ma ni - hil de - stru - it.
pe - tit hec sti - pen - di - a. ut de be - ne - fi - ci - is re - cens sit me - mo - ri - a.
quid non red - dis me - li - us nec do - lo - re vul - ne - rum fran - git de - i fi - li - us

20

man - na ter - ra com - plu - it. in ar - den - ti fru - ti - ce flam - ma ni - hil de - stru - it.
pe - tit hec sti - pen - di - a. ut de be - ne - fi - ci - is re - cens sit me - mo - ri - a.
quid non red - dis me - li - us nec do - lo - re vul - ne - rum fran - git de - i fi - li - us

a.

b.

25 30 35

e - i - cit ve - ter - na re - gu - lum ca - ver - na. dex - te - ra su - per - na
qui - a pro te na - tus. pro te per - fo - ra - tus. [ma - nus] pe - des la - tus.
vi - cem quam re - pen - dis qua - re non at - ten - dis quis est quem of - fen - dis

40 45

spi - ri - tus e - ma - nat. lit - te - ram com - pla - nat. spu - to ce - cum sa - nat.
pro te se de - spex - it. pro te re - sur - rex - it. hu - me - ris re - vex - it
er - go pru - dens i - re di - em pre - ve - ni - re iu - di - cem le - ni - re

50 55 60

lux de lu - mi - ne. su - o san - gui - ne qui li - brum gra - ti - e
o - vem per - di - tam. se - qui se - mi - tam per hec con - vin - ce - ris.
cu - res o - pe - re hunc am - ple - cte - re qui per qui ti - bi bra - chi - a

lux de lu - mi - ne. su - o san - gui - ne qui li - brum gra - ti - e
o - vem per - di - tam. se - qui se - mi - tam per hec con - vin - ce - ris.
cu - res o - pe - re hunc am - ple - cte - re qui per qui ti - bi bra - chi - a

lux de lu - mi - ne. su - o san - gui - ne qui li - brum gra - ti - e
o - vem per - di - tam. se - qui se - mi - tam per hec con - vin - ce - ris.
cu - res o - pe - re hunc am - ple - cte - re qui per qui ti - bi bra - chi - a

- tus.

65 70 75

scri - psit im - mo - la -
ne sis tam in - gra -
ten - dit im - mo - la -

scri - psit im - mo - la -
ne sis tam in - gra -
ten - dit im - mo - la -

scri - psit im - mo - la -
ne sis tam in - gra -
ten - dit im - mo - la -

80 85

- tus]
- tus.]
- tus.]

- tus]
- tus.]
- tus.]

- tus.
- tus.
- tus.]

8

8

8

8

(•)

Detailed description: This image shows a musical score for three staves, likely for a vocal or instrumental ensemble. The first three staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, and rests. Above the first staff, there are blue brackets and the number 80. Above the second staff, there are blue brackets and the number 85. To the right of the first three staves, there are three lines of lyrics: "- tus]", "- tus.]", and "- tus.]" for the first staff; "- tus]", "- tus.]", and "- tus.]" for the second staff; and "- tus.", "- tus.", and "- tus.]" for the third staff. A red dot is visible on the fourth staff, and a red circle with a dot is visible on the bottom staff.

LATEX SILICE / LATUS

Motet a4 or a3, Conductus a3 (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14)¹*F*, f. 230v (6,34): Strophes I-II, T; *W1*, f. 81r (74r) (8,15): Strophe III

Mot	I	Latex silice, mel petra profluit, medulla cortice. Manna terra compluit. In ardenti frutice flamma nihil destruit. Eicit veterna regulum caverna, dextera superna. Spiritus emanat; litteram complanat. Sputo cecum sanat lux de lumine. Suo sanguine qui librum gratie scripsit <i>immolatus</i> .		Water flows from the rock, honey from the stone, nutmeat from the shell. Manna rains down upon the earth. 5 The flame within the burning bush destroys nothing. With his heavenly right hand, (Christ) casts the serpent out of his ancient cave. 10 The spirit flows forth; it makes plain the Scripture. With his spittle the light of light heals the blind man. With his own blood 15 he who wrote the book of grace is sacrificed.
	II	In suppliciis, hec supplex hostia, dum stat in ostiis, petit hec stipendia, ut de beneficiis recens sit memoria. Quia pro te natus, pro te perforatus manus, pedes, <i>latus</i> . Pro te se despexit; Pro te resurrexit; Humeris revexit ovem perditam. Sequi semitam per hec convinceris. Ne sis tam ingratus.		This humble sacrifice seeks these dues in suffering 20 when he stands at the gates, so that the memory of his intercession may be kept fresh. Because he was born for you, his hands, feet, and side 25 were pierced for you. He condemned himself for you; he rose again for you; he carried back the lost sheep on his shoulders. 30 Through these examples you should be convinced to follow the path. Be not so thankless.
	III	[Quod cor asperum! Cor saxo durius! Tot fructus operum quid non reddis melius.		What a bitter heart! A heart harder than stone! 35 The fruits of his works are so many that you can render nothing better.

¹In order to offer catalog references for motets and organum prosulas, especially when these items also occur in the conductus catalogs of Anderson and Falck, the following information is presented: 1) If necessary, the Anderson and Falck numbers, respectively, are given first, divided by a forward slash (this is the typical format I use to refer to conductus throughout the commentaries). A subsequent dash then precedes the motet or prosula reference information. The information after the dash includes the number(s) supplied to the motet(s) or prosula(s) in Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, New York: publ. by the author, 1989). These numbers (prefaced by the abbreviation vdW for clarity) are then followed by a forward slash and the standard M or O reference number given to the Tenor.

Nec dolore vulnere		Nor does the son of God diminish
frangit dei filius		the fee you must pay
vicem quam rependis.		for the pain of his wounds.
Quare non attendis?	40	Why do you not listen?
Quis est quem offendis?		Who is it that displeases you?
Ergo, prudens ire,		Therefore, take care
diem prevenire,		to proceed wisely,
iudicem lenire,		to anticipate the final day,
cures opere.	45	to soothe the judge with your works.
Hunc amplectere		Embrace this man who stretches out
qui tibi brachia		his arms to you, the one who was
tendit, <i>immolatus</i> .]		sacrificed.

T [Immo-] Latus Sacrificed

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 34, f. 230v: a4; Strophes I-II only; in a unique setting as a four-part monotextual motet transmitted among three-part conductus. Along with the similarly disposed motet a4 *Serena virginum* / *Manere* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5, transmitted a few pieces afterwards at *F*-6,40), these two items are the only motets to appear within the conductus fascicles of *F*. *Latex* is also one of a very few pieces since *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368) at *F*-6,19 to include a cauda (though it is absent from *Stutt*, below), the lack of which resumes with the next work, the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), and continues up until *Ave presul gloriose* (F20/36) at *F*-6,48.² The T is entered separately from the other voices in a small, system-high set of staves on f. 231v, placed after a slender, empty vertical gap that separates it from the end of the scored music of the Mot,Tr,Q. The text of Strophe II then follows the T, written in an empty, system-high space provided for it; *Latex silice* is followed in *F* by the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), just as in *Stutt*.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 15, f. 81r (74r): a3 (Mot,Tr,Q); effectively transmitted as a conductus, with the T omitted and including the final cauda; text of Strophes I-III, complete, with approximately half of II written outside the writing block within the ample margin at the bottom of f. 81r (74r), followed by a similar disposition for III written below the first portion of II; the remains of both stanzas are continued in like fashion on the verso of the leaf. All stanzas begin with painted initials; I and III have additional filigree.

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95) no. 43, f. 32v (30v): a1 (Mot?), with unheightened neumes above the text; Strophe I only, preceded by a red initial, with no indication of the closing cauda besides a flourish over the last word of the stanza.³ The *Latex* motet in *Stutt* is followed by the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), just as in *F*, but happens to be preceded by the isolated Strophe II (“Si quis in hoc artem”) of *Curritur ad vocem* (see under Anderson D3/-), one of two contrafacts of

²Other pieces that feature caudae in this section of *F* (each of them shorter than the 24L example in *Latex silice*) include *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), with three interstanzaic melismas of 6L and a concluding one of 10L; *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73), with a final one of 12L in *F*, 16L in *W1*; *In precio precium* (F8/180), with an opening cauda of 18L (the longest of the bunch), along with three internal and one closing of 8L, 4L, 4L, and 5L, respectively; and *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148), which closes with a melisma of 13L in *F*, 14 in *W1*; none of the other pieces between *Latex silice* and *Ave presul gloriose* have any cauda whatsoever.

³Images from the source available [here](#). The foliation in parentheses is given on the CPI website and in Anderson’s catalog and edition. The prior, unbraced folio reference corresponds to the ones on the online images.

Crucifigat; this separated stanza itself follows directly after the isolated Strophe III (*Olim fuit argumentum*) of *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), the conductus whose final cauda concords with *Crucifigat*.

Text only:

Ox Rawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 20, f. 240v (11v): Strophes I-III, with II-III indicated by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “prosa de passione dominica” (prosa on the Lord’s Passion).

Graz 409 (A-Gu 409), no. 6, f. 1v: Strophes I-III, complete, in the order I, III, II, beginning with the incipit “Lac de silice,” with a red painted initial, and with III and II headed by capitals; rubric: “Conduc[tus]”; closes with the single word “Gaudeat” at end, signaling a refrain encountered in a number of different contexts, but not in other sources of *Latex*;⁴ no neumes are supplied in this MS for this piece or the one prior (*De sinu patris verbum emicuit* [Q37/-]), although they do appear in the next work (*Amor patris et filii* [P30/-]).⁵

Music only:

Clausula: *Latus* (Smith and Ludwig no. 5)⁶ from *Alleluia. Pascha nostrum* (M14) for Easter:

W1, fasc. 6, no. 23, clausula no. 57, f. 57r (49r): a2 (T,Mot).

F, fasc. 5, clausula no. 100, f. 158r, system III: a2 (T,Mot).

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: *Latex silice* appears in my 2011 edition, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*,⁷ which this accompanying transcription essentially reproduces with slight revisions in content and format; the commentary below and source descriptions above have been expanded. *Latex silice* is particularly curious in that it appears in *F* in the form of a motet, but is transmitted among conductus and maintains some features more typically associated with this genre, such as its strophic text (a rarity among motets) and the presence of a final cauda.⁸ These features, along with its relatively high level of dissonance and the layout of its

⁴This type of indication happens elsewhere in *Graz 409*; see Mary Channen Caldwell, “Cueing Refrains in the Medieval Conductus,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 143 (2018): 273-324, particularly 304-311.

⁵Images of this source available [here](#).

⁶From the catalogue of clausulae presented in Norman E. Smith, “The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study.” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964), 1:159-350. Smith’s resource includes, and revises when necessary, the earlier system of numbering clausulae presented in Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. in 3, 2nd rev. ed., Luther Dittmer, ed., Musicological Studies, nos. 7, 17, 26 (Brooklyn, Binnigen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964, 1972, 1978; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964 [vol. 1, part 1], 1972 [vol. 2]).

⁷Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011), 105-110.

⁸See also the commentary on the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5), which, like *Latex silice*, is also preserved within *F* as a mono-texted motet a4 (*F*-6,40). See also the above remarks on the sources for *F*, where the presence of a cauda within the series of conductus in this part of *F*-6 is noteworthy. The few strophic motets within the Notre-Dame repertory include: *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14); *Qui servare puberem / Domine* (vdW 59/M3); *Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare* (vdW 101/M9); *Homo quam sit pura / Latus* (vdW 231/M14), and its contrafact *Stupeat natura / Latus* (vdW 232/M14); *Celi semita / Tatem* (vdW 307b/M23), and conceivably its fragmentarily preserved contrafact [*Dieus nos a done*] *que soions net /*

T with patterned 3li segments internally interrupted by a string of si figures, have prompted discussion as to whether the unique presentation of *Latex* a4 in *F* is intended for performance as it stands, or whether it may conceal several performance alternatives (for more on this question, see the remarks on the music, below). **Attribution:** The motet text is attributed to Philip the Chancellor by Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:iv). The music is attributed to Perotinus by Sanders, “Peripheral Polyphony,” 284-285;⁹ and Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style,” 1:266-268, 454-455.¹⁰ **Textual notes: 1-6:** symbols of Christ and his Virgin Birth. See Numbers, 20:1-11 for the water from the rock; Deuteronomy, 32:13 and Psalm 80:17 for honey from a stone; the textual notes to Philip the Chancellor’s conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 5-7, for the Christological image of the nutmeat in the shell; Exodus, 16:11-16 and Psalm 77:24 for the gift of manna; and Exodus, 3:2-4 for the burning bush. In addition to *Gedeonis area*, many of these images also appear in Philip’s organum prosula *Vide prophecie / Viderunt* (A9/- – vdW 2/M1), lines 8-15; as well as the motets *Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine* (vdW 484/483/M38), line 11; and *Stupeat natura / Latus* (vdW 232/M14), lines 37-40 (both possibly his work).¹¹ **8:** a symbol of the Devil; cf. Isaiah, 11:8 for the serpent in his den.¹² **10-11:** the turnover from the Old to the New Law with Christ’s covenant now clarifies the meaning of scripture; see the similar expression in the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), also attributed to Philip, lines 21-22. **12:** for the healing of the blind man with spittle and mud, see John, 9:1-41. This story is also touched on in Philip’s organum prosulas *Vide prophecie*, lines 47-50; *Homo cum mandato / Omnes* (A10/- – vdW 3/M1), lines 72-84,¹³ and the anonymous conductus *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185). **17-32:** compare the similar language of this strophe with that of Strophe II of Philip’s motet *Homo quam sit pura / Latus* (vdW 231/M14), as well as the similar final lines of Strophes I and III in both *Latex* and *Homo quam*.¹⁴ **19:** cf. Revelation, 3:20 and 4:1;¹⁵ the gates of Heaven may be meant here, but also quite feasibly a reference to the Harrowing of Hell; see Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, 224-226;¹⁶ **24-26:** tortures Christ suffered during his Passion, see Matthew, 27:27-34, 48; Mark, 15:16-23, 36; Luke, 23:36; and John, 19:1-30, 34. For similar occurrences of these torments in works by Philip, see the notes to the text of the motet *Manere vivere / Manere* (see under A1/- – vdW 70/M5), lines

Tatem (vdW – 307a/M23).

⁹Ernest H. Sanders, “Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 17 (1964): 261-287.

¹⁰Rebecca A. Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-voiced Notre Dame Clausulae,” 2 vols in 3, Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974 (vol. 1), 1977 (vol. 2).

¹¹See *Motets and Prosulas*, 7, 95, 158, respectively.

¹²Isaiah, 11:8: “Et delectabitur infans ab ubere super foramine aspidis; et in caverna reguli qui ablactatus fuerit manum suam mittet” (“The infant will play near the cobra’s den, and the young child will put its hand into the viper’s nest.” – New International Version, for clarity).

¹³In *Motets and Prosulas*, 8-9

¹⁴Available in *Motets and Prosulas*, 62-63, 108-109.

¹⁵Revelation, 3:20: “Ecce sto ad ostium, et pulso: si quis audierit vocem meam, et aperuerit mihi januam, intrabo ad illum, et coenabo cum illo, et ipse mecum” (“Behold, I stand at the gate, and knock. If any man shall hear my voice, and open to me the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.”). Revelation, 4:1: “Post haec vidi: et ecce ostium apertum in caelo, et vox prima, quam audiui tamquam tubae loquentis mecum, dicens: Ascende huc, et ostendam tibi quae oportet fieri post haec” (“After these things I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard, as it were, of a trumpet speaking with me, said: Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must be done hereafter.”).

¹⁶Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey, Icon Editions (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

24-31, in *Motets and Prosulas*, 114. **25:** see the remarks for line 49. **28-29:** for the parable of the Lost Sheep, see Matthew, 18:12-14; and Luke, 15:3-7, where bearing the lamb on the shepherd's shoulders is specifically mentioned. **30:** for the path of the Lord, cf. Matthew, 3:3; and the similar language in Mark, 1:3; Luke, 3:4; the Gospel passages refer to Isaiah, 40:3.¹⁷ **32:** cf. the text of Philip's motet *Homo quam sit pura*, line 19: "Homo, quam ingratus" ("Man, how thoughtless you are"), in *Motets and Prosulas*, 62. **41:** *Ibid.*, line 48. **46-48:** *Ibid.*, lines 50-54. **49:** an alternative meaning for the T text, given its partial presentation as "-latus," is "side," which happens to correlate with the end of line 25, the virtual halfway point of the entire poem.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: sources: *F*: Strophes I, II; *W1*: Strophe III; variants from the Tt in the edition are collated from both sources throughout. **6,2-3:** *F*: nil destituit. **19,1:** *F*: dat. **19,4:** *F*: hostiis. **25,1:** *F*: "manus" omitted, supplied from *W1*. **32,2:** *F*: sit. **1,2:** *W1*: scilice. **4,2:** *W1*: terram. **6,2:** *W1*: nil. **11,1:** *W1*: literam. **18,2:** *W1*: suplex. **19,4:** *W1*: hostiis. **32,3:** *W1*: tot. **MUSIC: General remarks:** Though acceptable, the numerous dissonances that occur throughout this piece have led to speculation that the unique, four-part redaction of this motet in *F* may be a conflated version of a work that was intended to be performed either as a two- or perhaps three-part motet (T,Mot,Tr) or a two- or three-part conductus (Mot,Tr,Q). Also in question is whether *Latex silice* was originally conceived as a motet, or as a conductus with the T added at a later point, despite the presence of clausula sources for this work.¹⁸ See also the similar observations on the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5), at *F*-6,40. On the cauda that concludes this version, see the note at 64, below. **Notes on the music by reference number:** Here, as in my 2011 edition, the musical commentary is cued to the reference numbers above the system, indicating ternary-long values: **1:** T *F*: begins on f. 231v. **13,2:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins f. 231r. **22,1:** Mot: *F*: note erased or worn away, supplied from *W1*. **48,1:** Mot: *F*: a *Pc* (omitted in the edition) follows this note, the figure has a stroke drawn through it as though it has been written in error. **49-51:** T: *F*: omitted, from *W1* clausula, f. 57r (49r). **54:** T: *F*: syllable change here confirmed by prior stroke. **64:** T: *F*: the T ends here, and is followed by a cauda in the upper parts that is not present in any of the clausula versions of this piece. If the cauda is performed, the T may either conclude after no. 64, or may sustain its pitch in the manner of an organum, as presented in the edition. **69:** QTrMot: *F*: begins f. 231v.

¹⁷Isaiah, 40:3: "Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri" ("The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the wilderness the paths of our God.").

¹⁸For this latter point, see Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, vol. 1, 497-573, Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn and Hans Oesch, eds. (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973), at 515. This chapter is reprinted in Sanders, *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 637 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), item IV in this collection, retaining the original page numbers. The 1998 book itself has a reprint edition in the series Routledge Revivals (London, New York: Routledge, 2020), with the same disposition of chapters and pages.

CRUCIFIGAT OMNES – *F* and *CaJ* versions
Conductus Prosula a3 (D3/70)

F, f. 231v (6,35): Strophes I-II; *CB*, f. 13r (no. 47): Strophe III

1. D

Tr

8

[A] [c] 5 [A'] [c']

[Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra.
[O quam di - gnos lu - ctus. ex - u - lat rex o - mni - um.
[Quis - quis es si - gna - tus fi - de - i ka - ra - cte - re.

b [b']

[Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra.
[O quam di - gnos lu - ctus. ex - u - lat rex o - mni - um.
[Quis - quis es si - gna - tus fi - de - i ka - ra - cte - re.

a [a']

Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra.
O quam di - gnos lu - ctus. ex - u - lat rex o - mni - um.
[Quis - quis es si - gna - tus fi - de - i ka - ra - cte - re.

[B] [f] 10 [B'] [f] 15

no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra.
ba - cu - lus fi - de - li - um sus - ti - net op - pro - br - ium
fi - dem fa - ctis as - se - re. gi - en - tes con - te - re

e [e']

no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra.
ba - cu - lus fi - de - li - um sus - ti - net op - pro - br - ium
fi - dem fa - ctis as - se - re. gi - en - tes con - te - re

d [d']

no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra.
ba - cu - lus fi - de - li - um sus - ti - net op - pro - br - ium
fi - dem fa - ctis as - se - re. gi - en - tes con - te - re

[C] [i] 20 [l]

per - di - tur se - pul - crum. gens e - ver - tit ex - te - ra.
gen - tis in - fi - de - lis. ce - dit par - ti gen - ti - um
ca - tu - los le - o - num. mi - se - rans in - tu - e - re

h [k]

per - di - tur se - pul - crum. gens e - ver - tit ex - te - ra.
gen - tis in - fi - de - lis. ce - dit par - ti gen - ti - um
ca - tu - los le - o - num. mi - se - rans in - tu - e - re

g [j]

per - di - tur se - pul - crum. gens e - ver - tit ex - te - ra.
gen - tis in - fi - de - lis. ce - dit par - ti gen - ti - um
ca - tu - los le - o - num. mi - se - rans in - tu - e - re

25

[D] o

vi - o - len - te ple - na gen - te so - la se - det ci - vi - tas.
pars to - ta - lis. iam re - ga - lis in lu - to - et ci - te - re
cor - de tri - sti dam - pnum chri - sti. lon - gus ce - dar in - co - la

30

[n] [k] [p]

vi - o - len - te ple - na gen - te so - la se - det ci - vi - tas.
pars to - ta - lis. iam re - ga - lis in lu - to - et ci - te - re
cor - de tri - sti dam - pnum chri - sti. lon - gus ce - dar in - co - la

35

[D] o

a - gni fe - dus ra - pit e - dus. plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas.
e - la - bo - rat tel - lus plo - rat mo - y - sen fa - ti - sce - re
sur - ge vi - de. ne de fi - de re - pro - be ris fri - vo - la.

40

[n] [k] [p]

a - gni fe - dus ra - pit e - dus. plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas.
e - la - bo - rat tel - lus plo - rat mo - y - sen fa - ti - sce - re
sur - ge vi - de. ne de fi - de re - pro - be ris fri - vo - la.

45

[E] t

spen - sa sy - on im - mo - la - tur. a - na - ni - as in - cur - va - tur.
ho - mo de - i mi - se - re - re. fi - li pa - tris ius tu - e - re.
su - da mar - tir in a - go - ne. spe mer - ce - dis et co - ro - ne.

50

[s] [u] [w] [r] [r'] [v]

spen - sa sy - on im - mo - la - tur. a - na - ni - as in - cur - va - tur.
ho - mo de - i mi - se - re - re. fi - li pa - tris ius tu - e - re.
su - da mar - tir in a - go - ne. spe mer - ce - dis et co - ro - ne.

8 x' 55 F x 60

cor - nu da - vit fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus. ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur
in - cer - to cer - tum que - re. du - cis du - cum do - na pro - me - re - re
de - re - li - cta ba - by - lo - ne. pu - gna pro ce - le - sti re - gi - o - ne.

w' w

cor - nu da - vit fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus. ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur
in - cer - to cer - tum que - re. du - cis du - cum do - na pro - me - re - re
de - re - li - cta ba - by - lo - ne. pu - gna pro ce - le - sti re - gi - o - ne.

v' v

cor - nu da - vit fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus. ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur
in - cer - to cer - tum que - re. du - cis du - cum do - na pro - me - re - re
de - re - li - cta ba - by - lo - ne. pu - gna pro ce - le - sti re - gi - o - ne.

8 x' 65 69

per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]
et lu - cra - re lu - cem ve - re lu - cis.]
a - qua vi - te te con - po - ne pu - gna.]

w'

per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]
et lu - cra - re lu - cem ve - re lu - cis.]
a - qua vi - te te con - po - ne pu - gna.]

v'

per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]
et lu - cra - re lu - cem ve - re lu - cis.]
a - qua vi - te te con - po - ne pu - gna.]

CaJ, f. 1c^r (no. 7) – fragmentary, with different Tr; TD: differences with *F* marked by dashed brackets above the staves

8 5 10

Tr [Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra. no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra

2. D [Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra. no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra

T Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra no - va chri - sti vul - ne - ra

*The missing final portion of *CaJ* may be completed conjecturally by repeating the music from “anania” to the extant end of the stanza. The omitted text has been supplied in brackets here for that purpose, if so wished.

F, f. 231v (6,35): Strophes I-II; *CB*, f. 13r (no. 47): Strophe III

1	Crucifigat omnes, domini crux altera, nova Cristi vulnera! Arbor salutifera perditur; sepulcrum gens evertit extera violente. Plena gente, sola sedet civitas. Agni fedus rapit edus; plorat dotes perditas sponsa Syon. Immolatur Ananias; incurvatur cornu Davit; flagellatur mundus. Ab iniustis abdicatur per quem iuste iudicatur mundus.		May a second cross of the Lord, the new wounds of Christ, crucify them all! The tree that brings salvation is lost; a foreign people has forcibly overthrown the sepulcher. Though filled with people, the city sits forsaken. The goat plunders the lamb's covenant; the bride of Zion laments her lost dowries. Ananias is burned to a crisp; David's horn is cast down; the innocent man is put to the lash. He through whom the world is justly judged is renounced by the unjust.
		5	
		10	
		15	

II	O quam dignos luctus!		O what worthy laments!
	Exulat rex omnium;		The king of all is banished;
	baculus fidelium	20	the staff of the faithful
	sustinet opprobrium		endures the disgrace
	gentis infidelis.		of a heathen race.
	Cedit parti gentium		The total part yields to the
	pars totalis. Iam regalis		pagan faction. The royal land
	in luto et latere	25	now labors in mud
	elaborat tellus. Plorat		and brick. It laments that
	Moysen fatiscere.		Moses grows weak.
	Homo, dei miserere;		Man, have pity on God;
	fili, patris ius tuere.		son, defend your father's right.
	In incerto certum quere.	30	Seek the sure among the unsure.
	Ducis		Earn the gifts of the
	ducum dona promerere,		leader of leaders,
	et lucrare lucem vere		and gain the light
	lucis		of the true light.

III	[Quisquis es signatus fidei karactere, fidem factis assere. Rugientes contere catulos leonum. Miserans, intuerere corde tristi dampnum Cristi. Longus Cedar, incola, surge. Vide, ne de fide reproberis frivola. Suda, martir, in agone,	35	Whoever you are, inscribed with the mark of the faith, maintain that faith with deeds. Annihilate the lions' roaring cubs.
		40	Merciful one, look upon Christ's injury with a saddened heart. Rise up, dweller in distant Kedar. Take care, lest you are condemned for your sorry faith.
		45	Sweat, martyr, in the contest,

spe mercedis et corone.		in the hope of reward and crown.
Derelicta Babylone,		Leaving Babylon behind,
pugna!		fight!
Pro celesti regione		Prepare yourself for the heavenly
aqua vite te conpone.	50	realm, for the water of life.
Pugna!]		Fight!

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 35, f. 231v: a3; Strophes I-II only, with II copied in an empty space provided at the end of the first system of the following work, *Parit preter morem* (E12/261); the added stanza does not fill out the entire vertical area allotted to it, but only leaves room for about one to three further lines of writing. *Crucifigat* and the prior piece in *F*-6, the motet a4 *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), appear in the same order in *Stutt* (see below). The prosula *Crucifigat omnes*, furthermore, precedes four conductus situated in *F*-6 between it and the motet a4 *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5) all of which display a relatively high amount of musical repetition, as does *Crucifigat*.¹

W1, fasc. 8, no. 10, f. 78v (71v): a3; Strophe I only, headed by a marginal painted initial with filigree decoration, but with the text of the two stanzas of the contrafact poem *Mundum renovavit* (see below) included directly after the last system of *Crucifigat*; this textual addition appears to be in a different hand and in differently colored ink; it extends horizontally out of the writing block into the right margin of the folio.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 10, f. 46v: a3; fragmentary: Strophe I only up through the first syllable of line 8, due to the loss of an undetermined number of leaves from the remainder of the fascicle, also appears later a2 in fascicle 7 (below); collated here when necessary as *W2A*.

W2, fasc. 7, no. 18, f. 138v: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, as is typical of the conductus in this source. This version of the work occurs as the first after a series of five French monotextual motets a3; it leads off a further series of five Latin conductus to close the fascicle; collated here when necessary as *W2B*.

CaJ (GB-Cjec QB1; Cambridge, Jesus College, Ms QB1), Fragment A, no. 9, f. 1c^r: a3 (with a contrasting Tr); fragmentary: music and text of Strophe I only up through line 14, with all portions of the Tr from lines 2-5 cut away that are higher than the *d* above the *c3*-clef. The extant music of this version is supplied additionally here after that of *F* for comparison.²

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95), no. 42, f. 33r (31r): a1, in unheightened neumes (T?): Strophe I only; in this source, *Crucifigat* and the preceding motet *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14) appear in the same order as in *F* (for more on *Stutt*, see below).³

¹These are *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), *Legis in volumine* (F13/193), and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287). Additional works with notable internal repetition also occur slightly further on in *F*-6; and some of these, like *Crucifigat*, mirror the repetition of the T in the upper voices as well; see, e.g., Philip the Chancellor's conductus/lai *O Maria virginei* (E14/239) that follows *Serena virginum* at *F*-6,41.

²Images available through DIAMM [here](#). For additional images and a catalog of this source, including the labeling system used here to refer to the fragments, see William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), pp. 14-15, plates 11-34.

³Images from this source available [here](#). For an explanation of the different foliations provided above, see the description of this source in the commentary for *Latex silice*.

Hu (E-BULh 11; Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, 11 [olim IX];⁴ *Las Huelgas Codex*), no. 97, f. 97r: a2 (TD): Strophe I only, in mensural notation.

Text only:

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; *Carmina Burana*), no. 47, f. 13r: Strophes I-III, complete, without neumes throughout and headed by red painted initials; followed without a significant break by the contrafact *Curritur ad vocem* (see below).⁵

Ox Rawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 28, f. 242v (13v): Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III headed by pilcrows, and III starting in-line, rather than at the left margin; rubric: “De effectu crucifixionis Jesu Christi” (“On the consequences of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ”).

Music only:

The T and D are equivalent to the final melisma of the conductus *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), preserved with music in the following briefly noted sources:

F, fasc. 7, no. 32, f. 300v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 56, f. 139v (130vr): a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 6, f. 76v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 8, f. 111r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

Hu, no. 146, f. 132r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

Stutt, no. 41, f. 32v (30v): a1 (T?), in unheightened neumes: gives Strophe III only of *Quod promisit* (“Olim fuit argumentum”), followed by Strophe II only of the contrafact *Curritur ad vocem* (“Si quis in hoc artem”); rubric (on preceding leaf): “Conductum”; see further on this source and contrafact below.⁶

Contrafacts:

Mundum renovavit (see under D3/-):

W1, fasc. 8, no. 10a, f. 79v (72v): a3; Strophes I-II, complete, and headed by capitals; entered into the otherwise empty staff lines of the Tr and D, directly after *Crucifigat* as if part of this poem and extending into the right margin (for further details, see the source report on *W1* above); a unique text transmission.

Curritur ad vocem (see under D3/-):

⁴On the recent change in signature for this manuscript, see David Catalunya, “Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas ‘Solmization Song,’” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8: (2017): 89-133, at 89, note 1.

⁵Images of *CB* available [here](#).

⁶Image from *Stutt* [here](#).

CB, no. 47a, f. 13r: text only, Strophes I-II, complete, both headed by small painted initials; follows directly after strophe III of *Crucifigat* as if part of the same poem (see further details on this source above).

Stutt, no. 44, f. 32v (30v): a1 (T?), in unheightened neumes that seem to show the same melody as the one for *Crucifigat* in this same MS (see above); Strophe II only of *Curritur* (“Si quis in hoc artem”) follows directly after the isolated Strophe III (“Olim fuit argumentum”) of the conductus *Quod promisit* (for this, see also above). It is here headed with a smaller red painted initial, one of which also marks the interior line “Legi nihil sit astrictum,” and is succeeded immediately by the motet *Latex silice* starting with a similarly sized initial. Strophe I of *Crucifigat* then follows in *Stutt* (see above), with a larger painted capital to start; the same ordering of *Latex* and *Crucifigat* is found in *F*.⁷

Notes on the Text: Attribution: This text is attributed to Philip the Chancellor because it adds a syllabic text to a melismatic final cauda of a conductus (*Quod promisit ab eterno*), and as such is one of only two known pieces of this type that are not otherwise ascribed to him (the other – excluding the two above contrafact, which I presume arose directly from re-texting *Crucifigat* itself – is *Anima iuge lacrima* [K45/15]).⁸ In addition, see Payne, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, which gives editions of all the relevant pieces; and Payne, “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula,” which discusses Philip’s prosulas in general and in particular the ones written to conductus caudae. New text editions of *Crucifigat omnes* and *Curritur ad vocem* are also available in the 2018 edition of *CB*’s texts by David A. Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 1:160-167).⁹ **Dating the text:** *Crucifigat* treats the loss of Jerusalem to Islamic forces and calls for a Crusade. Most typically, this poem is dated to the year 1187, but a reconsideration placing it in the years 1219 or 1220 was suggested in 1985 by Ernest H. Sanders (“Style and Technique,” 513-518),¹⁰ from which a number of the following comments are drawn. Nonetheless, Traill argues forcefully for the earlier dating in his “Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade”;¹¹ see also Traill’s *Carmina Burana*, 1:500-501. If his opinion on the dating prevails, it might even suggest reconsidering the compositional priority of the cauda over the prosula that many (including myself) have presumed. Nonetheless, a later date along Sanders’s lines is still conceivable (see the notes to line 4 and 26,3-27). For other crusade songs by Philip the Chancellor, see his conductus *Venit Ihesus in propria* (K42/365), *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), and *Homo cur properas* (K69/158). **Textual notes: 2-3:** The “new wounds” are prompted by the loss of the Holy Land and the need for the “second cross” of a Crusade. **4:** the salvational tree can be seen here both as a symbol for Jerusalem and the Cross. Notably a relic of the True Cross was captured in the skirmishes of 1187. In Traill’s view (“Third Crusade,” 1135, 1139) the urgency of

⁷Image from *Stutt* [here](#).

⁸In addition to *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) and the related contrafacts *Curritur ad vocem* and *Mundum renovavit*, the other conductus prosulas include: *Anima iuge lacrima* [K45/15]), *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53) and its contrafact *Veste nuptiali* (K81/377), and *Minor natu filius* (K82/208).

⁹Full references for these citations are as follows: Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011); *idem*, “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: ‘Motetish’ Works from the School of Notre Dame,” *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso, eds., 220-238 (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

¹⁰Ernest H. Sanders, “Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre Dame Conductus,” *Gordon A Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Luther Dittmer, ed., 2:505-530, Musicological Studies, no. 39, (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1985).

¹¹David A. Traill, “Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade,” *Auctor et Auctoritas, Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the International Medieval Latin Committee, Benevento, 2010*, Edoardo D’Angelis and Jan Ziolkowski, eds., 1135-45 (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014).

this part of the poem argues for its composition in the 1180s, rather than over three decades later. **8:** see Lamentations, 1:1.¹² After the conquest in 1187, the victorious sultan-general Saladin emptied the city of its Christian inhabitants and brought in Muslims to repopulate it (see Traill, “Third Crusade,” 1137). **9:** Matthew, 25:32-33.¹³ **11,1-2:** possibly the Church, but also an epithet of Jerusalem; see Lamentations, 1:6.¹⁴ **11,3-12,1:** according to Janet Knapp (“Which Came First,” 20),¹⁵ the reference here is not to the prophet Hananiah of Jeremiah, 28 (as in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:xxxiii, and Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 2:774-775), but rather to one of the three youths, friends of the prophet Daniel, who survived the ordeal of the fiery furnace (Daniel, 3:1-97). Although in the biblical reference the particular person is identified as Shadrach or Sirach, his original name was Hananiah, as indicated in Daniel, 1:7.¹⁶ The significance of this passage and the others following it is that the world has been turned topsy-turvy through the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the events of the Bible are now inverted. **12,2-13,2:** cf. Luke, 1:69.¹⁷ According to Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxxiii) the horn symbolizes the kingdom of Christ; Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 1:501) refers to Psalm 131:17,¹⁸ which offers David’s horn as a symbol of kingly power and David as an Old Testament type for Christ. **13,3-14:** Matthew, 27:26.¹⁹ **16-17:** cf. Romans, 3:5-6.²⁰ **19:** Christ (“the king of all”) has been driven from his homeland. **20:** the “staff of the faithful” is probably the Church or Christ. **23-24,2:** that is, Christ, the totality, yields to a lesser “part,” the conquerors of the Holy Land; yet cf. Traill’s comments (*Carmina Burana*, 1:501); he agrees, but suggests it

¹²Lamentations, 1:1: “Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo!” (“How the city does sit solitary that was full of people! how is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!”)

¹³Matthew, 25:32-33: “et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes, et separabit eos ab invicem, sicut pastor segregat oves ab haedis: et statuet oves quidem a dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris” (“And all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.”).

¹⁴Lamentations, 1:6: “Et egressus est a filia Sion omnis decor ejus; facti sunt principes ejus velut arietes non invenientes pascua, et abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis” (“And from the daughter of Sion all her beauty is departed: her princes are become like rams that find no pastures: and they are gone away without strength before the face of the pursuer.”).

¹⁵Janet Knapp, “Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg? Some Reflections on the Relationship between Conductus and Trope,” *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner, eds., 16-25, (N.p.: American Musicological Society, 1990).

¹⁶Daniel, 1:7: “Et imposuit eis praepositus eunuchorum nomina: Danieli, Baltassar; Ananiae, Sidrach; Misaeli, Misach; et Azariae, Abdenago” (“And the master of the eunuchs gave them [certain children of Israel] names: to Daniel, Baltassar: to Ananias, Sidrach: to Misael, Misach: and to Azarias, Abdenago.”).

¹⁷Luke, 1:69: “... et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui ...” (“... And [the Lord God of Israel] has raised up a horn of salvation to us, in the house of David his servant ...”).

¹⁸Psalm 131:17: “Illuc producam cornu David; paravi lucernam christo meo” (“There will I bring forth a horn to David: I have prepared a lamp for my anointed.”).

¹⁹Matthew, 27:26: “Tunc dimisit illis Barabbam: Jesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur” (“Then he released to them Barabbas, and having scourged Jesus, delivered him unto them to be crucified.”).

²⁰Romans, 3:5-6: “Si autem iniquitas nostra justitiam Dei commendat, quid dicemus? Numquid iniquus est Deus, qui infert iram? secundum hominem dico. Absit. Alioquin quomodo judicabit Deus hunc mundum? ” (“But if our injustice commend the justice of God, what shall we say? Is God unjust, who executeth wrath? (I speak according to man.) God forbid: otherwise how shall God judge this world?”)

might simultaneously refer literally to the whole region of the Holy Land. **24,3-26,2:** Exodus 1:14.²¹ The Holy Land has again become a figurative Egypt that enslaves the Israelites. See also the Latin rondeau *Luto carens et latere* (F1/200), attributed to Philip the Chancellor. **26,3-27:** According to Sanders, this is a reference to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, who delayed long in taking up the cross to recapture the Holy Land. Traill (“Third Crusade,” 1139-1140), however, associates this expression with the events of 1187–88, since *fatiscere* conveys no connotations of delay, but rather feebleness. For another probable reference to Frederick in Philip’s works, see his conductus *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308), lines 13-14. Alternatively, Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 1:501-502) suggests that Guy of Lusignan, the leader of Christian Jerusalem now captured by Saladin, is the person intended. **29,2-3:** the “father’s right” is the Holy Land, captured by Western Crusaders in 1099 and lost in 1187. **30:** possibly meaning “seek the redemption of the Holy Land (*certo*) by conquering the Saracens” (*incerto*). **31-32,1:** if not a reference to God, the “leader of leaders” is possibly the Pope, who, in Sanders’s view, will give Frederick the imperial crown. **36:** the mark or sign of the faith (*karacter*) is the vow to take up the cross (*crucesignatus*). **37:** Sanders would have this refer to Frederick’s long delay in going on Crusade; Traill, “Third Crusade,” 1139-1140, disputes the point; see the remarks above for lines 26,3-27, and 43,2-44. **38-39:** Psalm 103:20-21.²² According to Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxxiv), who quotes the *Glossa ordinaria*, the roaring lions symbolize demons who seek to destroy the souls of the faithful. **42-43,1:** cf. Psalms, 119:5.²³ According to Sanders, the reference to Kedar (the far-off country of exile for the Psalmist) is applicable to Frederick, King of Sicily, who resided in Germany in order to settle the affairs of the empire prior to his journey to Rome to be crowned emperor by the Pope on 22 November 1220. Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 1:502, “Third Crusade,” 1140) cites Augustine and Jerome in interpreting the word as referring to spiritual darkness or grief. The reference to Babylon in line 47 could be an allusion to Frederick’s Germanic kingdoms; Traill (*Carmina Burana*, 1:502, “Third Crusade,” 1140-1141) suggests it connotes the realm of the Devil, common trope; see, e.g., the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), lines 26-28 (by Philip), and *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149), lines 3-4, where the devil is referred to as the “prince of Babylon.” **43,2-44:** Frederick’s long deferral of his Crusade forced the pope to threaten him with excommunication in October 1219. For the more vehement attack on Frederick’s predecessor, Otto IV of Brunswick, who had earlier countered his promises to the pope, see Philip’s *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308). **46:** in Sanders’s opinion, this would indicate that Frederick had not yet been crowned emperor at the time this poem was written; i.e., prior to 22 November 1220. **47:** See above note to lines 42-43,1. **50:** Revelation, 22:17.²⁴

Observations and Variants: TEXT: Since I have included the fragmentary version of *Crucifigat* from *CaJ* after the main transcription from *F* in order to present its unique Tr, the few textual variants from this source are collated in addition to *F* and *CB*, which together supply the whole text presented here; verbal punctuation and capitalization in the *CaJ* transcription mirror that of the MS. **Textual variants:** *CB*: rumpit. **9,4:** *CB, CaJ*: hedus. **13,2:** *CaJ*: gelu. **15:** *CB*: abdicatur ab inmundus. **16,3:** *CB*: iste. **21,2:** *CB*: obprobrium. **24,3:** *CB*: gens. **26:** *CB*: et laborat cum explorat. **30,1-2:** *CB*: in certo. **32,3:** *F*: promere. **33,3:** *CB*: om. **44,1:** *CB*:

²¹Exodus, 1:14: “... atque ad amaritudinem perducebant vitam eorum operibus duris luti et lateris, omnique famulatu, quo in terrae operibus premebantur” (“... And they made their life bitter with hard works in clay, and brick, and with all manner of service, wherewith they were overcharged in the works of the earth.”)

²²Psalm 103:20-21: “Posuisti tenebras, et facta est nox; in ipsa pertransibunt omnes bestiae silvae: catuli leonum rugientes ut rapiant, et quaerant a Deo escam sibi” (“You [the Lord] have appointed darkness, and it is night: in it shall all the beasts of the woods go about: The young lions roaring after their prey, and seeking their meat from God.”).

²³Psalm 119:5: “Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est! Habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar” (“Woe is me, that my sojourning is prolonged! I have dwelt with the inhabitants of Cedar.”).

²⁴Revelation, 22:17: “Et spiritus, et sponsa dicunt: ‘Veni.’ Et qui audit, dicat: ‘Veni.’ Et qui sitit, veniat: et qui vult, accipiat aquam vitae, gratis” (“And the spirit and the bride say: ‘Come.’ And he that hears, let him say: ‘Come.’ And he that thirsts, let him come: and he that will, let him take the water of life, freely.”).

reputeris; from *OxRawl*. **50,1-2: CB:** et ad vitam; from *OxRawl*. **MUSIC: General remarks: F version:** As in the edition of *Crucifigat* in *Motets and Prosulas*, throughout the Tr of this version I have exercised the decision to align the ends of certain ligatures along with their accompanying syllables with the start of the following pulse, as it makes for greater consonance overall. This transcription, therefore, differs in these details with most of the others presently available for this piece. Particularly interesting in this piece in general is the unusually high incidence of repetition (marked in the score) in both the T and both upper parts; similar internal repetition within parts also occurs in a number of the works that follow this piece in *F*-6 (see the remarks about the *F* source above). **CaJ version:** All suggested *f*-sharps in the Tr are optional, as the remains of *CaJ* show no such signs in the Tr. Omissions in the Tr from reference numbers 5-18,2 due to the cutting away of the top of the folio from the *CaJ* redaction are signaled by vertical brackets. No attempt has been made here to reconstitute the missing Tr pitches (although see the remarks in the music for reference no. 17,1), but ones may easily be conjectured. Differences in the T and D between the *F* and *CaJ* versions are signaled above the staff by dashed horizontal brackets in the *CaJ* transcription. **Notes on the music by reference number: 6,2:** Tr: *F*: preceding sharp represented by a natural sign (*signum quadratum*) in the MS. **11:** Tr: *CaJ*: the figure in the MS at this point is unclear. It has something of the shape of a *signum rotundum* or flat sign, but is placed rather ambiguously either on the *d* space or *e* line of the *c*3 staff. It might also be the descending part of a ligated or plicated figure, but this still seems unclear. As a result I have not included anything at this point in the *CaJ* transcription. **17,1:** Tr: *CaJ*: the visible presence of a tail surviving from the cut-away Tr note at this point, makes the bracketed *g* here nearly a certainty. **22,1:** D: *F*: *b*; *c* is supported by later repeated segments in *F* and all other applicable MSS: *W1, W2A, W2B, CaJ, Hu*. **35,2:** *F*: begins f. 232r. **49-58:** *CaJ*: The missing final portion of *CaJ* may be completed conjecturally by repeating the music from “anania” to the extant end of the stanza, as suggested and supplied in the transcription.

PARIT PRETER MOREM

Conductus (E12/261)

F, f. 232r (6,36): lines 1-37; *OxRawl*, no. 37, f. 16r: lines 38-46

Tr
8
[Pa-rit pre-ter mo-rem cre-a - ta cre - a-to - rem. re - ti - nens pu-do - rem vir-gi-ne - um - que flo - rem.
[Mi-ra ge-ni-tu-ra fit cre-ans cre - a-tu - ra. fra-cta car - nis iu - ra mi-ra-ta est na-tu - ra.

D
8
[Pa-rit pre-ter mo-rem cre-a - ta cre - a-to - rem. re - ti - nens pu-do - rem vir-gi-ne - um - que flo - rem.
Mi-ra ge-ni-tu-ra fit cre-ans cre - a-tu - ra. fra-cta car - nis iu - ra mi-ra-ta est na-tu - ra.

T
8
[a] [b] [a] [b]
Pa-rit pre-ter mo-rem cre-a - ta cre - a-to - rem. re - ti - nens pu-do - rem vir-gi-ne - um - que flo - rem.
Mi-ra ge-ni-tu-ra fit cre-ans cre - a-tu - ra. fra-cta car - nis iu - ra mi-ra-ta est na-tu - ra.

[h] [h] [h] [h] [h] [h]
8
sic flo-ru-it que re - spu - it o - mnem vir-ga ro - rem. sic pa-tu - it quod la - tu-it a - de per ux - o - rem.
mi-ra - bi - li lau - da - bi - li pi - a de - i cu - ra rex hu-mi - li stans la - bi - li ia-cet sub fi - gu - ra.

8
sic flo-ru-it que re - spu - it o - mnem vir-ga ro - rem. sic pa-tu - it quod la - tu-it a - de per ux - o - rem.
mi-ra - bi - li lau - da - bi - li pi - a de - i cu - ra rex hu-mi - li stans la - bi - li ia-cet sub fi - gu - ra.

[c] [d] [c] [d']
8
sic flo-ru-it que re - spu - it o - mnem vir-ga ro - rem. sic pa-tu - it quod la - tu-it a - de per ux - o - rem.
mi-ra - bi - li lau - da - bi - li pi - a de - i cu - ra rex hu-mi - li stans la - bi - li ia-cet sub fi - gu - ra.

8
re - ti - nens ve - rum de - i de - co - rem de - i - ta - tis su - e de - us ho - no - rem
sic re - dem - pta est gens pe - ri - tu - ra. sic mun - dum a la - be la - vit im - pu - ra.

8
re - ti - nens ve - rum de - i de - co - rem de - i - ta - tis su - e de - us ho - no - rem
sic re - dem - pta est gens pe - ri - tu - ra. sic mun - dum a la - be la - vit im - pu - ra.

[e] [e']
8
re - ti - nens ve - rum de - i de - co - rem de - i - ta - tis su - e de - us ho - no - rem
sic re - dem - pta est gens pe - ri - tu - ra. sic mun - dum a la - be la - vit im - pu - ra.

to - ga car - nis in - du - it. in - di - gu - it et in - ter ser - vos vi - lu - it. nec i - de - o mi - no - rem
se - dens thro - no sta - bi - li ex mo - bi - li com - pin - gens et im - mo - bi - li quid - dam no - va mix - tu - ra.

to - ga car - nis in - du - it. in - di - gu - it et in - ter ser - vos vi - lu - it. nec i - de - o mi - no - rem
se - dens thro - no sta - bi - li ex mo - bi - li com - pin - gens et im - mo - bi - li quid - dam no - va mix - tu - ra.

to - ga car - nis in - du - it. in - di - gu - it et in - ter ser - vos vi - lu - it. nec i - de - o mi - no - rem
se - dens thro - no sta - bi - li ex mo - bi - li com - pin - gens et im - mo - bi - li quid - dam no - va mix - tu - ra.

dat de - i - tas splen - do - rem. sed qui lux est et fu - it per nu - bem car - nis plu - it ro - ris su - i dul - co - rem.
sim - plex si - ne iun - ctu - ra. [et mo - do tam sub - ti - li sub spe - ci - e ser - vi - li sa - xa con - fre - git du - ra

dat de - i - tas splen - do - rem. sed qui lux est et fu - it per nu - bem car - nis plu - it ro - ris su - i dul - co - rem.
sim - plex si - ne iun - ctu - ra. [et mo - do tam sub - ti - li sub spe - ci - e ser - vi - li sa - xa con - fre - git du - ra

dat de - i - tas splen - do - rem. sed qui lux est et fu - it per nu - bem car - nis plu - it ro - ris su - i dul - co - rem.
sim - plex si - ne iun - ctu - ra. [et mo - do tam sub - ti - li sub spe - ci - e ser - vi - li sa - xa con - fre - git du - ra

qui men - tes no - stras hu - it te - ne - bras quo - que lu - it. de - i fun - dens a - mo - rem.
ut po - pu - lo gen - ti - li iam pro - cul ab o - vi - li pa - te - ret vi - a pu - ra

qui men - tes no - stras hu - it te - ne - bras quo - que lu - it. de - i fun - dens a - mo - rem.
ut po - pu - lo gen - ti - li iam pro - cul ab o - vi - li pa - te - ret vi - a pu - ra

qui men - tes no - stras hu - it te - ne - bras quo - que lu - it. de - i fun - dens a - mo - rem.
ut po - pu - lo gen - ti - li iam pro - cul ab o - vi - li pa - te - ret vi - a pu - ra

qui prostruam non destrui immo restitutum anti qui o rem. qui prostruam non destrui immo restitutum anti qui o rem. qui prostruam non destrui immo restitutum anti qui o rem.

PARIT PRETER MOREM

Conductus (E12/261)

F, f. 232r (6,36): lines 1-37; *OxRawl*, f. 16r (no. 37): lines 38-46

I Parit, preter morem, creata creatorem, retinens pudorem virgineumque florem. Sic floruit que respuit omnem virga rorem; sic patuit quod latuit Ade per uxorem. Retinens verum dei decorem, deitatis sue deus honorem, toga carnis induit. Indiguit et inter servos viluit, nec ideo minorem dat deitas splendorem; sed qui lux est et fuit per nubem carnis pluit roris sui dulcorem, qui mentes nostras huius, tenebras quoque luit, dei fundens amorem. Qui struit non destruit, immo restituit statum antiquiorem. II Mira genitura, fit creans creatura. Fracta carnis iura, mirata est natura. Mirabili, laudabili, pia dei cura, rex humili stans labili iacet sub figura. Sic redempta est gens peritura; sic mundum a labe lavit impura. Sedens throno stabili, ex mobili compingens et immobili, quiddam nova mixtura, simplex, sine iunctura, [et modo tam subtili sub specie servili, saxa confregit dura, ut populo gentili, iam procul ab ovili, pateret via pura. Pro vili, pro fragili, pro re mirabili:	She, the created, bore her creator in an exceptional manner, retaining her purity and virginal flower. 5 Thus flowered a shoot that rejected all moisture; thus was revealed what lay hidden thanks to Adam's wife. Retaining the true dignity of a god, 10 God clothed the honor of his godliness in a covering of flesh. He impoverished and debased himself among his servants, and nonetheless his godliness presents no lesser brilliance; 15 but he, who is and was the light, rained down through the cloud of flesh the sweetness of his moisture that saturated our souls and also purged the shadows, 20 diffusing the love of God. He who assembles does not disassemble, but rather reassembles our earlier condition. Through a wondrous birth, 25 the creator becomes what he creates. With the laws of the flesh broken, nature is astounded. Through the miraculous, praiseworthy, diligent care of God, 30 an upright king lies low within an abject, perishable shape. Thus was redeemed a people ready to perish; Thus He cleansed the world of an infamous disgrace. Sitting on a steadfast throne, 35 uniting the changeable with the unchangeable in a new mixture, He who is indivisible, seamless, and yet so delicate, so lowly in appearance, 40 shattered the hard stones, so that an unobstructed path might be opened to the Gentile people, then far from the flock. For the wretched, for the frail, 45 for this wondrous event,

habebatur scriptura.]

it was decreed in scripture.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 36, f. 232r: a3; Strophes I (complete)-II (partial). The second stanza, opening with a capital, is entered in an empty segment provided for it within the writing block at the end of the last system of the piece. Lines 38-46 are omitted, with insufficient space for their inclusion. This is the last strophic piece in *F*-6 to transmit more than a first stanza when others are known to survive; *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), placed three items later at *F*-6,39, is the last strophic piece in the fascicle to provide any space whatsoever for extra strophes (although the area in question is occupied by empty staff lines). *Parit preter morem* continues the feature of relatively frequent musical repetition that earlier appeared in *F*-6 in the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), and which continues in the five pieces that follow it, including the motet a4 *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5, at *F*-6,40) and the subsequent conductus/lai, *O Maria virginei* (E14/239).¹

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 1, f. 123r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only; initial never supplied.

Hu (*E-BULh 11; Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, 11 [olim IX]*;² *Las Huelgas Codex*), no. 105, f. 103v: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, in mensural notation. The musical figures on the first system appear slightly blotted or smeared, but are completely legible.

Text only:

OxRawl (*GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510*), no. 43, f. 245r (16r): text only of Strophes I-II, complete, with II headed by a marginal pilcrow; rubric impinging on the right margin (rather than immediately above the poem): “De partu beate virginis marie” (“On the Blessed Virgin Mary giving birth”).

Graz 409 (*A-Gu 409*), no. 32, f. 72r:³ text only (beginning near the bottom of the leaf) of Strophe I only with incipit “Paris [sic] preter morem maria creatorem”; rubric: “Conductus”; concludes with the tag “Hei in ista dei” (“Hey, upon this day”), signaling a traveling refrain that arises in other lyrics, but not in any of the other sources for *Parit preter morem*.⁴

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

¹The other conductus with such repetition at this point in *F*-6 are: *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), *Legis in volumine* (F13/193), and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287).

²On the recent change in signature for this manuscript, see David Catalunya, “Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas ‘Solmization Song,’” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8: (2017): 89-133, at 89, note 1.

³The images from *Graz 409* can be found [here](#).

⁴This type of indication happens elsewhere in *Graz 409*; see Mary Channen Caldwell, “Cueing Refrains in the Medieval Conductus,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 143 (2018): 273-324, particularly 304-311.

Piec 'a que savoie (Linker no. 265-1325, Raynaud/Spanke no. 1760),⁵ uniquely preserved with a melody in the following source:

F-Pn. fr. 20050 (trouvère MS *U*, troubadour MS *X*, *Chansonnier St. Germain*), f. 48v, a1 (=T).

Notes on the Text: General remarks: This poem ponders various mysteries of the Incarnation, particularly in marveling at the irrationality behind the event, since it has overturned so many elements of natural law; particularly prominent in this treatment are the birth of Christ by a virgin and his consubstantiality with God, although he exhibits the outward characteristics of a mortal. Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:1) has tentatively proposed attributing this poem to Philip the Chancellor for reasons he does not mention, but which likely stem from the prominence of *annominatio* within the lyric. This ascription has not been pursued by other scholars. The construction of this particular lyric in terms of its variety of line length and rhyme scheme is one of the most complex in all the Parisian conductus repertory, and there are various ways one might construe the assemblage of particular verses (on this, see Payne, “The Conductus,” in *CHMM*, 2:1054).⁶ For analogous cases of complex verse structure in the conductus repertory, see *Beatus servus sapiens* (J48/46) and *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/I32). Additionally, the widely varying designs of the lines in *Parit preter morem* recall the irregularities often seen in motets and in prosulas to organa and conductus. In this case, though, the complexity likely originates in the chanson with which *Pair preter morem* shares its melody, although one may not rule out entirely a melismatic source for this piece. **Textual notes: 1:** the “she” that opens this poem is the Virgin Mary. **5-6:** the shoot or branch (“virga”) is also Mary, the moisture (literally “dew”) she rejected (“respuit” – literally “spat out”) refers to her giving birth without the catalyst of human seed (cf. the different connotations of this same word [“ros/roris” = dew] in the remarks for lines 16-19). The flowering of the shoot is a reference to Christ; for the images of both shoot and flower, see Isaiah, 11:1;⁷ cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16). **7-8:** Eve’s temptation by the serpent, and her and Adam’s eating of the fruit of the forbidden tree in the garden of Eden, is treated in Genesis, 3; their actions brought on the condemnation of original sin. Mary’s giving birth to Jesus redeemed mankind and negated the effects of Adam’s and Eve’s actions, thus restoring mankind’s potential for salvation to its initial state before the Fall; for more treatment of the figure of Eve in comparison to Mary, see the conductus *Verbum pater exhuibuit* (E5/368). **9-14:** a common conceit in the conductus repertory: God’s divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ, see the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), Strophe I and *passim*. **11-12:** see Philippians, 2:7-8;⁸ for some additional appearances of this image in the conductus repertory, see the remarks on *Sol sub nube latuit*, lines 17-20. **15:** numerous biblical passages refer to Christ as light, see, for example, John, 8:12, 9:5,

⁵These two references point to the following catalogs: Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, no. 31 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979); and Hans Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil: ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangbuchstaben hergestellt von A. Bahat* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

⁶Thomas B. Payne, “Latin Song II: The Music and Texts of the Conductus.” *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*. 2 vols., Mark E. Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, eds., 2: 1048-1078 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁷Isaiah, 11:1: “Et egrediatur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet” (“And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.”).

⁸Philippians, 2:7-8: “... sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit semet ipsum, factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis” (“But he [Christ] emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and devised in appearance as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.”).

12:46;⁹ this image is also rife throughout the conductus repertory. **16-19:** for the figure of the grace of God coming to mankind in the form of dew (rendered here as “moisture,” as it also is in line 6), cf. Isaiah, 45:8: “rorate caeli desuper” (“heavens, rain down dew from above”), used, among other places, as an introit text for Marian masses during Advent. Dew also frequently figures as an allegory of the virgin birth, as in the story of Gideon’s fleece from Judges, 6:36-40; see also the conductus *Fulget in propatulo* (H17/134), lines 9-12, and the opening of *Gedeonis area* (F15/143). **21-23:** see the latter portion of the notes to lines 7-8, above. **26-27:** a very common symbol of the astounding event of Mary’s bearing of Jesus, see, e. g., the opening lines of the conductus *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80) and *Nove geniture* (I13/224). **28-31:** see the remarks above for lines 9-14. **33:** see the above remarks for lines 7-8. **35-36:** the incarnation effected a new manifestation of God as a man, separate from the God the Father but also equivalent to him as per the doctrine of the Trinity. In addition to the remarks for lines 9-14, see the related expression in the conductus *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304), lines 13-14 (at the end of Strophe II): “assumensque mutabile / quod erat non mutavit” (“and [Christ] taking on the changeable [i.e., the form of a human] did not change what he was”); see also *Sol sub nube latuit*, lines 15-16. **38-39:** see the above remarks to lines 11-12. **40-43:** perhaps a reference to Jeremiah, 23:29.¹⁰ Additionally, Matthew, 3:9¹¹ and the related text in Luke, 3:8 may provide a further reference point in their recounting of John the Baptist’s condemnations of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matthew), or the crowd in general (Luke), who have come to be baptized by him. John accuses them of failing to do proper actions of penance to prepare for the coming of the Lord. Instead, as Jews, they expect that God’s covenant with their forefather Abraham will suffice to save them from wrath (cf. John, 8:33,39). Jerome, in his *Ad Eustochium* (Letter 22, chap. 19)¹² identifies the progeny of these generative stones with the Gentiles, people distinct from the Jews who would therefore replace them in the new covenant. This figure is also treated in the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 21-24. A further acknowledgment may also point to the figure of the “stumbling block” (*lapis offensionis*) and “rock of offence” (*petra scandali*) as it appears in Isaiah, 8:14, in Romans, 9:32-33, and 1 Peter, 2:8.¹³ For further discussion of the significance of the two “rocks” as figures of Christ’s role in the new covenant, where his gift of grace through faith supplants the observations of the older law and thus forms an obstacle to those who do not acknowledge him, see the remarks on the text for the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 15-16.

⁹John, 8:12: “Iterum ergo locutus est eis Jesus, dicens: Ego sum lux mundi: qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitae” (“Again therefore, Jesus spoke to them, saying: I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.”). John, 9:5: “... quamdiu sum in mundo, lux sum mundi” (“... As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world.”). John 12:46: “Ego lux in mundum veni, ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat” (“I am come a light into the world; that whosoever believes in me, may not remain in darkness.”).

¹⁰Jeremiah, 23:29: “Numquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis, ait Dominus: et quasi malleus conterens petram?” (“Are not my words like fire, says the Lord: and like a hammer that breaks a rock in pieces?”).

¹¹Matthew, 3:9: “Et ne velitis dicere intra vos: Patrem habemus Abraham. Dico enim vobis quoniam potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae” (“And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father. For I tell you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.”).

¹²The text of Letter 22 is taken from *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, F.A. Wright, ed. and trans., Loeb Classical Library, 262 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1933), p. 92; the translation is from W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley, trans., in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 6, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds. (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893), p. 29: “Postquam de duritia nationum generati sunt filii Abraham, coeperunt sancti lapides volvi super terram” (“Now that out of the hard stones of the Gentiles God has raised up children unto Abraham, they begin to be ‘holy stones rolling upon the earth.’” [Zechariah, 9: 16]).

¹³The Old Testament text reads: “Et erit vobis in sanctificationem, in lapidem autem offensionis et in petram scandali duabus domibus Israel, in laqueum et in ruinam habitantibus Hierusalem” (“And he [the Lord of Hosts] shall be a sanctuary for you, a stumbling block and a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel, and a snare and a ruin to the inhabitants of Jerusalem”).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: As *OxRawl* serves to complete the lines of Strophe II omitted from F, its variants are also collated here. **15,3:** *OxRawl*: lux. **15,4-5:** *F* provides “e[—]” for “est et.” Based on the information in Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*,¹⁴ p. 407, col. a, item 4, this abbreviation signifies “est” alone, so the following “et” is apparently om; the adopted reading given here occurs in all other sources, with *OxRawl* supplying a differently abbreviated “est,” followed by “et.” A similar abbreviation (ē) standing for “est” is used in *F* for line 27,2. **18,3:** the verb here in *F* is the unusual *huit*, possibly derived from *uueo*, *uuesco*, *[h]umeo* or even *luo*; all have the same sense of moistening, wetting, washing. In terms of the variant readings from the other sources: *Ma* agrees with *F*; *Ox Rawl* has *humit* by virtue of an abbreviation stroke over the “u”; Graz 409 has *uit* and *Hu* the faulty reading *huic*. I have kept the wording of *F* and *Ma* in order to retain the complete identity of this recurrent rhyme throughout the strophe. **33,6:** *OxRawl*: “impura” originally om, supplied in the right margin with a sign (^) for insertion. 34:2: *OxRawl*: trono. **38-46:** these concluding lines of Strophe II are not entered in *F*, possibly due to restrictions of space; they are supplied from *OxRawl*.

MUSIC: As is usual for these transcriptions, ficta indications above the staff hold for the entirety of the phrase until the next rest, stroke, or breath mark. **Line 9,1:** T: F: stroke om; supplied editorially by virtue of the strokes in the D and Tr. **14,3:** T: F: 2si=gg, for the si g on second syllable of “splendorem” (conceivably suggesting length?). **20,3:** TD: Ma,Hu have si siP=g,gaP (in T) and *d,deP* (in D) for the final two syllable of “amorem.”

¹⁴Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1985.

YSAYAS CECINIT – (TITIRE TU PATULE)

Conductus (C4/188)

Asterisks or daggers placed above the staff signal possible alternatives to the verbal text, which are given at the bottom of the page. These may be used, if desired, either to provide more thoroughgoing internal rhyme, or to allow for the choice of equally valid variant readings.

F, f. 233v (6,37): Strophe I; *W1*, f. 84v (75v) (8,17): Strophes II-IV

Tr

8

1. [Y - sa - y - as ce - ci - nit si - na - go - ga me - mi - nit. yes - se ra - dix ex - e - ret
2. [Hec est il - la vir - gu - la mo - y - si mi - ra - cu - la co - lu - bros per - cu - ti - ens
3. [Ti - ti - re tu pa - tu - le lar - gi - ta - tis se - du - le in ho - no - re ba - cu - li
4. [Lu - di - te si sa - pi - tis ne - mo sa - ni ca - pi - tis hunc lu - dum re - dar - gu - at

D

8

1. [Y - sa - y - as ce - ci - nit si - na - go - ga me - mi - nit. yes - se ra - dix ex - e - ret
2. [Hec est il - la vir - gu - la mo - y - si mi - ra - cu - la co - lu - bros per - cu - ti - ens
3. [Ti - ti - re tu pa - tu - le lar - gi - ta - tis se - du - le in ho - no - re ba - cu - li
4. [Lu - di - te si sa - pi - tis ne - mo sa - ni ca - pi - tis hunc lu - dum re - dar - gu - at

T

8

1. Y - sa - y - as ce - ci - nit si - na - go - ga me - mi - nit. yes - se ra - dix ex - e - ret
2. [Hec est il - la vir - gu - la mo - y - si mi - ra - cu - la co - lu - bros per - cu - ti - ens
3. [Ti - ti - re tu pa - tu - le lar - gi - ta - tis se - du - le in ho - no - re ba - cu - li
4. [Lu - di - te si sa - pi - tis ne - mo sa - ni ca - pi - tis hunc lu - dum re - dar - gu - at

8

1. vir - gam. vir - ga pro - fe - ret flo - rem. flos a - mig - da - la. sy - na - go - ge scan - da - la.
2. si - bi se re - fi - ci - ens et di - vi - sit ma - ri - a no - ta mi - ni - ste - ri - a
3. psal - lant nu - gi - ge - ru - li o - mnes gen - tes plau - di - te di - em fe - stum a - gi - te
4. si per - so - na con - gru - at que sit di - gna ba - cu - lo que non par - cat lo - cu - lo

8

1. vir - gam. vir - ga pro - fe - ret flo - rem. flos a - mig - da - la. sy - na - go - ge scan - da - la.
2. si - bi se re - fi - ci - ens et di - vi - sit ma - ri - a no - ta mi - ni - ste - ri - a
3. psal - lant nu - gi - ge - ru - li o - mnes gen - tes plau - di - te di - em fe - stum a - gi - te
4. si per - so - na con - gru - at que sit di - gna ba - cu - lo que non par - cat lo - cu - lo

8

1. vir - gam. vir - ga pro - fe - ret flo - rem. flos a - mig - da - la. sy - na - go - ge scan - da - la.
2. si - bi se re - fi - ci - ens et di - vi - sit ma - ri - a no - ta mi - ni - ste - ri - a
3. psal - lant nu - gi - ge - ru - li o - mnes gen - tes plau - di - te di - em fe - stum a - gi - te
4. si per - so - na con - gru - at que sit di - gna ba - cu - lo que non par - cat lo - cu - lo

*Strophe III: or "largitati," as in *W1*. **Strophe II: or "nova," as in *W1*.

* ** †

8 1. a - ri - du - la vir - gun - cu - la vi - vi - fi - ce flo - ri - fi - cat. fru - cti - fi - cat.
2. cum la - vi - mur re - na - sci - mur col - li - gi - mur in - vi - pe - ra mens ex - te - ra
3. cum tym - pa - nis cum or - ga - nis cum vo - ci - bus mul - ti - so - nis mi - ri - so - nis
4. sint o - mni - a com - mu - ni - a ha - ben - ti - bus e - gen - ti - bus et o - mni - bus

8 1. a - ri - du - la vir - gun - cu - la vi - vi - fi - ce flo - ri - fi - cat. fru - cti - fi - cat.
2. cum la - vi - mur re - na - sci - mur col - li - gi - mur in - vi - pe - ra mens ex - te - ra
3. cum tym - pa - nis cum or - ga - nis cum vo - ci - bus mul - ti - so - nis mi - ri - so - nis
4. sint o - mni - a com - mu - ni - a ha - ben - ti - bus e - gen - ti - bus et o - mni - bus

8 1. a - ri - du - la vir - gun - cu - la vi - vi - fi - ce flo - ri - fi - cat. fru - cti - fi - cat.
2. cum la - vi - mur re - na - sci - mur col - li - gi - mur in - vi - pe - ra mens ex - te - ra
3. cum tym - pa - nis cum or - ga - nis cum vo - ci - bus mul - ti - so - nis mi - ri - so - nis
4. sint o - mni - a com - mu - ni - a ha - ben - ti - bus e - gen - ti - bus et o - mni - bus

‡

8 1. ec - ce mi - ni - ste - ri - um vir - go ver - bo per - pe - rit ve - rum de - i fi - li - um.]
2. et in for - ma ba - cu - li ve - ri ve - ra le - gi - tur fi - gu - ra si - gna - cu - li.]
3. ec - ce di - es in - cli - tus to - tus lu - dis de - di - tus o - mnis lu - dat spi - ri - tus.]
4. e - sto pro - cul [par - ci - tas e - rit] hec sol - lem - pni - tas lar - gi - ta - tum lar - gi - tas.]

8 1. ec - ce mi - ni - ste - ri - um vir - go ver - bo per - pe - rit ve - rum de - i fi - li - um.]
2. et in for - ma ba - cu - li ve - ri ve - ra le - gi - tur fi - gu - ra si - gna - cu - li.]
3. ec - ce di - es in - cli - tus to - tus lu - dis de - di - tus o - mnis lu - dat spi - ri - tus.]
4. e - sto pro - cul [par - ci - tas e - rit] hec sol - lem - pni - tas lar - gi - ta - tum lar - gi - tas.]

8 1. ec - ce mi - ni - ste - ri - um vir - go ver - bo per - pe - rit ve - rum de - i fi - li - um.]
2. et in for - ma ba - cu - li ve - ri ve - ra le - gi - tur fi - gu - ra si - gna - cu - li.]
3. ec - ce di - es in - cli - tus to - tus lu - dis de - di - tus o - mnis lu - dat spi - ri - tus.]
4. e - sto pro - cul [par - ci - tas e - rit] hec sol - lem - pni - tas lar - gi - ta - tum lar - gi - tas.]

*Strophe IV: or "sunt," as in *W1*. **Strophe II: or "lavimus" as in *OxRawl*. †Strophe I: or "vivificat," as in *AH*, 20:54, no. 24. ‡Strophe III: or "psallat," as in *W1*.

YSAYAS CECINIT – (TITIRE TU PATULE)

Conductus (C4/188)

F, f. 233v (6,37): Strophe I; *OxRawl*, f. 243r (14r) (no. 36): Strophes II-IV

I Ysayas cecinit, sinagoga meminit. Yesse radix exeret virgam; virga proferet florem; flos, amigdala: synagoga scandala. Aridula, virguncula, vivifice, florificat, fructificat. Ecce ministerium: virgo verbo perperit verum dei filium.	Isaiah sang, the synagogue remembered: the root of Jesse will put forth a stem; the stem will produce 5 a flower, and the flower, almonds: a stumbling block for the synagogue. Unmoistened, a young virgin, in a life-giving manner, flowers and bears fruit. 10 Witness the deed: from a word a virgin has born the true son of God.
II [Hec est illa virgula Moysi miracula, colubros percutiens, sibi se reficiens; et divisit maria: nota ministeria. Cum lavimur, renascimur, colligimur. In vipera mens extera, et in forma baculi veri vera legitur figura signaculi.	She is that wondrous little staff of Moses, 15 smiting the serpents and regaining its original form; it also divided the waters: renowned deeds these are. When we are washed, we are reborn, 20 we are gathered together. In the viper is an external meaning, and in the form of the staff one reads the true figure of the true sign.
III Titire, tu patule largitatis sedit in honore baculi, psallant nugigeruli “Omnes gentes, plaudite!” Diem festum agite cum tympanis, cum organis, cum vocibus multisonis, mirisonis. Ecce dies inclitus, totus ludis deditus. Omnis ludat spiritus.	25 You, Tityrus, attentive to widespread generosity in honor of the staff, let the triflers sing “Clap your hands, all nations!” 30 Celebrate the festive day with drums, with organs, with many-sounding, wondrous-sounding voices. Behold the celebrated day, 35 completely devoted to the games. Let every spirit play.
IV Ludite, si sapitis. Nemo sani capitis hunc ludum redarguat, si persona congruat que sit digna baculo, que non parcat loculo. Sint omnia communia,	Have some fun, if you have any sense. No one of sound mind should rebuke this amusement, 40 if he is suitable as a character who is worthy of the staff, who is not stingy with his purse. Let everything be shared,

habentibus, egentibus,
et omnibus.
Esto procul [parcitas!
Erit] hec sollemnitas
largitatum largitas.]

by the haves, by the have-nots,
45 in fact, by everyone.
Moderation, begone!
This ceremony will be
a bounty beyond all others.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 37, f. 233v: a3; Strophe I only; the setting occupies the entire leaf, with no room allotted for additional stanzas here or on the following recto, the first time in *F*-6 a known multi-strophic piece does this.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 17, f. 82v [sic]¹ (75v): a3: Strophes I-IV, complete, headed with a filigreed initial occupying much of the upper left margin, and with II-IV headed by painted initials and entered at the bottom of the folio outside the writing block in six lines of script, two each for each stanza. The piece as it stands is complete, taking up an entire leaf, as does *F*, but it is succeeded by a fragmentary setting of *Fulget Nicolaus* (E7/135), due to loss of the original folios 83-84 that followed *Ysayas cecinit*.

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 13, f. 130r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only, with the opening initial and the music and text of line 4 omitted.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 5, f. 39r: a3; Strophe I only, but incomplete and rather messily presented as follows: folio 39r (the beginning of the second gathering of fasc. 3) shows signs of previous use: the initial half of its opening system has an erased chunk of the doxology of the three-part organum *Virgo. Sponsus amat* (O40), a segment that happens to correspond to the beginning of fol. 14r (the first leaf of the second gathering of fasc. 2). Below this erased music, the scribe has entered the text of line 2 of *Ysayas cecinit*, “synagoga meminit,” and underscored it with dashes as if to indicate an error. The same line from the conductus is then written again, this time with the correct music above it; the remainder of the music and text of Strophe I then follows. This source is collated here when necessary as W2A. Similar scribal confusion plagues the following two works in this gathering, *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369) and *Quis tibi Christe meritas* (F33/290).

W2, fasc. 7, no. 21, f. 141r: a2 (TD); Strophe I only; collated here when necessary as W2B.

Tort (*Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cód. 97; E-TO Cód. 97*), no. 1, f. 81r (i.e., the front flyleaf of the third of three MSS bound together in this composite source): a2 (TD). Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; it is collated in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:164, and described in DIAMM, which indicates it is written in Aquitanian point notation with shapes resembling 14th-century semibreves on dry-point lines; Strophe I only; rubric in margin at the end of the piece: “Ma[d]re al Salvadore verge Maria” (“Mother to the Savior, the Virgin Mary”).

Partial Concordance: the music and text of lines 1-2 of *Ysayas cecinit* is taken from the opening lines of versicle Va of the eleventh-century sequence *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus* (-/-; olim Anderson, L129, but signaled for deletion in his hand-annotated catalog due to his reclassification of it as a sequence). As a widely

¹ Note that the report on the foliation given by Martin Staehelin (in Staehelin, ed., *Die mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift W1: Vollständige Reproduktion des “Notre Dame”-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, no. 9, [Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1995], pp. 11, 35) appears to be incorrect in proposing that the missing folios are 82 and 83. No actual break occurs after folio 81 (74), and the following leaf, given by Staehelin as 84 (75), actually is 82 (75), as the MS’s foliation indicates. Folio 85r (76r), furthermore, seems to have had its second integer written over, changing what was originally a “5” to a “3” in an attempt to rectify the discrepancy. Such “correction” seems to have progressed no farther. The *CPI* website gives the foliation as in Staehelin.

transmitted chant, the sources for this piece are legion.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob *Rawl.poet.C510*), no. 36, f. 243r (14r): text only of Strophes I-IV, complete, each stanza written successively as it prose, and with II-IV signaled by pilcrows at the left margin: rubric: “De Nativitate ihesu christi” (“On the Nativity of Jesus Christ”).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none, although see the general remarks in the textual notes, below.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: On the possibility of contrafacture: This text quite clearly presents a different tone and focus in its second half. The first two strophes are geared towards typologies of the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary, whereas the concluding stanzaic pair is given over to verbal tropes associated with the Feast of Fools (see below in the notes beginning with line 25). As a result, it has several times been suggested that Strophes III and IV are a completely independent lyric, either a contrafact or parody of the first part. The possibility of two poems is hinted in the presentation of the above titles, where the incipit of the second half appears in parentheses. Nonetheless, only two sources of the seven, *OxRawl* and *W1*, contain any text beyond that of Strophe I, and both offer the additional stanzas with no indication of independence or any kind of break after Strophe II. Such a situation seems much different than the case of *Trine vocis tripudio – Trahunt in precipitia* (E4/351) earlier at F-6,5, where two or possibly three different layers of presumably independent lyrics are associated with each other. Additionally, the contrasting second half of *Ysayas cecinit* does correlate with the first in continuing the figure of the *virga* – the stem, rod, or staff – of the first two stanzas, but now associating it with the rod of office (*baculus*) wielded by the celebrant in the Circumcision liturgies. It might also be apposite to remark that the opening part of the poem could conceivably function as a “sanctifying” prologue that might soften the more raucous sounding portions of its concluding half, making it more suitable for use in a liturgical or other context. Finally, it may be significant that the next work but one in F-6, *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), also gives evidence to suggest that the total number of strophes it presents may also comprise two different poems. **Rhyme scheme and variant readings:** Leaving aside the question of the relationships of the various portions of this piece, the fairly frequent differences between the additional stanzas presented by *OxRawl* and *W1* sometimes allow for various legitimate conjectures for preferred readings between the two MSS; this is also made difficult by the rhythmic and rhyme scheme of the poem, which suggests a deliberate application of internal rhyme for some stanzas and not others. This feature has affected how the strophes are divided into lines above, and also influenced the decision to incorporate certain readings on occasion that are not sanctioned by either surviving source. In addition, the musical score has been supplied with markings in several places to signal certain alternative textual readings, whether to provide more thoroughgoing internal rhyme, or to allow for the choice of equally valid variant readings. For details on the available selections, see the observations and variants, below. **Textual notes: 1-2:** Interestingly, the writings of Isaiah are here described as being delivered in song by the prophet. The synagogue, a collective metaphor for the Jews, is called here to recollect the foretelling of the Messiah within their own sacred writings. The implication is that the Jews will refuse to acknowledge the miracle of Christ’s birth, since the versicle from the sequence *Letabundus exultet* that originally generated these opening lines (see the partial concordance above) goes on immediately thereafter to state: “... numquam tamen desinit esse ceca” (“... but it [the synagogue] never leaves off being blind”).² Specific references to the Old Testament prophet’s sayings within the context of this

²For a study of *Letabundus*, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 91-100.

poem include Isaiah, 7:14;³ and Isaiah, 11:1 (for this, see the remarks below for lines 3-5). **2,1:** this word is inconsistently spelled with a “y” in line 6,1. **3-5:** the stem, shoot, or branch (“virga”) is the Virgin Mary, the flowering of the shoot is a reference to Christ, while the root signifies his ancestral lineage from the line of Jesse through David; for these images, see Isaiah, 11:1;⁴ cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16).⁵ The similarity of the sounds of *virga* and *virgo* is exploited throughout the opening two stanzas, as well as the alliteration of numerous other words that begin with “v.” The symbols of root, stem, flower, and almonds offered here in the early part of Strophe I are personified further on in lines 7-9. **5,2-3:** additional typologies of the birth of Christ by a virgin; see Numbers, 17:8 for Aaron’s rod flowering into buds and almonds.⁶ Anderson remarks (in *NDRC*, 1:xxvii), based on a passage from a text attributed to St. Bernard (*Super missus est*, cited from *PL*, 183, col. 63), that Aaron’s rod is also a figure for the Virgin Mary, while the flowers and almonds springing from Aaron’s dry rod, presumably represent Christ. Further appearances of this image occur in *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), lines 1-2; and in *Gratuletur populus* (H6/147), lines 4,2-9. **6,1:** this word is inconsistently spelled with an “i” in line 2,1. **6,2:** this “stumbling block” derives originally from Isaiah, 8:14,⁷ but also appears in Romans, 9:32-33, and 1 Peter, 2:8. See the remarks on the text for the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), line 16, for more details on the significance of this expression, which stands as a typological figure for Christ’s role in the new covenant (i.e., his gift of grace through faith supplants the observations of the older Mosaic law and thus forms an obstacle to those who do not acknowledge him). **11,2:** the “word” referred to here is most likely the “Ave” that Mary heard from Gabriel in Luke, 1:28;⁸ although Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxvii) reasonably suggests that the “Word” that appears in the opening verses of the Gospel of John may also be implied.⁹ **13-17:** miracles performed by Moses’s staff or rod: for its ability to transform itself, see Exodus, 4:2-5, where God changes the staff into a snake and back again. Later, when Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh and his servants (Exodus, 7), Aaron casts down his own rod, which also turns into a serpent.¹⁰ When Pharaoh then calls magicians to duplicate the result through their own incantations, each of their staves becomes a serpent that Aaron’s rod then devours. See also, in this context, the

³Isaiah, 7:14: “Propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum: ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuhel” (“Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel”).

⁴Isaiah, 11:1: “et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet” (“And a shoot shall come forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.”).

⁵*Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16), verse: “Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus” (“The shoot [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son”).

⁶Numbers, 17:8: “Sequenti die regressus, invenit germinasse virgam Aaron in domo Levi, et turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores, qui foliis dilatatis, in amigdalas deformati sunt” (“On the following day, he [Moses] returned [to the tabernacle], and found that the rod of Aaron of the house of Levi [that he had left overnight] was budded, and that the swelling buds had bloomed blossoms, which, spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds.”).

⁷Isaiah, 8:14: “Et erit vobis in sanctificationem, in lapidem autem offensionis et in petram scandali duabus domibus Israhel, in laqueum et in ruinam habitantibus Hierusalem” (“And he [the Lord of Hosts] shall be a sanctuary for you, a rock of offence and a stumbling block to the two houses of Israel, and a snare and a ruin to the inhabitants of Jerusalem”).

⁸Luke, 1:28: “Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: ‘Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus’” (“And the angel, entering, said to her: ‘Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women.’”).

⁹John, 1:1-2: “In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.” (“In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God.”).

¹⁰There is a long-running debate in biblical scholarship as to whether or not the references to Moses’ and Aaron’s staves refer to the same object. See Anderson’s discussion in *NDRC*, 1:xxvii, note 12, drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria* as presented in *PL*, 113, cols. 202-203.

related language of Isaiah 14:29.¹¹ The final wonder is, of course, the use of Moses' rod to part the Red Sea, so that the Israelites may cross unhampered to escape the forces of Pharaoh bearing down upon them after they have left Egypt; see Exodus, 14:16-30. The significance of the staff and the serpent is further explored in the second half of this strophe. **14,1:** note that an ending in “-i” is a common form of the genitive as well as the dative case for “Moyses” or “Moses”; see, e.g., Leviticus, 8:36.¹² **16:** literally “restoring itself back to itself.” **19-20,1:** the reference to washing may stem from Revelation, 1:5,¹³ along with the similar image of Moses commanding the Israelites to sanctify themselves by washing their garments from Exodus, 19:10,14. The image of being reborn comes from John, 3:3,¹⁴ with a similar expression in John, 3:7. The language of gathering likely stems from Matthew, 3:12,¹⁵ and the similar text in Luke, 3:17. All of these images point to the salvation that comes to those who accept the New Law. **20,2-24:** this passage is difficult to construe, and the interpretation here may be subject to correction. Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxvii), relying on the *Glossa ordinaria* given in *PL*, 113, cols. 202-203, sees the *mens* of line 21,1 as referring to spiritual understanding, and the figure of the rod as Christ. In addition to the serpents and rods or staves deployed earlier in the stanza, an additional possible reference could be to Numbers, 21:6-9, where Moses sets up a bronze serpent upon a pole that cures the Israelites of deadly snake bites. The bronze snake is frequently adduced as a figure for Christ (see John, 3:14), and the pole on which it was erected corresponds to the Cross; see some further details on this passage in the notes on the text of the conductus *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230). As a result, I see both the images of the viper and staff in this poem as typological representations of the grace of the New Covenant: both are to be read figuratively, as signs of truth with a significance external to their literal meaning. For the atypical rendering here of the word “mens” (21,1) as “meaning,” with a connotation akin to “sense,” see the *DMLBS*, s.v. “mens,” nos. 4-5, via <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/mens>. **25:** a literal quotation of the first three words of Virgil's first *Eclogue*.¹⁶ The figure of Tityrus appears elsewhere in the conductus repertory as a figurative leader or lord of the feast in ceremonies associated with the medieval “Feast of Fools”; see, for example, the conductus *Gregis pastor Tityrus* (L90/-) and the remarks for line 27. **27:** poetic references like this to the rod and staff in the context of a liturgical feast are frequently connected with the celebrations on the feast of the Circumcision on 1 January. For a list of conductus that invoke the new year and the associated celebrations of Circumcision and the Feast of Fools, see the notes to lines 1-6 of *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227). On this day at Notre Dame of

¹¹ Isaiah 14:29: “Ne laeteris, Philisthea omnis tu, quoniam comminuta est virga percussoris tui; de radice enim colubri egredietur regulus et semen eius absorbens volucrem” (“Rejoice not, all of Philistia, that the rod of him that struck you is broken in pieces: for out of the root of the serpent shall come forth a basilisk, and his seed shall swallow the bird”).

¹² Leviticus, 8:36: “Feceruntque Aaron et filii ejus cuncta quae locutus est Dominus per manum Moysi” (“And Aaron and his sons did all things which the Lord spoke by the hand of Moses.”).

¹³ Revelation, 1:5: “Et ab Iesu Christo, qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae, qui dilexit nos et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo” (“And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth, who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.”).

¹⁴ John, 3:3: “Respondit Iesus, et dixit ei: ‘amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis natus fuerit denuo, non potest videre regnum Dei’ ” (“Jesus answered, and said to him: ‘Amen, amen I say to you, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ ”).

¹⁵ Matthew, 3:12: “Cuius ventilabrum in manu sua, et permundabit aream suam et congregabit triticum suum in horreum; paleas autem conburet igni inextinguibili” (“His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor and gather his wheat into the barn; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.”).

¹⁶ Lines 1-5 run: “Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi / siluestrem tenui musam meditaris auena: / nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arua. / nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra / formosam resonare doces Amaryllida siluas” (“You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo ‘fair Amaryllis.’ ”). The translation is from Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, H.R. Fairclough, trans., revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 63 (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1916; revised edition, 1999), 24-25.

Paris, for example, the subdeacons temporarily assumed the offices and certain privileges of the higher clergy for the celebration of the liturgy. Here the cantor's staff of authority was transferred to a new subdeacon (the "bacularius") for use at the festivities.¹⁷ **29:** quotes Psalm 46:2.¹⁸ **30:** see Isaiah, 66:10, frequently cited in a varying form throughout the Middle Ages as: "Laetare, Jerusalem; et diem festum agite, omnes qui diligitis eam" ("Rejoice, Jerusalem; and celebrate the festal day, all you who love her"); and used as the introit for the fourth Sunday in Lent, often with the text "et conventum facite" ("and come together") replacing the phrase quoted in line 30. See, for an example of the former, Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesie*, as given in *PL*, 172: col. 893C. **31:** see Psalm 150:4.¹⁹ **32:** the apparent reference to polyphony here through the expression "multi-sounding voices" seems significant, since this conductus provides just such an example. **34,1:** the presence of the same word ("ecce") here as in Strophe I, has suggested to some that the latter half of the poem is intended as a parody of the first; see, for example, Thurston, *Conductus Collections*, 1:19.²⁰ **41:** see the remarks for line 27.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 2,1;6,1: see the remarks in these places in the notes on the text. **8,1:** F,W1,W2B: vivifice; W2A: vivife; Ma,OxRawl: vivificet; Tort: vivice. The adopted reading ("vivifice") has been chosen based on the majority of sources, and buttressed by the fact that all MSS report "e" as the final vowel in this word. Though not sanctioned by any source, "Vivificat" (a suggested alternative in the score) could also serve, if wished, both in terms of sense and to provide a more thoroughgoing internal rhyme at this point in the stanza (as in its implementation in *AH*, 20:54, no. 24). On the other hand, the internal rhyme at this point does not carry through all the strophes of this poem (as evinced by stanzas II and III), so the majority form has here prevailed for the main version of the text. Similar considerations could guide the decision about the choice of readings for 14,2 and 19,2. **14,2:** OxRawl,W1: both apparently have "miraculo," although *W1* looks more like "miraclo" and has additional flourishes (abbreviations?) over the final letters that may point to a somewhat different or corrected reading. The adopted reading ("miracula") does seem necessary here in view of the rhyme with the prior line that occurs in all other stanzas. It is apparently unusual in an adjectival form (which may account for its avoidance in the extant sources), but its presence is vouched for in, e.g., Peter Bullions, *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Dictionary* (New York: Sheldon, 1882), s.v. "miraculus"; other connotations (as in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*)²¹ suggest "deformed" or "transformed" as possible renderings, since Moses' staff has taken the form of a snake. **18,1:** W1: "nova," which could also function satisfactorily here, as offered in the score. **19-21:** W1: cum lava'do (lavando?) renascitur / colligitur in vipera / mons extera. The reading of *OxRawl* for 19,2: "lavimus" (an alternative noted in the score) could work, as it makes good sense, but it thwarts the expected internal rhyme at this point found in all other stanzas. **22,3:** W1: apparently written as "for^" or "fo^r"; clarified by *OxRawl*. **23-24:** W1: veri vera signaculi / legitur figura, with the sign^{II} (i.e., two short diagonal strokes) placed over the "e" of "legitur" and again just prior to "signaculi." Presumably this signals a correction of a scribal error that re-ordered the phrases. **26, 1:** W1: largitati, which

¹⁷For information on these practices, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 239-242; and Max Harris, "A Rough and Holy Liturgy: A Reassessment of the Feast of Fools," in *Risus Sacer – Sacrum Risibile: Interaktionsfelder von Sakralität und Gelächter im kulturellen und historischen Wandel*, ed. Katja Gvozdeva and Werner Röcke, 77-100 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 80-84; and *idem*, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 99-106.

¹⁸Psalm 46:2: "Omnes gentes plaudite manibus: iubilare Deo in voce exultationis" (Applaud with your hands, all nations: shout unto God in a voice of exultation").

¹⁹Psalm 150:4: "Laudate eum in tympano et choro; laudate eum in cordis et organo" ("Praise him with timbrel and choir: praise him with strings and organs").

²⁰Ethel Thurston, ed., *The Conductus Collections of the MS Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, nos. 11-13 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1980).

²¹*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), s.v. "miraculus."

could also serve (signaled in the score). **36,2:** W1 has “psallat” here, perhaps to suggest a context slightly more devotional; this variant could be employed, if desired, as noted in the score. **43,1:** OxRawl: sit; W1: sunt (which conceivably might also serve); the adopted reading is chosen due to the predominance of the subjunctive mood so far in the stanza, the alternative is offered in the score. **46,3-47,1:** OxRawl: om; from *W1*. **MUSIC:** the tendency towards the relatively prominent use of musical repetition seen here also arises in several of the other pieces that surround this conductus in *F*-6; see the commentary on the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70 at *F*-6,35). **Line 6, 1:** F: Tr: the pitch on the third syllable of “sinagoge” is *f*; *g* supplied from *W1*. **7,2:** DTr: F: bracketed (i.e., missing) strokes here and throughout are supplied editorially, either on the recommendation of other musical sources, or from another voice at that point that has a stroke.

LEGIS IN VOLUMINE

Conductus (F13/193)

F, f. 234r (6,38)

Tr
8 [Le - gis in vo - lu - mi - ne clau - sa la - tu - it sed in vir - gi - ne

I D
8 [Le - gis in vo - lu - mi - ne clau - sa la - tu - it sed in vir - gi - ne

T
8 Le - gis in vo - lu - mi - ne clau - sa la - tu - it sed in vir - gi - ne

de-mum cla - ru - it in - car - na - ti - o. per quam fit re - dem - pti - o.

de-mum cla - ru - it in - car - na - ti - o. per quam fit re - dem - pti - o.

de-mum cla - ru - it in - car - na - ti - o. per quam fit re - dem - pti - o.

mis - so ce - li - tus san - cti spi - ri - tus ob - um - bra - mi - ne.

mis - so ce - li - tus san - cti spi - ri - tus ob - um - bra - mi - ne.

mis - so ce - li - tus san - cti spi - ri - tus ob - um - bra - mi - ne.

si - ne se - mi - ne vir - go con - ci - pit. na - tu - ram que de - ci - pit

si - ne se - mi - ne vir - go con - ci - pit. na - tu - ram que de - ci - pit

si - ne se - mi - ne vir - go con - ci - pit. na - tu - ram que de - ci - pit

dum quod au - ris ac - ci - pit in - tus car - nem re - ci - pit.

dum quod au - ris ac - ci - pit in - tus car - nem re - ci - pit.

dum quod au - ris ac - ci - pit in - tus car - nem re - ci - pit.

[Refrain?]

or:

[Refr.?] O vir - go ge - ne - ro - sa se - re - na

O vir - go ge - ne - ro - sa se - re - na

O vir - go ge - ne - ro - sa se - re - na

et ple - na gra - ti - a. cri - mi - na ter - mi - na.

et ple - na gra - ti - a. cri - mi - na ter - mi - na.

et ple - na gra - ti - a. cri - mi - na ter - mi - na.

nos fo - ve. re - mo - ve no - xi - a no - xi - a no - xi - a.]

nos fo - ve. re - mo - ve no - xi - a no - xi - a no - xi - a.]

nos fo - ve. re - mo - ve no - xi - a no - xi - a no - xi - a.

LEGIS IN VOLUME

Conductus (F13/193)

F, f. 234r (6,38)

I Legis in volumine clausa latuit, sed in virgine demum claruit, incarnatio, per quam fit redemptio. Misso celitus sancti spiritus obumbramine, sine semine virgo concipit; naturam que decipit dum quod auris accipit intus carnem recipit.	In the book of the Old Law it lay hidden; but in a virgin there at last shone forth 5 the incarnation through which redemption is accomplished. Thanks to the protection of the Holy Spirit sent from heaven, 10 without seed a virgin conceives; she deceives nature when the ear hears that which welcomes the flesh from within.

[Refr.?] O virgo generosa, serena et plena gratia, crimina termina. Nos fove. Remove noxia, noxia, noxia.	15 O noble virgin, serene and full of grace, put an end 20 to sins. Favor us. Take away the harmful, the hurtful, 25 the injurious.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 38, f. 234r, a3: Strophe I, complete, with a possible refrain (lines 15-25) signaled by a capital “O,” shown by the extra space given above; a unique setting of both text and music (although see the brief music-only concordance with *Veris ad imperia* and its contrafact below); there is no space provided for additional strophes, either at the end of the piece or elsewhere, but the inclusion of *Legis in volumine* among other strophic conductus (and the strophic or “strophic-like” motets) at this point in the fascicle suggests that others may have existed at some point.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Veris ad imperia (F11/373): *F*, fasc. 6, no. 29, f. 228v, a3; the setting of lines 1-2, a four-fold repeated segment of music with voice exchange, is equivalent in all parts to the setting of lines 1-2 of *Legis in volumine*, with some ornamental expansion in line 2.

A l'entradre del tens clar (Pillet-Carstons no. 461-12):¹ *F-Pn. fr. 20050* (trouvère MS *U*, troubadour MS *X*, Chansonnier St. Germain), f. 82v, a1 (T); as this is a contrafact of *Veris ad imperia*, it also shares its initial gestures with the first two lines of the T in *Legis in volumine*.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: **1-2:** the frequent trope of the Old Testament as a latent typology of Christian redemption. **13-14:** Mary receives the “Ave” greeting and message from Gabriel (Luke, 1:28 “... Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum ...” [... Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you ...]); note also John, 1:1 “In principio erat Verbum ...” [“In the beginning was the Word ...”]) and accepts her role as the mother of Christ (Luke, 1:38: “Dixit autem Maria: ‘ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum’ ” [“Then Mary said: ‘behold the handmaiden of the Lord: may it be done to me according to your word.’ ”]). **17,2-18:** recalls, of course, Luke, 1:28 (see notes to lines 13-14 above).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Caudae:** the rhythmic values supplied in the transcription are hypothetical for the three very brief caudae that present multiple ligatures over a single syllable (at the end of line 7 [“celitus”] and the start and end of line 15 [“O,” “generosa”]); different rhythmic modes are conceivable as well as freer renderings. It does, though seem interesting that the D and Tr of the first and last of these mini-caudae are identical, although transposed by a fourth. **Lines 15-25:** the connection of the first two phrases of this piece with the opening music of the *carole*-like conductus *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373) is further enhanced by the likely presence of a refrain, signaled by the capital “O” beginning line 15. Like *Veris* and the works that immediately surround it in *F-6*, this section of *Legis in volumine* exploits repetitive melodic content. In this case the reiterated, slightly varied motives marked “a” and “b” near the end of *Legis* recall similar techniques near the end of *Veris*, as they are paired in melodic sequence and set to tri-syllabic poetic lines. The motive marked “c” is also redolent of a figure from this same conductus (marked “h” in the transcription of *Veris*). **Line 15,2:** Tr: F: for the first syllable of “vir[go]”: *b*; an editorial change due to uncharacteristically harsh dissonance.

¹ Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

QUID TU VIDES IEREMIA – *F*, *W1*, and *Harley 5393* versions
Conductus (D4/287)

F, f. 234v (6,39): Strophe I; *OxRawl*, f. 242v (13v) (no. 34): Strophes II-A, II-B

Tr

8

[Quid tu vi-des Ie-re-mi-a vir-gam vi-gi-lan-tem. et quid tu o za-cha-ri-a
[Quid tu vi-des la-tor le-gis ru-bum in-flam-ma-tum quo si-gna-tur no-vi-re-gis
[Hau-rit so-lem cum se-ne-scit e-tas a-qui-la-rum. hau-sto so-le re-flo-re-scit

1. D

8

[Quid tu vi-des Ie-re-mi-a vir-gam vi-gi-lan-tem. et quid tu o za-cha-ri-a
[Quid tu vi-des la-tor le-gis ru-bum in-flam-ma-tum quo si-gna-tur no-vi-re-gis
[Hau-rit so-lem cum se-ne-scit e-tas a-qui-la-rum. hau-sto so-le re-flo-re-scit

T

8

Quid tu vi-des Ie-re-mi-a vir-gam vi-gi-lan-tem. et quid tu o za-cha-ri-a
[Quid tu vi-des la-tor le-gis ru-bum in-flam-ma-tum quo si-gna-tur no-vi-re-gis
[Hau-rit so-lem cum se-ne-scit e-tas a-qui-la-rum. hau-sto so-le re-flo-re-scit

| Tr: dissonance seems unusual, but this phrase repeated 2 lines later

8

a-qui-lam vo-lan-tem. lo-han-nes in-stru-ens fert le-gis o-cu-lum. er-ro-res de-
clau-strum il-li-ba-tum i-gne qui can-du-it ru-bus non u-ri-tur. vir-go que ge-
ad fon-tes a-qua-rum. o-mnes o-pe-ru-it nox pri-mi cri-mi-nis do-nec re-splen-

8

a-qui-lam vo-lan-tem. lo-han-nes in-stru-ens fert le-gis o-cu-lum. er-ro-res de-
clau-strum il-li-ba-tum i-gne qui can-du-it ru-bus non u-ri-tur. vir-go que ge-
ad fon-tes a-qua-rum. o-mnes o-pe-ru-it nox pri-mi cri-mi-nis do-nec re-splen-

8

a-qui-lam vo-lan-tem. lo-han-nes in-stru-ens fert le-gis o-cu-lum. er-ro-res de-
clau-strum il-li-ba-tum i-gne qui can-du-it ru-bus non u-ri-tur. vir-go que ge-
ad fon-tes a-qua-rum. o-mnes o-pe-ru-it nox pri-mi cri-mi-nis do-nec re-splen-

8

-stru-ens tex-it fu-ni-cu-lum. hic est di-sci-pu-lus. hic vi-gil o-cu-lus a-qui-le no-
-nu-it de-um non le-di-tur. sol sub ve-la-mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-
-du-it rex ma-gni no-mi-nis. sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit

8

-stru-ens tex-it fu-ni-cu-lum. hic est di-sci-pu-lus. hic vi-gil o-cu-lus a-qui-le no-
-nu-it de-um non le-di-tur. sol sub ve-la-mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-
-du-it rex ma-gni no-mi-nis. sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit

8

-stru-ens tex-it fu-ni-cu-lum. hic est di-sci-pu-lus. hic vi-gil o-cu-lus a-qui-le no-
-nu-it de-um non le-di-tur. sol sub ve-la-mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-
-du-it rex ma-gni no-mi-nis. sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit

-ta - vit so - lem iu - sti - ti - e. hic sol ec - cle - si - e te - ne - bras pur - ga - vit.]
-ta - vit. hoc o - pus in - tu - ens na - tu - ram ex - u - ens a - ba - cuc ex - pa - vit.]
si - num sic hau - sit me - di - o fon - tis in gre - mi - o ca - ri - tas ca - mi - num.]

g h j

W1, f. 79r (72r) (8,11): Strophes I, II-B; OxRawl, f. 242v (13v) (no. 34): Strophe II-A

[Quid] [Quid] tu vi - des ie - re - mi - a vir - gam vi - gi - lan - tem.
[Quid] [Quid] tu vi - des la - tor le - gis ru - bum in - flam - ma - tum.
[Hau - [Hau] - rit so - lem cum se - ne - scit e - tas a - qui - la - rum.]

y z a b

et tu quid o za - cha - ri - a a - qui - lam vo - lan - tem. io - han - nes in - stru - ens
quo si - gna - tur no - vi - re - gis clau - strum il - li - ba - tum i - gne qui can - du - it
hau - sto so - le re - flo - re - scit ad fon - tes a - qua - rum. o - mnes o - pe - ru - it.]

y z a c d

8 fert le - gis o - cu - lum. er - ro - res de - stru - ens tex - it fu - ni - cu - lum.
ru - bus non u - ri - tur. vir - go que ge - nu - it de - um non le - di - tur.
nox pri - mi cri - mi - nis do - nec re - splen - du - it rex ma - gni no - mi - nis.

8 fert le - gis o - cu - lum. er - ro - res de - stru - ens tex - it fu - ni - cu - lum.
ru - bus non u - ri - tur. vir - go que ge - nu - it de - um non le - di - tur.
nox pri - mi cri - mi - nis do - nec re - splen - du - it rex ma - gni no - mi - nis.

8 fert le - gis o - cu - lum. er - ro - res de - stru - ens tex - it fu - ni - cu - lum.
ru - bus non u - ri - tur. vir - go que ge - nu - it de - um non le - di - tur.
nox pri - mi cri - mi - nis do - nec re - splen - du - it rex ma - gni no - mi - nis.

8 Hic est di - sci - pu - lus. hic vi - gil o - cu - lus a - qui - le no - ta - vit
sol sub ve - la - mi - ne car - nis in vir - gi - ne ve - rus la - ti - ta - vit.
sol iu - stis o - ri - ens fons vi - te sa - li - ens huic ex - pan - dit si - num

8 Hic est di - sci - pu - lus. hic vi - gil o - cu - lus a - qui - le no - ta - vit
sol sub ve - la - mi - ne car - nis in vir - gi - ne ve - rus la - ti - ta - vit.
sol iu - stis o - ri - ens fons vi - te sa - li - ens huic ex - pan - dit si - num

8 Hic est di - sci - pu - lus. hic vi - gil o - cu - lus a - qui - le no - ta - vit
sol sub ve - la - mi - ne car - nis in vir - gi - ne ve - rus la - ti - ta - vit.
sol iu - stis o - ri - ens fons vi - te sa - li - ens huic ex - pan - dit si - num

8 so - lem iu - sti - ti - e. hic sol ec - cle - si - e te - ne - bras pur - ga - vit.]
hoc o - pus in - tu - ens na - tu - ram ex - u - ens a - ba - cuc ex - pa - vit.]
sic hau - sit me - di - o fon - tis in gre - mi - o ca - ri - tas ca - mi - num.]

8 so - lem iu - sti - ti - e. hic sol ec - cle - si - e te - ne - bras pur - ga - vit.]
hoc o - pus in - tu - ens na - tu - ram ex - u - ens a - ba - cuc ex - pa - vit.]
sic hau - sit me - di - o fon - tis in gre - mi - o ca - ri - tas ca - mi - num.]

8 so - lem iu - sti - ti - e. hic sol ec - cle - si - e te - ne - bras pur - ga - vit.
hoc o - pus in - tu - ens na - tu - ram ex - u - ens a - ba - cuc ex - pa - vit.]
sic hau - sit me - di - o fon - tis in gre - mi - o ca - ri - tas ca - mi - num

(continued)

Harley 5393, f. 80v: Strophes I, II-B; OxRawl, f. 242v (13v) (no. 34): Strophe II-A*

Tr

3. D

T

[y] [z] [a] [b]

[x] [c] [d] [e] [f]

[Quid tu vi - des ie - re - mi - a vir - gam vi - gi - lan - tem.
[Quid tu vi - des la - tor le - gis ru - bum in - flam - ma - tum
[Hau - rit so - lem cum se - ne - scit e - tas a - qui - la - rum.

et tu quid o za - cha - ri - a a - qui - lam vo - lan - tem. io - han - nes in - stru - ens
quo si - gna - tur no - vi re - gis clau - strum il - li - ba - tum i - gne qui can - du - it
hau - sto so - le re - flo - re - scit ad fon - tes a - qua - rum. o - mnes o - pe - ru - it

fert le - gis o - cu - lum. er - ro - res de - stru - ens tex - it fu - ni - cu - lum.
ru - bus non u - ri - tur. vir - go que ge - nu - it de - um non le - di - tur.
nox pri - mi cri - mi - nis do - nec re - splen - du - it rex ma - gni no - mi - nis.

*Note the non-transposing clefs in all parts. The full-system barlines mirror those in the MS. Plica-like tails on most descending 2li figures, and tailed or un-tailed si shapes are not distinguished. Bracketed strokes denote line/phrase endings taken from other sources. The single wavy shape above the Tr near the end of line 4 mimics the shape of the figure at this point in the MS.

V

Hic est discipulus. hic virgil oculus a qui-le no-ta-vit
sol sub ve-la mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-ta-vit.
sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit si-num

W

Hic est discipulus. hic virgil oculus a qui-le no-ta-vit
sol sub ve-la mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-ta-vit.
sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit si-num

G

Hic est discipulus. hic virgil oculus a qui-le no-ta-vit
sol sub ve-la mi-ne car-nis in vir-gi-ne ve-rus la-ti-ta-vit.
sol iu-stis o-ri-ens fons vi-te sa-li-ens huic ex-pan-dit si-num

V'

so-lem iu-sti-ti-e. hic sol ec-cle-si-e te-ne-bras pur-ga-vit.
hoc o-pus in-tu-ens na-tu-ram ex-u-ens a-ba-cuc ex-pa-vit.
sic hau-sit me-di-o fon-tis in gre-mi-o ca-ri-tas ca-mi-num.

W'

so-lem iu-sti-ti-e. hic sol ec-cle-si-e te-ne-bras pur-ga-vit.
hoc o-pus in-tu-ens na-tu-ram ex-u-ens a-ba-cuc ex-pa-vit.
sic hau-sit me-di-o fon-tis in gre-mi-o ca-ri-tas ca-mi-num.

G

so-lem iu-sti-ti-e. hic sol ec-cle-si-e te-ne-bras pur-ga-vit.
hoc o-pus in-tu-ens na-tu-ram ex-u-ens a-ba-cuc ex-pa-vit.
sic hau-sit me-di-o fon-tis in gre-mi-o ca-ri-tas ca-mi-num.

QUID TU VIDES IEREMIA – *F*, *W1*, and *Harley 5393* versions

Conductus (D4/287)

F, f. 234v (6,39): Strophe I; *OxRawl*, f. 242v (13v) (no. 34): Strophes II-A, II-B

I	Quid tu vides, Ieremia? “Virgam vigilantem.” Et quid tu, O Zacharia? “Aquilam volentem.”		What do you see, Jeremiah? “A rod, keeping watch.” And what see you, O Zachariah? “An eagle, on the wing.”

Iohannes instruens fert legis oculum. Errores destruens, textit funiculum. Hic est discipulus. Hic vigil oculus aquile notavit solem iustitie. Hic sol ecclesie tenebras purgavit.	5 10	John the teacher withstands the sight of the law. Demolishing errors, he braids the cord. This is the disciple. This watchful eagle’s eye beheld the sun of justice. This sun has dispelled the shadows of the church.

[For explanations concerning the inclusion, ordering, and labeling of the following stanzas, see the notes on the text.]

II-A [Quid tu vides, dator legis? “Rubum inflammatum.” Quo signatur novi regis claustrum illibatum. Igne qui canduit rubus non uritur. Virgo que genuit deum non leditur. Sol, sub velamine carnis, in virgine verus latitavit. Hoc opus intuens, naturam exuens, Abacuc expavit.	15 20 25	What do you see, giver of the law? “A bush in flames.” What this signifies is the new king’s untrammelled resting place. The bush is not consumed by the fire that blazed forth. The virgin who bore God is inviolate. The true sun, under a veil of flesh, lay hidden within a virgin. Gazing upon this action, a rejection of nature, Habakkuk was terrified.

II-B Haurit solem, cum senescit etas aquilarum; hausto sole, reflorescit ad fontes aquarum. Omnes operuit nox primi criminis, donec resplenduit rex magni nominis: sol iustis oriens, fons vite saliens. Huic expandit sinum,	30 35	When an eagle reaches old age, it drinks in the sun and is restored by the springs of water. The night of original sin engulfed everyone, until the king of great name shone forth: a sun rising for the just, a leaping fountain of life. For this one He opened up his breast,

sic hausit medio
fontis in gremio
caritas caminum.]

40 and thus Charity drank fire
from the fountain in the
midst of his bosom.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 39, f. 234v: a3; Strophe I only, with a capital beginning line 5 (indicated above by added space). There is room for more text after the music in the last system of this piece, but this is occupied by empty staff lines, suggesting that additional strophes were not initially planned for inclusion. *Quid tu vides* is the last piece in *F*-6 to provide any space whatsoever for extra strophes. The music in *F* is pitched on *g*, a tone higher than the transmission of *W1* (on *f*), but 4 steps lower than the version in *GB-Lbl Harley 5393* and 5 higher than *W2* (both on *c*, but in different octaves – see the description of *Harley 5393*, below). Three of these versions are supplied here for comparison. The music of the D and Tr in *F* differs noticeably from other musical sources. For further details on this appearance in *F*, see the notes on the text, below.

W1, fasc. 8, no. 11, f. 79r (72r): a3; Strophes I, II-B only (as in *Harley 5393*); with II-B entered at the top and right edges of f. 80r (73r), directly after the first system of the following conductus, Philip the Chancellor's *rondellus Luto carens et latere* (F1,M6/200), here in its unique transmission a3. The added stanza appears in a different hand and ink than that of the main setting, as is the case for the previous two works in this source, as well as the two following.¹ *Quid tu vides* in *W1* has an additional painted initial in the left margin to begin line 9. The music is pitched throughout on *f*, with consistent *b-flat* signatures throughout all parts (see the above description of the piece in MS *F* for the various transpositions among the sources). The *W1* version of this piece is included here for comparison.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 8, f. 42r: a3; Strophe I only, with no space for additional stanzas, and with capital letters beginning both lines 5 (as in *F*) and 9 (as in *W1*); the piece is pitched on *c*, apparently an octave below the version in *Harley 5393* (see the description of the piece in *F* for the other transpositions). This work follows three rather sloppily presented conductus, *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369), and *Quis tibi Christe meritas* (F33/290), about which see the source report on *W2* for *Veri floris*. There are apparently no analogous errors in the transmission of *Quid tu vides* in *W2*.

Harley 5393 (*GB-Lbl Harley 5393*), f. 80v: a3; Strophes I, II-B only (as in *W1*), with II-B aligned beneath the text of I in the score. According to the description given in DIAMM,² this sole bit of music in this source appears on the final folio of the first fascicle of the present MS. This fascicle originally existed separately from the other booklet it is bound with today. The free-hand appearance of the systems' staves suggest that this piece is a later, *ad hoc* addition to the leaf. Vertical lines, also freely drawn and extending through the entire system and into the words of the underlaid first strophe below, aid in clarifying the intended alignment of words or small word groups with segments of the music. The music is pitched on *c* in this source, and, assuming that the *g* clefs used throughout represent the pitch above the regular *c* clef, this would conceptually place it an octave higher than the redaction of *W2*; see the description of the piece in MS *F* for the various transpositions in the sources. The version in *Harley 5393* is included among the transcriptions here for comparison.

Text only:

¹These are *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148) and *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) before, *Luto carens et latere* (as mentioned above) and *Purgator criminum* (F2/277) after.

²See <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/432/#/>, which provides images.

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 34, f. 242v (13v): text only of I, II-A, II-B, complete and in that order, with the subsequent stanzas headed by marginal pilcrows; rubric: “De prophetatione nativitatis ihesu christi” (“On the prophecy of the birth of Jesus Christ”). This is the only source to transmit Strophe II-A, which has been reckoned as an alternative to Strophe II-B (for more information, see the notes on the text, below).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Placement in F: *Quid tu vides Ieremia* is the last in *F* of a series of four conductus (all but one strophic, with the outlier surviving uniquely as a single stanza) arranged after the strophic motet *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14) and the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) that follows it. All the conductus, as well as *Crucifigat*, feature a relatively prominent use of musical repetition.³ This series is then succeeded by the unique presentation of *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5) as a motet a4, after which follows the lai-like conductus *O Maria virginis* (E14/239), attributed to Philip the Chancellor in two medieval sources. **Strophic disposition:** Janet Knapp, in her detailed study of *Quid tu vides*,⁴ notes the seeming incongruity between the two additional stanzas associated with this poem. As an explanation, she regards the strophe designated here as II-A as an alternative to what is here labeled Strophe II-B,⁵ proposing that there are actually two different redactions of the poem at hand (more details on these claims are given in the discussion of the individual strophes, below). Hence – assuming that Knapp’s hypothesis is true and not an imposition of more modern concepts of coherence – a conceptually “complete” performance of this conductus could deploy either Strophe II-A or II-B after Stanza I. Strophe II-A, though, survives uniquely in *OxRawl*, where both I and II-B are also present. Here II-A is placed at the specific point in my translation and transcription to mirror its location in the only source to contain it, even though II-B might have some claim to precedence by way of its appearance in two of the other extant MSS (*W1* and *Harley 5393*). Thus, performances exercising an option to include all three extant stanzas might place Strophe II-A in the order in which it stands in *OxRawl*, or may postpone its delivery until after Strophe II-B. **Textual notes: 1-2:** from Jeremiah, 1:11-12.⁶ Ethel Thurston (*Conductus Collections*, 1:21)⁷ observes that the apparently nonsensical meaning of a “watching rod” here in the conductus lyric is clarified when one turns to the Hebrew text of the Bible, where the word that describes the rod (*shaged* – “almond”) in verse 11 is similar to the word (*shoged* – “watching”) in verse 12: i.e., essentially a pun is in force here. As a result, Thurston describes the Vulgate text as a mistranslation, and her rendering (in *Conductus Collections*, 2:29) as well as Anderson’s (*NDRC*, 1:xxxvii) qualify the Latin of the conductus text variously as “almond rod” (Thurston) or “watching almond rod”

³The four conductus with such repetition at this point in *F*-6 are: *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), *Legis in volumine* (F13/193, the unique, single-stanza poem), and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287).

⁴Janet Knapp, “*Quid tu vides, Ieremia?: Two Conductus in One*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 16 (1963): 212-220

⁵In Anderson’s edition (*NDRC*, 1:xxxviii), II-B and II-A follow Strophe I in that order, and are labeled as II and IIa, respectively. On the *CPI* website, what is designated here as II-B is labeled merely as “A,” and is again placed last in the series of three stanzas, with the others designated 1 and 2.

⁶Jeremiah, 1:11-12: “et factum est verbum Domini ad me, dicens: ‘Quid tu vides Hieremia?’ Et dixi: ‘virgam vigilantem ego video.’ Et dixit Dominus ad me: ‘bene vidisti: quia vigilabo ego super verbo meo ut faciam illud’ ” (“And the word of the Lord came to me, saying: ‘What do you see, Jeremiah?’ And I said: ‘I see a rod watching.’ And the Lord said to me: ‘You have seen well: for I will watch over my word to perform it.’ ”).

⁷Ethel Thurston, ed., *The Conductus Collections of the MS Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, nos. 11-13 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1980).

(Anderson). See also the remarks for lines 3-4, where, again, the presence of two like-sounding words seems to touch on the interpretation of the text. Alternatively, the “watching rod” passage can make very good sense if one presumes the recollection of another famous biblical staff. In Numbers, 17:1-8, during the rebellion against Moses by Korah (who disputed the naming of the tribe of Levi as the priesthood), the Lord commands Moses to collect a rod or staff from each of the leaders of the twelve tribes of Israel, to write the leader’s name on each of them, and to deposit them overnight in the tabernacle before the Ark of the Covenant. He stipulates that the rod of the tribe that God chooses for the priesthood will flower. As the Douai-Rheims translation of the Vulgate then describes: “He [Moses] returned on the following day, and found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds” (Numbers, 17:8; see the previous use of this same image with *Ysayas cecinit* [C4/188], line 5, located two pieces prior in F-6, and nearby *Quid tu vides* in *OxRawl*). Hence, Aaron’s rod bore almonds – both flowers and fruit – after figuratively standing watch in front of the Ark overnight. Aaron’s rod, shoot, or branch is widely cited as a symbol for the Virgin Mary (via Isaiah, 11:1),⁸ while the flowers and – one may presume – the almonds represent Christ (again, see *Ysayas cecinit*, lines 3-5). Anderson’s own comment on this line (*NDRC*, 1:xxxvii, note 2), which cites Jerome’s *In Ieremiam* from *PL*, 24, col. 685, seems to touch on the passage from Numbers, although Anderson does not specifically claim this, and I have not been able to locate the item from his citation. **3-4:** cf. Zachariah, 5:1-2, which does not replicate the image in the conductus.⁹ As reported by Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxxvii, note 3), Jerome’s *Commentarium in Zachariam* (drawn from *PL*, 25, col. 1447), gives the translated reading of the Greek Septuagint text of this passage as “vidi falcem volantem” (“I saw a flying sickle”), which, due to its close identity with “falconem” (“falcon”), may have prompted the conductus poet to turn the image into that of a flying eagle, and thence move on to the associated figure of John the Apostle and Evangelist beginning in line 5. Thurston (*Conductus Collections*, 1:21) observes that the older Latin versions of the Bible that precede Jerome’s Vulgate – the so-called *Vetus Latina*, known also as the *versio antiqua*, as well as by other names – transmits this Septuagint reading. Even though the older Latin biblical texts were largely superceded by the Vulgate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their readings still remained in patristic biblical commentaries (such as the example by Jerome given just above) and in some of the language of the liturgy. Note also the possible instance of wordplay mixed with mistranslation here that also occurs above in lines 1-2 and the biblical references cited there. **5-12:** much of the rest of this stanza (I) now turns to the apostle and evangelist John. His dual role seems indicated by the combined content of line 5 – where the emphasis on him as an “instructor” seems to point to his evangelical writings – and line 9, which highlights his identity as Jesus’s apostle though its evocation of John, 21:24.¹⁰ Much of the language in the lyric at this point reflects John’s habitual symbolic affiliation with the eagle, prompted by the association of the evangelists with the vision of the faces of the four creatures in Ezechiel, 1:10¹¹ and the closely similar language of Revelation, 4:7 (the latter of which is another biblical book customarily connected with John). The eagle, moreover, was

⁸Isaiah, 11:1: “et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet” (“And a shoot shall come forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.”).

⁹Zachariah, 5:1-2: “Et conversus sum et levavi oculos meos: et vidi, et ecce volumen volans. Et dixit ad me: ‘Quid tu vides?’ Et dixi: ‘ego video volumen volans: longitudo eius viginti cubitorum et latitudo eius decem cubitorum’ ” (“And I turned and lifted up my eyes: and I saw, and behold a volume flying. And he [the angel] said to me: ‘What do you see?’ And I said: ‘I see a volume flying: the length thereof is twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof ten cubits.’ ”).

¹⁰John, 21:24: “Hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de his, et scripsit haec; et scimus quia verum est testimonium eius” (“This is that disciple who gives forth testimony of these things, and has written these things; and we know that his testimony is true.”).

¹¹Ezechiel, 1:10 “Similitudo autem vultus eorum, facies hominis et facies leonis a dextris ipsorum quatuor, facies autem bovis a sinistris ipsorum quatuor, et facies aquilae desuper ipsorum quatuor” (“And as for the likeness of their [the four living creatures] faces: there was the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side of all the four: and the face of an ox, on the left side of all the four: and the face of an eagle over all the four.”).

considered able to look straight into the sun (itself a common symbol of God and the substance of the figure of the “suns” that appear in lines 12, 13, 29, and 37 of the conductus) without suffering blindness (see Knapp, “*Quid tu vides*,” 214, and note 10, who cites the *Speculum ecclesie* of Honorius of Autun in the explanation of this passage, although it also appears in ancient sources such as Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis*, 10,3-6). This connection of John with the eagle is also the force behind line 6, where John’s aquiline abilities allow him to withstand the “sight” – *oculus*, literally “eye” – of the law, that is the direct vision of God’s radiance. **7-8:** the image of the woven cord that appears here is not easily construed. Anderson’s suggestion (*NDRC*, 1:xxxvii, note 5) that it may refer to the whip made of cords that Jesus used to drive the moneylenders from the temple (John, 2:15), seems reasonable in view of its significance there as an instrument of correction and punishment. It is also conceivable that the subject of these two lines could be Christ, which would more closely connect the conductus poem to the proposed scriptural passage. This conjecture is weakened, though, by the indisputable invocation of John immediately thereafter in line 9, as such a quick turnover of subjects in such a manner seems unlikely. **9:** from John, 21:24; see the notes to lines 5-12. **12:** see Malachi, 4:2.¹² The phrase “sol iustitie” also occurs in the text for the responsory *Solem iusticie. Cernere divinum* (O19), a chant set as an organum a2 (in *F*-3,19, f. 77r) and as a fragmentary organum segment a3 now preserved in Basel;¹³ it also produced five clausulae a2 and four double motets, all of which are extant in *Mo*. Liturgically, O19 served as the eighth Matins responsory at Notre Dame for the Nativity of the Virgin, 8 Sept. (see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 257, note 73).¹⁴ **13-14:** among the many references to Christ as the sun that dispelled darkness, see, e.g., John, 1:5, in reference to the Word;¹⁵ and also John, 12:46.¹⁶ **15-28:** this strophe (II-A) continues the focus on Christ from the end of Strophe I, and principally offers frequently encountered typologies and allegories given over to Jesus’s birth by the Virgin Mary. The first, in line 16, coming directly from the mouth of Moses the lawgiver himself, recalls the dialogical opening of Strophe I and invokes the burning bush that appeared to him on Mt. Sinai (see Exodus, 3:2-3; Acts, 7:30); its significance as a symbol of the virgin, whose chastity was uncompromised by giving birth to Christ, is explained subsequently in lines 17-22. The second image, in lines 26-27, is the oft-encountered trope that the circumstances surrounding Christ’s birth upended natural law in an irrational manner that only faith can hope to comprehend; see the textual notes to the conductus *O felix Bituria* (E8/232), lines 23-24, for some further examples of this conceit. Finally, the less frequently met figure of the prophet Habacuc in line 28, whose reaction to his visions of the Lord caused him trepidation, is presented by Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxxviii, note 3) as an exegetical commonplace; see Habacuc, 3:2: “Domine audivi auditionem tuam et timui” (“O Lord, I have heard your hearing, and was afraid”). **29-38:** the fact that Strophe II-B departs radically from the material in II-A and again picks up the discussion of eagle imagery from earlier in Strophe I, caused Knapp to consider II-A as an alternative to II-B, not a companion to it (Knapp, “*Quid tu vides*,” 215-217). Her discussion of lines 29-32, moreover, demonstrates the clear reliance of this part of the poem on the behavior of eagles as related by medieval bestiaries (see Knapp, “*Quid tu vides*,” 215-216). In such narratives, the eagle restores its youthfulness by first hovering close to the sun over a living spring, or

¹²Malachi, 4:2: “Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum, sol iustitiae, et sanitas in pinnis eius: et egrediemini, et salietis sicut vituli de armento” (“But for you that fear my name, the Sun of justice shall arise, and health in his wings: and you shall go forth, and shall leap like calves of the herd.”).

¹³See Wulf Arlt and Max Haas, “Pariser modale Mehrstimmigkeit in einem Fragment der Basler Universitätsbibliothek,” *Forum Musicologicum: Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte*, 1: 223-272.

¹⁴Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500-1550* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁵John 1:5: “Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt” (“And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend [or ‘overcome’] it”).

¹⁶John, 12:46: “Ego lux in mundum veni; ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat” (“I have come as a light into the world; that anyone who believes in me, may not remain in darkness.”).

similar water source. The exposure to sunlight renews its eyesight and sets its wings on fire, and it then douses itself in its chosen spring three times to complete its rejuvenation. The eagle figure in the poem at this point may represent sinners undergoing baptism (which Knapp supports with the bestiaries – “*Quid tu vides*,” 216, in the continuation of n. 13), but it has additional significance in some bestiaries as a symbol of the Lord, possibly due to the way the eagle can restore itself, as can the phoenix, another common symbol for Christ and his resurrection.¹⁷ Also concerning this aspect of the eagle, see Psalm 102:5.¹⁸ **33-38:** this subsequent part of the stanza returns to the sun and light imagery that closed Strophe I, as Christ, the “king of great name” (see the conductus *Beata viscera* [K14/42], line 4), again outshines the darkness of original sin (“*nox primi criminis*”) through his solar brightness and his cleansing association with running water (see, for this, the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* [C6/304], lines 10-12). **38:** for the specific expression of Christ’s connection with leaping water, see John, 4:14.¹⁹ **39-42:** this concluding image is one of great power and wide-ranging significance. It also serves to re-introduce allusions to John the Apostle and Evangelist that have not appeared since the opening four lines of Strophe II-B. Although John is not named directly in this passage, he is merged with the figure of Charity (Love) that arises at the end of the poem. Such an association is fitting, given John the Apostle’s frequent connections to love and charity. Perhaps significantly, the first of the Johannine epistles (1 John) features more instances of the word *caritas* (14) than any of the other books of the bible (1 Corinthians is next in line with 11). The figure of God feeding a personified Charity from a fountain of fire emanating from his chest seems to have no direct scriptural parallel, but it does correlate to a scene in the gospel of John where the “beloved disciple” (typically associated with John the Apostle), reclines his head upon Christ’s breast during the Last Supper. The passage appears in John, 13:23-25, just after the apostles’ general reaction to Jesus foretelling his betrayal.²⁰ Similar expressions appear in John, 21:20, 19:26-27, 20:2, and 21:7. This motif is further explored and additionally supplied with the figure of John drinking from Christ’s breast in the Matins antiphon *Supra pectus domini*, the Matins responsory *Valde honoratus*, and the Mass sequence *Gratulemur ad festum*, all for the celebration of John’s principal feast on 27 December.²¹ The subsequent stanzaic pair of the sequence, moreover, begins with a nod to John’s inherent attribute towards love and charity

¹⁷ See, for example, the *Aberdeen Bestiary* (*Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen Library, MS 24*), f. 62r: “*aliquando vero vel subtilissime sanctorum intelligentie vel incarnatus dominus ima celeriter transvolans et mox summa repetens designatur*” (“Sometimes, in contrast, it [the eagle] signifies either the acute understanding of the saints, or the Lord incarnate flying swiftly over the depths, then seeking once more the heights”). The translation is taken from the University’s online resources for this MS; see <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/f62r>

¹⁸ Psalm 102:5: “*Qui replet in bonis desiderium tuum: renovabitur ut aquilae iuventus tua*” (“[It is the Lord] who satisfies your desire with good things: your youth shall be renewed like the eagle’s.”).

¹⁹ John, 4:14: “*sed aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam*.” (“But the water that I [Jesus] will give him [one who thirsts], shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into life everlasting”).

²⁰ John, 13:23-25: “*Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis ejus in sinu Jesu, quem diligebat Jesus. Innuat ergo huic Simon Petrus, et dixit ei: Quis est, de quo dicit? Itaque cum recubisset ille supra pectus Jesu, dicit ei: Domine, quis est?*” (“Now there was leaning on Jesus’s bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, and said to him: ‘Who is it of whom he speaks.’ He therefore, leaning on the breast of Jesus, said to him: Lord, who is it?”)

²¹ I am most grateful to Catherine Saucier for pointing out these liturgical connections to me. Her citation of the Matins antiphon and responsory draws from *F-Pn lat. 10482*, f. 185v. They also appear, among other places, in *F-Pn 15181*, f. CCCLXXXIIIr-v (395r-v): “*Supra pectus domini Ihesu recumbens, evangelii fluentia de ipso sacro dominici pectoris fonte potavit*” (“Reclining on the breast of the Lord Jesus, he drank the streams of the gospel from the sacred fount itself of the Lord’s breast”). Both of these noted breviaries follow the use of Paris. The text of the Johannine sequence *Gratulemur ad festum* comes from versicle IIa as presented in the noted Parisian missal *F-Pn 1112*, f. 275r: “*Hic est Christi predilectus cui reclinans supra pectus hausit sapientiam*” (“This is the one especially dear to Christ, from whom, reclining on his breast, he drank wisdom”).

(conveyed, interestingly, through a fiery image).²² See also the expressions in the motet *Manere vivere / Manere* (vdW 70/M5), probably by Philip the Chancellor, lines 39-43, which adopts the persona of Christ speaking directly about John.²³ In addition, the figure of Christ feeding John-as-Charity from his breast suggests another nod towards the medieval bestiaries in their descriptions of the pelican (cf. the notes to lines 29-38). The pelican was customarily reckoned as a symbol of Christ, since it was thought to pierce its own breast or side with its beak, either to feed or revive its chicks from its own blood. In the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, this restorative blood is furthermore described as being hot or fiery (“calidum”). Bartholomaeus notes (by referring to passages from the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Psalms and to Aristotle) that the pelican demonstrates exceptional, even excessive, love for its young, in that, should the young die from the actions of their parents (apparently a regular occurrence, and initially caused by the growing chicks striking their parents in the face, whereby the parents kill them), after three days the mother will open a wound in her side or breast to pour forth her own hot/fiery blood over the dead bodies of her chicks, which are revived by the action.²⁴ Also apropos, in view of the latent gender inversion in the “feeding” of Charity with fire by Christ from his breast, the topos of the maternal Jesus – notably in images associated with breastfeeding – has been explored in detail by Caroline Walker Bynum in *Jesus as Mother*.²⁵ In this study, on pp. 132-133, Bynum relates how medieval writers considered breast milk to be “processed blood,” and that the symbolic figure of the pelican feeding its brood with its own blood stands in direct correlation to that of a mother suckling her children. Similarly, in another type of inversion with respect to the image in the conductus poem, one of the standard ways of depicting Charity is as a woman breastfeeding one or more children (possibly initially derived from widespread images of the Madonna feeding the Christ child). In the conductus lyric, however, it is Charity being refreshed from the breast of Christ. Even though this particular type of visual representation of Charity seems not especially widespread until the fourteenth century,²⁶ the exemplum eventually known as *Romana Caritas*, in which a woman named Pero selflessly breastfeeds her imprisoned, starving father Cimon, goes back to the *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri IX* (book 5.4.7) of the Roman historian Valerius Maximus, while a closely related version featuring an imprisoned mother and her daughter appears in Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis* (7,121). **39,1:** “huic” is monosyllabic here, as dictated by the poetic scheme and musical setting. **39,2:** “expandit” may either be either present or perfect tense.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: variants are here listed from *F*, *W1*, and *Harley 5393*, since each of their redactions is included here. **1,4;5,1:** *F*: interestingly and unusually, both of the names in these lines are capitalized (although “Zacharia” at 3,5 is not); the shapes of the capital letters show a typical form closer to “J” than “I.” **3,2-3:** *W1*, *Harley 5393*: tu quid (words exchanged), this order is adopted in the transcriptions of both

²²From versicle IIIa of *Gratulemur ad festivum*, *F-Pn 1112*, f. 275r: “Intus ardens caritate / foris lucens puritate / signis et eloquio” (“Burning within with charity, / shining with purity on the outside, / with portents and eloquence ...”).

²³Payne, ed., *Motets and Prosulas*, 114: “Fuit huic cubile / meum pectus. Hic electus / custos matri Marie. / Hora cene hausit plene / fontem gracie” (“My breast was his / resting-place. He was chosen as / guardian for my mother Mary. / At the time of the meal he drank / fully from the spring of grace.”). Catherine Saucier has a forthcoming study on this motet and its intersections with John’s liturgy.

²⁴“Pellicanus, inquit, est nimis amator filiorum suorum. Cum enim gignit natos et incipiunt crescere parentes suos in faciem percutiunt. Propter quod ipsos mater repecutit et occidit. Tercio vero die mater se in costa usque ad effusionem sanguinis percutit, et calidum sanguinem super corpora filiorum mortuorum post effundit. Et cuius virtute pullus prius mortuus reviviscit.” This text has been taken from the 1492 Nuremberg edition of the *De proprietatibus* by Anthonius Koburger, book 12, chap. 29 s.v. “Pellicanus”; see p. 176 at <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p16003coll14/id/3723>.

²⁵See her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 110-169, especially 117-135)

²⁶See, for example, the fourteenth-century marble statue *Carità* by Tino di Camaino.

these versions. **3,4:** *F*: the “o” in “et quid tu o zacharia” has an acute accent marking over it to indicate it is a separate word; . **15,4-5:** *OxRawl*: written as *legis lator* (two separate words); these have been exchanged, as per Anderson (*NDRC*, 1:xxxviii) to mirror the rhyme scheme evident in all other strophes. **37,2:** *W1*: *iustus*; *OxRawl*, *Harley 5393* agree on the form “*iustis*” adopted throughout. **40,1:** *OxRawl*: *et?*; *W1*, *Harley 5393* agree on the form “*sic*” adopted throughout. **MUSIC: General remarks:** Each of the various versions of this piece from *F*, *W1*, and *Harley 5393* has been transcribed, because *F* has different settings for its *D* and *Tr*, and because all present differing transpositions of their music: *F* on *g*, *W1* on *f*, and *Harley 5393* on high *c*. ***F* version:** This redaction is rather more dissonant than is typical for the repertory; most of these readings have been left as is, see the specific remarks below. ***W1* version:** In several places in this setting, there are occasional elongated notes or pairs of pitches for a single syllable, apparently to indicate the relative duration of syllable length in performance; these are apprehensible from the transcription. Within the *Tr* in each of the opening three text lines, *W1* has a few extraneous figures whose presence is difficult to explain; see the specific remarks below. ***Harley 5393* version:** note the non-transposing clefs in the transcription. As indicated above, this redaction is located on *c*, and assuming that the *g* clefs that appear throughout each of the three parts specifically designate the pitch above a normal *c* clef, this conceptually places *Harley 5393* an octave higher than the redaction of *W2*, also on *c*; this is how it is presented in the transcription. The full-system barlines in the score mirror those in the MS. Plica-like tails on most descending 2li figures, and tailed or un-tailed si shapes (*punctum* or *virga*) are usually not described or indicated as such. Bracketed strokes denote line or phrase endings taken from other sources. Although the version in *Harley 5393* is very close in many particulars to *W1*, a few rare differences (for example, at lines 9,3 and 12,1-2) sometimes demonstrate better consonance than the readings of *W1*. *W2*, although similar to both *W1* and *Harley 5393*, is somewhat less exact in its correspondence to the other redactions. **Observations on the music: Lines 1,3:** *Tr*: *W1*: on the first syllable of “*vides*,” an extraneous prior si=either *f* or *e*; adopted reading clarified by *W2*, *Harley 5393*, and the repetition in *W1*, line 3. **1,4:** *D*: *Harley 5393*: *f, d, e, e* (3 too high) for “*ieremia*”; from *W1*, *W2*, and the repetition of its own line 3. **2,2:** *Tr*: *W1*: on the first syllable of “*vigilantem*,” an extraneous prior si=*g*; reading clarified by *W2*, *Harley 5393*; on the third and fourth syllables, an extraneous simultaneous 2li?, si=*e?g, g*, aligned above the notes for these syllables; reading clarified by *W2*, *Harley 5393*. **4,3:** *Tr*: *Harley 5393*: the figure over the second syllable of “*volantem*” indicated above the staff in the transcription is an apparently “plicated” ornamental neume, similar in shape to a *quilisma* in modern chant books; although it is not written here as part of a compound neume, but as a siP. **5,1;7,1:** *Tr*: *F*: the dissonances here over the first syllables in each of these lines are unusual, but since the same *Tr* phrase is repeated over the same *T* melody (though with a differing *D*) in both instances, the reading has been left to stand. **7,1-2:** *D*: *Harley 5393*: for “[*erro*]res destruens”: *f, f, e, fg* (3 or 4 too high; corrected after *W1*, *W2*. **8,3:** *D*: *Harley 5393*: extra si=*c* on last syllable of “[*funicu*]lum” to show length; om here in order to mirror *T*, *Tr*. **9,3:** *Tr*: *W1*: on the first syllable of “*discipulus*”: *e*; adopted reading from *W2*, *Harley 5393*. **11,2:** *T*: *W1*: compared to *F*, over the second syllable of “[*no*]ta[*vit*],” *W1* has the transposed equivalent of si=*f*; *W2*, *Harley 5393* have the transposed equivalent of si=*e*, as in 1 of 2li=*ec* in *F*; the *F* reading has been left to stand, despite the dissonance with its *Tr* here; *D*: *Harley 5393*: an extraneous si=*f* follows the *a* over the first syllable of “[*no*]ta[*vit*]”; this is om here, but it could be ornamental following the more elaborate example of *W1*; *W2*’s pitches are different here and seem erroneous. **12,2:** *Tr*: *W1*: on the first syllable of “*iustitie*”: *e*; from *W2*, *Harley 5393*.

SERENA VIRGINUM / MANERE

Motet a4, Conductus a3 (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5 — John the Apostle and Evangelist, 27 December)

F, f. 235r (6,40)

Q [Se - re - na vir - gi - num lux lu - mi - num ple - na.

Tr [Se - re - na vir - gi - num lux lu - mi - num ple - na.

Mot Se - re - na vir - gi - num lux lu - mi - num ple - na.

T Ma - ne - re.

15 tem - plum tri - ni - ta - tis. pu - ri - ta - tis spe - ci - a - lis tha - la - mus.

20 tem - plum tri - ni - ta - tis. pu - ri - ta - tis spe - ci - a - lis tha - la - mus.

25 ar - cha no - ve le - gis thro - nus no - vi re - gis. vel - lus quod ri - ga - vit

30 ar - cha no - ve le - gis thro - nus no - vi re - gis. vel - lus quod ri - ga - vit

35 ar - cha no - ve le - gis thro - nus no - vi re - gis. vel - lus quod ri - ga - vit

b.

40 45

qui no-strum por-ta - vit sac-cum no-stram car-nem ve-sti - ens.

qui no-strum por-ta - vit sac-cum no-stram car-nem ve-sti - ens.

qui no-strum por-ta - vit sac-cum no-stram car-nem ve-sti - ens.

[basso continuo line]

| T: repetition of the bracketed Tenor text here and elsewhere in this piece is optional

50 55 60

Ne - sci - ens vi - rum de - um pa - ris o ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a

Ne - sci - ens vi - rum de - um pa - ris o ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a

Ne - sci - ens vi - rum de - um pa - ris o ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a

II a. [ma - ne - re.]

65 70

stel - la ma - ris sin - gu - la - ris stel - la cu - ius ra - di - us nu - bem pres - sit quam im - pres - sit

stel - la ma - ris sin - gu - la - ris stel - la cu - ius ra - di - us nu - bem pres - sit quam im - pres - sit

stel - la ma - ris sin - gu - la - ris stel - la cu - ius ra - di - us nu - bem pres - sit quam im - pres - sit

b. [basso continuo line]

75 80

e - ve cul - pa pri - us. i - stud nul - la ca - ri - tas me - ru - it aut

e - ve cul - pa pri - us. i - stud nul - la ca - ri - tas me - ru - it aut

e - ve cul - pa pri - us. i - stud nul - la ca - ri - tas me - ru - it aut

b

85 90 95

ca - sti - tas sed sim - plex hu - mi - li - tas an - cil - le.

ca - sti - tas sed sim - plex hu - mi - li - tas an - cil - le.

ca - sti - tas sed sim - plex hu - mi - li - tas an - cil - le.

b

100 105

O ma - mil - le qua - rum ve - ne flu - unt ple - ne mun - do lac et

O ma - mil - le qua - rum ve - ne flu - unt ple - ne mun - do lac et

O ma - mil - le qua - rum ve - ne flu - unt ple - ne mun - do lac et

III a. a.

[ma - ne - re.]

mun - do pi - um. ec - ce pi - e flos ma - ri - e vir - gi - nis.

mun - do pi - um. ec - ce pi - e flos ma - ri - e vir - gi - nis.

mun - do pi - um. ec - ce pi - e flos ma - ri - e vir - gi - nis.

b

145 150 155

Se - mi - nis a - bra - he stirps in - cli - ta bal - sa - mus mel -

Se - mi - nis a - bra - he stirps in - cli - ta bal - sa - mus mel -

Se - mi - nis a - bra - he stirps in - cli - ta bal - sa - mus mel -

IV a. [ma - ne - re.]

160 165

- li - ta ca - la - mus con - di - ta nar - dus mir - ra tri - ta. o pi - a. tra - hunt

- li - ta ca - la - mus con - di - ta nar - dus mir - ra tri - ta. o pi - a. tra - hunt

- li - ta ca - la - mus con - di - ta nar - dus mir - ra tri - ta. o pi - a. tra - hunt

b.

170 175 180

nos ad va - ri - a la - que - i pre - do - nis tor - rens ba - bi - lo - nis.

nos ad va - ri - a la - que - i pre - do - nis tor - rens ba - bi - lo - nis.

nos ad va - ri - a la - que - i pre - do - nis tor - rens ba - bi - lo - nis.

[b]

185 190

da - li - da san - so - nis. ho - stem mun - dum vas in - mun - dum bel - li - ca pa - ci - fi -

195 200

-ca. spes re - o - rum lux ce - lo - rum vir - go re - gi - a. o ma - ri - a

205 210 215

ce - cis vi - a no - stra tim - pha - ni - stri - a in hoc sa - lo nos a ma - lo

230

235

239

plau - su le - ti tri - no be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

plau - su le - ti tri - no be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

plau - su le - ti tri - no be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.

*see the alternative readings that follow

*Final phrases of the two motet redactions in *LoA*, closing on *a-e*

a. LoA-1, f. 76v (untexted, T written 5 lower and placed above Mot)

Tr
8
[be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

Mot
8
[be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

T
[be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

b. LoA-2, f. 93v

Tr
[be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

Mot
be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.

T
[be - ne - di - ca - mus do - mi - no.]

SERENA VIRGINUM / MANERE

Motet a4 or a3, Conductus a3 (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5)¹*F*, f. 235r (6,40)

Mot Serena

virginum lux, luminum plena,
 templum trinitatis,
 puritatis specialis
 thalamus,
 5 archa nove legis,
 thronus novi regis,
 vellus quod rigavit,
 qui nostrum portavit
 saccum, nostram carnem
 10 vestiens.

Nesciens
 virum, deum paris.
 O Maria, mater pia,
 stella maris singularis,
 15 stella cuius radius
 nubem pressit quam impressit
 Eve culpa prius.
 Istud nulla caritas
 meruit aut castitas,
 20 sed simplex humilitas
 ancille.

O mamille,
 quarum vene fluunt plene
 mundo lac et mella.
 Gens misella, tollite
 25 vas fellitum; vas mellitum
 bibite.
 Ecce lac infantium.
 Ecce manna mundo pium.
 Ecce pie flos Marie
 virginis.

Seminis
 Abrahe stirps inclita,
 balsamus mellita,
 35 calamus condita,
 nardus, mirra trita;
 O pia,
 trahunt nos ad varia

Tranquil

light of virgins, full of splendor,
 sanctuary of the Trinity,
 bridal chamber of singular
 5 purity,
 ark of the new law,
 throne of the new king,
 moistened fleece
 that clothed in our flesh
 10 the one who shouldered our
 burden.

Innocent of
 men, you bore God.
 O Mary, blessed mother,
 15 peerless star of the sea;
 the star whose beam overwhelmed
 the cloud that Eve's sin
 had previously imprinted.
 No charity or chastity
 20 was worthy of this,
 only the sincere humility
 of the handmaiden.

O breasts,
 whose full vessels pour forth
 25 milk and honey for the world.
 O wretched people, refuse the
 cup of vinegar and drink instead
 from the cup of honey.
 Behold the milk of children.
 30 Behold the world's blessed manna.
 Behold the flower of the holy virgin
 Mary.

Celebrated progeny
 of Abraham's seed,
 35 honey-sweetened balm,
 savory calamus reed,
 nard oil, crushed myrrh;
 O pious lady,
 the snares of the plunderer,

¹On the content of the catalog references for motets and organum prosulas, especially when these items also occur in the conductus catalogs of Anderson and Falck, see the explanatory note at this same place for *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14) earlier at *F*-6,34.

	laquei predonis, torrens Babilonis, Dalida Sansonis. Hostem, mundum, vas inmundum, bellica, pacifica, spes reorum, lux celorum, virgo regia. O Maria, cecis via, nostra timphanistria, in hoc salo nos a malo salva, stella previa, ut concordis vocis, manus, cordis plausu leti trino, BD <i>benedicamus domino.</i>	40 the waters of Babylon, and Samson's Delilah lure us to capricious acts. O warlike lady, regal virgin, light of the heavens, hope of 45 the accused; pacify the enemy, the world, and the unclean vessel. O Mary, pathway for the blind, our leader of the dance, save us, guiding star, 50 from the evil upon this sea, so that with the threefold acclaim of a joyful and harmonious voice, hand, and heart, we may bless the Lord.
T	Manere	Remain

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 40, f. 235r: a4, with the capital letters beginning lines 12, 23, and 33 prompting the extra spaces in the text above. Along with the similarly disposed strophic motet *Latex silice* / *Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), inscribed six pieces earlier in *F*-6, it and *Serena* are the only motets to appear within the conductus fascicles of *F*. The T is entered completely, separately, and sequentially on f. 237v on six staves which together comprise the remaining space left in the final system of *Serena*, as well as the space remaining at the end of the first system of the following piece in *F*-6, the conductus/lai *O Maria virginei* (E14/239). *F* is the only MS to present *Serena virginum* in its fullest aspect as a monotextual motet a4. Since this piece (like *Latex silice*) presents characteristics relating to the genres of both conductus and motet within the various sources that transmit it, it is widely varied in the way it surfaces within the MSS. Also, its closing *Benedicamus Domino* formulation (opening here with a relatively larger, though non capitalized letter) complicates its conclusion. For details, see the notes and observations below on the music.

W1, fasc. 2, no. 5, f. xiii^r (9r): a3 (Mot, Tr, Q), with capitals as in *F*; transmitted as a conductus a3 in a fascicle also containing organa, and logically ordered (given that *Serena* closes with a *Benedicamus* tag – opening capitalized here) after two BD organa a3; three further conductus, transmitted not too far afield from each other in *F*-6, then follow to conclude the fascicle.²

Ma, fasc. 5, no. 11, f. 119v: a2 (Mot,Tr); entered as a conductus a2; the opening initial and two interior ones at lines 12 and 33 never entered, and with capitals beginning lines 23 and 47; no special signaling of the BD.

LoA, part 1, appendix 2, no. 11, f. 92r: a3 (T,Mot,Tr); entered as a three-part monotextual motet with all parts in score, with capitals as in *F* and also starting lines 38 and 45, but no special treatment of the BD. The T is in ligatures or occasional 3si or 3C groups in the bottom staff of the system (sometimes wildly afiel of the music they are to support), but the lines of text that present the Mot poetry are located below the T staff, rather than underneath the Mot, as might be expected. The opening initial has been cut away, with the text and most of the music over the first two syllables now gone, and leaving a slight gap in the piece on the

²These are *Celum non animum* (E1/56), *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369), and *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195); these are transmitted in F-6 as nos. 20, 30, and 21, respectively.

following leaf, corresponding to the material over lines 15,3 through the first letter of 16,3; collated here when necessary as LoA-1. See below for the additional, textless transmission of this piece earlier on f. 74v.

E-SAu 226, (*Salamanca, Biblioteca General Universitaria, Ms. 226*), no. 5, f. 101r: a2 (T,Mot); incomplete. *Serena virginum* is the fifth and last piece of this small collection of music, inscribed as a motet a2 on ff. 100v-101r at the end of a MS of the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.³ Only one *color* of the T (entered here at its expected pitch mostly in si figures, but closing with an additional and exceptional si,3li=*a,abc*) is written separately – and unusually – before the presentation of the Mot; under each 3-note T ordo the vowel “e” appears, supposedly to indicate continued vocalization of the sustained syllable. There is an apparent epigraph before the first staff of the T: “Rex noster quem audivimus in monte non sum dignus” (“our king, whom we heard on the mountain, I am not worthy”). The Mot is rather curious, as it begins at a pitch level (starting with *b-flat*) that does not concord with the T as entered; and although the Mot retains the general contour of the recognized melody throughout, it is extremely wayward in maintaining intervallic consistency during its course (see the related situation with *LoA-2*, described below); music is entered up through line 21 of the text, after which it breaks off at the end of the leaf and no music is visible on the following folio 101v. Faded, but still legible in places, the top and bottom of each of the two columns that make up the writing block are crammed with additional text that apparently does not concern itself with the music it surrounds; this also seems to pertain to an additional verbal insertion, written in a different cursive hand, placed between the staff and text for lines 9-10,2, as well as a single word or short phrase in the margin after the next staff.

Graz 409 (*Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409; A-Gu 409; A-Gu 409*), no. 35, f. 72v: a1 (Mot?); in unheightened neumes and with frequent capitalization within the text; no attention called to the BD. This piece, filling up the bottom of the leaf, appears to end the collection of 35 conductus and related songs that begins on f. 70v, and which then continues with five more entries starting on f. 273v.⁴

Text only: none.

Music only:

LoA, part 1, appendix 1, no. 5, f. 74v, IV (the last system a3 on the leaf): a3 (T,Mot,Tr); text never entered; all parts in score as a motet a3. The T is curiously transposed down a fifth throughout, but Mot and Tr remain at their usual pitch (cf. the analogous situation with *E-SAu 226*). This transmission shows a textless redaction of what was likely intended to be *Serena virginum*, rather than the less-widely traveled contrafact *Manere vivere*. There is no indication how the text might have been included in this transmission; the vertical spacing of the staves would seem to allow for placement either above or below the lowest staff in the system, which usually presents the T, except for the last system (f. 76v, II), where the T music is unaccountably written above the Mot on the middle staff of the three; cf. the description of the transmission of *Serena* in *LoA-1* above. Collated when necessary here as *LoA-2*.

Clausulae:

The music of *Serena virginum* / *Manere* is extant as a clausula with the following two different T texts:

³For a discussion and images of this source, discovered after the publication of my edition of Philip’s motets, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, “Conductus or Motet? A New Source and a Question of Genre,” *Musica Disciplina*, 58 (2013): 9-27.

⁴Images of this source available [here](#).

Manere (Smith nos. 3-6, Ludwig nos. 6-9) from the M5 Gradual *Exiit sermo. Sed sic eum* for the feast of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist (Dec. 27). Although the music for *Serena virginum* is typically cataloged as four separate clausulae as follows, it is possible that they were initially conceived as a single composition:

W1, fasc. 5, clausulae nos. 16-19, f. 50r (44r), V: a2 (TD); with the music in the same order as in the motet: 1,2,3,4.

F, fasc. 5, clausulae nos. 42-45, f. 151r, I: a2 (TD); in this transmission the order of the second and third clausulae are reversed in the music of the motet: 1,3,2,4.

Illi (Smith and Ludwig no. 3) from the M50 Gradual *Ecce sacerdos. Non est inventus* from the Common of a Bishop Confessor. This transmission corresponds only to the first of the four clausulae that make up this motet:

W2, *Magnus liber organi*, fasc. 5, no. 25, f. 83r: a2 (TD).

Contrafact:

Manere vivere / Manere (vdW 70/M5), text possibly by Philip the Chancellor:

W2, fasc. 8, no. 39, f. 165v: a2 (TMot).

SS Muz 9 (PL–SS Muz 9; *Stary Sącz, Convent of Saint Clare, Muz 9; StS1*),⁵ no. 6, f. 2v: a2 (TMot); fragmentary, with the T notated within a circular red outline in the lower left margin (a special attribute of this source).

Notes on the Text: General remarks: The Beauvais Circumcision Office of *LoA*, on ff. 9r-v, almost certainly calls for this piece to be sung as part of the procession before the crucifix that follows First Vespers and precedes Compline. An indicative rubric (“Hic dicitur Serena”) is placed after the BD trope *Parentis primi novum facinus*, and after singing the motet the celebrants would return to the choir of the church and deliver the responsory *Petre amas me. Symon Iohannis* (O15), where the verse was sung in organum. **Attribution:** *Serena virginum* appears in my 2011 edition, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*,⁶ which this accompanying transcription and translation essentially reproduces with slight revisions in content and format; the commentary below and source descriptions above have been expanded. The text of this work may be by Philip the Chancellor, as suggested by Anderson (*Latin Compositions*, 2:viii,⁷ and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 146, and in the notes below). For additional fodder for this claim: its music has a modern attribution to Perotinus (see

⁵For a thorough study of this source and the pieces it contains, see Katarzyna Grochowska, “Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stary Sącz Manuscript [PL-SS Muz 9] and Its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-century Polyphonic Collections,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2013.

⁶Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, no. 41 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2011), see pp. 146-155.

⁷Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt 1099 (1206)*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 24 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972).

Sanders, “Peripheral Polyphony,” 284-285,⁸ and Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style,” 266-268, 454-455),⁹ it is a contrafact of the modern attribution to Philip, *Manere vivere / Manere* (vdW 70/M5), it bears a relationship to a further modern attribution *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14) in that it is a hybrid form that survives as both a conductus and a motet, and it also is one of the six motets transmitted (as conductus, without tenors) in *W1*, thereby suggesting early origin.¹⁰ The style and technique of the text, though, still leave some room for uncertainty in an ascription to Philip. The main obstacle centers upon the fact that the poem consists largely of Marian appellations. A number of the texts of Marian motets whose music modern scholars have also attributed to Perotinus are similarly constructed,¹¹ and the commonplace nature of their language offers little to argue for Philip’s specific authorship. *Serena virginum*, however, is much more evocative in its imagery and complex in its technique. The poet is not content merely to list attributes and beg for mercy, but also seeks to contemplate the significance of the images and offer interpretations of them. Philip himself was not averse to writing poems that included lists of Marian attributes (see, for instance, his conductus/sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* [K75/28] in *F*-10 and his conductus/lai *O Maria virginei* [E14/239], which follows *Serena* in *F*-6). So although the conventional nature of this text gives me pause in claiming it wholeheartedly for Philip’s canon, it is the one I would most likely accept of the Marian group connected with the modern Perotinian attributions. **Textual notes: 6:** Mary, who bore Christ, is comparable to the Ark of the Covenant (see Exodus, 25), which contained the tablets of the Ten Commandments, the symbol of God’s covenant with man in the Old Testament. Mary, in bearing Christ, thus gave birth to the covenant of the New Testament, which superseded the Old Mosaic Law. On Mary as the ark, see the *De laudibus* of Richard of St. Laurent, book 10, chapter 1, especially p. 132 of the cited edition.¹² **8:** for Gideon’s fleece, a common Marian symbol, see Judges, 6:37-38;¹³ Psalm 71:6;¹⁴ the opening lines of Philip’s conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143); and the *De laudibus*, book 12, chapter 5, §VIII, no. 7. **10,1:** this word is here rendered literally (“sack,” “burden”); however, in theological terminology it more specifically signified Christ’s human nature, and this is also intended in the translation. For a definition of this term in Philip’s writings, drawn from Alain de Lille’s *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, see Nickolaus

⁸Ernest H. Sanders, “Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 17 (1964): 261-287.

⁹Rebecca A. Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-voiced Notre Dame Clausulae,” 2 vols in 3, Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974 (vol. 1), 1977 (vol. 2).

¹⁰These six motets transmitted in *W1* are *Qui servare puberem / Domine* (vdW 59/M3), *Deo confitemini / Domino* (vdW 131/M13), *Laudes referat / Quoniam* (vdW 140/M13), *Gaudeat devotio / Nostrum* (vdW 215/M14), *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), and *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5).

¹¹See, for example, *Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare* (vdW 101/M9), *O quam sancta quam benigna / Et gaudebit* (317/M24), and *Radix venie / Latus* (vdW 229/M14).

¹²Richard of St. Laurent, *De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, misattributed to Albertus Magnus and published in *B[eati] Alberti Magni, Ratisboniensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum, opera omnia...* Auguste and Emile Borgnet, ed. (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1898), vol. 36.

¹³Judges, 6:37-38: “ponam hoc vellus lanae in area: si ros in solo vellere fuerit, et in omni terra siccitas, sciam quod per manum meam, sicut locutus es, liberabis Israel. Factumque est ita. Et de nocte consurgens expresso vellere, concham rore implevit” (“I [Gideon] will put this fleece of wool on the floor: if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry on all the ground beside, I, shall know that by my hand, as you [God] have said, you will deliver Israel. And it was so. And rising before day wringing the fleece, he filled a vessel with the dew.”).

¹⁴Psalm 71:6: “Descendet sicut pluvia in vellus, et sicut stillicidia stillantia super terram” (“He [the king] shall come down like rain upon the fleece; and as showers falling gently upon the earth.”).

Wicki, ed., *Summa de Bono*, 2:835,¹⁵ in the note to line 63. **15,1-2:** the star of the sea is one of the most common epithets for Mary, see the *De laudibus*, book 1, chapter 3 (on p. 22 of the cited edition). **16:** the beam of the star (Mary) is Christ; cf., for just one example, the Tr of the double motet *Ex semine rosa prodit / Ex semine Abrahe divino / Ex semine* (vdW 484/483/M38; both texts possibly by Philip), lines 7-10.¹⁶ **21-22:** cf. Luke, 1:38 for Mary as the humble handmaiden.¹⁷ **27:** this line recalls the bitter drink given to Christ during the Crucifixion; see Matthew, 27:48;¹⁸ also in Mark, 15:36; John, 19:28-30. **33-34:** Mary, like her husband Joseph, traced her ancestry back to Abraham; see the genealogy in Matthew, 1:1-16. **35-37:** the typical medieval association of Mary with the beloved in the Song of Solomon is developed here; cf. Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 24:20-21;¹⁹ Song of Songs, 1:11,²⁰ 5:5.²¹ See the similar expressions in the text of this motet's contrafact, *Manere vivere* (probably by Philip), lines 7-9;²² and the *De laudibus*, book 12, chapter 6, §X and §XV. **39-42:** various images associated with temptation, sin, and the Devil. For the hunters' or fowlers' snares, see Psalms, 123:7²³ and 90:3;²⁴ 1 Timothy, 3:7 and 6:9;²⁵ and 2 Timothy, 2:26²⁶ (in the latter three of these passages the

¹⁵Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis: Summa de Bono*, 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985).

¹⁶In Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 95: "Stelle matutine / radius exoritur, / nubis caligine / radio sol stelle." ("The ray of the morning star peeks forth, and from the star's beam the sun breaks free from the gloom of the clouds.").

¹⁷Luke, 1:38: "Dixit autem Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Et discessit ab illa angelus" ("And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.").

¹⁸Matthew, 27:48: "Et continuo currens unus ex eis, acceptam spongiam implevit aceto, et imposuit arundini, et dabat ei bibere" ("And immediately one of them [a soldier] running took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar; and put it on a reed, and gave him [Jesus] to drink.").

¹⁹Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 24:20-21: "Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi; quasi myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris: et quasi storax, et galbanus, et ungula, et gutta, et quasi Libanus non incisus vaporavi habitationem meam, et quasi balsamum non mistum odor meus" ("I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon. and aromatical balm: I yielded a sweet odour like the best myrrh: And I perfumed my dwelling as storax, and galbanum, and onyx, and aloes, and as the frankincense not cut, and my odour is as the purest balm.").

²⁰Song of Songs, 1:11: "Dum esset rex in accubitu suo, nardus mea dedit odorem suum" ("While the king was at his repose, my spikenard [nard oil] sent forth the odour thereof.").

²¹Song of Songs, 5:5: "Surrexi ut aperirem dilecto meo; manus meae stillaverunt myrrham, et digiti mei pleni myrrha probatissima" ("I arose up to open to my beloved: my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers were full of the choicest myrrh.").

²²*Motets and Prosulas*, 113: "Odor mirre trite, / balsamo condite, / fragrat. / Huc venite. / Mirram invenite" ("The odor of crushed myrrh, / is fragrant when seasoned with balsam. / Come hither. / Seek the myrrh.").

²³Psalm 123:7: "Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium; laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus" ("Our soul has been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers. The snare is broken, and we are delivered.").

²⁴Psalm 90:3: "Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium, et a verbo aspero" ("For he has delivered me from the snare of the hunters: and from the sharp word.").

²⁵1 Timothy, 3:7: "Oportet autem illum et testimonium habere bonum ab iis qui foris sunt, ut non in opprobrium incidat, et in laqueum diaboli" ("Moreover he must have a good testimony of them who are without: lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil."). 1 Timothy, 6:9: "Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et in laqueum diaboli, et desideria multa inutilia, et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem" ("For they that will become rich, fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition.").

²⁶2 Timothy, 2:26: "Et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem" ("And they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive at his will.").

devil is specifically mentioned); as well as the opening lines of Philip's motet *Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus* (vdW 95/M7).²⁷ For robbers and plunderers (a metaphor associated with the Devil), cf. Job, 12:6;²⁸ Jeremiah, 4:7,²⁹ 48:32.³⁰; additional references appear in the textual notes to the following conductus/lai *O Maria virginei*, line 13. **41:** for Babylon's waters as a locus for grief: cf. Psalms, 136:1.³¹ Babylon is traditionally associated with sin and paganism. In Revelation, 17:1-5, Babylon, represented as a whore, signifies Rome, the major seat of paganism and persecution of Christians. Her fall (Revelation, 18) is placed in opposition to the rise of the New Jerusalem (Revelation, 21). Although often used as a metaphor for Rome in the New Testament scriptures and throughout the book of Revelation, here Babylon serves as a figure for the realm of the devil; see, e.g., the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), lines 26-28, and *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149), lines 3-4, where the devil is referred to as the "prince of Babylon." **42:** Delilah appears in Judges, 16:4-21, the woman who deluded Samson and sapped his strength, another metaphor for the Devil, sin, and temptation. For more on Delilah in the conductus repertory, see the textual notes to the conductus *Vite perditae* (J35/387), lines 23, 64. **43,3-4:** the unclean vessel is the human body or bodily substance, as opposed to the soul. For another use of the term in this context, see, for example, Philip's conductus *Homo natus ad laborem tui status* (K1/160), lines 13-14. **44,1:** the warlike lady is possibly an evocation of Judith, who was viewed as an allegorical precursor of Mary; see her evocation in the Marian motet *Radix venie / Latus* [vdW 229/M14]), line 18: "Judith bellica" ("warlike Judith."). **47:** cf. Isaiah, 42:16, on pathways for the blind.³² **48:** see Exodus, 15:20-21, for the celebration following God's destruction of Pharaoh's forces during the Israelites' flight from Egypt.³³ The Mary (Miriam) in this biblical passage is the sister of Aaron, but furnishes a likely source for comparison with the Virgin. **50,2-3:** another component of the *maris stella* (surfacing earlier in line 15,1-2, q.v.), the North Star

²⁷ *Motets and Prosulas*, 76: "Laqueus conteritur / venancium dum queritur / rex omnium / Ihesus" ("The snare of the fowlers / is torn when one seeks / the king of all, / Jesus.").

²⁸ Job, 12:6: "Abundant tabernacula praedonum, et audacter provocant Deum, cum ipse dederit omnia in manus eorum" ("The tabernacles of robbers abound, and they provoke God boldly; whereas it is he that has given all into their hands.").

²⁹ Jeremiah, 4:7: "Ascendit leo de cubili suo, et praedo gentium se levavit: egressus est de loco suo ut ponat terram tuam in solitudinem: civitates tuae vastabuntur, remanentes absque habitatore" ("The lion is come up out of his den, and the robber of nations has roused himself: he is come forth out of his place, to make your land desolate: your cities shall be laid waste, remaining without an inhabitant.").

³⁰ Jeremiah, 48:32: "De planctu Jazer plorabo tibi, vinea Sabama. Propagines tuae transierunt mare; usque ad mare Jazer pervenerunt: super messem tuam et vindemiam tuam praedo irruit" ("O vineyard of Sabama, I will weep for thee, with the mourning of Jazer: your branches are gone over the sea, they are come even to the sea of Jazer: the robber has rushed in upon your harvest and your vintage.").

³¹ Psalm 136:1: "Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, cum recordaremur Sion" ("Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept: when we remembered Sion.").

³² Isaiah, 42:16: "Et ducam caecos in viam quam nesciunt, et in semitis quas ignoraverunt ambulare eos faciam; ponam tenebras coram eis in lucem, et prava in recta; haec verba feci eis, et non dereliqui eos" ("And I [the Lord] will lead the blind into the way which they know not: and in the paths which they were ignorant of I will make them walk: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight: these things have I done to them, and have not forsaken them.").

³³ Exodus, 15: 20-21: "Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, tympanum in manu sua: egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris, quibus praecinebat, dicens: ' Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est: equum et ascensorem ejus dejecit in mare' " ("So Mary the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand: and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and with dances: And she began the song to them, saying: 'Let us sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously magnified, the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea.' ").

that guided sailors on the sea, with echoes of the star that guided the Magi to Christ (see Matthew, 2:1-2;³⁴ and the *De laudibus*, book 1, chapter 3, no. 3 [p. 22 of the cited edition]). **51-54:** the wording of this passage can be understood as a possible indication for performing this motet/conductus in no more than three parts (see the discussion below under *Observations and Variants*). Even so, the “three-fold acclaim” here is specifically described as pertaining to three elements of the body: heart, hand, and voice; cf. the related expressions in the conductus a3 *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), Strophe Ia.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: Dissonance:** Due primarily to the frequent discordant harmonies found in this work, much of the scholarly literature has proposed that the version preserved in *F* is not an indication for four-part execution, but rather a conflated transmission of either a three-part conductus or a three-part motet (see, for example, Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm and Style,” 1:262-271). Darwin F. Scott, though, in his paper “Dissonance in the Earliest Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Austin, Texas, 1989, has argued convincingly for authenticating the four-part version of this motet in *F*. See the similar situation with regard to *Latex silice* transmitted earlier at *F*-6,34. **Musica ficta:** In addition to the high level of dissonance that obtains throughout the four-part setting of *Serena virginum*, the application of *musica ficta* is particularly problematic for this work, as well as for its contrafact *Manere vivere*. The Mot and Tr in the *F* version of *Serena* show a consistent *b-flat* signature throughout, and the Q behaves similarly, although the signature is absent in some systems where no *b* pitch appears. In nearly every instance *b-flat* pitches seem called for in the T, either for harmonic considerations or to soften the dissonance level at these places; such signatures, although absent in the T in *F* (which, in fact, begins with a natural sign for *b*), are provided almost without exception in both redactions in *LoA*; these supply the authority for the ficta signs in the T throughout the score. Some instances of *b-flats*, in the T or elsewhere, appear necessary even in places where *e-natural* sounds in tandem with *b-flat*. A comparison of other discant settings of the *Manere* melisma throughout the Notre Dame repertory indicates that the chant T consistently avoids direct signs for *b-flat* pitches, although the harmony appears sometimes to call for them via frequent simultaneities with *f*. **The divergent endings:** For a discussion of the various ways in which *Serena* concludes, and the possible significance for the interpretation of this hybrid word, see the remarks below for reference numbers 233-244. **Notes on the music by reference number:** Here, as in my 2011 edition, the musical commentary is cued to the reference numbers above the system, indicating ternary-long values: **1:** T *F*: notated on f. 237v. **13,2:** Tr *F*: *b-flat*. **14:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins f. 235v. **49-50:** T: *F*: the strokes at this point, as well as at 97-8 and 145-6, signal the beginning of new T statements (*colores*) and may indicate that the T text may have been repeated in performance; it is given in the edition as an option. These strokes may be a holdover from the possible original notation of this piece as four separate clausulae. Note the lack of such strokes at the start of the fifth T *color* at 193, the only time where dovetailed phrasing is used to conceal the turn to a new T *color*. **65:** Mot: *F*: preceding stroke omitted, supplied editorially. **67:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins f. 236r. **84:** Q: *F*: si *b-flat*. **101:** Q: *F*: omitted; supplied from *W1*. **110:** Q: *F*: *d*; supplied from *W1*. **123:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins f. 236v. **127:** this dissonant crunch is particularly harsh, yet the content of all the voices is vouched for in the various sources that contain them. **136:** Mot: *F*: omitted; from *W1*. **181:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins f. 237r. **186:** Q: *F*: *cc*; supplied from *W1*. **193:** see the remarks at 49-50. **230:** Q,Tr,Mot: *F*: begins 237v. **233-44:** Q,Tr,Mot,T: *F*: The closing phrases of this work, with their incorporation of the *Benedicamus* text versicle, present an intriguing assortment of discrepant readings among the sources. One of the most striking is the disagreement as to the sonority of the final cadence; some present a conclusion anchored on *a-e*, while others use *c* or *c-g*. This variety seems tied specifically to the differing states in which *Serena virginum* survives: as motet, conductus (i.e., without T), and with varying numbers of one to four voices, of which *F*

³⁴Matthew, 2:1-2: “Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethlehem Juda in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Jerosolymam, dicentes: ‘Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum? vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente, et venimus adorare eum’ ” (“When Jesus therefore was born in Bethlehem of Juda, in the days of king Herod, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, ‘Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to adore him.’ ”).

alone presents the full complement. In the first place, the solitary final *c* pitch in the T at reference 240 occurs only in the *F* redaction of *Serena*; it is mirrored by no other source, nor does it seem to be called for in any way by the M5 chant on which it is based. The single T *color* given in *SAu* 226, on the other hand, continues (as indicated above in its source description) with an additional series of figures: si,3li=*a,abc*, which might suggest even another way to close the work, as this extension could conceivably be underlaid to the “domino” phrase to close on *c*, à la *F*. Unfortunately, *SAu* 226 does not transmit the end of the Mot, and the disorderly way its Mot melody is inscribed may not have provided a clear answer, even if the ending were extant. Thus, with the exception of *F* and possibly the *Sau* 226 version, a final cadence on *c* is specific only to the tenorless “conductus” versions of *Serena* in *W1* (a3) and *Ma* (a2). In contrast, the other motet versions of this work (i.e., those that include the *Manere* T) cadence on *a-e*. This feature applies to the two versions in *LoA* (one without text) and also reflects the close of the contrafact *Manere vivere* (q.v., above), which, however, omits the material from numbers 241-44. The monophonic transmission in *Graz* is in unheightened neumes and cannot add to this aspect of the discussion. The two *LoA* redactions each slightly recast the material in the Mot and Tr in 241-44 to accommodate the different conclusion. These two readings are given as alternatives at the end of the transcription. Assuming that all parts would terminate with the T’s *a* at 239, the *LoA* versions propose a significantly different vertical alignment of the upper parts with the T and a contrasting rhythmic interpretation than that offered in this edition. Such a muddle of variants at this important spot suggests the likelihood that *Serena virginum* was transmitted as both a conductus that cadenced on *c* and as a motet that closed on *a*. The surviving four-voice redaction in *F* may imply an attempt to offer the work in all its various manifestations, as well as accommodating performance in four parts with the addition of the extraneous *c* at the end of the T. For further discussion and transcriptions of the final cadences in the *LoA* version of this work, see Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,”³⁵ 414-418. **234,2:** Mot: *F*: *c*.

³⁵Thomas B. Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School,” 5 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1991).

O MARIA VIRGINEI

Conductus, Lai (E14/239)

F, f. 237v (6,41)*

Tr: *W2*: 3li=*cbc* for *d,dc*
D: *W2*: si=*f*

Tr: *W2*: *eedP*

T: *W2*: no'

T: *W2*: *d om*

Tr: *W2*: *a,b* (3 lower) for these 2 syllables

Tr: *W2*: *e* (looks like *f*)

[A] [O Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne - i flos ho - no - ris.

Ia D [O Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne - i flos ho - no - ris.

T 0 Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne - i flos ho - no - ris.

Tr: *W2*: *ddcP* – D: *W2*: 3 higher to end of Ia

Tr: *W2*: *eedP*

TDTr: *W2*: no'

T: *W2*: 2li=*fe*

Tr: *W2*: 3li=*abc*;
D: *W2*: el siP
T: *W2*: si,2li=*d,dc*

[A'] Vi - te vi - a lux fi - de - i pax a - mo - ris.

Vi - te vi - a lux fi - de - i pax a - mo - ris.

Vi - te vi - a lux fi - de - i pax a - mo - ris.

Tr: *W2*: "O" om; Tr: *W2*: 4C=*fedc*; T: not el

Tr: *W2*: 2li=*de* – D: *W2*: 2li=*fe*

T: *W2*: no'

Tr: *W2*: *c*

Tr: *W2*: *b*

Tr: *W2*: *ccbP*
D: *W2*: 2li=*fe*

Tr: *W2*: *a,c,aagP,c* for these four syllables

D: *W2*: si,2li=*f,fg*

[A] O re - gi - na tu la - que - i tu do - lo - ris

Ib O re - gi - na tu la - que - i tu do - lo - ris

O re - gi - na tu la - que - i tu do - lo - ris

Tr: *W2*: *eedP* – D: *W2*: 3 lower through "olei"

Tr: *W2*: si=*c*

Tr: *W2*: 4li=*babc*

TD: *W2*: no'

Tr: *W2*: *c*

Tr: *W2*: *e*

T: *W2*: 2li=*fe*

Tr: *W2*: *a,abc* for these two syllables

T: *W2*: si,2li=*d,dc* – D: 4C=*cbag*

[A'] Me - di - ci - na, fons o - le - i vas o - do - ris.

Me - di - ci - na, fons o - le - i vas o - do - ris.

Me - di - ci - na, fons o - le - i vas o - do - ris.

*The *W2* setting has significant differences from *F* in the upper voices, particularly in the Tr in the opening versicles; all these are indicated above the score. Note also the musical rhyme in the shared cadences between Versicles I and II, and between IV and V; as well as the use of voice exchange in the latter pair.

IIa

B | Tr: W2: e,c for f,e | D: W2: no ' | D: W2: si=c – Tr: siP | Tr: W2: not el

Tu vul-ne-ris me-de-lam re-pe-ris, e-gris ef-fi-ce-ris o-le-um un-cti-o-nis.

Tu vul-ne-ris me-de-lam re-pe-ris, e-gris ef-fi-ce-ris o-le-um un-cti-o-nis.

Tu vul-ne-ris me-de-lam re-pe-ris, e-gris ef-fi-ce-ris o-le-um un-cti-o-nis.

IIb

| Tr: W2: e,g,f,g – D: f,e,d,e | T: W2: c | Tr: W2: 2li=fe | Tr: W2: d,b for "[pa]ries" | T: W2: 2li=fe | T: W2: si,2li=d,dc – D: si,2li=c,cb

B'

Post ve-te-ris que-re-lam sce-le-ris o-scu-lum in-se-ris pa-ri-es u-ni-o-nis.

Post ve-te-ris que-re-lam sce-le-ris o-scu-lum in-se-ris pa-ri-es u-ni-o-nis.

Post ve-te-ris que-re-lam sce-le-ris o-scu-lum in-se-ris pa-ri-es u-ni-o-nis.

IIc

B | T: W2: c | Tr: W2: ' follows | D W2: c – Tr: Pf | Tr: W2: not el

Spes mi-se-ris the-sau-rus pau-pe-ris li-mes i-ti-ne-ris ra-di-us vi-si-o-nis.

Spes mi-se-ris the-sau-rus pau-pe-ris li-mes i-ti-ne-ris ra-di-us vi-si-o-nis.

Spes mi-se-ris the-sau-rus pau-pe-ris li-mes i-ti-ne-ris ra-di-us vi-si-o-nis.

IId

B' | T: W2: c | Tr: W2: d | T: W2: 2li=fe – Tr: b | T: W2: si,2li=d,dc – D: c,c

As-se-que-ris quic-quid pe-ti-e-ris so-la pre-ce-te-ris po-ti-or es in do-nis.

As-se-que-ris quic-quid pe-ti-e-ris so-la pre-ce-te-ris po-ti-or es in do-nis.

As-se-que-ris quic-quid pe-ti-e-ris so-la pre-ce-te-ris po-ti-or es in do-nis.

IIIa

Tr: W2: not el | TDTTr: W2: no ' | TD: W2: 2li, not siP | Tr: W2: Pc | D: W2: 3li=b-flatag | C' | TD: W2: no ' - Tr: el? | Tr: W2: c,Pc | TDTTr: W2: no ' | D: W2: 3li=b-flat,a,g - Tr: W2: 3li

Tu mors in - fe - ris pre - do tu pre - do - nis

Tu mors in - fe - ris pre - do tu pre - do - nis

Tu mors in - fe - ris pre - do tu pre - do - nis

Tr: W2: si,2li=a,ag | D: W2: si,2li=f,fe | Tr: W2: si,2li=d,dc | W2: a

C' | D | Tr: W2: si=b

Vi - ta su - pe - ris su - pe - ri - or es in thro - nis.

Vi - ta su - pe - ris su - pe - ri - or es in thro - nis.

Vi - ta su - pe - ris su - pe - ri - or es in thro - nis.

IIIb

T: W2: 2li, not siP | TDTTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: c,Pc | D: W2: 3li=b-flat,a,g | C' | TD: W2: no ' | TDTTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: c,Pc | D: W2: 3li=b-flat,a,g

Ar - cha fe - de - ris thro - nus sa - lo - mo - nis.

Ar - cha fe - de - ris thro - nus sa - lo - mo - nis.

Ar - cha fe - de - ris thro - nus sa - lo - mo - nis.

T: W2: 2li, not siP | TDTTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: c,Pc | D: W2: 3li=b-flat,a,g - Tr: W2: 4li: gabc | D | Tr: W2: b | T: W2: si,2li=d,dc | DTr: W2: si,2li=a,ag | W2: a

Ve - stis po - de - ris tu vel - lus es ge - de - o - nis.

Ve - stis po - de - ris tu vel - lus es ge - de - o - nis.

Ve - stis po - de - ris tu vel - lus es ge - de - o - nis.

IVa

Tr: W2: 3 lower for these four notes | TD: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: c,a,a,c for these four syllables | Tr: W2: 2si=gg | Tr: W2: g,a,g,c,b,2si=dd for these six syllables

Tu ge - ne - ris pro - les de - ge - ne - ris re - ge - ne - ras ge - nus in po - ste - ris.

IVb

Tr: W2: unlike IVa, these four notes now at F pitch | Tr: W2: c,a,a,c for these four syllables | Tr: W2: 2si=gg | TDTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: g,a,g,a,b,2si=dd for these six syllables

Ex o - pe - ris ser - vi - lis o - pe - ris nos li - be - ras a lu - to la - te - ris.

IVc

TDTr: W2: Tt syll, music repeated after system change | D: W2: 2si=gg | TDTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: a

Tu li - be - ris post iu - gum ho - ne - ris spem re - se - ras e - te - rni mu - ne - ris.

Va

F | Tr: W2: no ' | D: W2: d,b,c,b,a for these five syllables | Tr: W2: c,d for d,c (cf. Vb) | Tr: W2: a,e,f,e,d for these five syllables

Tar - ta - re - i ca - the - nas car - ce - ris com - mi - nu - is cap - ti - vos ex - e - ris.

Va

Tar - ta - re - i ca - the - nas car - ce - ris com - mi - nu - is cap - ti - vos ex - e - ris.

Va

Tar - ta - re - i ca - the - nas car - ce - ris com - mi - nu - is cap - ti - vos ex - e - ris.

Vb

Sy - de - re - i for - mam ca - ra - cthe - ris re - sti - tu - is a sor - de pul - ve - ris.

Sy - de - re - i for - mam ca - ra - cthe - ris re - sti - tu - is a sor - de pul - ve - ris.

Sy - de - re - i for - mam ca - ra - cthe - ris re - sti - tu - is a sor - de pul - ve - ris.

| TDTr: W2: no ' | T: W2: g,e,f,e,d for these five syllables

Vc

A - cu - le - i do - lo - rem con - te - ris. et mor - tu - is vi - te spem a - pe - ris.

A - cu - le - i do - lo - rem con - te - ris. et mor - tu - is vi - te spem a - pe - ris.

A - cu - le - i do - lo - rem con - te - ris. et mor - tu - is vi - te spem a - pe - ris.

| Tr: W2: 2li for siP | D: W2: c,d for d,c (cf. Vb) | T: W2: g,e,f,e,d for these five syllables

Vd

Fu - ne - re - i de - bi - tum ci - ne - ris nos ex - u - is in - du - is - que co - ro - nis.]

Fu - ne - re - i de - bi - tum ci - ne - ris nos ex - u - is in - du - is - que co - ro - nis.]

Fu - ne - re - i de - bi - tum ci - ne - ris nos ex - u - is in - du - is - que co - ro - nis.

| TDTr: W2: no ' | Tr: W2: ba,ag | D: W2: 2li=ec,d,c,3C+si=bag+c for these four syllables | T: W2: d | T: W2: 2li,2li=ed,dc

O MARIA VIRGINEI

Conductus, Lai (E14/239)

F, f. 237v (6,41)

Ia	O Maria, virginei flos honoris, Vite via, lux fidei, pax amoris;	1	O Mary, flower of maidenly honor, path of life, light of the faith, love's peace;
Ib	O regina, tu laquei, tu doloris medicina, fons olei, vas odoris.	3	O Queen, you are the cure for the snare and for sadness, a stream of oil, a vessel of fragrance.
IIa	Tu vulneris medelam reperis, egris efficeris oleum unctionis.	5	You devise a remedy for our wounds, you produce oil for anointing the sick.
IIb	Post veteris querelam sceleris, osculum inseris, paries, unionis.	7	After the grievance of the ancient sin, you, the wall, implant a kiss of oneness.
IIc	Spes miseris, thesaurus pauperis, limes itineris, radius visionis:	9	Hope for the wretched, pauper's treasure, pathway of the journey, ray of vision:
IId	Assequeris quicquid petieris; sola, pre ceteris, potior es in donis.	11	You gain whatever you seek; before all others, you alone are superior in gifts.
IIIa	Tu mors inferis, predo tu predonis, vita superis, superiores in thronis;	13	You are death to the infernal, a thief to the thief, life to the heavenly, very high on the thrones;
IIIb	Archa federis; thronus Salomonis, vestis poderis, tu vellus es Gedeonis.	15	Ark of the Covenant, throne of Solomon, priestly garment, you are Gideon's fleece.
IVa	Tu, generis proles degeneris, regeneras genus in posteris.	17	You, the offspring of an degenerate generation, regenerate that generation in the future.
IVb	Ex operis servilis operis nos liberas, a luto lateris.	19	You free us from the toil of slave labor, from the brick and mortar.
IVc	Tu, liberis post iugum honeris, spem reseras eterni muneris.	21	For your children under the yoke of the burden, you unlock the hope of the eternal gift.
Va	Tartarei cathenas carceris comminuis; captivos exeris.	23	You crumble the chains of Tartarus's prison; you unbind its captives.
Vb	Syderei formam caracteris restituis a sorde pulveris.	25	You restore the appearance of a heavenly character from the filth of the dust.
Vc	Aculei dolorem conteris et mortuis vite spem aperis.	27	You soothe away the pain of the sting and uncover hope of life for the dead.
Vd	Funerei debitum cineris nos exuis induisque coronis.	29	You free us from the debt of funereal ashes and adorn us with crowns.

SOURCES:

In every musical source, the notation of each repeated versicle is fully written out:

F, fasc. 6, no. 41, f. 237v: a3; Strophes Ia-Vd, complete, with large capitals beginning subsequent versicles, but with slightly smaller ones heading lines 2-4, 14, and 16.

W2, fasc. 3, no. 9, f. 43r: a3; Strophes Ia-Vd complete, with painted initials for all subsequent versicles but Ib (initial completely missing) and with only guide letters for IVa-IVc; the Tr especially diverges from the other applicable sources, especially in Strophes Ia and Ib; variants from *F* for all voices are reported above the system throughout the transcription.

Ch (*F-CECad 3.J.250; Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3. J. 250*), no. 12, f. 10v: a3; Strophes Ia-Vd complete, with capitals for all subsequent versicles but the last (Vd); a small amount of material in the D at lines 4,1 and 8,3 is missing due to damage.

LoB: no. 2, f. 7v: a2 (TD); Strophes Ia-Vd complete, with painted, filigreed initials for all subsequent versicles; rubric: “De beata maria” (“On blessed Mary”). The opening historiated initial depicts a woman standing within a letter “O” painted in blue and gold, dressed in blue (and hence likely depicting the Virgin), and playing a stringed instrument (likely a psaltery or possibly a citole?) with a quill plectrum. In the left margin next to the initial is a half-sized figure of a man in a blue headdress, dancing.

MüA (*D-B 55 MS 14 and D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4775 (gallo-rom. 42); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, B 55 MS14; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 4775 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Vma 1446*), complex D4, f. 1v, a3; fragmentary, an extant setting of only versicle Ia (lines 1-2).¹

Text only:

Praha, no. 16, f. 38v^a: text only of Strophes Ia-Vd complete, with no opening initial (a guide letter is in the margin) and capitals for all subsequent versicles but IIb, IVc, Vc; concludes with “Amen”; rubric in left margin: “de beata virgine” (“On the Blessed Virgin”). In this source, *O Maria virginei* stands as the last in a series of four pieces, all similar in their lai-like / sequence-form construction, and, outside of *O Maria virginei*, all transmitted monophonically.²

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: Attribution: This litany-like text, bursting with internal rhyme in nearly every line, is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in *LoB* and *Praha*. It is the first work in the mostly strophic, mostly *sine caudis* section of *F*-6 (beginning at no. 19) to have a medieval attribution for Philip’s authorship,

¹Images of this source are available online [here](#) and in Luther A. Dittmer, *A Central Source of Notre Dame Polyphony: Facsimile, Reproduction, Catalogue, Catalogue raisonné, Discussion and Transcriptions*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 3. (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959); and *idem*, “The Lost Fragments of a Notre Dame Manuscript in Johannes Wolf’s Library,” *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, Jan LaRue et al., eds., (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1966; repr. New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), 122-133. For the specific item referred to here, see “Lost Fragments,” plate 16.

²The four pieces in order in *Praha* are *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75/28), *Inter membra singula* (L2/186), *Veritas equitas largitas*, (K62/375), and *O Maria virginei* (E14/239).

but it is preceded by several nearby pieces that have also been posited as his work by modern scholars.³ Similarly, following the very next entry in *F-6* – the unattributed but arguably Philippian *Non livoris ex rancore* (F14/222) – three Philip poems with medieval ascriptions then appear consecutively (*F-6*, 43-45).⁴ **Poetic imagery:** Like the previous piece in *F-6* (the motet *Serena virginum* / *Manere* [A1/232 – vdW 69/M5]), *O Maria virginei* deploys a wide number of attributes associated with the Virgin Mary and related concepts; some relationships between these two consecutive works in *F-6* are enumerated below; many other Marian conductus and motet texts offer identical or related images. The following remarks have benefitted greatly from the commentaries in Anderson, *NDRC*, 1:liii-liv, and Thurston, *Conductus Collections*, 1:22.⁵ **Textual notes:** **3,4:** the snare is a frequent figure for sin; see the textual notes for *Serena virginum*, lines 39-42. **4,2-5:** on the association of perfumed oil with a beloved, see the citations for *Serena virginum*, lines 35-37, as well as Song of Songs, 1:2.⁶ **7:** the “ancient sin” is that of Adam and Eve, see Genesis, 3. **8:** based on the opening image of the kiss in Song of Songs, 1:1, Pope Innocent III writes in *De sacro altaris mysterio*, as given in *PL*, 217, cols. 909-910, that this scriptural kiss signifies – among other things – union (“oneness”); and that during the celebration of Mass “the priest kisses the altar three times to indicate the three unions in Christ: the union of divinity to the soul, of divinity to the flesh, and of the flesh to the soul; or a union in which human nature is united to Christ, the Holy Church, and the faithful soul.”⁷ **8,3-4:** for the image of the Virgin’s chastity as an exterior wall (here *muris* for the poem’s *paries*) of the figurative castle she represents that housed the Lord, see Honorius of Autun, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*, as given in *PL*, 172, col. 497A-B.⁸ **13:** the image of the thief in the Bible is most often associated with the devil or the last judgment; see, for example, 1 Thessalonians, 5:2-4;⁹ and the similar sentiments in 2 Peter, 3:10; see also John, 10:10¹⁰ and the notes to *Serena virginum*, lines 39-42.

³These comprise *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) *Parit preter morem* (E12/261 – tentative), and *Serena virginum* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5), located at *F-6* nos. 34, 35, 36, and 40, respectively.

⁴They are: *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), *Ave virgo virginum verbi* I (F16/39), and *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212).

⁵Ethel Thurston, ed., *The Conductus Collections of the MS Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, nos. 11-13 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1980).

⁶Song of Songs, 1:2: “Fragrantia unguentis optimis, oleum effusum nomen tuum ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te” (“Smelling sweet of the best ointments, your name is as poured-out oil: therefore young maidens have loved you.”).

⁷Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*: “Osculum in sacra Scriptura significat unionem, charitatem, pacem, et reverentiam. ... De osculo unionis sponsa dicit in Canticis: ‘Osculetur me osculo oris sui’ (*Cant. 1*). ... Ad designandum ergo tres uniones in Christo, sacerdos ter osculatur altare, videlicet unionem divinitatis ad animam, divinitatis ad carnem, et carnis ad animam, vel unionem qua unita est Christo humana natura, sancta Ecclesia, et fidelis anima.” *PL*, 217, cols. 909-910.

⁸Honorius of Autun, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*: “In castello est turris alta, in qua contra hostes propugnacula; murus vero exterius, qui est tutela civibus interius. Hoc castellum fuit illud sancti Spiritus sacellum, scilicet gloriosa Dei genetrix virgo Maria, quae iugi angelorum custodia fuit undique munita. ... Murus vero exterius, eius castitas fuit quae ceteris virtutibus interius munimen praebuit. Hoc castellum Dominus intravit, quando in utero virginis humanam naturam sibi copulavit” (“In the castle is a high tower, in which there are bulwarks against enemies; and there is an outer wall which is a safeguard for the inhabitants within. This castle was that sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, that is to say the Virgin Mary, the glorious mother of God, who was fortified on all sides by the perpetual protection of the angels. ... The outer wall was her chastity, which provided a defense for the other virtues. The Lord entered this castle when he joined human nature to himself in the womb of a virgin.”). *PL*, 172, col. 497A-B.

⁹1 Thessalonians, 5:2-4: “Ipsi enim diligenter scitis quia dies Domini, sicut fur in nocte, ita veniet: cum enim dixerint: Pax et securitas: tunc repentinus eis superveniet interitus, sicut dolor in utero habenti, et non effugient. Vos autem, fratres, non estis in tenebris, ut vos dies illa tamquam fur comprehendat” (“For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall so come, as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, peace and security; then shall sudden destruction come upon them, as the pains upon her that is with child, and they shall not escape. But you, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief.”).

¹⁰John, 10:10: “Fur non venit nisi ut furetur, et mactet, et perdat. Ego veni ut vitam habeant, et abundantius habeant” (“The thief comes not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy. I [Jesus] am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly.”).

Mary, in contrast, robs the robber, similar to the way Christ kills death through his own death, a conceit implied in the first part of this line (see Romans, 6:9;¹¹ as well as in related passages in Hebrews, 2:14-15; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27; 15:54-55). **14,3-5:** through word spacing, all MSS imply reading 14,3 as “superior es.” However I find the emendation yields a less awkward rendering. Perhaps this expression may recall Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 24:7, or some similar passage: “Ego in altis habitavi, et thronus meus in columna nubis” (“I [Wisdom] dwelt in the highest places, and my throne is in a pillar of cloud”). **15-16:** all common typologies of the Virgin; see 2 Chronicles, 9:17-19, for the biblical description of Solomon’s throne; the epithet also appears in lines 67-68 of Philip’s sequence/conductus *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75/28). The Madonna and Child are frequently depicted in art as an enthroned Mary with Jesus in her lap; the same paradigm also obtains for Mary as a mother bearing or carrying her son. Since Jesus is a typological figure for Solomon, it follows that his mother in this context represents the great king’s throne. For the other attributes, Judges, 6:36-40, gives the story of Gideon’s fleece, and Exodus, 25, that of the Ark of the Covenant; on these latter two figures and the way Mary relates to them, see the notes on *Serena virginum*, lines 6 and 8. **16,1-2:** the “poderis” is a garment associated with the Old Testament priesthood and ecclesiastical or monastic attire; see the DMLBS at <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/poderis>. **17-18:** a rebuke to the Jews: Mary, though Jewish herself, in bearing Jesus provides for future generations under a new covenant generated through the Incarnation. **20,3-5:** a reference to the toil of the Israelites in Egypt, a symbol for earthly sin and suffering, see Exodus 1:14.¹² **23-24:** note the unique use of the word “tartarus” in the Vulgate Bible in 2 Peter, 2:4,¹³ where it is the place of banishment for evil angels. **24,3:** from the verb “exsero.” **25-26:** since the Virgin in her role of mediator can lead to salvation, she can raise a sinful character up from the dust; cf. Isaiah 52:2.¹⁴ A conductus by Philip the Chancellor (K26/113) begins with the same three words as the biblical passage. **27:** As indicated in 1 Corinthians, 15:55-56, death’s sting is sin.¹⁵ **29-30:** for the crown of life as a reward of salvation, see Revelation, 2:10;¹⁶ James, 1:12.¹⁷ For the ashes imagery, see the remarks for lines 25-26, and numerous other

¹¹Romans 6:9: “Scientes quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur: mors illi ultra non dominabitur” (“Knowing that Christ rising again from the dead, dies now no more, death shall no more have dominion over him.”).

¹²Exodus 1:14: “Atque ad amaritudinem perducebant vitam eorum operibus duris luti et lateris ...” (“And they made their life bitter with hard works in clay and brick ...”)

¹³2 Peter, 2:4: “Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercit, sed rudentibus inferni detractos in tartarum tradidit, in iudicium cruciatus reservari ...” (“For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell [tartarum], unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment ...”).

¹⁴Isaiah 52:2: “Excute de pulvere, consurge, sede, Hierusalem: solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion.” (“Shake yourself from the dust, arise, sit up, Jerusalem: loose the bonds from off your neck, captive daughter of Sion.”).

¹⁵1 Corinthians, 15:55-56: “Ubi est mors victoria tua? ubi est mors stimulus tuus? Stimulus autem mortis peccatum est: virtus vero peccati lex” (“O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? Now the sting of death is sin: and the power of sin is the law.”).

¹⁶Revelation, 2:10: “Nihil horum timeas quae passurus es. Ecce missurus est diabolus aliquos ex vobis in carcerem ut tentemini: et habebitis tribulationem diebus decem. Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitae” (“Fear none of those things which you shall suffer. Behold, the devil will cast some of you into prison that you may be tried: and you shall have tribulation ten days. Be you faithful until death: and I will give you the crown of life.”).

¹⁷James, 1:12: “Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem: quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se” (“Blessed is the man that endures temptation; for when he has been proved, he shall receive a crown of life, which God has promised to them that love him.”).

biblical passages equating ashes with mourning, repentance, and suffering, such as Esther, 4:1;¹⁸ Job, 42:6; 2 Samuel, 13:19, and the like.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 18,1: F,W2: regenerans; adopted reading from *W2,Ch,LoB*; word om in *Praha*. 30,3: F: anduisque; corrected from *W2,Ch,LoB,Praha*. **MUSIC:** In the transcription, variant readings from *W2*, which itself shows the most significant differences from those of *F* – particularly in the Tr of the opening versicles and at several cadences – are given above the top staff of the score to illustrate the divergences for each applicable syllable; these variant readings are not duplicated in the report below. **Musical repetition:** As with the previous several conductus and the prosula transmitted between the two motets in *F-6*, *O Maria virginei* features relatively prominent musical repetition, in this case exceptionally so, as it takes a form recalling the lai with multiply reiterated versicle melodies set to five different poetic/rhyme schemes (that of IV also = Vabc, so Vd supplies the fifth type). Most of these versicles feature repetition not only in the T, but in the upper parts as well. For this particular piece, the boxed capital letters over the staff signal exact repetition (or its related variant) occurring primarily in the T, rather than in all parts as is usually the case in these transcriptions; nonetheless numerous exact or nearly exact correspondences will be noticed among repeated components bearing the same capital-letter identifiers. Versicles IV and V (E and F,F’), furthermore, feature voice exchange between the D and Tr (indicated by lower case boxed letters drawn from the end of the alphabet), and, along with I and II (AA’BB’), musical rhyme in the cadences shared between each of the pairs. The music of versicles I, II, and III features different presentations of antecedent/consequent relationships within their related members (AA’ for Ia and Ib; BB’ for IIa-b and IIc-d, CC’CD for IIIa and IIIb). **Musica ficta:** The *b-flats* that appear here as suggestions for ficta in the D of Versicles IIIa-b come from both *W2* and *LoB*. The exceptions are in the setting of the words at 13,6 (“predonis”), where *LoB* has no flat; at 14,6 (“thronis”), where *W2* is missing one; at 13,2 (“superis”), where *LoB* has no accidental; and at 16,6 (“gedeonis”), where *LoB* gives no flat, but one is implied from earlier at line 14,6. **Versicle IIa:** T: F: the third note, on “[vul]ne[ris]” is *c* here, but appears as *d* in all subsequent repetitions; *W2* has *c* for all four instances; *Ch* replicates *F*, except for IIc, which gives *c*, and which furthermore exchanges the T and D for this stanza; *LoB* mirrors *F* at this spot but has a *c* at the same place in its IIc. **IVc:** D: F: the eighth note of the versicle, on “ho[neris],” is *a* in the previous two repetitions of the music, *c* here and in *LoB*; – Tr: *W2,Ch* give *a* for this syllable; *LoB* has no Tr.

¹⁸Esther, 4:1: “Quae cum audisset Mardocheus, scidit vestimenta sua, et indutus est sacco, spargens cinerem capiti: et in platea mediae civitatis voce magna clamabat, ostendens amaritudinem animi sui” (“Now when Mardochai had heard these things, he rent his garments, and put on sackcloth, strewing ashes on his head: and he cried with a loud voice in the street in the midst of the city, shewing the anguish of his mind.”).

NON LIVORIS EX RANCORE
Conductus (F14 / 222)

F, f. 239v (6,42)

Tr
8
[Non li - vo - ris ex ran - co - re sed vir - tu - tis ex a - mo - re

I D
8
[Non li - vo - ris ex ran - co - re sed vir - tu - tis ex a - mo - re

T
8
Non li - vo - ris ex ran - co - re sed vir - tu - tis ex a - mo - re

8
in - ve - hor in vi - ti - um co - lum - bas ven - den - ti - um.

8
in - ve - hor in vi - ti - um co - lum - bas ven - den - ti - um.

8
in - ve - hor in vi - ti - um co - lum - bas ven - den - ti - um.

8
qui fla - gel - la re - sti - um non ve - ren - tes scor - ti mo - re

8
qui fla - gel - la re - sti - um non ve - ren - tes scor - ti mo - re

8
qui fla - gel - la re - sti - um non ve - ren - tes scor - ti mo - re

8
quo - vis pro - stant sub em - pto - re.]

8
quo - vis pro - stant sub em - pto - re.]

8
quo - vis pro - stant sub em - pto - re.

NON LIVORIS EX RANCORE

Conductus (F14 / 222)

F, f. 239v (6,42)

I	Non livoris ex rancore, sed virtutis ex amore, invehor in vitium columbas vendentium, qui, flagella restium non verentes, scorti more, quovis prostant sub emptore.		Not from the rancor of malice, but from love of virtue, do I inveigh against the vice of those selling doves, 5 who, not fearing the corded whips, offer themselves up to any buyer whatsoever, like a whore.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 42, f. 239v: a3; single strophe, complete; a unique transmission of text and music; see further information in the notes below.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: *Non livoris* is transmitted in *F*, its unique source, as a single-stanza setting with no space allotted for further strophes. A lack of provision for any supplemental stanzas applies as well to all the subsequent pieces in *F*-6 (for more on this issue, see the remarks on the sources for *Parit preter morem* [E12/261] and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* [D4/287]). Even so, further strophes may have existed at one point, since the following three pieces – all attributed to Philip the Chancellor in medieval sources – are known to possess extra stanzas in other MSS. The location of *Non livoris* in this part of *F* also continues the stylistic emphasis on conductus that are primarily strophic (or transmit only one stanza) and that do not contain significant caudae; these commence earlier in the fascicle with *F*-6,19 (*Verbum pater exhibuit* [E5/368]). *Non livoris* also begins a series of pieces extending up through the end of *F*-6 that are either unique to MS *F* (8 works), or are absent from the other three “central” conductus sources, *W1*, *W2*, *Ma* (12 works). Two of the latter type present somewhat special circumstances, though, as their only sources outside *F* show different music for one and a different text for the other. The first of these is *Quare fremuerunt* (F24/278), whose poetry in *F*-6,52 is transmitted in a completely contrasting musical version in *Fauv*; the second has music equivalent to the *Ave Maria* found in *StV* (no. II in Anderson’s catalog, no. III in the CPI database), but this setting appears at *F*-6,57 with the contrafact text *Stella serena* (F29/339). According to Robert Falck (“New Light,” 316-317),¹ the *StV Ave Maria* redaction of this piece is likely to be the original version. **Attribution:** *Non livoris* also occurs as the single outlier in the midst of a series of pieces attributed to Philip the Chancellor, preceded by *F*-6,40-41 (the modern attributed motet *Serena virginum / Manere* [A1/323 – vdW 69/M5] and the conductus/lai *O Maria virginei* [E14/239]), and followed by *F*-6,43-45 (*Gedeonis area* [F15/143], *Ave virgo virginum verbi* [F16,P46/39], and *Mundus a munditia* [F17/212]), the last four all given to Philip by medieval sources. This factor, as well as the implication that Christ is the speaker in the poem (see Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xvii), have led

¹Robert Falck, “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 [1970]: 315-326.

me to suggest elsewhere that *Non livoris* may also be his work.² **Textual notes: 3-5:** from Christ's ejection of the merchants from the Temple, as in Matthew, 21:12-13, Mark, 11:15-17, and especially the rendering in John, 2:14-15, which specifically mentions the whips that Jesus used.³ See Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xvii, for an interpretation of the selling of the doves as the improper offering of matters associated with the Holy Spirit for worldly gain, drawn from Hugh of Saint Victor's *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* (for the text, see *PL*, 175, cols. 754-755).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC:** the opening signatures of a synchronous *b-flat* in the Tr (apparently of only local duration for line 1) and an *f-sharp* in the D (absent by the third system of the MS, but apparently required afterwards in both Tr and D to accommodate simultaneities with *b-natural*) are rather unusual in their juxtaposition here; perhaps the unusual deployment in the opening line of the poem might suggest an attempt at word painting for “livoris” and “rancore.” Strokes enclosed in brackets, delineating the end of line 6, are editorial additions. The cadences throughout the piece emphasize *a* for lines 1-2 and 5, close on *g* in lines 3 and 6, and offer *e* for line 4. The final cadence on *d* in line 7, as a result, may strike some as unexpected.

²See Thomas B. Payne, “Philip the Chancellor,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed 26 July 2021: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021561>.

³John, 2:14-15: “Et invenit in templo vendentes boves, et oves, et columbas; et nummularios sedentes. Et cum fecisset quasi flagellum de funiculis, omnes eiecit de templo, oves quoque et boves, et nummulariorum effudit aes et mensas subvertit” (“And [Jesus] found sitting in the temple those who were selling oxen, sheep, and doves; and the money-changers. And when he had made something like a whip of little cords, he drove them all out of the temple, as well as the sheep and oxen, and the coins of the changers he poured out and overturned their tables”).

GEDEONIS AREA

Conductus (F15/143)

F, f. 239v (6,43): Strophe I; *Ch*, f. 38v (no. 18): Strophe II

A **B**

Tr
8
[Ge de o nis a re a ce li tus per fu sa ro re
[Vir ga ver nat a ri da ex e rit fru ctum cum flo re.

D
8
[Ge de o nis a re a ce li tus per fu sa ro re
[Vir ga ver nat a ri da ex e rit fru ctum cum flo re.

T
8
Ge de o nis a re a ce li tus per fu sa ro re
[Vir ga ver nat a ri da ex e rit fru ctum cum flo re.

A **B**

Tr
8
flam ma ru bus i gne a ra di at ab sque ca lo re
vir go ver bo gra vi da. pe pe rit sal vo pu do re

D
8
flam ma ru bus i gne a ra di at ab sque ca lo re
vir go ver bo gra vi da. pe pe rit sal vo pu do re

T
8
flam ma ru bus i gne a ra di at ab sque ca lo re
vir go ver bo gra vi da. pe pe rit sal vo pu do re

(b) **#** **(#)** **b**

Tr
8
nu cle um in nu cle a te sta pro dit lu te a. lux au re a
o iu de a per fi da lit te ram e lu ci da o sto li da

D
8
nu cle um in nu cle a te sta pro dit lu te a. lux au re a
o iu de a per fi da lit te ram e lu ci da o sto li da

T
8
nu cle um in nu cle a te sta pro dit lu te a. lux au re a
o iu de a per fi da lit te ram e lu ci da o sto li da

8 gra - num ex - it pa - le - a o - le - a - stris o - le - a li - qui - tur pe - tra li - quo - re.]
ve - ri - tas est li - qui - da fo - ris lex vi - si - tan - da con - do - let in - tus sa - po

8 gra - num ex - it pa - le - a o - le - a - stris o - le - a li - qui - tur pe - tra li - quo - re.]
ve - ri - tas est li - qui - da fo - ris lex vi - si - tan - da con - do - let in - tus sa - po

8 gra - num ex - it pa - le - a o - le - a - stris o - le - a li - qui - tur pe - tra li - quo - re.]
ve - ri - tas est li - qui - da fo - ris lex vi - si - tan - da con - do - let in - tus sa - po - re.]

GEDEONIS AREA

Conductus (F15/143)

F, f. 239v (6,43): Strophe I; *Ch*, f. 38v (no. 14): Strophe II

I	Gedeonis area, celitus perfusa rore, flamma rubus ignea radiat absque calore. Nucleum in nuclea testa prodit lutea lux aurea. Granum exit palea, oleastris olea, liquitur petra liquore.		On Gideon's threshing floor, bathed with dew from heaven, a bush with a fiery flame throws off no heat.
		5	A golden light reveals the kernel within the little nut in an earthly shell. Grain issues from chaff, an olive tree from the oleasters, 10 a rock flows with water.
II	[Virga vernat arida; exerit fructum cum flore. Virgo, verbo gravida, peperit, salvo pudore. O Iudea perfida, litteram elucida, O stolidia. Veritas est liquida: foris lex visitanda, condolet intus sapore.]		A dry branch blooms; it brings forth fruit along with a flower. A virgin, pregnant with the Word, gives birth, her chastity inviolate. 15 O faithless Judea, O senseless people, bring your writings into the light. The truth is evident: your law must be approached from the outside, 20 for from within its flavor gravely suffers.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 43, f. 239v: a3; Strophe I only, with no room provided for additional stanzas. This piece and the two following – *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16,P46/39) and *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212) – are also grouped together, though in a different sequence, in *Praha* (see below)

Ch, no. 14, f. 15v: a3; Strophes I-II complete, with Strophe II entered after the last system of the piece at the bottom right of the leaf, headed by a capital. Blank space is provided for the additional stanza within the writing block, and the text of Strophe II slightly overshoots this, extending into the right and bottom right margins.

Text only:

Praha: no. 18, f. 38v^b; text only of Strophes I-II, complete, with the opening initial never entered (but with a guide letter in the gutter to the far left of the text column, as if attached to the word at the end of the line in column a – “iusticie-g”), and with a capital to begin II; rubric in right margin: “de beata virgine” (“on the Blessed Virgin”). *Gedeonis area* and the two pieces surrounding it in *Praha*, *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212) and *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16,P46/39) are also contiguous in *F*.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: This text is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in *Praha*, where it is presented together with

two other conductus texts that are also contiguous in *F* (see above). A number of the familiar symbols for the Virgin and her bearing of Christ in this poem also appear in the following conductus in *F*-6, *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16,P46/39), as well as in two compositions that closely precede it in *F*-6, the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* [A1/232 – vdW 69/M5]), and the conductus *O Maria virginei* (E14/239), at *F*-6, nos. 40 and 41. **1-2:** the dew that collected on Gideon's fleece, as recounted in Judges 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ; the fleece itself is a figure of the Virgin Mary; see, for example, the notes to the text of *Serena virginum*, line 8. **3-4:** the bush appearing to Moses in Exodus, 3:2-6, burning yet unconsumed, is a customary figure for the Virgin, representing her chastity. **5-7:** as Anderson reports (*NDRC*, 2:xviii), the nut is a symbol for Christ. The supplied reference to certain stanzas of a sequence attributed to Adam of Paris/St. Victor (*Splendor patris et figura se conformans homini*), derives most famously from a sermon by Augustine (see the text in *PL*, 39, cols. 2197-2198), who associates the three segments of a nut – the leathery outer hull or husk (*corium*), the inner shell (*testa*) and the nutmeat or kernel within (*nucleus*), comparable to flesh, bones, and the soul, respectively – with three aspects of Christ: his flesh, the wood of his cross, and his divinity.¹ In the conductus poem, the kernel of the nut – the divinity that Christ (the nut) had within him in his human form (the earthly shell) – is quickened by the golden light emanating from God. **8:** one of the most frequently encountered images in the poetry of Philip the Chancellor, the separation of wheat grains from chaff through winnowing on a threshing floor (see also line 1) comes from Matthew, 3:12² and the nearly identical statements in Luke, 3:17, where it is presented as a symbol of the faithful achieving salvation by their separation from the damned. Here, in the particular context of the poem, it seems to refer to the divinity of God (grain) emanating from an otherwise normal human body (chaff). On the other hand, in the context of the latter comments given for line 9, below, it could also refer to those who follow the Old versus the New Law. **9:** cf. Isaiah, 24:13-14; Romans, 11:16-27, and the Tr voice of the double motet *Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine* (vdW 484/483/38), line 4. This symbol often refers to Christ (the cultivated olive) who was sired by God (the oleaster or wild olive tree). However, see the *De laudibus* of Richard of St. Laurent, book 12, chapter 6, §II, nos. 1-7 and §XXVIII in the cited edition;³ where the two images can also represent Christ and the Virgin. What is more, given the anti-Jewish invective beginning in line 15, the specific treatment of the image of olive and oleaster given in Walter of Châtillon's conductus *Excitatur caritas in Yericho* (F30/111) may add additional context, associating the images with the conflict between the followers of the Old and the New Law, and the Jews versus the Gentiles; see the discussion in the notes on the text for *Excitatur*, line 8. **10:** see Numbers, 20:1-11: the rock is Mary, the stream of water, Christ. **11-12:** a common association of the Virgin as a branch, shoot, or rod (*virga*) arising

¹*PL*, 39, cols. 2197-2198: “Quod ergo haec virga nuces produxit, imago Dominici corporis fuit. Nux enim trinam habet in suo corpore substantiae unionem, corium, testam et nucleum. In corio caro, in testa ossa, in nucleo interior anima comparatur. In corio nucis carnem significat Salvatoris, quae habuit in se asperitatem vel amaritudinem passionis. In nucleo interiorem declarat dulcedinem deitatis, quae tribuit pastum, et luminis subministrat officium. In testa, lignum interserens crucis, quod non discrevit id quod foris et intus fuit, sed quae terrena et coelestia fuerunt mediatoris ligni interpositione sociavit, dicente beato Apostolo, ‘Quia ipse per sanguinem crucis suae pacificavit omnia quae in coelis sunt, et quae in terris’ [Coloss. I, 20]: qui vivit cum Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen” (“Therefore, because this rod [of Aaron] produced [almond] nuts [see Numbers, 17:1-8], this was an image of the body of the Lord. For the nut has in its body a threefold union of substance: husk, shell, and kernel. The flesh is likened to the husk, the bones to the shell, and the inner soul to the kernel. The husk of the nut signifies the flesh of the Savior, which had in itself the sharpness or bitterness of the Passion. The kernel declares the inner sweetness of divinity, which provides food, and renders [through its oil] the benefit of light. The shell, the intervening wood of the cross, which did not discriminate what was outside or inside, but brought together through the intervening of its mediating wood those things that were terrestrial and heavenly, as the blessed Apostle said: ‘Because he himself through the blood of his cross made peace with all things that are in heaven and on earth’ [cf. Colossians, 1:20]: who lives with the Father in the unity of the holy Spirit, God forever and ever. Amen.”).

²Matthew, 3:12: “Cujus ventilabrum in manu sua: et permundabit aream suam: et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili” (“Whose [the Holy Ghost's] fan [i.e., threshing tool] is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his floor and gather his wheat into the barn; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.”).

³Richard of St. Laurent, *De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, misattributed to Albertus Magnus and published in *B[eat]i Alberti Magni, Ratisboniensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum, opera omnia...*, Auguste and Emile Borgnet, eds. (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1898).

from the root of Jesse, and its flower as Christ, derived from Isaiah, 11:1;⁴ see also the reference to the passage in Numbers in the remarks on Aaron's rod in the Augustinian quotations accompanying the remarks on the nut imagery in lines 5-7. **13,2:** most likely the Word as the manifestation of Christ, as in John, 1:1,⁵ although it is also associated with the greeting of Mary by the angel Gabriel in Luke, 1:28.⁶ **15-20:** criticism of the Jews, seen frequently in Philip's poetry and elsewhere in the conductus repertory: when seen only within the context of the Old Law, the Jewish people remain blind to the truths evident through Jesus's incarnation.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 5: “nucleum” in 5,1 is construed as accusative; all sources (*F, Ch, Praha*) give “et” for 5,2; the editorial emendation has been adopted for sense. For 5,3, *F, Ch, Praha* all supply an unusual form (“nuclea”) for this noun, more typically spelled “nucula,” and parsed as ablative here, as are “testa ... lutea” in line 6. **12,2:** Praha: apparently enixit, an unusual form I cannot otherwise locate, but which would make sense here if understood as an extemporized perfect active formation from the normally deponent verb “enitor” (“bring forth”). **17,2:** Praha: spelled stollida. **20,1:** Ch: “condolet” somewhat faded or rubbed away, but very likely the same reading as *Praha*. **MUSIC: Lines 1-4:** TDTr: F: the opening ABAB repetition of lines 1-4 in the T extends to all parts. **2,2:** Tr: F: the music for the two syllables of “[per]fusa” om; supplied from *Ch*. **5,1:** Tr: F: flat sign on *f* precedes “nucleum” to cancel earlier *f-sharp* sign at start of piece; *Ch* has no sig on *f* here for the system change at the start of leaf; one appears at line 5,3. **5,3:** Tr: Ch: *f-sharp* sig precedes second syllable of “nuclea,” retained until system change with no sig at start of line 7. **8,3:** Tr: F, Ch: sharp sig on *f* before the second syllable of “palea”; retained in *F, Ch* to end (including a system change in *Ch* at start of line 9,2). **9,2:** TDTr: F: the following strokes om in all parts; from *Ch* – Tr: Ch: preceding sharp sign on *f* through end of piece.

⁴Isaiah, 11:1: “Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet” (“And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.”).

⁵John, 1:1: “In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum” (“In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.”).

⁶Luke, 1:28: “Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus” (“And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.”).

AVE VIRGO VIRGINUM VERBI (I)

Conductus (F16/39)

F, f. 240r (6,44): Strophe I; *Praha*, f. 38v (no. 19): Strophes II-III

Tr 8

[A - ve vir-go vir - gi-num ver - bi car - nis cel - la, In sa-lu - tem ho - mi-num
 [A - ve ple-na gra - ti - a ca - put za - bu-lo - nis con - tri-vi - sti spo - li - a
 [Vir - go tu mo-sa - i - ce ru - bus vi - si-o - nis de te flux - it si - li - ce

D 8

[A - ve vir-go vir - gi-num ver - bi car - nis cel - la, In sa-lu - tem ho - mi-num
 [A - ve ple-na gra - ti - a ca - put za - bu-lo - nis con - tri-vi - sti spo - li - a
 [Vir - go tu mo-sa - i - ce ru - bus vi - si-o - nis de te flux - it si - li - ce

T 8

A - ve vir-go vir - gi-num ver - bi car - nis cel - la, In sa-lu - tem ho - mi-num
 [A - ve ple-na gra - ti - a ca - put za - bu-lo - nis con - tri-vi - sti spo - li - a
 [Vir - go tu mo-sa - i - ce ru - bus vi - si-o - nis de te flux - it si - li - ce

B 8

stil - lans lac et mel - la, pe - per - i - sti do - mi-num mo - y - si fi - scel - la,
 re - pa - rans pre-do - nis ce - li ro - rans plu - vi - a vel - lus ge - de-o - nis
 fons re - dem - pti-o - nis quos re-de - mit ca - li - ce chri - stus pas - si-o - nis

8

stil - lans lac et mel - la, pe - per - i - sti do - mi-num mo - y - si fi - scel - la,
 re - pa - rans pre-do - nis ce - li ro - rans plu - vi - a vel - lus ge - de-o - nis
 fons re - dem - pti-o - nis quos re-de - mit ca - li - ce chri - stus pas - si-o - nis

8

stil - lans lac et mel - la, pe - per - i - sti do - mi-num mo - y - si fi - scel - la,
 re - pa - rans pre-do - nis ce - li ro - rans plu - vi - a vel - lus ge - de-o - nis
 fons re - dem - pti-o - nis quos re-de - mit ca - li - ce chri - stus pas - si-o - nis

8

o. ra - di - o sol ex - it, et lu - mi - num fon - tem pa - rit stel - la.]
 o fi - li - o tu nos re - con-ci - li - a ma - ter sa - lo - mo - nis.]
 o gau - di - o in - du - it glo - ri - fi - ce re - sur - re - cti - o - nis.]

8

o. ra - di - o sol ex - it, et lu - mi - num fon - tem pa - rit stel - la.]
 o fi - li - o tu nos re - con-ci - li - a ma - ter sa - lo - mo - nis.]
 o gau - di - o in - du - it glo - ri - fi - ce re - sur - re - cti - o - nis.]

8

o. ra - di - o sol ex - it, et lu - mi - num fon - tem pa - rit stel - la.]
 o fi - li - o tu nos re - con-ci - li - a ma - ter sa - lo - mo - nis.]
 o gau - di - o in - du - it glo - ri - fi - ce re - sur - re - cti - o - nis.]

AVE VIRGO VIRGINUM VERBI (I)¹

Conductus (F16,P46/39)

F, f. 240r (6,44): Strophe I; *Praha*, f. 38v (no. 19): Strophes II-III

I	Ave, virgo virginum, verbi carnis cella, in salutem hominum, stillans lac et mella. Peperisti dominum, Moysi fiscella. O, radio sol exit, et luminum fontem parit stella.		Hail, virgin of virgins, chamber of the Word's flesh, exuding milk and honey for the salvation of mankind. 5 You bore the Lord, as the basket did for Moses. O, the sun comes forth in a sunbeam and a star begets the source of daylight.
II	[Ave, plena gratia, caput zabulonis contrivisti, spolia reparans predonis. Celi rorans pluvia, vellus Gedeonis, O, filio tu nos reconcilia, mater Salomonis.	10	Hail, lady full of grace, the head of the devil you have crushed, recovering the spoils of the plunderer. Moistening rain of heaven, 15 fleece of Gideon, O, you reconcile us to your son, mother of Solomon.
III	Virgo, tu Mosaice rubus visionis; de te fluxit silice, fons redemptionis. Quos redemit calice Christus passionis, O, gaudio induit glorifice resurrectionis.]	20	Virgin, you are the bush of Moses's vision; from you flowed, as from the rock, a stream of redemption. Those whom Christ redeemed with the cup of the Passion, 25 O, he gloriously clothes with the joy of the resurrection.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 44, f. 240r: a3; Strophe I only with no recourse for additional stanzas; the work is placed here between two other conductus – *Gedeonis area* (F15/143) and *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212) – that are also contiguous in *Praha*, but in a different order in that source (see below).

MüC (*D-Mbs*, *clm* 5539; *Munich*, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, *Clm* 5539), no. 8, f. 34r: a2, a1; Strophes I-III, complete: I headed by a large red initial, II-III by brown capitals of a similar size, with decorative red flecking and filigree; Strophe I is set a2 (TD), II-III a1 (T); the T and D of I further decorated by different styles of red filigree for each system, placed in the spaces between the two staves.²

¹For *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (II), see the description of the transmission of the contrasting musical setting of this text in *BaB* (*D-BAs Theol.* 74) in the sources below.

²Color images of this source, hosted by an external IIF service, are available via DIAMM by [this link](#). Black-and-white resources provided through the Digitale Bibliothek/Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek can be accessed [here](#).

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95), no. 79, f. 44v (42v): a1 (likely the T); music in unheightened neumes; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III preceded by an abbreviation for “versus” in red ink, and with an apparent addition of red-ink flecks to draw further attention to the capitalized opening letters of II and III (that of II, furthermore, may undergone subsequent enlargement; lines 26-27 changed to emulate a *Benedicamus Domino* setting, as does the version in *BaB*, following (see the text variants, below).³

Text only:

Praha, no. 19, f. 38v^b: text only, Strophes I-III, complete, with the opening initial never entered (but with a guide letter to the left of the text column), and capitals to begin II-III; marginal rubric at right: “de beata virgine”; this piece is transmitted contiguously with two others in both this source and *F*, but ordered differently (see above).

BaB (D-BAs Theol. 74; Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 74 [olim. P.VI.19]), no. 3, f. 2r: a2; Strophes I-II in a different musical setting than the other sources, but absent a large initial to signal its start. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; see Anderson, *NDRC*, 10:107, and DIAMM⁴ for the descriptions, inventory, and collation that inform these remarks. Both strophes are separately set a2; lines 16-18 are changed to emulate a BD setting, as is the version in *Stutt* (see text variants, below); rubric: “Item” (i.e., *Benedicamus*, an a2 setting of which precedes this piece). Anderson notes (*NDRC*, 10:107) that, despite the rubric suggesting that this piece might be considered a separate item in the MS, it follows directly upon the BD setting before it, with no hint of a break of system or change in the size of the initial. On the CPI website, the Bamberg transmission is distinguished from the others as *Ave virgo virginum* (II). This version of *Ave virgo virginum verbi* is most recently cataloged and edited as P46 in *NDRC*, 10, conforming to the revisions in the hand-annotated version of Anderson’s *Catalogue raisonné*; other references to this transmission, in the published form of his catalog and elsewhere in the edition, cite the numbering P44, but this now refers to a completely different piece, *O Maria vite via* (P44/-), also published in *NDRC*, 10.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Attribution: As are all the songs in *Praha*, this text is attributed to Philip the Chancellor. Dronke (“Lyrical Compositions,” 584),⁵ raises doubts about the attribution, but I would disagree with him due to the contiguous transmission of this piece with two other of Philip’s songs (*Gedeonis area* and *Mundus a munditia*) in both *F* and *Praha* (see the information on these sources, above). **Textual notes:** As with *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), its predecessor in both *F*-6 and *Praha*, *Ave virgo virginum verbi* presents and repeats a number of the typical attributes that are symbolically associated with the Virgin Mary. Several of these figures appear as well as in two compositions by Philip that closely precede them in *F*-6, the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* [A1/232 – vdW 69/M5] – a tentative modern attribution), and the conductus *O Maria virginei* (E14/239), at *F*-6, nos. 40 and 41. As a result, the textual notes to all these pieces may be consulted for additional treatment and references. **2,1:** most likely the Word as the manifestation of Christ, as in John, 1:1, although it is also associated with the “Ave” greeting of Mary by the angel Gabriel in Luke, 1:28 (appearing in line 10). **4:** For

³Images of *Stutt* available [here](#). The foliation in parentheses is given on the CPI website and in Anderson’s catalog and edition. The prior, unbraced folio reference corresponds to the ones on the online images.

⁴Available at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/655/#/>.

⁵Peter Dronke, “The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

the distillations mentioned here, cf. Song of Songs, 4:11,⁶ and the frequent biblical expression “flowing with milk and honey” in such passages as Deuteronomy, 31:20;⁷ Exodus, 33:3; and Jeremiah, 32:22. **6:** an analogy to the womb of the Virgin, recalling the basket the infant Moses’s mother placed him in by the riverbank, hoping to protect the child from Pharaoh’s decree that all male children born to the Hebrews then in Egyptian exile be slain; see Exodus, 2:1-6. **6,1:** “Moysi,” as usual here, is tri-syllabic, and may be either genitive or – as construed here – dative. **7-9:** the sunbeam and “source of daylight” is Christ, the sun God, and the star Mary. On Christ as light illuminating the Gentiles, see, e.g., the notes for the text for *Exultemus socii* (J17/115), line 6. **10:** see Luke 1:28, the greeting given by Gabriel to Mary at the Annunciation (see also above, line 2,1). **11-12:** although the word “zabulonis” more rightly refers to Zebulun, a son of Jacob and Leah and one of the patriarchs of the twelve tribes of Israel, here it appears to be a variant form of “zabulus” or “zabolus” (“devil”). For the crushing of the serpent’s (the devil’s) head by the seed of Eve (Christ), see Genesis, 3:15.⁸ **13,2:** the image of the robber/plunderer (“predo” / “praedo”), is a symbol for the Devil; within the Vulgate text of the Bible, the word is used nearly exclusively by the prophet Jeremiah, as in 4:7, 48:8, 48: 32, 51:48, 51:56; on this figure, see the citations in the notes for *Serena virginum*, lines 39-42 and *O Maria virginei*, line 13. **14-15:** the dew that collected on Gideon’s fleece, as recounted in Judges 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ (see also the remarks specific to line 14, below); the fleece itself, soaked by the dew without ever lying open to it, is a figure of the Virgin Mary that represents her preserved chastity; see, for example, the notes to the text of *Serena virginum*, line 8. **14:** cf. Isaiah 45:8, prophesying a typological symbol for Christ.⁹ Note also the phrase “descendit (sicut / ut) pluvia,” which appears in line 41 of the conductus *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus* (H32/324), *A solis ortus cardine processit* ((F22,Q23/5)), line 19, and also as a refrain in the conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/33). These expressions may derive either from Matthew, 7:24-27,¹⁰ which recounts the parable of the houses built on rock and on sand, or – more likely given the image of the fleece that follows shortly afterwards in both *Notum fecit* and in *Ave virgo virginum verbi* – from Psalm 71:6.¹¹ **18:** Solomon is a figure for Christ; more often, the Virgin is represented as Solomon’s throne; see, e.g., the remarks on line 15-16 for *O Maria*

⁶Song of Songs, 4:11: “Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa; mel et lac sub lingua tua: et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris” (“Your lips, my spouse, are as a dropping honeycomb, honey and milk are under your tongue; and the smell of your garments, as the smell of frankincense.”).

⁷Deuteronomy, 31:20: “Introducā enim eum in terram, pro qua iuravi patribus ejus, lacte et melle manantem. Cumque comederint, et saturati, crassique fuerint, avertentur ad deos alienos, et servient eis: detrahentque mihi, et irritum facient pactum meum” (“For I [God] will bring them into the land, for which I swore to their fathers, that flows with milk and honey. And when they have eaten, and are full and fat, they will turn away after strange gods, and will serve them: and will despise me, and make void my covenant.”).

⁸Genesis, 3:15: “Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus” (“I will put enmities between you [the serpent] and the woman [Eve], and your seed and her seed: she shall crush your head, and you shall lie in wait for her heel”).

⁹Isaiah 45:8: “Rorate, caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum; aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem, et justitia oriatur simul: ego Dominus creavi eum” (“Drop down dew, O heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain down a just man: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior: and let justice spring up at the same time: I the Lord made him”).

¹⁰Matthew, 7:24-27: “Omnis ergo qui audit verba mea hæc, et facit ea, assimilabitur viro sapienti, qui ædificavit domum suam supra petram,” et descendit pluvia, et venerunt flumina, et flaverunt venti, et irruerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit: fundata enim erat super petram. Et omnis qui audit verba mea hæc, et non facit ea, similis erit viro stulto, qui ædificavit domum suam super arenam: et descendit pluvia, et venerunt flumina, et flaverunt venti, et irruerunt in domum illam, et cecidit, et fuit ruina illius magna” (“Every one therefore that hears these my [Jesus’s] words, and does them, shall be likened to a wise man that built his house upon a rock; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock. And every one that hears these my words, and does them not, shall be like a foolish man that built his house upon the sand; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof.”).

¹¹Psalm, 71:6: “Descendet sicut pluvia in vellus, et sicut stillicidia stillantia super terram.” (“He [the king] shall come down like rain upon the fleece; and as showers falling gently upon the earth.”).

virginei (E14/239), nearby earlier at *F*-6,41. **19-20:** see Exodus, 3:2-6; the bush appearing to Moses, burning yet unconsumed, is a common figure for the Virgin; see the notes to the motet *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), lines 5-6, earlier at *F*-6,34. **21-22:** for the story of Moses drawing water from the rock, see Numbers, 20:1-11; and cf. Deuteronomy, 32:13;¹² Psalms, 80:17.¹³ In medieval exegesis the rock is Mary, the stream of water or of honey that flowed from it, Christ. **25-27:** alternatively: “... he clothes with the joy of the glorious resurrection.”

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 1,1: Praha: Initial om; guide letter in margin to the left. **7,1: Praha:** “a” for “O.” **16-18: BaB:** O ratio / Benedicat domino / chorus conditionis. **16: Praha:** filia; from *MüC* and *Stutt*. **19,3: Praha:** mosace; from *MüC* and *Stutt*. **26-27: Stutt:** Benedicat domino / tota plebs fidelis. **MUSIC:** *Ave virgo virginum verbi* is one of only nine conductus within the main Parisian sources (*F*, *W1*, *W2*, *Ma*) that has a final on *f*, and *b-flat* sigs appear almost completely consistently in *F* throughout all the parts of this piece;¹⁴ all but three of these *f*-final pieces, moreover, are Marian (as is *Ave virgo virginum*), and several of them have features and circumstances that suggest an Insular origin may be appropriate. Such a provenance does not appear to be the case, however, for the work under investigation here. **Lines 1-2:** T,D,Tr: *F*: the opening ABAB repetition of lines 1-4 in the T extends to all parts. A similar conceit is in effect for two of the previous three pieces in *F*, *O Maria virginei flos honoris* (E14/239), and *Gedeonis area* (F15/143) at *F*-6,41-42, and several works before them; see the source report on *F* for the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), at *F*-6,35.

¹²Deuteronomy, 32:13: Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fructus agrorum: ut sugeret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo” (“He [God] set him [Jacob] upon high land: that he might eat the fruits of the fields, that he might suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the hardest stone.”).

¹³Psalms 80:17: “Et cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti, et de petra melle saturavit eos” (“And he [the Lord] fed them with the fat of wheat, and filled them with honey out of the rock.”).

¹⁴Only the first three syllables of the Tr in *F* lack a *b-flat* sig. The nine conductus in the four main sources with *f* finals are: *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9), *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16/39), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *Fons* (or *Flos*) *preclusus* (K72/129), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329).

MUNDUS A MUNDITIA – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (F17/212)

F, f. 240v (6,45): Strophe I; *LoB*, f. 41r (no. 16): Strophes II-IX

Tr

1. [Mun - dus a mun - di - ti - a di - ctus per con - tra - ri - a. sor - det im - mun - di - ti - a
 2. [O - mnis im - mun - di - ci - e cle - rus fons est ho - di - e ca - pi - ta ma - li - ci - e
 3. [Sor - di - um spur - ci - ti - a cur - rit ad de - cli - vi - a. pre - su - lum fla - gi - ti - a
 4. [U - bi nunc iu - sti - ci - a u - bi san - cti - mo - ni - a. pe - rit in a - stu - ti - a.
 5. [So - la si - mu - la - ti - o gau - det pri - vi - le - gi - o. si - mul - ta - tis bi - vi - o
 6. [Nunc pre - ce nunc pre - ti - o. nunc vi fit in - tru - si - o. di - vi - tum con - di - ti - o
 7. [Ce - ca fit pro - vi - si - o ce - ci se - dent so - li - o. ut ce - co - rum re - gi - o
 8. [Ni - hil pro - dest ma - the - sis. nil lo - gos nil po - e - sis au - rum plus quam fro - ne - sis
 9. [Sy - mo - ni - e la - que - um. spo - li - o - rum pu - te - um fal - si - ta - tis pro - the - um

1. D

1. [Mun - dus a mun - di - ti - a di - ctus per con - tra - ri - a. sor - det im - mun - di - ti - a
 2. [O - mnis im - mun - di - ci - e cle - rus fons est ho - di - e ca - pi - ta ma - li - ci - e
 3. [Sor - di - um spur - ci - ti - a cur - rit ad de - cli - vi - a. pre - su - lum fla - gi - ti - a
 4. [U - bi nunc iu - sti - ci - a u - bi san - cti - mo - ni - a. pe - rit in a - stu - ti - a.
 5. [So - la si - mu - la - ti - o gau - det pri - vi - le - gi - o. si - mul - ta - tis bi - vi - o
 6. [Nunc pre - ce nunc pre - ti - o. nunc vi fit in - tru - si - o. di - vi - tum con - di - ti - o
 7. [Ce - ca fit pro - vi - si - o ce - ci se - dent so - li - o. ut ce - co - rum re - gi - o
 8. [Ni - hil pro - dest ma - the - sis. nil lo - gos nil po - e - sis au - rum plus quam fro - ne - sis
 9. [Sy - mo - ni - e la - que - um. spo - li - o - rum pu - te - um fal - si - ta - tis pro - the - um

T

1. Mun - dus a mun - di - ti - a di - ctus per con - tra - ri - a. sor - det im - mun - di - ti - a
 2. [O - mnis im - mun - di - ci - e cle - rus fons est ho - di - e ca - pi - ta ma - li - ci - e
 3. [Sor - di - um spur - ci - ti - a cur - rit ad de - cli - vi - a. pre - su - lum fla - gi - ti - a
 4. [U - bi nunc iu - sti - ci - a u - bi san - cti - mo - ni - a. pe - rit in a - stu - ti - a.
 5. [So - la si - mu - la - ti - o gau - det pri - vi - le - gi - o. si - mul - ta - tis bi - vi - o
 6. [Nunc pre - ce nunc pre - ti - o. nunc vi fit in - tru - si - o. di - vi - tum con - di - ti - o
 7. [Ce - ca fit pro - vi - si - o ce - ci se - dent so - li - o. ut ce - co - rum re - gi - o
 8. [Ni - hil pro - dest ma - the - sis. nil lo - gos nil po - e - sis au - rum plus quam fro - ne - sis
 9. [Sy - mo - ni - e la - que - um. spo - li - o - rum pu - te - um fal - si - ta - tis pro - the - um

1. cri - mi - num. cre - scit in ma - li - ti - a cul - pa ne - scit ter - mi - num.]
 2. pre - su - les nec tot pe - stis va - ri - e. mon - stra vi - dit her - cu - les.]
 3. plan - gi - te qui - a flu - unt vi - ci - a ad mem - bra de ca - pi - te.]
 4. ve - ri - tas du - plex est ma - li - ti - a si - mu - la - ta e - qui - tas.]
 5. cur - ri - te fi - cti - o - nis stu - di - o pre - va - lent y - po - cri - te.]
 6. po - ti - or pre - mi - net of - fi - ci - o di - ti - or non di - gni - or.]
 7. fran - ci - a ha - bi - tu pri - va - ti - o pre - stat in ec - cle - si - a.]
 8. pon - de - rat ni - si tra - hat la - che - sis clo - to fru - stra pro - pe - rat.]
 9. fu - gi - te nec ta - len - tum plum - be - um au - ro plus ap - pen - di - te.]

1. cri - mi - num. cre - scit in ma - li - ti - a cul - pa ne - scit ter - mi - num.]
 2. pre - su - les nec tot pe - stis va - ri - e. mon - stra vi - dit her - cu - les.]
 3. plan - gi - te qui - a flu - unt vi - ci - a ad mem - bra de ca - pi - te.]
 4. ve - ri - tas du - plex est ma - li - ti - a si - mu - la - ta e - qui - tas.]
 5. cur - ri - te fi - cti - o - nis stu - di - o pre - va - lent y - po - cri - te.]
 6. po - ti - or pre - mi - net of - fi - ci - o di - ti - or non di - gni - or.]
 7. fran - ci - a ha - bi - tu pri - va - ti - o pre - stat in ec - cle - si - a.]
 8. pon - de - rat ni - si tra - hat la - che - sis clo - to fru - stra pro - pe - rat.]
 9. fu - gi - te nec ta - len - tum plum - be - um au - ro plus ap - pen - di - te.]

Fauv, f. 1r^c (no. 2)

2. M
8
T
8
Tenor

Mun - dus a mun - di - ti - a di - ctus per con - tra - ri - a. sor - det im - mun - di - ti - a

cri - mi-num. cre - scit in ma - li - ti - a cul - pa ne - scit ter - mi-num. Nam se - du - ctrix ho - mi-num

fa - vel-li ne - qui - ti - a. non ha - bet hic do - mi-num.

MUNDUS A MUNDITIA – *F* and *Fauv* versions
Conductus (F17/212)

F, f. 240v (6,45): Strophe I; *LoB*, f. 41r (no. 16): Strophes II-IX

I	Mundus, a munditia dictus, per contraria, sordet immunditia criminum. Crescit in malitia. Culpa nescit terminum.		The world (“mundus”), named after cleanliness (“munditia”), is, on the contrary, filthy from the stain of sin. 5 It increases in wickedness. Guilt knows no limit.
II	Omnis immundicie, clerus fons est hodie. Capita malicie presules, nec tot pestis varie. monstra vidit Hercules.	10	Of every uncleanness today, the clergy is the source. The heads of malice are the bishops, and even Hercules never saw so many monsters of diverse destruction.
III	Sordium spurcitia currit ad declivia. Presulum flagitia plangite, quia fluunt vicia ad membra de capite.	15	The dirt from such filth runs down the slopes. Mourn the shameful deeds of the bishops, for the vices flow to the body’s members from the head.
IV	Ubi nunc iusticia, ubi sanctimonia? Perit in astutia veritas. Duplex est malitia simulata equitas.	20	Where now is justice, where holiness? Truth perishes in cunning. False fairness is malice multiplied.
V	Sola simulatio gaudet privilegio. Simultatis bivio currite. Fictionis studio prevalent ypocrite.	25 30	Pretense alone rejoices in privilege. Flee from the crossroads of animosity. In the practice of fiction hypocrites have the upper hand.
VI	Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi fit intrusio. Divitum conditio potior. Preminet officio ditior, non dignior.	35	Now by prayer, now by a bribe, now by force a usurpation is made. The condition of the rich is the more preferable. The richer, not the worthier one, takes precedence for the job.
VII	Ceca fit provisio. Ceci sedent solio, ut cecorum regio, Francia,	40	A blind provision is enacted. The blind sit on the throne, so that in the region of the blind, in France,

	habitu privatio prestat in ecclesia.		deprivation excels by habit in the church.
VIII	Nihil prodest mathesis, nil logos, nil poesis. aurum plus quam fronesis ponderat. Nisi trahat Lachesis, Cloto frustra properat.	45	Learning benefits nothing, nor does reason or poetry. Gold weighs more than wisdom. Unless Lachesis measures out the thread of life, Clotho hurries in vain to spin it.
IX	Symonie laqueum, spoliorum puteum, falsitatis Protheum fugite; nec talentum plumbeum auro plus appendite.	50 54	Escape the snare of simony, the pit of spoils, the Proteus of falsity; and don't weigh a leaden coin more than one of gold.

The following three lines (with added music) are appended to the version of this piece in *Fauv* to conclude Strophe I:

Nam seductrix hominum,	7a	For the seducer of men,
Favelli nequitia,		the wickedness of Fauvel,
non habet hic dominum.	9a	here has no master.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no 45, f. 240v: a3; Strophe I only, taking up the rest of the page; the very small empty space with staff lines at the end of the final system is not conducive to supplying further stanzas. This piece is the third of three consecutive works by Philip the Chancellor, in combination with the conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143) and *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16,P46/39), that are also contiguous in *Praha*, but in a different order in that source (see below).

LoB, no. 16, f. 41r: a2 (TD); Strophes I-IX, complete, the setting of Strophe I headed by a large initial decorated with abstract foliage that descends down the left of the page, and with the texts of the subsequent stanzas brandishing painted, filigreed opening capital letters in alternating colors; a further bit of filigree graces the left margin of f. 41v; preceding rubric (at the end of f. 40v): “De prelatis” (“On bishops”).

F-Pn lat. 8433, no. 4, f. 46r: a1 (T), Strophes I-IX, complete, in order: 1,3,2,8,5,9,4,6,7, with subsequent stanzas indicated by capitals.¹ This portion of the MS (ff. 45v-46v) contains a small collection of four conductus by Philip: *Homo considera* (K56/156), *Homo vide que pro te patior* (K53/164), *Quisquis* (or *Si quis*) *cordis et oculi* (K52/291), and *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212); the first three are a1 and closely grouped together in *F*-10.

Fauv, no. 2, f. 1r^c: a2; arranged as a motet, with the song's original T functioning as a motetus (Mot) and with a newly added, untexted voice in ligatures throughout, notated successively after the Mot and labeled “Tenor”; this part opens with a filigreed initial and corresponds to none of the other voices within the sources; only Strophe I given, concluding with an additional three lines of text (given above) set to new music and headed

¹*F-Pn lat.* 8433 has images available [here](#).

by a very elaborate capital decorated with abstract foliage and featuring gold leaf; in mensural notation. The *Fauv* version is supplied here for comparison after that of *F*.²

Text only:

Praha, no. 17, f. 38v^b: text only of Strophes I-IX, complete, with the missing opening initial indicated by a guide letter to the left of the text column and subsequent strophes shown by capitals; rubric in right margin: “de prelatiis” (“on bishops”). Near the close of the poem several marginalia appear, also on the right, cued by vertical hatchings within the lyric itself. These appear to furnish glosses to some of the Hellenisms that occur in the text of Strophe VIII. The two works that follow *Mundus a munditia* in *Praha* are also contiguous in *F*, but in a different order (see above).

F-Pn lat. 8207, f. 13v (73v): text only of lines 1-2 quoted in a marginal gloss to a line within another poem and attributed to Philip: “Unde philippus cancellarius parisiensis in prosa quam fecit. mundus a mundicia dictus per contraria” (“About which [i.e., the unclean world] Philip the Chancellor of Paris [wrote] in the *prosa* that he made: *Mundus a mundicia dictus per contraria*”).³

Music only: none.

Proposed Contrafact:

Dirai vos senes doptansa (P.C. 293-18,⁴ attributed to Marcabru). The song boasts a similar poetic scheme: 6-line strophes with a 3pp word for line 4 (in the chanson the same word appears in each stanza), but all other lines are 8p rather than the 7pp of the conductus; the preserved melody is also different: *F-Pn f. fr.* 22543, f. 5v.

Notes on the Text: Attribution and historical context: This poem is attributed to Philip in *LoB*, *Praha*, and *F-Pn lat.* 8207. It appears almost certain that it was written in response to the contested election of William of Auvergne as bishop of Paris in 1227-1228; the connection is suggested particularly by lines 31-32 and 37-42 (see the remarks on these individually, below). For details on this contentious event, see my “Chancellor versus Bishop”;⁵ Franco Morenzoni, “Le conflit pour l’élection”;⁶ Payne, *Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony*, 1:80-

²Images of *Fauv* available [here](#).

³Images of *F-Pn lat.* 8207 available [here](#). The gloss expounds the following hexameter, which has additional interlinear glosses above certain words (shown here in brackets after the applicable items): “Immundus [fetidus] mundus. cariosa [idest putrida] caro. ferus hostis [demon]” (“Unclean [fetid] world, decayed [that is, putrid] flesh, evil enemy [demon]”). The opening lines of this glossed poem, which transmits a redaction of one of a pair of treatises on morals and manners commonly known by the name of *Facetus*, appear on f. 12v (72v) – again with their interlinear glosses supplied here in brackets: “Cum nichil utilius [idest melius] humane credo salutis / quam rerum novisse modis et moribus [idest manieres] uti” (“Since I believe nothing is more useful [that is, better] for human salvation than to have known how to use the practices and customs [that is, manners] of things ...”).

⁴This reference is to the catalog of Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

⁵Thomas B. Payne, “Chancellor versus Bishop: the Conflict between Philip the Chancellor and Guillaume d’Auvergne in Poetry and Music,” *Philippe le Chancelier: prédicateur, théologien, et poète parisien du début du XIII^e siècle*. Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d’histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

⁶Franco Morenzoni, “Le conflit pour l’élection de l’évêque de Paris en 1227-1228 d’après les sermons de Philippe le Chancelier,” *Philippe le Chancelier: prédicateur, théologien, et poète parisien du début du XIII^e siècle*, Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 41-60, Bibliothèque d’histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

83;⁷ Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Summa de Bono*, 1:26*;⁸ and *idem*, “Bischofswahl,” 318-326.⁹ The allusions to the episcopal appointment connect this poem to a number of other conductus and motet texts that criticize bishops, all but one of which have been attributed to Philip the Chancellor (and the single outlier is thus a strong contender for his authorship). These works, too, are likely prompted by the installation of William of Auvergne. A study of all the musical pieces written in connection with the Paris bishop’s election is in Payne, “Chancellor versus Bishop.” The various conductus in question here, in addition to *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), are: *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), *Veritas equitas largitas* (K62/375), and just possibly *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155); the motets include: *Error popularis / Dominus* (vdW 44/M1, not previously attributed to Philip but now likely his work, given its connection to the event), *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (vdW 451/M37), and at least the triplum voice of the double motet *Ypocrite / Velut stelle / Et gaudebit* (vdW 316/315/M24). Since the text here and in the other pieces implies that the papal decree to install William had already been pronounced, *Mundus a munditia*, along with these other works, would likely have been composed no earlier than April 10, 1228. In addition, these “bishop election” poems share a number of textual correlations among themselves that arise in *Mundus a munditia*. In particular are **a.)** the references to bishops as a diseased head that spreads its illness to the other body members (the clergy), as in lines 7-10 and 13-18; **b.)** the invocation of the hypocrite, a quality that Philip the Chancellor often associates with corrupt prelates, and in particular with William of Auvergne, in lines 29-30;¹⁰ **c.)** the reference to the blind leaders in lines 37-42 (q.v. also below); and **d.)** the disrespect shown for knowledge as a desirable quality for church office holders in lines 43-46, which appears in *Error popularis*, lines 14-16¹¹ and 26-28,¹² as well as in *Veritas equitas*, lines 58-63 (from Strophes 15-16)¹³ and lines 103-108 (Strophe 26).¹⁴ These and some further shared images appear below in the notes to individual lines of the poem. **Textual notes:** **7-10:** see the treatment of lines 13-18, below for more on this metaphor. **11-12:** most particularly, one would expect, the monsters the Greek hero encountered during his twelve labors, although his ancillary exploits also brought him into contact with other fabulous creatures. **13-18:** first broached in lines 7-10, further exploration of the metaphor of a bishop as a pestilential head that infects the lower parts of the body appears here. They are strikingly recalled in lines 11-14 (opening

⁷Thomas B. Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor’s Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School,” 5 volumes, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1991).

⁸Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis: Summa de Bono*, 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985).

⁹Nikolaus Wicki, “Philipp der Kanzler und die pariser Bischofswahl von 1227/1228,” *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 5 (1958): 318-326.

¹⁰For its appearance in one of Philip’s sermons, delivered during the Great Dispersion of the university from Paris between 1229-1231, see Thomas B. Payne, “*Aurelianus civitas*: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor,” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 75 (2000): 589-614; especially 607-608. The identification of the “hypocrita prelati” with William in Philip’s sermon also occurs, for example, in Marie-Magdalène Davy, *Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231*, Etudes de philosophie médiévale, no. 15 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1931), 126; and in Jacques Verger, “Conclusion,” in *Autour de Guillaume d’Auvergne (†1249)*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, Jacques-Yves Tilliet, Bibliothèque d’histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 370-371.

¹¹*Error popularis*, lines 14-16: “Magistralis / laus a scalis / presulum repellitur.” (“The esteem due a master is thrust back from the ladder to the episcopacy.”).

¹²*Error popularis*, lines 26-28: “Sapor salis / doctinalis / terram sapit et conteritur.” (“The flavor of a teacher’s good sense tastes like dirt and is spoiled.”).

¹³*Veritas equitas*, lines 58-63 (from Strophes 15-16): “Dum cognati prebendati / surgunt ad honores, / pulsant dati paupertati / ostia doctores. // Litterati, spe fraudati, / egent post labores.” (“While kinsmen with prebends/ rise to honors, the teachers, handed over to poverty, knock on the doors. // The learned, cheated by hope, are needy after their labors.”).

¹⁴*Veritas equitas*, lines 103-108 (Strophe 26): “Nulla studio / fit protectio; / iugo nimio / premitur. Leditur / quorum brachio / solent esse tuti.” (“No security is offered for study; with a too great a yoke it is oppressed. It is injured by the arm of those it used to protect.”).

the second stanza) of the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), a work almost certainly written by Philip.¹⁵ **19-24:** for similar language inquiring after lost moral qualities, cf. *Veritas equitas*, lines 146-151 (strophe 36),¹⁶ as well as the opening quatrain of Philip's *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94).¹⁷ **31-32:** nearly identical language appears in *Veritas equitas*, lines 91-92 (from strophe 24), which associates the intrusion specifically with the selling of the Paris prelacy, and thus connects *Mundus a munditia* closely and convincingly to the bishop's election controversy.¹⁸ **37-42:** another possible rendering of line 37 is "foresight (*provisio*) becomes blind," but in view of the association of this poem with the Paris bishop's election controversy of 1227-1228, this is more likely a reference to the installation of William of Auvergne to the see of Paris by papal provision.¹⁹ As a result, the blind sitting on the throne may refer not (or not only) to the royalty of France, but also to the ones occupying the bishops' *cathedrae* in Rome and Paris. **47-48:** two of the three Fates (*Fata, Parcae, Moirai/Moerae*) of Greek and Roman mythology; see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: 2:654, 5:532, 8:452, 15:781. **51:** Proteus was a mythical sea god, blessed with the gift of foretelling the future. In order to extract a prophecy from him, he had to be caught and held fast as he attempted to elude his captors by changing into a multitude of different shapes; see, e.g., Virgil, *Georgics*, 4, 387-414; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8, 730-731. Proteus also makes an appearance in Philip's conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante*, lines 21-22, and in the conductus *Celum non animum* (E1/56), lines 49-50 (ascribed to Philip by David A. Traill in "A Cluster of Poems," 284).²⁰

Observations and Variants: TEXT: Since both the *F* and *Fauv* versions are offered in transcription, and since *LoB* stands as the base source for the text in all remaining stanzas after the first, any variants in these sources from the text above are listed. The inconsistent spelling of the rhyming words that contain either "-itia" or "-icia" in *LoB* is retained in the text as given here. **1,1:** *LoB*: first syllable entered under D, not in T. **1,3:** *F* has the adopted form *munditia*; *LoB*: *munditicia*; *mundicia* in all remaining sources (*F-Pn lat.* 8433, *Fauv, Praha, F-Pn lat.* 8207). **3,2:** *Fauv*: *immundicia*. **5,3:** *Fauv*: *malicia*. **27,1:** *LoB*: *simulatis*; from *F-Pn lat.* 8433, *Praha*. **43,3:** *LoB*: "machesis"; from *F-Pn lat.* 8433, *Praha*. **MUSIC:** *F, Fauv*: no variants.

¹⁵*Deduc Syon uberrimas*, lines 11-14: "Ad corpus infirmitas / capitis descendit, / singulosque gravitas / arctus apprehendit." ("The sickness of the head descends to the body, and a heaviness lays hold of each one of the limbs."). See the notes to the text of this piece for further citations.

¹⁶*Veritas equitas*, lines 146-151 (strophe 36): "Dic, ergo, veritas. / Ubi nunc habitas? / equitas, largitas, / ubi nunc latitas? / Quid profuit, que preluit / malignitas?" ("Speak, then, Truth. Where are you living now? Fairness, Generosity, where now are you hiding? What good is there, now that Malignity has been put in charge?").

¹⁷*Dic Christi veritas*, lines 1-4: "Dic, Christi veritas. / Dic, cara raritas. / Dic, rara caritas. / Ubi nunc habitas?" ("Speak, truth of Christ. Speak, dear rarity. Speak, rare Charity. Where now do you dwell?").

¹⁸*Veritas equitas*, lines 91-92 (from strophe 24): "Prece, precio, / fit intrusio" ("With a prayer, for a bribe, an intrusion is made.").

¹⁹On papal provision, which allowed the pope in certain instances to designate the recipients of ecclesiastical offices, see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1:118.

²⁰"A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in Carmina Burana 21-36." *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 47 (2006): 267-286.

O LILIUM CONVALLIUM – *F* and *E-Tc* 98.28 versions
Conductus (F18/236)

F, f. 241r (6,46)

Tr
8 [O] li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num stirps re - gi - a.

I 1. D
8 [O] li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num stirps re - gi - a.

T
8 O li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num stirps re - gi - a.

8 spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

8 spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

8 spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

8 e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a. a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a

8 e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a. a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a

8 e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a. a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a

8 nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

8 nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

8 nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.]

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.]

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.

*E-Tc 98.28, f. 237v (no. 5)**

Tr [O li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num styrps re - gi - a.

I 2. D [O li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num styrps re - gi - a.

T O li - li - um con - val - li - um flos vir - gi - num styrps re - gi - a.

spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

spes o - mni - um fi - de - li - um lux lu - mi - num. o fi - li - a

e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a.

e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a.

e - ve ma - tri con - tra - ri - a a ve ma - tris de gra - ti - a.

*For this transcription from mensural notation, in order to communicate the upbeat of this mode-1 interpretation, ticked "barlines" are placed after the initial upbeat and then for each ternary Long value up to the final syllable. All strokes in *E-Tc 98.28* are rendered as breath marks, and are bracketed if supplied from *F*.

nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

nos re - di - mens per fi - li - um. a - ve a ve re - me - di - um

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.]

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.]

nos ex - i - mens mi - se - ri - a.

O LILIUM CONVALLIUM – *F* and *E-Tc* 98.28 versions

Conductus (F18/236)

F, f. 241r (6,46)

I	O lilium convallium, flos virginum, stirps regia, spes omnium fidelium, lux luminum. O filia, Eve matri contraria, a ve matris de gratia nos redimens per filium; ave, a ve remedium, nos eximens miseria.	O lily of the valleys, flower of virgins, royal branch, hope of all the faithful, light of lights. O daughter, 5 antithesis to mother Eve, redeeming us by way of grace from the woe of that mother through your son; hail, remedy from woe, delivering us from wretchedness.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 46, f. 241r: a3; Strophe I complete, with no space for further text; also no indication of a *Benedicamus domino* connection, as seen in some other sources.

E-Tc 98.28 (*Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, MS 98.28; olim 9-17; olim 22-13*), no. 5, f. 237v: a3; Strophe I complete, with no connection to a *Benedicamus* as in some other MSS. A small amount of space with empty staves concludes the final system, with no clue that more text was to be entered. The notation is mensural, with distinctions between si L and B shapes and with occasional 2li and 4li cop shapes, but it shows no modifications to the property or perfection of other ligated figures or groups of *conjuncturae* within the notation of this specific piece.¹ The *E-Tc* 98.28 version is included here additionally for comparison after the one in *F*.

I-CFm Cod. LVI (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVI), f. 252r: a2 (TD), with T written above the D and both voices set a fifth lower than in *F* and *E-Tc* 98.28; Strophe I complete, with incipit *O lylium convallium*; ends with the additional text “*Benedicamus domino*,” set to added music a1 in the lower voice (= the repositioned D), with nothing noted in the staff above; this closing BD melody not found in the listings of Barclay or Huglo, “*Les Débuts*.”²

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95), no. 209, f. 78r (76r): a2 (TD);³ the text of the single strophe is written out twice, each headed with red initials and with capitals flecked with red beginning lines 3,5, and 8 in both instances, apparently with the music of the T then the D in successive notation in unheightened neumes; the piece ends with the phrase “*Benedicamus domino*” in both inscriptions, with what looks like a different melody the second time. A line of text above the poem (headed by a similar initial also set with neumes) appears like a heading or preamble: “*Pra [porta? Or perhaps “ora” with an incorrect initial?] nobis | domine | domine | lumen vite | (“O Portal? / Pray? for us, Lord, Lord, light of life”)*”; at the start of the following written line in the MS, preceding the beginning of *O lilium* as if a rubric or

¹For a detailed study of the music in this source, including images, see Santiago Galán Gómez, “Una nueva fuente de polifonía antigua en la Península Ibérica: el manuscrito 98.28 de la Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo (E-Tc),” *Anuario musical*, 68 (2013): 17-46.

²Barbara Barclay, “The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped ‘Benedicamus Domino’ Settings,” 2 vols. Ph.D. diss. (University of California at Los Angeles, 1977), 50-93; Michel Huglo, “Les Débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: Les Premiers organa Parisiens,” *Forum Musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte*, no. 3, Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975, (1982): 150-153.

³Images of *Stutt* can be found [here](#).

direction, is given “~~de cantum~~,” without neumes, struck through, and under-dotted as shown here; there is also a rubric in the right margin at the edge of the leaf, aligned with the prior heading, reading (with possible alternatives in brackets): “duplca ptā nobis et sic de singularis de ōmbus [dcōnibus?],” which Anderson hypothesizes might be a cryptic indication for two-part performance (*NDRC*, 2:99); for more information on the presentation in this source, see Sarah Fuller, “Hidden Polyphony: A Reappraisal,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 24 (1971): 169-92; especially pp. 183-87.

Text only:

Rouen 1505 (*Miss. Abricense imp. Rotomagi 1505*); text only, headed “Offertorium”; a sixteenth-century printed missal for the use of Avranches, published in Rouen in 1505, used for the edition of *O lilium convallium* in *AH*, 49, p. 331, no. 657,⁴ where it is offered as an offertory trope for the feast of the Assumption.⁵ This source is listed by Anderson in his catalog and edition, but was never consulted or collated. It is presently unavailable to me; Clemens Blume, in his edition of this piece in *AH*, reports any variants listed below.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: **1:** see Song of Songs, 1:1: “Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium.” (“I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys”). The figure of the lily is a common one for the Virgin Mary. **2,3-4:** the “royal stem/stalk/root/tree/stock” (“stirps regia”) signifies the ancestral descent of Jesus and his parents from the line of Jesse through David; for the source of these images, see Isaiah, 11:1;⁶ cf. also the beginning of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16).⁷ **5:** Mary’s giving birth to Jesus redeemed mankind and negated the effects of original sin, prompted by Eve’s succumbing to the temptation of the diabolical serpent in Genesis, 3; Mary’s action thus restored humanity to its initial state before the Fall. **6-8:** a frequently encountered play on words – even on the letters they contain – contrasting the woe (“vae”) of Eve (“Eva”) that was counteracted by Mary’s response to Gabriel’s greeting (“ave”); see Luke, 1:28;⁸ see also the observations below on text lines 6,1-2, and the analogous treatments in the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), and *Stella serena* (F18/236).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: Since both the *F* and *E-Tc* 98.28 versions are offered in the transcription, any variants in these sources from the poem as given above are listed. Also, since Anderson’s edition of this piece does not report the variants of *Rouen 1505* available via *AH*, 49, p. 331, no. 657, they are also supplied here. **2,3:** *E-Tc* 98.28: styrps. **2,4-3,1:** *Rouen 1505*: regia spes om. **2,4:** *E-Tc* 98.28: final letters of “regia” slightly worn or partially erased; traces of the “i” are not visible prior to the remains of the “a.” **5,2:** *Rouen 1505*: mater. **6,1-2:** none of the sources makes clear through word spacing the play on words: “ave,” / “a ve”

⁴ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 49: *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, Clemens Blume, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1906).

⁵ See also the conductus *O vera O pia* (F21/248), transmitted two pieces later in *F*-6, which is also offered elsewhere as a trope to the offertory.

⁶ Isaiah, 11:1: “Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet” (“And a shoot shall come forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.”).

⁷ Responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16), text of the verse: “Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus” (“The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son”).

⁸ Luke, 1:28: “Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: ‘Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus’ ” (“And the angel, entering, said to her: ‘Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women’ ”).

(“hail,” “from woe”); the same pun is also likely employed at 8,1-3 (see above in the notes on the text for lines 6-8). **6,3:** all sources but *F* transmit the less preferable reading “mater.” The *F* redaction is retained here on the basis of *lectio difficilior*, as it is in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxii, and *AH*. **8,1-3:** see the remarks for line 6,1-2. **9,2:** Stutt: “eximes,” which could provide a more finite verb for the end of the stanza: “you deliver us ...”; no other consulted source echoes this reading. **9,3:** Rouen 1505: misericordia. **MUSIC:** In this piece, repetition in the T is frequently mirrored in segments of the upper voices as well (signaled above the respective staves in the *F* transcription), but not as consistently as in some of the prior works in this portion of *F*-6; for more on these aspects, see the remarks for *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70). Omitted strokes (bracketed breath marks) from *E-Tc* 98.28 are supplied by *F* and vice versa, except for those that close line 3; these are editorially supplied for both MS readings. ***F* version:** given the extraordinary consistency throughout this piece of greater consonance occurring at the ends, rather than the beginnings, of ligated figures (the only exception I note is at line 8,4 with the 2li=*ed* over “[re]me[dium]” in the D), my transcription from *F* realigns ligatures, *coniuncturae*, and text syllables so that they concur with the final pitches of such figures. This procedure is employed here even more thoroughly than usual in my transcriptions. ***E-Tc* 98.28 version:** Unlike the edition of *F*, this supplementary transcription follows more conventional practices of alignment, as the source seems to dictate. In order to communicate the upbeat of this mode-1 interpretation as given in mensural notation, editorially added ticked “barlines” intersect the top line of each staff after the initial sonority, and then recur for each TL value. All strokes in *E-Tc* 98.28 are rendered as breath marks, and are bracketed if om in this MS. **Line 4,1-2:** Tr: F,E-Tc 98.28: *f,e,fd,e*: likely 2 too high for “lux luminum,” as suggested by the state of the Tr previously in line 2, which furnishes the justification for the adopted emendation; but note that the same pitches occur in both sources that transmit the Tr. **8,2:** T: F: *b* for the pitch over “[ave] a [ve]”; *c* supplied from *E-Tc* 98.28, which pitch also corresponds to the transposed version of the D (=T) in *I-CFm Cod. LVI*.

VHE PROCLAMET CLERICORUM

Conductus (F19/357)

F, f. 241r (6,47)

Tr
8 [Vhe pro - cla - met cle - ri - co - rum pau - pe - rum e - le - gi - a.

I D
8 [Vhe pro - cla - met cle - ri - co - rum pau - pe - rum e - le - gi - a.
a b

T
8 Vhe pro - cla - met cle - ri - co - rum pau - pe - rum e - le - gi - a.

8 cum o - mni - no vir - tus mo - rum vi - le - scat ex - i - mi - a.

8 cum o - mni - no vir - tus mo - rum vi - le - scat ex - i - mi - a.
a b

8 cum o - mni - no vir - tus mo - rum vi - le - scat ex - i - mi - a.

8 pau - pe - ris pru - den - ti - a in con - spe - ctu pre - la - to - rum

8 pau - pe - ris pru - den - ti - a in con - spe - ctu pre - la - to - rum
a'

8 pau - pe - ris pru - den - ti - a in con - spe - ctu pre - la - to - rum

8 ob - mu - te - scit. et e - o - rum gau - dent il - li gra - ti - a;

8 ob - mu - te - scit. et e - o - rum gau - dent il - li gra - ti - a;

8 ob - mu - te - scit. et e - o - rum gau - dent il - li gra - ti - a;

8 qui pre - cla - ra tri - bu - unt ex - en - ni - a.]

8 qui pre - cla - ra tri - bu - unt ex - en - ni - a.]

8 qui pre - cla - ra tri - bu - unt ex - en - ni - a

VHE PROCLAMET CLERICORUM

Conductus (F19/357)

F, f. 241r (6,47)

I	Vhe, proclamet clericorum pauperum elegia, cum omnino virtus morum vilescat eximia. Pauperis prudentia in conspectu prelatorum obmutescit, et eorum gaudent illi gratia, qui preclara tribuunt exennia.		Woe! – that’s the lament poor clerics should exclaim, since distinguished moral behavior is becoming utterly worthless.
		5	A poor man’s prudence falls silent in the presence of prelates, and these rejoice in the favor of those who bestow magnificent bribes.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 47, f. 241r: a3; Strophe I complete, with no room for additional stanzas; a unique text/music setting, although a vernacular contrafact exists. This work closes off the group in *F*-6 of mostly strophic or single-strophic works without significant caudae that began with *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368) at *F*-6,19. The subsequent piece, *Ave presul gloriose* (F20/36) – in addition to the irony of its praise of St. Germanus¹ following directly after the episcopal criticisms of *Vhe proclamet* – begins a differing series of items weighted much more heavily with caudae and more diverse in poetic construction;² they do, however, continue the predilection of being either unique to *F* or at least absent from the three other main Notre Dame conductus collections (*W1*, *W2*, *Ma*), a trend that began earlier with *Non livoris ex rancore* (F14/222) at *F*-6,42.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: the T melody appears in the following trouvère chanson, attributed in two sources to Simon d’Authie:

Fols est qui a ensient (Linker no. 252-1, Raynaud/Spanke no. 665):³

¹This is most likely Germanus the bishop of Paris, rather than the prelate of Auxerre. I acknowledge my appreciation here for the personal correspondence on this matter supplied to me by Rebecca Baltzer. She suggests that the correlations between the conductus text and expressions in the language of the liturgical formulations of Notre Dame cathedral for the feast of Germanus of Paris imply that he is the more likely candidate of the two celebrated in the conductus. See the further discussion of this piece in its own place.

²This series of conductus *cum caudis* extends from *F*-6,48-57, with the primary exceptions being the three-part setting of the offertory prosula *O vera O pia* (F21/248) at *F*-6,49 that follows *Ave presul*, and *Stephani sollempnia* (F28/340) at *F*-6,56. The first is a fairly simple strophic piece cast as double versicles that contains only a very brief closing melisma of about 6-8L, while the second is a single stanza with no caudae at all. *F*-6 then concludes with the unique troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus Domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI, essentially through-composed and with a short concluding melisma), followed by the only extant musical setting of *Excitatur caritas* (F30/111 – strophic and without caudae), and the two later, textless mensural additions of *Parens patris natiue filia* (F31/260 – two through-composed strophes with the text of the second now lost) and *Si membrana esset celum* (F32/326 – one unfinished stanza), both *cum caudis*.

³These two references point to the following catalogs: Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, no. 31 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979); and Hans Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil: ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangsbuchstaben hergestellt von A. Bahat* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

F-Pn fr. 12615 (Chansonnier Noailles), f. 168v-169r: a1 (T); attribution: “Maistre symons dautie”; incipit: “Faus est ki a entient.”

F-Pn fr. 844 (MS du Roi), f. 124r-124v: a1 (T); attribution: “Maistre symons dautie”; incipit: “Folz est qui a escient.”

CH-BEsu 389 (Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, 389), f. 81v: text only, though ruled for music a1.

GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 149v (157v): text only.

Notes on the Text: This poem, critical of the bribery the speaker claims is rampant in episcopal courts, is analogous in tone and subject to Philip the Chancellor’s *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), which occurs just two works previously as *F-6,45*. It does not, however, appear directly to involve the crisis over the naming of William of Auvergne as bishop of Paris in 1228, as does *Mundus a munditia*. Given the proximity of *Vhe proclamet* with the other Philip pieces near this point in *F-6*, one might conceivably make a claim for his authorship of this work as well, although no other evidence arises, nor has the suggestion been broached in any of the earlier literature. **3-4:** note that “virtus” is feminine and modified by “eximia.”

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** no variants. Unlike most of the other pieces with opening or internal T repetition in this area of *F-6*, *Vhe proclamet* does not feature any overt recurrences of musical material in the upper parts. The only place that might make such a claim would be the four-note fall in the D at line 4 (“vilescat ex[imia]”) with its brief nod to the D of line 2 (at “pauperum”), which is then followed by the six-note echo in the Tr at “eximia” of the D at “elegia” in line 2.

AVE PRESUL GLORIOSE
Conductus (F20/36)

F, f. 241v (6,48) *see alternative reading of remainder of cauda at end

Tr [A -

I D [A -

T A -

[A] - ve pre - sul glo - ri - o - se

[A] - ve pre - sul glo - ri - o - se

[A] - ve pre - sul glo - ri - o - se

ger - ma - ne sy - dus au - re - um.

ger - ma - ne sy - dus au - re - um.

ger - ma - ne sy - dus au - re - um.

| canon btwn D and T for 8L

a - [a] - ve

a - [a] - ve

a - [a] - ve

First system of the musical score, featuring three staves. The lyrics are: nu - bis ne - bu-lo - se pre - co ar - cans a - cu - le - um. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with blue and red markings indicating specific musical features.

Second system of the musical score, featuring three staves. The lyrics are: nu - bis ne - bu-lo - se pre - co ar - cans a - cu - le - um. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with blue and red markings indicating specific musical features.

Third system of the musical score, featuring three staves. The lyrics are: cu-ius ro-bur a - ni-mi ci-li - ci - o com - pri-mi cor - pus co-er - cet ni - ve - . The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with blue and red markings indicating specific musical features.

Fourth system of the musical score, featuring three staves. The lyrics are: - um.] - um.] - um. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with blue and red markings indicating specific musical features.

(alternative reading follows)

ALTERNATIVE READING:

*F, f. 241v: closing portion of opening cauda with faster readings of some ligature groups, generating different alignments

The image displays a musical score for three staves, labeled Tr (Tenor), D (Dulciana), and T (Tromba). Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notation is in black ink on a five-line staff. Blue brackets are placed above the notes, indicating specific ligature groups. Dashed blue lines connect some of these groups, suggesting faster readings. The score concludes with a double bar line. Below the staves, the text "[A - ve]" is written in blue, indicating the alignment of the notes.

AVE PRESUL GLORIOSE

Conductus (F20/36)

F, f. 241v (6,48)

I Ave, presul gloriose,	Hail, glorious bishop,
Germane, sydus aureum.	Germanus, golden star.
Ave, nubis nebuloſe	Hail, herald, limiting the sting
preco arcans aculeum,	of the dark storm-cloud,
cuius robur animi,	5 whose firmness of spirit
cilicio comprimi,	compels his snow-white body
corpus coercet niveum.	to be concealed by a hair shirt.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 48, f. 241v: a3; Strophe I, complete, with no accommodation for further text. This work shows a return to more elaborate conductus settings *cum caudis*, after a long string of pieces with no appreciable melismas that began with *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368) at *F*-6,19.¹

Heid (D-HEu 2588; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588), no. 6, f. 3r, continuing directly onto and concluding on 4v [sic]:² a3; Strophe I essentially complete, with some segments of this piece missing, due to trimming of the leaves, worm-holes, and wear.³ The name given in line 2 of the poem is “Martine,” which is not reported in Anderson’s edition (see the notes on the text below for line 2,1). The *cum littera* portions show si figures written as L throughout, but few if any further indications of mensural notation for ligatures and *coniunctura* figures. Caudae here are in modal notation.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 2,1: As Anderson reports (*NDRC*, 2:xxiv), the subject of the poem as it is transmitted in *F* could be either Saint Germanus of Auxerre (to whom the Parisian church of Saint-Germain l’Auxerrois is dedicated) or Saint Germanus of Paris (the dedicatee of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in

¹The major exceptions would be the intervening motet *cum conductus* a4 *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14) at *F*-6,34, which, though syllabic throughout most its course, has a closing cauda 22L in length, extraordinary for a motet, as well as a Gregorian-chant tenor, which is surprising for a conductus. Also, *In precio precium* (F8/190) at *F*-6,26, has cauda sections relatively more substantial than the works that surround it, but its state of transmission is extremely precarious in terms of the way one might interpret the rhythmical reading of these sections; see the discussion of this piece earlier in the fascicle. For further details on the items in the latter portion of *F*-6, see the source report on the previous work, *Vhe proclamat clericorum* (F19/357).

²The numbering of the leaves and their sides is based on the library’s current foliation in the images of these fragments that are now available online at <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs2588/0005/image.info>. This enumeration does not always indicate the original sequence of the leaves. Other resources (including the CPI website, DIAMM, and Anderson, *NDRC*) may show different foliations.

³The following portions of *Ave presul* are missing due to trimming in *Heid*: **1)** from f. 3r: text and music from the second syllable of line 1,2 (“presul”) through 1,3 (“glorioſe”), but with the subsequent cauda fully extant; **2)** from approximately L4 of the cauda on the first syllable of 3,1 (“a[ve nubis]”) through the end of the cauda on the same word; **3)** from f. 4v: music missing from approximately L9 to L16 of the cauda following 4,3 (“aculeum”); **4)** the first 2 syllables of 7,2 (“coer cet”) cut away.

Paris). Although Anderson conjectures that the reference to the hair shirt in line 6,1 favors the bishop of Auxerre, Germanus of Paris is also associated with the trappings of an ascetic or monastic life. Further evidence suggesting that the subject is more likely the Parisian bishop comes from correspondences between the text of this conductus and the Benedictus antiphon at Lauds in the second office for St. Germanus of Paris, found at the end of *F-Pn lat. 15182*, f. 528v; both begin with the same three words. Another implication is presented by the text of the organum setting of the O27 responsory *Sancte Germane. O sancte*, whose verse continues: “Germane sydus aureum,” identical with line 2 of the conductus poem.⁴ The differing addressee in *Heid*, “Martine,” shows that this conductus might be considered Common in the sense that (like many chants in the *commune sanctorum*) it could be used for multiple saintly bishop confessors who fit the general bill of the poem’s description (including the necessity for a three-syllable name). It is worth noting that differing “place holder” names for Common chants sometimes occur between the chants in Parisian liturgical sources and their settings in organa. For example, the chant sources used to complete the organum setting of the responsory *Sancte Germane. O Sancte* (O27) in the *MLO* edition as well as the transcriptions I have provided for *F-2* and *F-3*, give the name of Marcellus.⁵ **3-4:** the sting of the storm cloud could be Satan, sin, even heresy, given the activity in promotion of orthodoxy that is credited to both the saints Germanus. Cf. 2 Corinthians, 12:7.⁶ **4,1:** for this word, see the form “praeco” in the dictionaries. Besides its meaning of herald, announcer, or officer, “praeco” could also describe a so-called “beadsman”: someone paid or endowed to pray on behalf of others, including the departed; see the *DMLBS*, s.v. “praeco,” no. 5, available through <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#praeco>. **5-7:** though bound by a hair shirt, the strength of his soul allowed his body to suffer no irritation, so his flesh remained “snowy” (conceivably indicating both absence of inflammation, and a body figuratively free from the darkness of sin – see lines 3-4).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: General remarks:** In various places, such as the T in the second phrase (at L4) of the caudae on “[aure]um” (*d, dcbP, a*), just after the start (at L3) of the first phrase of the cauda on “[aureum] a[ve]” immediately following (same pitches), and in the T at L9 of the penultimate phrase in the final cauda (*g, gf#eP, f#*), there is a commonly heard motive (especially in the final form given here) that corresponds with the Tr at the start of the opening cauda in *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94). This same motive also appears prominently in the several conductus *Omni pene curie* (I34/252 – at opening of T), *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220 – twice in T at start of closing cauda, at L1-4, L9-12), *Ista dies celebrari* (H30/189 – opening of T), and in the Tr of the first phrase of the cauda on “[crimi]num” in *Ave Maris stella virgo* (D1/34). This is a case of a motive seen frequently in both melismatic and syllabic contexts across various pieces. **Opening cauda:** TDTr: F: beginning the fifth T phrase of this passage (at L22) there is an unusual and uncomfortable *b-f-e* vertical sonority on the second L of the phrase; this has been left as it stands, due to the presence of earlier dissonance in the cauda as well as the fact that *Heid* agrees with *F* in all particulars at this point; yet one might still wish to emend one of the voices here – perhaps changing the *e* in the Tr to *f* or *f-sharp*, or changing all *f* pitches in this phrase to *f-sharp*. Anderson’s solution (*NDRC*, 2:37) compresses the rhythms of this passage somewhat, which results in different alignments and a sharp local change in speed that sounds somewhat inappropriate; it also results in an equally spicy *b-f-c* chord for L2 of this T phrase, and an earlier *f-e-f* sonority 4L earlier. For a take along the lines of Anderson’s solution, see the alternative reading supplied after the main transcription. **Line 1,3:** TDTr: F: immediately following, there is a change of folio to

⁴ My heartfelt thanks for apprising me of these liturgical connections goes to Prof. Rebecca Baltzer, who generously supplied to me the above information via personal correspondence.

⁵ That name may be found in the version of O27 transmitted in the chant in the MSS *F-Pn lat. 15182*, f. 525r; *F-Pn lat. 15181*, f. 497r; and *F-Pn 10482*, f. 327r.

⁶ 2 Corinthians, 12:7: “... me datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanae ut me colaphizet” (“... there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure”).

242r with a *b-flat* sig now in all parts. **2, 3:** T: F: immediately preceding this word there is a new mid-system *c4* clef with a *b-flat* sig only, cancelling the earlier *e-flat* sig. **Caudae from lines 2,3-3,1:** DTr: during this passage, *b-natural* sigs appear successively in each part. **Cauda in line 3,1:** beginning with L4 of this cauda there is a canonic passage between D and T lasting for 8L (marked above the staves). **Final cauda:** TDTr: F: just before the last phrase of the piece, there is a change to f. 242v with no sigs in any of the parts.

O VERA O PIA
Offertory Prosula a3 (F21/248)

F, f. 242r (6,49)

A

Tr
8 [O ve - ra o pi - a o gem - ma splen - di - da

Ia D
8 [O ve - ra o pi - a o gem - ma splen - di - da

T
8 O ve - ra o pi - a o gem - ma splen - di - da

Ib

8 o vi - a li - be - ra ma - ri - a li - be - ra

8 o vi - a li - be - ra ma - ri - a li - be - ra

8 o vi - a li - be - ra ma - ri - a li - be - ra

IIa

B

8 a vi - a de - vi - a nos al - ma de - vi - a

8 a vi - a de - vi - a nos al - ma de - vi - a

8 a vi - a de - vi - a nos al - ma de - vi - a

IIb

B

8 fac pu - ra o - pe - ra do - mi - na pro - pe - ra

8 fac pu - ra o - pe - ra do - mi - na pro - pe - ra

8 fac pu - ra o - pe - ra do - mi - na pro - pe - ra

IIIa

C

nos sa - na ne no - stra su - bi - ta ru - i - na

nos sa - na ne no - stra su - bi - ta ru - i - na

nos sa - na ne no - stra su - bi - ta ru - i - na

IIIb

C

sit a - cta per a - cta in au - la re - gi - a

sit a - cta per a - cta in au - la re - gi - a

sit a - cta per a - cta in au - la re - gi - a

IV

D

da ve - ra et sum - ma gau - di - a no - bis.]

da ve - ra et sum - ma gau - di - a no - bis.]

da ve - ra et sum - ma gau - di - a no - bis.]

O VERA O PIA
Offertory Prosula a3 (F21/248)

F, f. 242r (6,49)

Ia	O vera, O pia, O gemma splendida,	2	O true, O devout, O dazzling jewel,
Ib	O via libera, Maria, libera;	4	O open path, Mary, free us;
IIa	a via devia nos, alma, devia;	6	turn us aside, gracious lady, from the false trail;
IIb	fac pura opera, domina, propera;	8	purify our works, milady, be quick;
IIIa	nos sana, ne nostra subita ruina	10	heal us, lest our sudden downfall
IIIb	sit acta per acta. In aula regia,	12	be impelled by our actions. In the regal court,
IV	da vera et summa gaudia <i>nobis</i> .	14	bestow true and supreme joys <i>on us</i> .

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 49, f. 242r: a3; Strophes Ia-IV, complete; the music for each repeated versicle is written out in full, with no capitals or other indications for the subsequent stanzas. This piece stands out a bit from its surroundings in having essentially no caudae, except for the briefest of melismas to close. The same may be said for *Stephani sollempnia* (F28/340), at *F*-6,56.¹

LoD (GB-Lbl Add. 27630), no. 36, f. 36v: a2 (TD); Strophes Ia-IV, complete; the music for each repeated versicle is written out in full and the text is entered under both parts. Ornate, decorated capitals open the piece, with smaller capitals, also adorned, beginning the subsidiary stanzas. Both voices begin to diverge from the *F* setting in Strophe IV, and the final melisma on “nobis” is qualitatively different. Although the simplex figures that appear throughout use shapes that correspond to the mensural Long, and occasional rhomb-shaped notes appear elsewhere, there does not seem to be a consistent use of such figures to imply a mensural context for the music in this source; the same seems to hold true for the appearance of the ligatures. This is in contrast to the short, simple closing melisma implying modal rhythm written largely in *simplices* in *F*. The setting of *O vera* in *LoD* is directly preceded by a closely related setting a2 of the contrafact prosula *Ab hac familia* (on which, see below).

The remaining sources supplied immediately below are drawn from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:100, the *Cantus Index* (cantusindex.org), and the CPI website. They transmit the text and music together of *O vera O pia* as a prosula

¹See the note to the source report on *F* for *Vhe proclamet clericorum* (F19/357), at *F*-6,47, for the stylistic disposition of pieces in the final layer of *F*-6.

within the context of the Offertory *Recordare virgo mater* (see further below); there are certain to be more sources than the ones offered here that contain at least the Tt and T melody of *O vera O pia*:

F-AB 7 (Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 7), f. 203v: a1 (T).

F-RS 264 (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 264), f. 34r: a1 (T).

IRL-Dtc L.1.12 (Dublin, Trinity College, L.1.12), f. 3v: a1 (T); rubric: “prosa.”

A-KN 588 (Klosterneuberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 588), f. 226r: a1 (T).

Text only: not determined, as the work in question is a trope to a liturgical chant.

Music only (a selection of items):

The source of the T melody is the melisma on “a nobis” from the Marian Offertory *Recordare virgo mater* (cf. Jeremiah, 18:20), a *neuma* that generated a significant number of prosulas (see below); as a result, the number of additional sources for the chant are likely to be significant. For versions of the Offertory melody that sometimes differ in specific details within their texts, see the information presented by the *Cantus Index* under the ID no. [502003](#). Most of the transmissions of these chants also contain some version of the prosulas *Ab hac familia* or *O vera O pia* (for the former, see below under “contrafacts”).

Contrafacts (a selection of items):

The “a nobis” melisma seems to have produced a large number of further texts; *AH*, 49,² pp. 321-329, nos. 634-651, present a number of notable examples. The following list, which presents several polyphonic arrangements from medieval sources, must be reckoned as only a selection of a much wider range of contrafacts:

Ab hac familia tu propitia:

This prosula on the “a nobis” melisma is more widespread than *O vera O pia*; *AH*, 49, pp. 321-322, no. 634, for example, lists close to thirty different MSS, and the number of further sources is undoubtedly greater. For some examples transmitted as part of the *Recordare mater* Offertory, see the *Cantus Index* links above. The following MSS, additionally, offer medieval polyphonic settings of this prosula text:

LoD (GB-Lbl Add. 27630), no. 35, f. 36r: a2 (TD); a setting closely related in content to the version of *O vera O pia* that directly succeeds it in this same MS; rubric: “Prosa post offertorium cum biscantu.”

Hu, no. 12: f. 8v: within a setting of *Recordare virgo mater* a2 (TD, with a different D from other versions); each versicle is written out in full.

W1, fasc. 11, no. 34, f. 209v (192v): a2 (TD, with different D from other versions); within a setting of *[R]ecordare virgo mater* a2 with the incipit “Ob hac familia,” and with text of the “b” versicles supplied in the margins.

² *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 49: *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, Clemens Blume, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1906).

*E-Boc MS 1 (Barcelona, Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC) [olim: Biblioteca de l'Orfeó Català], MS 1), f, 3r: a2 (TD) within a transmission of *Recordare virgo mater* a1.*

Singularis et insignis mundi domina:

GB-WOc Add. 68, (Worc), fragment xxix, f. 1r: a3 (T melody expanded from that of the melisma through repeated pitches to accommodate the differently structured text, and with a D and Tr unrelated to other versions); fragmentary, with occasional portions missing due to cutting along the right and lower margins of f. 1r.

Notes on the Text: Remarks on poetics: This rather conventional Marian lyric, reveals its heritage as a prosula through its singularity of rhyme, combined with thoroughgoing assonance. Each six-syllable line, whether p or pp (the last is a 5p verse), features either a bi-syllabic rhyme or an assonant correspondence closing with a final “-a” vowel; every one of these lines, furthermore, also divides evenly in half with a caesura that also internally reinforces the same vocalic “-a” assonance. As a result, this prosula, as expected, prolongs the vowel sound of the word (here “a”) that originally underlaid the melisma it texts, before closing with the final word in the chant, “nobis,” that bears no relationship to any of the poetic strategies employed earlier. **Notes: 3-4;5-6;11:** three nice puns through *annominatio* here through the homographs of “libera,” “devia,” and “acta.”

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC:** As with a number of conductus that feature heavy bouts of musical repetition earlier in *F*-6, each double versicle repeats in all parts; as usual, this feature is shown by boxed upper-case letters atop the system. **Line 6,2 (IIa):** T: F: the stroke following “alma” om; taken from *LoD* and versicle IIb in *F*.

A SOLIS ORTUS CARDINE PROCESSIT
 Conductus (F22 [with the conjectural Strophe II catalogued additionally and separately as Q23]/5)

F, f. 242v (6,50): Strophe I; *Flac1552*, no. 86: Strophe II (conjectural)

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves labeled Tr (Tenor), D (Discantus), and T (Tenor). The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and note values. Blue brackets and lines indicate phrasing and alignment with the Latin lyrics. Red annotations, including 'or:' and '[h]', are placed above certain notes. The lyrics are written in blue and black text below the staves.

System 1:

Tr: [A] Gau -
 D: [A] Gau -
 T: A Gau -

System 2:

Tr: [A] so - lis or - tus car - di - ne pro - ces - sit so - lis ra - di -
 [Gau] - det cho - rus coe - le - sti - um, fit et mun - do lae - ti - ti -
 D: [A] so - lis or - tus car - di - ne pro - ces - sit so - lis ra - di -
 [Gau] - det cho - rus coe - le - sti - um, fit et mun - do lae - ti - ti -
 T: [A] so - lis or - tus car - di - ne pro - ces - sit so - lis ra - di -
 [Gau] - det cho - rus coe - le - sti - um, fit et mun - do lae - ti - ti -

System 3:

Tr: - us.
 - a,
 D: - us.
 - a,
 T: - us.
 - a,

dum ap - pa - rens in ho - mi - ne mis - sus a pa - tre fi - li - us e -
quod vir - gi - nis in gre - mi - um de - scen - dit sic - ut plu - vi - a, qui

[c] [d] [a]

or: or: or:

[e] - le - git si - ne se - mi - ne vir - go na - sci de vir - gi - ne. et stans in - ter nos
[qui] ve - tus sol - vat o - di - um, per cru - cis be - ne - fi - ci - um fit a - mo - ta cu -

[e] [qui] [x]

or: or: or:

me - di - us li - cet e - cly - psis nes - ci -
- sto - di - a, re - gres - sus ad coe - le - sti -

[h] [h] [h]

or: or: or:

in - vo - lu - tos ca - li - gi - ne no - vo re - spex - it lu - mi - ne.
stel - la pro - du - cit ra - di - um, vir - ga flo - rem con - val - li - um, or:

Mor - tem quam mor - tis nun - ti - us in - dux - e - rat pro cri - mi - ne su - o
qui no - va con - dit o - mni - a, qui re - ver - ten - tem fi - li - um se - cum

dam - pna - vit san - gui - ne, et
trax - it ad pran - di - um, et

us.]
- a.]

us.]
- a.]

- us.
- a.]

A SOLIS ORTUS CARDINE PROCESSIT

Conductus (F22,Q23)/5)¹*F*, f. 242v (6,50): Strophe I; *Flac* 1552, no. 86: Strophe II (conjectural)

I	A solis ortus cardine, processit solis radius, dum, apparens in homine, missus a patre filius elegit sine semine, virgo nasci de virgine; et stans inter nos medius, licet eclipsis nescius, involutos caligine novo respexit lumine.		Springing from the axis of the sun, a sunbeam shone forth, when a son sent from the father, appearing in human form, 5 chose to be born without seed, as a virgin from a virgin; and standing in our midst, though he knew no eclipse, with a new light he watched over 10 those enveloped in darkness.
	Mortem quam mortis nuntius induxerat pro crimine, suo dampnavit sanguine, et reduxit in melius quicquid erat deterius.		The death that death's messenger introduced on account of [original] sin, he condemned with his blood, and restored for the better 15 whatever was worse.
II	[Gaudet chorus coelestium, fit et mundo laetitia, quod virginis in gremium descendit sicut pluvia, qui vetus solvat odium per crucis beneficium, fit amota custodia, regressus ad coelestia. Stella producit radium, virga florem convallium. Qui nova condit omnia, qui revertentem filium secum traxit ad prandium, et, recepta substantia, sanctis equat in gloria.]		Let a chorus of the heavenly rejoice, and joy be conferred unto the world, because into the lap of a virgin there fell like rain 20 the one who dissolved the ancient offense through the benefit of the cross, returning to the divine when [his] imprisonment was removed. The star produces a ray, 25 and the branch a flower of the valleys. The one who establishes all new things, who took the returning son to the feast along with him, and [the son], having received the substance [of the father], 30 becomes equal to the saints in glory.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 50, f. 242: a2; Strophe I only, with no room for further text; the capital letter at line 11 cuts the stanza into 10+5 lines (shown by the extra space above). A curiously placed, unnecessary, filigreed initial “O” appears in the space between the first two systems on f. 243r, placed underneath the end of the first phrase of the T part in the cauda concluding line 2; it is about one-third the size of the filigreed letters that begin the surrounding compositions,

¹The second listing in Anderson's conductus catalog is for the hypothetical second stanza, which survives independently from the musical setting of Strophe I..

and is somewhat similar in appearance and curiosity to an earlier example of an extraneous initial “O” found at the start of the verse section of the organum a3 *Sancte Germane. O sancte* (O27), in *F* on f. 35v. *A solis ortus* as it appears in *F* is a unique medieval setting of text and music, but see below for the concordances of its incipit and for the possibility of an additional text stanza in much later printed sources.

Text only:

Flac 1552 – Matthias Flacius Illyricus, ed., *Pia quaedam vetustissima Poemata, partim Anti-Christum, ejusque spirituales Filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum, ejusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia. Cum praefatione Matthiae Flacii Illyrici* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter, 1552): nos. 85 (Strophe I), 86 (Strophe II). The possibility that no. 86 in this publication could be a second stanza to no. 85 is proposed by Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:100, based on its identities with Strophe I in terms of the number of lines, syllable count, accentuation, and rhyme scheme, although there is no additional evidence prior to the sixteenth century that these two strophes are ever found in tandem with each other. Later printings of the poem(s) by Flacius include: *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum, de corrupto Ecclesiae statu, poemata ...* (Basel: Ludovicus Lucius, 1556; repr. Frankfurt am Main: [n.p.], 1754), pp. 64-65, nos. 85-86.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 1-4: common figures employed for God (the sun) and Christ (the sunbeam that proceeds from the sun); see, e.g., Malachi, 4:2.² **1:** quotes the opening line of the abecedarian hymn (each four-line stanza begins with a successive letter of the alphabet) attributed to Sedulius³ (fl. ca. 450), parts of which (such as the opening line of the conductus) served as hymns for the Christmas and Epiphany seasons.⁴ The same or similar verses appear as the incipit of a number of further hymns that appear in the liturgy,⁵ and the line also begins the Latin rondellus of *F*-11,8, *A solis ortus cardine mane* (M8/4). For a different conductus that also uses material from Sedulius (in this case a hexameter couplet), see *Salve sancta parens enixa* (J57/316), a piece unique to *Ma*.⁶ **6:** Jesus, being sinless as a manifestation

²Malachi, 4:2: “Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum, sol iustitiae, et sanitas in pinnis eius: et egrediemini, et salietis sicut vituli de armento” (“But for you that fear my name, the Sun of justice shall arise, and health [will be] in his wings: and you shall go forth, and shall leap like calves of the herd”).

³Not to be confused with the ninth-century grammarian and exegete Sedulius Scottus. Likewise, the frequent use of the *praenomen* Caelius, Coelius, or similar spellings, for the fifth-century Sedulius is likely mistaken or unjustified.

⁴Sedulius’s work continues in line 2 with: “.. adusque terrae limitem” (“all the way to the edges of the earth.”).

⁵See the *Cantus Index*, ID no. 008248, at <https://cantusindex.org/master-chants?t=008248>.

⁶See also the conductus *Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317), another *unicum* within *Ma*, which echoes the opening words of *Salve ... enixa*.

of the deity (see, e.g., Hebrews, 4:14-15;⁷ 1 Peter, 1:18-19),⁸ would himself be reckoned a virgin, as was his mother. **7-8:** another common conceit: God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ; see the remarks on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), Strophe I and *passim*; and *Parit preter morem*, lines 9-14. **9-10:** numerous biblical passages refer to Christ as light, see, e.g., John, 8:12, 9:5, 12:46;⁹ this image is also rife throughout the conductus repertory. **11-13:** the "messenger of death" is the serpent in the garden of Eden; see Genesis, 3; Christ cancels the effect of original sin through his blood shed in death and transubstantiated into the wine of the Eucharist. **14-15:** on better and worse, cf. 1 Corinthians, 11:17;¹⁰ Augustine, *De trinitate*, 4,3,5;¹¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, 13,3,4.¹² **19:** on divinity appearing as rain, see Hosea, 6:3,¹³ and the refrain of the conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/34): "descendit ut pluvia," which nearly duplicates the expression here, and which also occurs as line 41 of the conductus *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus* (H32/324). There may be a nod as well towards the story of the wise and foolish builders of Matthew, 7:24-27, who built their houses on rock or sand, respectively, and suffered the consequences under an eventual onslaught of rain, flood, and wind (7:27: "et descendit pluvia ..."). **24:** continues the celestial imagery of the opening lines of the poem: Mary is represented as the star from which Christ, the sun, sprang; cf., e.g., the conductus *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), lines 5-6, and *Exultemus socii* (J17/115), line 4. **25:** The shoot or branch ("virga") is the Virgin Mary, the flowering of the shoot is a reference to Christ; for these images, see the multiply cited Isaiah, 11:1, along with the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16). For echoes of the flower imagery in this line, see Song of Songs, 1:1.¹⁴ The figure of the lily is often used as a symbol of the Virgin; see, for example, the conductus *O lilium convallium* (F18/236), lines 1-2. **26-28:** references to the

⁷Hebrews, 4:14-15: "Habentes ergo pontificem magnum qui penetravit caelos, Jesum Filium Dei, teneamus confessionem. Non enim habemus pontificem qui non possit compati infirmitatibus nostris: tentatum autem per omnia pro similitudine absque peccato" ("Having then a great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our confession. For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." – the translation of the American Standard Version of the Bible is quoted here for clarity).

⁸1Peter, 1:18-19: "Scientes quod non corruptibilibus, auro vel argento, redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione paternae traditionis: sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni immaculati Christi, et incontaminati" ("Knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible things as gold or silver, from your vain conversation of the tradition of your fathers: But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled.").

⁹John, 8:12: "Iterum ergo locutus est eis Jesus, dicens: Ego sum lux mundi: qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitae" ("Again therefore, Jesus spoke to them, saying: I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life."). John, 9:5: "... quamdiu sum in mundo, lux sum mundi" ("... As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world."). John 12:46: "Ego lux in mundum veni, ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat" ("I am come a light into the world; that whosoever believes in me, may not remain in darkness.").

¹⁰1 Corinthians, 11:17: "Hoc autem praecipio, non laudans, quod non in melius sed in deterius convenitis" ("Now this I ordain, not praising you, that you come together not for the better, but for the worse").

¹¹Augustine, *De trinitate*, 4,3,5: "Utrique autem rei nostrae, id est, et animae et corpori, medicina et resurrectione opus erat, ut in melius renouaretur quod erat in deterius commutatum" ("And to both these things of ours, that is, to both soul and body, there was need for remedy and resurrection, that there be renewed for the better what had been changed for the worse").

¹²Augustine, *Confessions*, 13,3,4: "...non deberet nisi gratiae tuae, conversa per conmutationem meliorem ad id quod neque in melius neque in deterius mutari potest"; ("it [light] did not owe anything except to your [God's] grace, being turned by a better change to that which can be changed neither into worse nor into better").

¹³Hosea, 6:3: "... Sciemus, sequemurque ut cognoscamus Dominum: quasi diluculum praeparatus est egressus ejus, et veniet quasi imber nobis temporaneus et serotinus terrae" ("... We shall know, and we shall follow on, that we may know the Lord. His going forth is prepared as the morning light, and he will come to us as the early and the latter rain to the earth.").

¹⁴Song of Songs, 1:1: "Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium." ("I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys").

parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32); here the father represents God and (in contrast to the remarks in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxvi) the returning prodigal son is Christ, now united again with his divine father (as indicated earlier in lines 22-23) after his ascension (see Acts, 1:9-11). For further representations of this parable within the music associated with Notre Dame, see Anderson, “Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music – A Postscript,” *Studies in Music*, 5 (1971): 36-42; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 50.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** **2,1:** *Flac 1552:* praecessit. **8,2:** *Flac 1552:* eclipsim. **10,1:** *Flac 1552:* non. **11,4:** *Flac 1552:* nuncius. **27,2:** *Flac 1552:* reverentem. **MUSIC: General remarks:** A number of the caudae feature significant sequential melodic construction. The alignment of syllables with the ends of ligatures in the *cum littera* sections works fairly consistently well throughout the piece; a few exceptions occur to avoid what seems like undue dissonance. **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** **1.** the T of the cauda on “[radi]us” (line 2), from the second phrase to end (L8-L17) = **1a.** similar sequential contour of the T in “[sine] semine / virgo nasci de virgine” (lines 5-6); marked in the score by “x.” Further identity is noticeable between **2.** the T (and part of the Tr) of the cauda on “et [reduxit]” (line 14) and **2a.** “[et] reduxit in melius / quicquid erat deteri” (lines 14-15, closing the strophe); marked in the score by “y.” **Internal repetition:** the TD of lines 3-4 are similar to 11-12 (marked in the score by “abcd”); notice the differences in the Tr to these passages, remarked on below in lines 4,1 and 12,1-2. **Line 1,4:** D: F: a following siPe crossed out as error, om in transcription. **Cauda on line 2,3:** DTr: F: beginning in L5 of the cauda on “[radi]us,” Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:41, mm. 24-25) extends the Tr *c* and its subsequent rest, as well as the *d* notes and their following rests in both the T and D to TL each; this inserts a momentary set of rhythmic extensions that seem unnecessary, given the penchant for B rests elsewhere throughout the frequently overlapping cauda phrases in this piece; Tt: F: at L7 below the T, a fully decorated initial “O” appears inexplicably; see the source report on *F* above. **Line 4,1:** Tr: F: for the material above “missus” (*a,g*), Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:42, measure 35) changes these 2 notes to *c,bag* (si,3C) to correspond to the Tr of the later “indux[erat]” of line 12,1, which features repetition in its T and D; here the reading is left *ut stat.* **9-10:** TDTr: F: no stroke separates these poetic lines, which is interesting in view of their enjambment. **12,1-2:** Tr: F: for the two syllables “[mor]tem quam,” Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:43, measure 76) changes these 2 notes to *d,c* (not replicated here), to correspond to the previous “[dum] appa[rens]” of line 3,2, which features a repetition in its T and D. **Final cauda:** T:F: *c3* clef at start of cauda is slightly misplaced in the space above the middle staff line, possibly indicating it is a later addition to correct a transposition error.

FLEBILES ET MISERI

Conductus (F23/125)

F, f. 244r (6,51)

Tr
I D
T

[Fle - or: [Fle] - bi - les et mi - se - ri or: [Fle] - bi - les et mi - se - ri or: Fle - [Fle] - bi - les et mi - se - ri

qui ca - stra se - - cun - - tur.
qui ca - stra se - - cun - - tur.
qui ca - stra se - - cun - - tur.

an - nos e - nim sce - le - ri su - os lar - gi - un - tur sic - que di - es pro - spe - ri
an - nos e - nim sce - le - ri su - os lar - gi - un - tur sic - que di - es pro - spe - ri
an - nos e - nim sce - le - ri su - os lar - gi - un - tur sic - que di - es pro - spe - ri

si - bi men - ti - un - tur. quod ef - fi - ci - un - tur
si - bi men - ti - un - tur. quod ef - fi - ci - un - tur
si - bi men - ti - un - tur. quod ef - fi - ci - un - tur

he-re-des lu-ci-fe-ri. nec [q] pro-mit-ti

he-re-des lu-ci-fe-ri. nec [q] pro-mit-ti

he-re-des lu-ci-fe-ri. nec [q] pro-mit-ti

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

ci-ne-ri se-re-mi-ni-scun-

- tur.]

- tur.]

- tur.]

FLEBILES ET MISERI

Conductus (F23/125)

F, f. 244r (6,51)

I	Flebiles et miseri		Deplorable and wretched
	qui castra secuntur,		are those who follow the camps,
	annos enim sceleri		for they lavish their
	suos largiuntur,		years upon wickedness,
	sicque dies prosperi	5	and favorable days
	sibi mentiuntur,		so lie to them,
	quod efficiuntur		that they become
	heredes Luciferi,		the heirs of Lucifer,
	nec promitti cineri		nor do they remember that
	se reminiscuntur.	10	they are destined for destruction.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no 51, f. 244r: a3; Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for further text; unique source for text and music.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: 2: cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 10, 407: “Nulla [or “rara”] fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur” (“Loyalty and duty are absent [or rare] among men who follow the camps.”). Although the original context of this expression refers to mercenaries in a military campaign, it appears here to suggest political or factional overtones. The Lucan quotation also occurs as the final line of the Tr of Philippe de Vitry’s motet *Colla iugo / Bona condit / Libera me*. **5-8:** i.e., deceived by the Devil, commonly known as “the father of lies” (from John, 8:44),¹ as in the story of the temptation by the serpent in the garden of Eden (Genesis, 3); for the use of the same language as in line 8 (“heredes Luciferi”), see the motet *In veritate comperi* (vdW 451/M37), by Philip the Chancellor, line 6. The single biblical reference to Lucifer in a negative context (as opposed to its more positive meaning of “day star”) is in Isaiah, 14:12.² **9-10:** literally, “... they are promised to the ashes”; on ashes or dust as a biblical symbol of death and worthlessness as opposed to mourning, see Genesis, 3:19,³

¹ John, 8:44: “Vos ex patre diabolo estis: et desideria patris vestri vultis facere. Ille homicida erat ab initio, et in veritate non stetit: quia non est veritas in eo: cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur, quia mendax est, et pater ejus” (“You are of your father the devil, and the desires of your father you will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and he stood not in the truth; because truth is not in him. When he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own: for he is a liar, and the father thereof.”).

² Isaiah, 14:12: “Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris? Corruisti in terram, qui vulnerabas gentes?” (“How have you fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, you who have risen in the morning? How have you fallen to the earth, you who have wounded the nations?”).

³ Genesis, 3:19: “In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris” (“In the sweat of your face shalt you eat bread till you return to the earth, out of which you were taken: for dust you are, and into dust you shall return.”).

18:27;⁴ Job, 30:19.⁵

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **MUSIC: Cauda on 7,1:** the doubled strokes here in Tr and T (reproduced above the staves), not seen elsewhere in this piece, prompt the appearance of hocket in this cauda. **Line 9,3:** T: F: note on last syllable of “cineri” is *b*; editorial emendation to *a*. **Final cauda:** T: F: last note of the antepenultimate phrase is *g*; editorial emendation to *a*.

⁴Genesis, 18:27: “Respondensque Abraham, ait: ‘Quia semel coepi, loquar ad Dominum meum, cum sim pulvis et cinis’ ” (“And Abraham answered [the Lord], and said: ‘Seeing I have once begun, I will speak to my Lord, whereas I am [nothing but] dust and ashes.’ ”).

⁵Job, 30:19: “Comparatus sum luto, et assimilatus sum favillae et cineri” (“I am compared to dirt, and am likened to embers and ashes.”).

QUARE FREMUERUNT
Conductus (F24/278)

F, f. 244v (6,52)

Tr
I D
T

[Qua-re fre-mu-e - runt gen - tes et po - pu - li qui - a non vi - de - runt

[Qua-re fre-mu-e - runt gen - tes et po - pu - li qui - a non vi - de - runt

Qua-re fre-mu-e - runt gen - tes et po - pu - li qui - a non vi - de - runt

[b]
mon - stra tot o - cu - li. ne - que au - di - e - runt in or - be se - cu - li

mon - stra tot o - cu - li. ne - que au - di - e - runt in or - be se - cu - li

mon - stra tot o - cu - li. ne - que au - di - e - runt in or - be se - cu - li

se - nes et par - vu - li pre - li - a que ge - runt et que si - bi que - runt

se - nes et par - vu - li pre - li - a que ge - runt et que si - bi que - runt

se - nes et par - vu - li pre - li - a que ge - runt et que si - bi que - runt

re-ges et re - gu -

re-ges et re - gu -

re-ges et re - gu -

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. It contains a melodic line with various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing a melodic line with some notes marked with blue brackets. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. It contains a melodic line with various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing a similar melodic line. The bottom staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing a melodic line with some notes marked with blue brackets. The system concludes with a double bar line. The text "- li." appears at the end of each staff, indicating the end of the piece.

QUARE FREMUERUNT

Conductus (F24/278)

F, f. 244v (6,52)

I	Quare fremuerunt gentes et populi? Quia non viderunt monstra tot oculi; neque audierunt in orbe seculi senes et parvuli prelia que gerunt, et que sibi querunt reges et reguli.		Why clamored the nations and peoples? Because so many eyes saw not the portents; 5 nor did old and young hearken to the battles that waged upon the circle of the earth, and the things kings and petty rulers 10 seek to gain for themselves.

SOURCES:*F*, fasc. 6, no. 52, f. 244v: a3, Strophe I complete, with no space for additional stanzas; unique musical setting.**Text only:**

Fauv, no. 3, f. 1r^c:¹ a2 with a completely different, later musical setting; one of the two parts of equal range is fitted with text, the other, labeled [*T*]enor, follows immediately afterwards, and, though untexted, is capable of accommodating the poem; the Petronian mensural notation shows frequent groups of three and four semibreves (S), some set syllabically. In both voice parts strokes of division are visible, separating units of 3 and 4S, as well as a very few minim strokes (apparently later additions), apparently to clarify the values of the only three 5S groups to appear in the piece. The text of Strophe I, complete, is preserved, with an added closing couplet set to music: “hec inquam inferunt / fauvel et fal[v]uli” (“These things, I say, Fauvel and the Fauvelites inflict [on us]”).

Music only: none.**Contrafacts:** none.

Notes on the Text: Based on its penchant for upending the original intent of several biblical passages to which it alludes, this text has been tentatively ascribed to Philip the Chancellor by Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxvii, note 5), see also the remarks below for lines 3-7, 9-10. **1-2:** from Psalm 2:1.² The psalmist goes on to accuse the earthly kings and princes of coming together as one to oppose the Lord and his Christ, which the psalmist decries; it concludes by advising the rulers to serve the Lord in fear and embrace discipline, lest they perish. A spirit similar to that of the psalm seems implied here by the conductus text. **3-7:** according to Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxvii, note 4), these expressions invert the intent of Joel, 2:28.³ **9-10:** again, Anderson (*NDRC*,

¹Images from *Fauv* available [here](#).

²Psalm 2:1: “Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania?” (“Why have the Gentiles [or “nations”] raged, and the people devised vain things?”).

³Joel, 2:28: “Et erit post haec: effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiae vestrae: senes vestri somnia somniabunt, et iuvenes vestri visiones videbunt” (“And it shall come to pass after this, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy: your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions”).

2:xxvii, note 5) sees an antithesis of a biblical passage, here from Psalm 2:10.⁴ **10,3:** although the meaning as it is used here seems clear, *regulus* also can denote a poisonous serpent or basilisk; see, e.g., Proverbs, 23:32;⁵ and the similar appearances in Isaiah, 11:8, 14:29, 30:6, 59:5; and Jeremiah, 8:17; this accompanying connotation almost certainly prompted the choice of word in this lyric.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Line 8,1:** Tr: F: *e*; editorial emendation to *f*. **Final cauda:** T: F: the low *d* in the third phrase (at L9) extends far enough down perhaps to be *c*; Tr: just before the third phrase (at L13), at the very start of a system, there is an erased *c4* clef (still visible) with no replacement; a clef on *c3* is needed up through the end of the piece; T: F: the sixth phrase of the closing melisma (L21-L24) is om; restored editorially, corresponding to Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:49, measures 33-34); its absence complicates the decisions on reading the D pitches in L23-L25; D: F: the first note of the fifth D phrase (at L23) is apparently written *e*; *f* appears much more likely in order to correspond with the Tr; perhaps the initial pitch in the D was written ambiguously due to space restrictions in coordinating the 3li that contains these notes (=f*ga*); the next two pitches, 2L later (at L25), look somewhat like *f*, but are quite defensively interpreted as *e* here to correspond with the Tr.

⁴Psalm 2:10: “Et nunc, reges, intelligite; erudimini, qui iudicatis terram” (“And now, kings, understand: receive instruction, you who judge the earth”).

⁵Proverbs, 23:32: “Sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber, et sicut regulus venena diffundet” (“But in the end, it will bite like a snake, and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk.”).

DE RUPTA RUPECULA

Conductus (F25/82)

F, f. 245r (6,53): Strophes Ia, IIa, III; Ch, f. 16v (no. 15): Ib, IIb

Tr
8
[De ru - pta ru - pe - cu - la gra - ta flu - unt po - cu - la cir - re - pro - pi - nat ni - sa.
[Mo - y - sis of - fi - ci - o fa - cta ru - pis ru - pti - o. a - que de - dit li - quo - rem.

I D
8
[De ru - pta ru - pe - cu - la gra - ta flu - unt po - cu - la cir - re - pro - pi - nat ni - sa.
[Mo - y - sis of - fi - ci - o fa - cta ru - pis ru - pti - o. a - que de - dit li - quo - rem.

T
8
De ru - pta ru - pe - cu - la gra - ta flu - unt po - cu - la cir - re - pro - pi - nat ni - sa.
[Mo - y - sis of - fi - ci - o fa - cta ru - pis ru - pti - o. a - que de - dit li - quo - rem.

A B C

8
ad cir - re - um ver - ti - cem ni - sa ba - chi ca - li - cem ru - pe mit - tit ex - ci - sa.
lu - do - vi - co gla - di - o ru - pis de - mol - li - ci - o a - quam de - dit li - quo - rem.

8
ad cir - re - um ver - ti - cem ni - sa ba - chi ca - li - cem ru - pe mit - tit ex - ci - sa.
lu - do - vi - co gla - di - o ru - pis de - mol - li - ci - o a - quam de - dit li - quo - rem.

8
ad cir - re - um ver - ti - cem ni - sa ba - chi ca - li - cem ru - pe mit - tit ex - ci - sa.
lu - do - vi - co gla - di - o ru - pis de - mol - li - ci - o a - quam de - dit li - quo - rem.

A B C'

8
de - o sa - pi - en - ti - e de - us pla - cet co - pi - e phe - bus ba - cho
ba - chi pre - stat dul - co - rem. ru - pes est a - qua - ti - ca [ba - chi ru - pes

8
de - o sa - pi - en - ti - e de - us pla - cet co - pi - e phe - bus ba - cho
ba - chi pre - stat dul - co - rem. ru - pes est a - qua - ti - ca [ba - chi ru - pes

8
de - o sa - pi - en - ti - e de - us pla - cet co - pi - e phe - bus ba - cho
ba - chi pre - stat dul - co - rem. ru - pes est a - qua - ti - ca [ba - chi ru - pes

le - ta - tur. ni - chil con - gru - en - ti - us quam quod sic pa - ri - si - us in par -
dul - ci - or vi - no non hec ef - flu - it] a - quam so - lam ef - fu - dit ru - pes

le - ta - tur. ni - chil con - gru - en - ti - us quam quod sic pa - ri - si - us in par -
dul - ci - or vi - no non hec ef - flu - it] a - quam so - lam ef - fu - dit ru - pes

le - ta - tur. ni - chil con - gru - en - ti - us quam quod sic pa - ri - si - us in par -
dul - ci - or vi - no non hec ef - flu - it] a - quam so - lam ef - fu - dit ru - pes

| mode 6; mode 3 also conceivable

na - sum mu - ta - - tur.]
i - sta gra - ti - - or.]

na - sum mu - ta - - tur.]
i - sta gra - ti - - or.]

na - sum mu - ta - - tur.]
i - sta gra - ti - - or.]

[Pi - [Pi] - cta - vo - rum y - do - lum
[Ob - [Ob] - stu - pe - s[cunt] se - cu - la

[Pi - [Pi] - cta - vo - rum y - do - lum
[Ob - [Ob] - stu - pe - s[cunt] se - cu - la

Pi - [Pi] - cta - vo - rum y - do - lum
[Ob - [Ob] - stu - pe - s[cunt] se - cu - la

non ex - pa - vit ca - ro - lum. et tre - mit lu - do - vi - cum.
re - pu - [t]a - [tur] fa - bu - la con - t[ra] - hunt mul - t[i] na - sum

non ex - pa - vit ca - ro - lum. et tre - mit lu - do - vi - cum.
re - pu - [t]a - [tur] fa - bu - la con - t[ra] - hunt mul - t[i] na - sum

non ex - pa - vit ca - ro - lum. et tre - mit lu - do - vi - cum.
re - pu - [t]a - [tur] fa - bu - la con - t[ra] - hunt mul - t[i] na - sum

dam - pnat ci - vem sub - do - lum. de - ser - to - rem dis - co - lum
con - qui - e - scunt e - [mu - la] cre - dat ge[ns] in - cre - du - la

ac - cu - sat sa - va - ri - cum di - cens ca - strum no - bi - le
pa - ri - si - us pa[r - na] - sum fe - li - c[es] pri - mi - ti - e

for - te fir - mum fer glo - ti - le quid po - tu - it ti - me - re? ca - strum nul - li
tu - e lu - dunt glo - ri - e rex no - ve lu - [do] - vi - ce. iam [ti] - met a

si - mi - le fe - cit ex - pu - gna - bi - le va - ri - e - tas pan - the - re.
scan - da - lis vi - ci - na bur - de - ga - lis ce - dri [ter - ra] mi - ri - [ce.]

Tr
8 [Ter-ra ba - chi fran - ti - a mo - y - sis est an - gli - a. quid de ru - pe vi - no - sa

III D
8 [Ter-ra ba - chi fran - ti - a mo - y - sis est an - gli - a. quid de ru - pe vi - no - sa

T
8 Ter-ra ba - chi fran - ti - a mo - y - sis est an - gli - a. quid de ru - pe vi - no - sa

8 at - ti - net ad an - gli - am? flu - at hec ad fran - ti - am. ad hanc ru - pes a - quo - sa.

8 at - ti - net ad an - gli - am? flu - at hec ad fran - ti - am. ad hanc ru - pes a - quo - sa.

8 at - ti - net ad an - gli - am? flu - at hec ad fran - ti - am. ad hanc ru - pes a - quo - sa.

8 quid-quid i - psa ma - ri - a li - mi - tant con - fi - ni - a? ma - gnum cha - os

8 quid-quid i - psa ma - ri - a li - mi - tant con - fi - ni - a? ma - gnum cha - os

8 quid-quid i - psa ma - ri - a li - mi - tant con - fi - ni - a? ma - gnum cha - os

8 fir - ma - tur. an - gli - e cer - vi - si - a ly - e - i le - ti - ti - a

8 fir - ma - tur. an - gli - e cer - vi - si - a ly - e - i le - ti - ti - a

8 fir - ma - tur. an - gli - e cer - vi - si - a ly - e - i le - ti - ti - a

8 fran - ti - e su - pe - ra -

8 fran - ti - e su - pe - ra -

8 fran - ti - e su - pe - ra -

- tur.].

- tur.].

- tur.].

DE RUPTA RUPECULA

Conductus (F25/82)

F, f. 245r (6,53): Strophes Ia, IIa, III; *Ch*, f. 16v (no. 15): Ib, IIb

Ia De rupta rupecula grata fluunt pocula. Cirre propinat Nisa. Ad Cirreum verticem Nisa Bachi calicem rupe mittit excisa. Deo sapientie deus placet copie; Phebus Bacho letatur. Nichil congruentius quam quod sic Parisius in Parnasum mutatur.	From a fractured “little rock” flow pleasing libations. Nysa toasts the health of Cirrha. With the cleaving of the rock, 5 Nysa sends the goblet of Bacchus to Cirrha’s summit. The god of abundance is pleasing to the god of wisdom, and Phoebus delights in Bacchus. 10 Nothing is more suitable than that Paris is thereby changed into a Parnassus.
Ib [Moysis officio facta rupis ruptio; aque dedit liquorem. Ludovici gladio, rupis demollicio Bachi prestat dulcorem. Rupes hec Mosaica rupes est aquatica. <i>[Rupes Bachi dulcior. Vino non hec effluit.]</i> aquam solam effudit. Rupes ista gratior.]	Through the action of Moses, a rock was struck 15 and gave forth a stream of water, but with Louis’s sword, the demolishing of a rock provides the sweetness of Bacchus. The rock of Moses 20 is a rock of water. <i>[The rock of Bacchus is sweeter. The former flows not with wine.]</i> it puts forth only water. The latter rock is the one more pleasing.
IIa Pictavorum ydolum non expavit Carolum, et tremit Ludovicum. dampnat civem subdolum, desertorem discolum. Accusat Savaricum, dicens: “Castrum nobile, forte, firmum, fertile, quid potuit timere?” Castrum nulli simile fecit expugnabile varietas panthere.	25 the idol of the Poitevins had no fear of Charles, yet it trembles at Louis. It condemns the deceitful citizen, the peevish deserter. 30 It denounces Savaric, saying: “A walled town, noble, strong, steadfast, fruitful, what could it fear?” The panther’s inconstancy 35 has made conquerable a fortress like no other.
IIb [Obstupescunt]t secula, Reputantur]a] tur] fabula. Conturbantur] hunt multum] i] nasum. Conquiescat e] mula]. Credat gens] incredula. [Parisius] Pa]risius sum, felicis] primicie	The times are astounded, the tale is recounted. Many wrinkle their nose. 40 Let the rival acquiesce. Let an incredulous people believe. Paris and the happy first fruits of your glory,

tue ludunt glorie, rex nove Lu[do]vice. Iam [ti]met a scandalis vicina Burdegalis cedri [terra] miri[ce.]]		O Louis, new king, 45 mimic Parnassus. Now neighboring Bordeaux, [the land] of cedar and tamarisk, is fearful due to the scandals
III Terra Bachi Frantia, Moysis est Anglia. Quid de rupe vinosa attinet ad Angliam? Fluat hec ad Frantium, ad hanc rupes aquosa. Quidquid ipsa maria limitant confinia? Magnum chaos firmatur Anglie cervisia; Lyei letitia Frantie superatur.		France is the land of Bacchus, 50 England the land of Moses. What from this rock of wine pertains to England? Let it flow to France, and the watery rock to the other. 55 What is it that these same seas mark out in terms of boundaries? A great emptiness is affirmed by the beer of England; the joy of Bacchus 60 is conquered for France.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 53, f. 245r: a3; Strophes Ia, IIa, III only; no room available for the further versicles provided in *Ch*; each of the subsequent stanzas is headed by a conventional capital, in contrast to *Ch*.

Ch (*F-CECad* 3.J.250; *Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne*, 3.J.250), no. 15, f. 16v: a3; Strophes Ia-IIb with occasional illegible patches; III is preserved only up through the first syllable of line 55,1. The loss of a paired versicle for III on whatever may have originally followed f. 18v in *Ch* is possible, but not imperative; approximately ten other conductus in *F* alone also show sequence-like versicle pairings with a final, unmated strophe appearing either in *F* or a concordant source.¹ In contrast to *F*, the three different musical units of *Ch* (Ia, IIa, III), each of which begins at the top of their opening leaves, are presented as if they are three independent pieces, with large, system-high painted initials with decorative tracery. This piece thus begins each of its own strophic units with initials comparable to those that announce the other works in this source. A similar disposition, interestingly, appears at least once in *F*, with the presentation of the conductus *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39/65), also in sequence form.² Each of the extant supplementary versicles in *Ch* is added after the musical setting of the first member of each pair. For Ib, this is at the bottom of the folio from left to right, spilling its four lines of additional text into the margin below the writing block; for IIb, it occupies a small space prepared within the right margin of the final system, which then continues outside the writing block for two lines below the last system on the leaf.

Text only: none.

¹These are, in addition to *De rupta: O felix Bituria* (E8/232), *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2/253), *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28/292), *Veritas equitas* (K62/375), *Si vis vera frui* (K40/329), *Veni creator ... recreator* (E13/361), *O vera O pia* (F21/248), *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39/65), and *O labilis sortis* (K30/234). Also possibly worthy of inclusion here are the more problematic *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), and *Homo qui semper moreris* (K32/162), both of which are conceivably, but not conclusively, disposed into repeated stanzaic units with a closing single versicle.

²On f. 358r, at *F*-7,112. In this case, as with *De rupta rupecula*, the paired versicles are not transmitted in *F*, but come from a concordant source (*Fauv*).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Content: Many issues arise in determining the verbal content of those parts of *De rupta rupecula* that are uniquely transmitted in *Ch*. Strophe Ib has two lines omitted (but apparently signaled) by the scribe, and some of the losses, especially the illegibilities sustained by Iib, cannot be reconstructed with complete certainty. The section below on observations and variants, therefore, should be consulted in tandem with these notes on the text, as a certain number of readings are reconsidered from the ones given in Anderson's edition and in Hourlier's and Chailley's discussion of the fragments.³ **Text attribution:** I have tentatively suggested (in *Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony*, 580)⁴ that *De rupta rupecula* might be a work by Philip the Chancellor, due primarily to the fact that it occurs in the second and third gatherings of pieces that make up the Châlons-sur-Marne fragments (*Ch*), which transmit a high percentage of his works overall, both medieval and modern attributions.⁵ **General historical context:** References abound in this conductus to a siege conducted at the port city of La Rochelle (*Rupella*, *Rupecula*, i.e., "Little Rock") in the county of Poitou by the French monarch Louis VIII (reg. 1223-1226) against defending English forces in the late summer of 1224. The conflict arose as part of Louis's concerted efforts to win back French continental lands from Henry III of England (reg. 1216-1272); these lands had been controlled by English royalty since the marriage of Henry II (reg. 1154-1189) to Eleanor of Aquitaine (reg. as duchess of Aquitaine 1137-1204), in 1152.⁶ The main struggles occurred from 15 July to 3 August, when La Rochelle eventually surrendered and French crown forces soon entered it. Town leaders, though, did not actually capitulate in recognizing the French monarch until 13 August. The English garrison was principally commanded by the then seneschal of Poitou, Savaric (or Savari) de Mauléon (d. 1236), a mercenary soldier who had already assisted different factions in various conflicts on both sides of the Channel, and who, interestingly, is also recognized as a troubadour.⁷ Savaric had retreated to La Rochelle after Louis had taken the city of Niort (about 35 miles/56 kilometers to the northeast) in an earlier skirmish on 5 July. Savaric's soldiers had been buttressed in June by a contingent of English forces under Geoffrey de Neuville, but no further support was forthcoming due to depletions caused by Henry III's successful but costly eight-week domestic campaign to take Bedford Castle (June through August 1224). Savaric was ultimately blamed for the fall of La Rochelle, and, after unsuccessfully entreating Henry's pardon, he entered the service of the French

³Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxviii-xxix (text and translation), 101 (critical report); Jacques Chailley, "Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit d'ars antiqua à Châlons sur Marne," in *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. H. Anglès, et al. (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1962), 140–50; and Dom Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences, et arts du département de la Marne*, 30 (1956): 141–59.

⁴Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School," 5 volumes, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1991).

⁵In addition to *De rupta Rupecula* (F25/82), these include the medieval attributions of the conductus *Regis decus et regine* (J47/301), *O Maria virginei flos* (E14/239), *Gedeonis area* (F15/143); and the motets *Homo quam sit pura / Latus* (231/M14), *O Maria maris stella / Veritatem* (448/M37), and *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (451/M37). The conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55/97) and the motet *Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum* (216/M14) are ascribed to Philip by modern scholars. The other pieces in this part of the source that are so far not wholly claimed for Philip are the motets *O quam sancta quam benigna / Veritatem* (317/M37) and *Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare* (101/M9). Significantly, if Ilana Schroeder's identification of the music on the small scrap associated with the *Ch* fragments with Philip's motet *Agmina milicie celestis omnia / Agmina* (532/O40 or M65) is correct, this would be additional evidence of his presence in the collection. For the reference to Schroeder's dissertation, see the footnote further below.

⁶This was subsequent to Eleanor's marriage to Louis VII of France (reg. in full, 1137-1180, and as junior king from 1131) from 1137-1152.

⁷On his life and output, see Henry John Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon: Baron and Troubadour* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1939).

king by Christmas 1224. Among the more notable effects of the loss of La Rochelle as an English port, was the curtailment of its extensive wine shipments – its chief export – to the British Isles. As a result, Bordeaux in Gascony, the only other Atlantic-coast port still in Insular hands, was poised to become the main venue for sending French wine to England. Indeed, Louis quickly moved to acquire Gascon lands following the fall of La Rochelle, but Hugh Lusignan, the Count of La Marche, and Geoffery de Builli, the new seneschal of Poitou who replaced Savaric, were unable to conquer Bordeaux, although numerous other towns in the region surrendered to the French forces.⁸ References to these and other events concerning the siege of La Rochelle are signaled further below. **Textual notes: 1:** this line may be heard in several different ways, all of which are likely to have been assimilated by contemporaneous readers and listeners. As “rupecula” can mean not only “little rock,” but was also one of the common Latin names for the town of La Rochelle, puns proliferate in multiple allusions to rocks or stones that appear within this poem from start to finish. Alternatively, the opening two words of the poem, “de rupta” (“from the broken”) may also be construed as “derupta” (broken away). Thus, equally applicable connotations of this first line may include: “now that La Rochelle has fallen ...,” or “from broken La Rochelle ...” **2:** with the word “pocula” (“cups,” “drinks”), the stage is set for perhaps the primary conceit exploited throughout this work: the distinction between water (eventually becoming beer by Strophe III) and wine, with their respective connections to England and France, and various biblical and mythological figures. **3-6:** Nysa is a mythological mountain associated with Dionysius/Bacchus; and Cirrha (or Kirra), a village in Phocis within the central area of ancient Greece, is connected to Apollo/Phoebus. As the poem makes clear in lines 10-12, Cirrha here is to be equated with Paris, the seat of the French king. Nysa, where Bacchus was raised by the Hyades (nymphs associated with rain who were half-sisters to the Pleiades and who later were also changed into a star cluster), is metonymized to La Rochelle by way of its connection to wine. Essentially, by capturing La Rochelle, the flow of wine (“the goblet of Bacchus”) from the port of that city becomes available to the French capital (“the summit of Cirrha”), and is now cut off from England (note the nod to the loss in lines 57-58). **7-9:** as these lines explain, abundance (signified by such a luxury as wine) is associated with Nysa/La Rochelle/Bacchus, and wisdom (perhaps with a nod to the university) with Cirrha/Paris/Phoebus/Louis. **10-12:** with La Rochelle now in the French royal fold, and the resulting figurative accord between Bacchus and Phoebus, Paris becomes a virtual Mount Parnassus, a summit dear to both the Roman deities. **13-15:** after delving into classical antiquity for the whole of Strophe Ia, the poem now turns to the Bible in Ib. For the story of Moses drawing water from a rock with a strike of his staff, see Numbers, 20:1-11. It may be significant in view of Moses’s lesser standing by the end of the poem, that his specific actions at the site of this miracle (taking credit himself for the event, rather than acknowledging God’s hand in it) so displeased the Lord that he forbade Moses to enter the promised land of Canaan (see Deuteronomy, 32:51-52, and cf. Numbers, 27:14). Ilana Schroeder, in her dissertation on the Châlons fragments (“A Codicological and Contextual Analysis,” 51, note 69),⁹ notes that the more deprecatory treatment of Moses in this poem may relate to increased antipathy towards Jews in the French royal realm during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Prompted by the biblical associations, Moses could represent either Henry III or Savaric de Mauléon, and the patriarch’s punishment for his improper behavior at the rock may be seen as an allegory for the English claims on La Rochelle. **14:** literally: “a rupturing of a rock was made.” **16-18:** meanwhile, in contrast to Moses’ miraculous drawing of water, Louis’s similar activity with his sword (his military action) upon a rock (La Rochelle) results in an abundance of sweet wine, and is thus preferable to the water drawn by Moses. By the end of the poem, the association with the rock of Moses will include beer along with or in place of the water. Schroeder (p. 51) has also noted the Christological evocation of Louis’s act, reflecting Jesus’s first miracle at the wedding at Cana where he turned the water of the guests into wine (John,

⁸For references to much of the previous information, and for further discussion of the conflicts, consult David A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 370-375, especially 374.

⁹Ilana L. Schroeder, “A Codicological and Contextual Analysis of Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250,” Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2018). I am grateful, also, to Dr. Schroeder for her feedback on the translation and commentary of *De rupta Rupecula*.

2:1-11). Perhaps significantly, the siege of La Rochelle, along with his other battles to secure territory in continental France, happened early in Louis's reign, as did the miracle in Jesus's ministry. **21-22:** on issues involved with the missing lines at this point in *Ch* and attempts at editorial completion, see the observations and variants section below. **25-27:** as Anderson indicates (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii-xxix), the most likely and convincing reference for the Charles of this stanza, given its partnering with the expression "ydolum Pictavorum" ("idol of the inhabitants of Poitou/Poitiers," thus connoting heretical beliefs), is the onslaught of Charles ("the Hammer") Martel (reg. in Francia as duke, prince, and Mayor of the Palace, 718-741), grandfather of Charlemagne, in the battle of Poitiers (732), which counteracted the spread of Islam in the region and laid the foundation for the Frankish empire that would proliferate over the following century. Here the power of Charles's military prowess, which in the conductus poem was seemingly not enough to cower the non-Christian forces he battled, is contrasted to the greater effect that Louis's authority exerted over the region. In a related vein, even before he was crowned in 1223, Louis had been involved in military campaigns supporting the Albigensian Crusade that combated anti-orthodox heresy in this same region; he had also made an attack on the English mainland itself, both in 1216. In the latter effort, Louis came close to achieving the kingship of England, but ultimately failed with the rise in support of Henry III after the death of his father, King John, on 19 October 1216. Come 1225, Louis would again take up arms in the Albigensian conflict in southern France, but would leave the matter unresolved with his death on 8 November 1226. **28-29:** includes various factions or individuals faulted for the fall of La Rochelle to the French. Here the personified "Poitevins' idol" from line 25 remonstrates against the citizenry and military forces it deems responsible for the English-led failure to hold the city. The expressions "deceitful citizen" ("civem subdolum") and "peevish deserter" ("discolum desertorem") of lines 28-29 would likely invoke the inhabitants and garrisoned English troops of La Rochelle, respectively: it was the former who were ultimately responsible for surrendering and delivering the city to Louis, while the English soldiers stationed there were allowed to leave the town unharmed and without surrendering their arms.¹⁰ Another likely candidate for both or either of these figures could be Savaric de Mauléon, the disgraced head of the English military faction, who is directly addressed and sarcastically quoted by the idol in lines 31-33. **30-36:** whether or not he may be identical to the figures disparaged in the previous two lines, Savaric de Mauléon is now called out by name and directly addressed by the Poitevin idol (from line 25). The idol castigates Savaric for allowing an impregnable fortress like La Rochelle to succumb, and figuratively blames the failure on the "inconstancy" ("varietas") of the panther. Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxix, note 16) rightly suspects a play on words with Savaric's name (Mauléon = "evil lion") in invoking the panther; he also claims that medieval bestiaries commonly regarded panthers as fickle. This may be so for the particular source Anderson cites (the *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival), but within the medieval bestiaries panthers are much more widely portrayed in an affirmative light as a reflection of Christ. This more positive representation likely stems from the accounts in the *Physiologus* (an allegorical Christian bestiary written in Greek between the second to fourth centuries, and translated into Latin at around the start of the sixth). The *Physiologus* was a source frequently drawn upon by later medieval bestiaries and their followers, and its treatment of the panther here represents a major shift from accounts given by such earlier authors as Pliny the Elder in his *Historia naturalis*. In both authorities (the *Physiologus* and Pliny), the panther is noted for exuding an exceedingly sweet and captivating odor that draws other animals to follow and adore it. In the *Physiologus* this scent is likened to the words Christ uttered upon his resurrection, but in Pliny the odor is the means by which the panther captures and devours its prey. In the context of the conductus, therefore, the treatment of the image appears closer to the characterization in Pliny.¹¹ One significant attribute of the panther that both types of sources and their derivatives transmit, relates directly to the language of *De rupta rupecula*. A frequent trope in the discussion of the panther within the literature of the bestiaries and natural histories concerns the description of its coat.

¹⁰See Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, 371.

¹¹For further information on the points in this comment, see Michael J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Natural Lore*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), xxv-xxvi, 42-44; and Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, 8,23.

Although it takes many forms, depending on whether one understands the depiction to connote a multicolored, spotted, or otherwise visually striking pelt, the language used to describe the panther's skin tends to invoke the word *varietas* or its derivations, the very noun used to condemn Savaric's panther-like actions in this part of the conductus poem.¹² The choice of such a descriptor is apropos, as Savaric's career could be well described as inconstant; one might even say he found frequent need to change his own spots. **37,2:** on the word adopted at this point ("secula"), see the section on observations and variants. **37-42:** reactions to the unexpected defeat of La Rochelle occupy the initial portion of this strophe. Possible identities for the "rival" of line 40,2 (this word is an editorial conjecture, see the later section on observations and variants) and the "incredulous people" could be anyone connected to the English cause: Henry III, Savaric, the inhabitants of La Rochelle, the remaining French lands still held by England, and conceivably other candidates. **39:** "Contrahunt ... nasum" is an idiom synonymous with "corrugare nasum" (or "crispare nares"); see Horace, *Epistles*, 1,5,23; and *PL*, 1, col. 286A, for the identity with "contrahere": "Unde corrugare et contrahere nares dicuntur, qui offenduntur" ("Whence they say that those who are offended 'wrinkle and contract their nostrils'"). **43-48:** After a recapitulation of the comparison of Paris to Parnassus, nearby Bordeaux is portrayed as fearful because it is now open to attack. As mentioned above in the historical notes, Bordeaux, the single remaining Atlantic-coast port still controlled by the English, did become a target for invasion soon after the fall of La Rochelle, but Louis's commanders were unable to penetrate its defenses, even though other cities in the region succumbed to the French. Unfortunately, the middle portion of line 48 is illegible; see the variants section below at this point for further information and the reasoning behind the editorial completion. **46:** for similar syntax, see Matthew, 18:7: "Vae mundo a scandalis" ("Woe to the world because of scandals."). **57-58:** this could be somewhat confusing; I take it to mean that the inferior water from the rock of Moses (now described as beer and associated even back then with England in comparison to the affiliation of France with wine)¹³ only leads to greater chaos, confusion, or emptiness for the English (being "strengthened" or "firmed up" are primary meanings for "firmatur"), as opposed to the more delightful affects of the wine from the rock of the French – which England is now forced to forego. **59:** Lyeus is a cognomen for Bacchus/Dionysius. **60:** also connotes "left over for France," but a more positive connotation seems appropriate here; "superatur" also implies superiority; hence, the "joy of Lyeus/Bacchus/New Rochelle" – i.e., wine – has now been taken over and France now reaps the benefits.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: As *Ch* is used to supply the secondary versicles, its variants from *F* are recorded here; all but two (the same word at 3,3 and 5,1 and that of 12,3) are merely contrasting orthography for people, places, or animals. **3,1:** *Ch*: circe. **3:3:** *Ch*: visa. **4,2:** *Ch*: circeum. **5:1:** *Ch*: visa. **12,3:** Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii) gives "mittatur," for "mutatur," following *Ch* (an easy substitution for a scribe to make, given the profusion of text minims here); the *F* reading seems to make more sense, as it avoids repeating the verb of line 6 and works better with the preposition "in" (otherwise "ad" would appear preferable). **15-18:** These four

¹²For example, the Latin text of the *Physiologus* as transmitted in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318, f. 15r, reads: "Physiologus sic testificat de panterio: quam talis est natura eius ut omnium animalium sit amicus. Inimicus autem est draconis. Varium est enim aspectus illius sicut tunica [for 'tunica'] Joseph" ("The *Physiologus* bears witness about the panther as follows: how such is its nature that it is a friend of all animals. Its enemy, though, is the dragon. And its appearance is variegated ['varium'] like the coat of Joseph). Images of the Bern *Physiologus* can be seen here: <https://www.e-codices.ch/en/bbb/0318/15r>. Pliny, analogously, reports: "Panthera et tigris macularum varietate prope solae bestiarum spectantur" ("The panther and the tiger are nearly the only animals that are remarkable for a skin distinguished by the variety ['varietate'] of its spots" – from *The Natural History of Pliny*, John Bostock and H.T. Riley, trans. [London: George Bell and Sons, 1900], 274). Slightly further on in this passage, Pliny uses the word "varia" as a specific name for the female panther: "Nunc varias et pardos, qua mares sunt, appellant in eo omni genere, creberrimo in Africa Syriaque." ("At present, we apply the general names of varia and pard, (which last belongs to the males), to all the numerous species of this animal, which is very common in Africa and Syria." [ibid.]).

¹³For a related musical treatment that refers to these stereotypes, see the texts of the motet *Hare hare hye godalier / Balaam godalier / Balaam* (vdW 590/591/M81), extant in *W2*, the *Noailles Chansonier* (F-Pn fr. 12615), and entered in the surviving index of *Bes* (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 1716). This piece is treated in a study by Mary Wolinski, "Drinking Motets in Medieval Artois and Flanders," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 6 (2008): 9-20; available at <https://www.academia.edu/229658>.

lines from Strophe Ib, found only in *Ch*, are rearranged by Hourlier/Chailley (p. 157), which is replicated by Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii) as: 17,15,18,16, apparently in an effort to correct what they see as a disturbance of the rhyme scheme, caused by the omission of the later lines 21-22 (see below). The result for the opening six verses of the twelve-line stanza, though, produces aaabba rather than the original aabaab of *Ch*. Unfortunately, though, this change actually undoes the existing correspondences present in the opening halves of all the strophes, each of which presents two groups of three rhyming lines with related structures, either aab/ccb or aab/aab (a possible phantom exception that may be ruled out is Strophe IIb, lines 37-40, about which see immediately below). The latter half of each stanza, in confirmation, also shows these same types of related series of rhymes throughout. Similar editorial manipulation occurs with lines 37-40 of Strophe IIb, arranged by Anderson and Hourlier/Chailley as 37,40,39,38. In this case it does give a desired result: aab/ccb. However, this solution hinges on how one resolves the abbreviation of the rhyme word 37,2 (q.v. further below). Both Hourlier/Chailley and Anderson give “scelera” for 37,2; but, as I argue later, I find “secula” much more convincing and defensible as a resolution. This detail thus complicates the question of how to interpret the corresponding rhyme word 40,2 (q.v. also below), which, unfortunately, has sustained damage. Line 40,2 has been restored as “ethera” in both Hourlier/Chailley and Anderson, based on its need to rhyme with their reading of 37,2 (“scelera”). But my resolution of 37,2 as “secula” would require a different rhyme word for 40,2 than that proposed by Hourlier/Chailley and Anderson. As a result, I have decided to adopt “emula” (“rival”) as a conjectural completion. The result of these changes to the earlier scholars’ readings ends up with a rhyme scheme of aab/aab for this part of the stanza, the very type of pattern needed to correspond with the rhyme series of the other strophes, but without requiring the re-ordering of any of the lines in the stanza. In sum, with lesser editorial interference, all of the lines in question in both Ib and IIb now appear in their original sequence and offer rhyme schemes in every strophe that correspond structurally with each other. **15,1:** Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii) and Hourlier/Chailley, (p. 157) give “aquam,” whereas the abbreviation in *Ch* (a $\bar{q}$) more clearly implies “aque” as the preferred reading. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, 21,¹⁴ for example, provides no reading of “aquam” to correspond with the abbreviation in *Ch*, while his discussion of abbreviation signs with relative significance shows at the top of p. xxxi the figure “q̄” illustrating “que.” **21-22:** *Ch*: two poetic lines are missing in this source; their presumed placement here, rather than, for instance, at the end of the stanza, is suggested by a marking (— .) at this very point that is similar to indications used elsewhere in *Ch* to signal errors (e.g., “/.”), but which is here more horizontally directed.¹⁵ Anderson’s efforts to fill the gap seem debatable in the direction they take, so I have supplied my own remedy, given in brackets and italic type in the text, translation, and transcription. My reasoning for going against Anderson’s proposals is as follows: after introducing the watery, Mosaic rock through anaphora (“rupes ... rupes”) in lines 19-20, and qualifying this rock with the demonstrative pronoun “hec,” (“this”), any completion of the missing lines would seem to necessitate: 1) a mention of the winery, Ludovican rock, followed by 2) a turn back to the rock of Moses in order to complete the grammar of the closing couplet of the strophe (lines 23-24) as it offers its final verdict on the relative qualities of the liquids generated by the two stones. My effort recalls the “hec” of verse 19 in the editorially supplied line 22, but now employs this pronoun to distinguish the Moses-rock (“the former [rock]”) from the mention of the Bacchus-rock that I supply in the line just above it. The wine-rock then reappears in line 24, now with a different demonstrative pronoun “ista,” (rendered here as “the latter [rock]”), thus making clear its distinction from the watery rock of Moses enumerated previously.¹⁶ Anderson’s completion suffices in terms of basic verse structure, but he fails to provide a subject for the verb “effluit” (23,3) and confuses the

¹⁴Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1985.

¹⁵See Schroeder, “A Codicological and Contextual Analysis,” 32-34.

¹⁶For these connotations, see <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html>, s.v. “hic,” under the *DMLBS* section, no. 9; and s.v. “iste” *DMLBS*, nos. 12-13. A similar series of demonstratives is at work in lines 53-54 in the final extant strophe. Regarding the choice of rhyme words, I did not feel it was necessary to replicate the consonants of the “-udit” rhyme of line 23 in the conjecturally supplied line 22, since they are not consistently reproduced elsewhere in the poem, for example, as in lines 7-8 (“-tie” ... “-pie”).

issue in his translation by reckoning the rock of Moses as the more preferable of the two, when, logically, the rock of line 24 would refer to the one that is disgorging wine.¹⁷ **25,1:** Ch: Pictaviorum. **26,3:** Ch: karolum. **30,2:** Ch: savericum. **32,1:** Ch: “forte” is completely faded except for its first letter. **36,2:** Ch: pantere. **37-40:** rearranged unnecessarily by previous editors; see the latter portion of the remarks for lines 15-18, above. **37,2:** Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii) and Hourlier/Chailley (p. 157) interpret the abbreviation “sc̄la” as “scelera”; the reading of “secula” adopted here seems preferable, and is additionally supported by Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, 345 (see the final four items in the left column and the one leading the right), while the other is not. **39,2:** the apparent lack of the first vowel in the surviving opening syllable of “mult[...]” as written in *Ch* is explained by the just visible presence of an abbreviation stroke (“m̄lt[...], see Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, 221); my conjecture of its now illegible ending departs from Hourlier/Chailley (p. 157) and Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxix) in reading “multi,” as I feel it provides a better and more proximate subject than the other available candidate (“secula”) from line 37,2. **40,2:** As with line 37,2, this word, as interpreted by Hourlier/Chailley and replicated by Anderson (“etera” or “ethera”), has been reconsidered. Appearing only in *Ch*, it is completely illegible beyond its opening “e” and a portion of the next letter, even in high-resolution photographs at high magnification.¹⁸ Given my conviction that 37,2 is better construed as “secula” (see above), I feel a conjectural emendation to “emula” to preserve the rhyme makes good enough sense, although certainly there could be other equally satisfactory candidates. For further information that led to this decision, see the latter portion of the above discussion of lines 15-18. **48:** the faded words in this line are again very difficult to make out in *Ch*, their only source. Hourlier/Chailley (p. 157) supply “Cedri ... mirice,” with the last word unbraced, indicating they felt able to read it confidently, whereas for the second word I feel certain only about “miri-” with the following letter quite probably “-c,” though still uncertain, and any remainder impossible to make out. Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxix, 101), in contrast, gives “Cedricus mirifice” with no report that the first of these words has suffered any loss. Anderson’s take on the second word is certainly possible, but it seems to me that its remains look more like “miric-” (à la Hourlier/Chailley) than “mirif-.” Also, even though this in no way rules out Anderson’s speculation, I have not yet (nor had Anderson) found a person named Cedric who might fit the bill for this completion. If, however, one goes with Hourlier’s/Chailley’s reading as it stands, this would suggest that “vicina Burdegalis” (line 49) is more preferable as the subject of the sentence (“neighboring/nearby Bordeaux”) rather than a locational modifier. There is a certain sense to the remains of the words in *Ch*, since the words “cedris” or “cedrus” (the fruit of the cedar tree or examples of the plant itself, respectively) are often found together with “mirica” or “myrica,” – also plants, types of which, like the cedar, happen to be associated with fragrance (the tamarisk, broom, heather, or other members of the genus *Myrica*). As a result, based on the reading of Hourlier/Chailley, after long thought, and after verifying that cedar and tamarisk varieties may indeed flourish in the Bordeaux region, I have tried to supply something suitable for the missing two syllables, which are bracketed and italicized, just as they were for lines 21-22. **49,3:** Ch: francia. **53,4:** franciam. **55,1:** F: gives either “quid quod” or “quidquod”; the reading of “quidquid” adopted here is supported by both Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxix), *AH*, 21, p. 183, no. 257,¹⁹ and Hourlier/Chailley (p. 158, given as “quid quid”); the rest of *Ch*, unfortunately, breaks off right after the first syllable of line 55,1. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** *F* is much more liberally accommodated with the sig quad on *f* (*f-sharp*) than *Ch*. For the former MS, they occur on at least one occasion in every voice part. *Ch*, though, confines its sharps to the Tr alone, and on one occasion (just prior to line 3,2 “propinat”) cancels the prevailing siq quad with a sig rot. In the transcription, the presence of

¹⁷Anderson gives for lines 21-22: “(fit autem vinosior / ubi ipsam contudit.)” His translation of the entire pertinent passage runs: “The rock is water-laden, / [but becomes wine-laden / when he struck it,] / while water alone was shed / by that rock more delightful” (*NDRC*, 2:xxviii, lines 20-24; Anderson’s completion appears above in brackets and italic type within his translation – my additions).

¹⁸I am exceedingly grateful to Mark Everist, Lawrence Earp, and Ilana Schroeder for letting me consult photographs of *Ch* in their possession.

¹⁹*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 21, *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, pt. 2, Guido Maria Dreves, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895).

accidentals in *F*, the base source, may be gleaned from the key signatures dispersed throughout the score. Here, as elsewhere, when editorial inflection is suggested, unbraced above-staff accidentals are vouched for by another source (in this case *Ch*), bracketed accidentals above the staff are done completely via editorial initiative, and the inflection lasts only the length of the current phrase, though on occasion courtesy reminders of the prevailing accidental may occur above-staff and in parentheses. As is usual for this repertory, the only *f* pitch that the sig quad appears regularly to affect is the one above middle *c*. As a result, any *f* pitches in the lower octave retain their uninflected status whenever possible, which sometimes affects the interpretation of any cross relation that may occur in other voices. **Notes on the music: Lines 1-6:** the opening of the piece shows a three-line *pedes* opening in the T (ABC), which is nearly exactly replicated in the upper parts; the single small variant (C') at the start of line 6 in the Tr is minor. Notice also that this opening repetitive unit corresponds to the way the poem's rhyme scheme is constructed, which builds from units of three lines (see the discussion above in the observations on lines 15-18). **Cauda closing Strophe I (on line 12,3):** F: Tr: In the third phrase in this voice, within L6-7, the 3li=*edc* camouflages a prior stroke obviously entered in error and not included here. **Line 26,2:** D: F: the *d* over the last syllable of "expavit" om, the remains show an erased siP=*c*; completed from Ch with *d*.

AVE SALUS HOMINUM
Conductus (F26/37)

F, f. 247r (6,54)

Tr
I D
T

[A -
[A -
A -

[A] - ve sa - lus ho - mi - num.
[A] - ve sa - lus ho - mi - num.
[a] - ve sa - lus ho - mi - num.

e - mun - da - trix cri - mi - num. a -
e - mun - da - trix cri - mi - num. a -
e - mun - da - trix cri - mi - num. a -

First system of musical notation for three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with various phrasing slurs and ties. The bottom staff has a fermata over a dotted half note.

Second system of musical notation for three staves, including lyrics. The lyrics are: [a] - ve mun - di cu - ra. a - ve. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, featuring phrasing slurs and ties. The bottom staff has a fermata over a dotted half note.

Third system of musical notation for three staves, including lyrics. The lyrics are: se - men re - gi - um mi - se - ris re - fu - gi - um. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, featuring phrasing slurs and ties. The bottom staff has a fermata over a dotted half note.

Fourth system of musical notation for three staves. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, featuring phrasing slurs and ties. The bottom staff has a fermata over a dotted half note.

Three staves of music in F major, 8/8 time. The first system shows the vocal entries with lyrics "a -".

Three staves of music with Latin lyrics: [a] - ve vir - go pu - ra. a - ve fu - sa ce - li - tus.

Three staves of music with Latin lyrics: ro - re san - cti spi - ri - tus. a - ve de - i cel - la. a -.

Three staves of music, continuing the previous system.

Three staves of music in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: [a] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel - or: [b] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel -

Continuation of the musical score for three voices. The lyrics continue: [a] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel - or: [b] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel -

Continuation of the musical score for three voices. The lyrics continue: [a] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel - or: [b] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel -

Continuation of the musical score for three voices. The lyrics continue: [a] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel - or: [b] - ve splen - dor e - the - ris ra - di - ans pre ce - te - ris. a - ve ma - ris stel -

8va

- la.]

- la.]

- la.

AVE SALUS HOMINUM

Conductus (F26/37)

F, f. 247r (6,54)

I Ave, salus hominum, emundatrix criminum.		Hail, salvation of mankind, purifier of sins.
Ave, mundi cura.		Hail, remedy of the world.
Ave, semen regium, miseris refugium.	5	Hail, offspring of kings, refuge for the wretched.
Ave, virgo pura.		Hail, spotless virgin.
Ave, fusa celitus rore sancti spiritus.		Hail, lady, suffused with the heavenly dew of the Holy Spirit.
Ave, dei cella.		Hail, chamber of God.
Ave, splendor etheris, radians pre ceteris.	10	Hail, splendor of the firmament, shining before all others.
Ave, maris stella.		Hail, star of the sea.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 54, f. 247r: a3; single strophe, complete (but see the remarks below on stanzaic construction in the notes on the text), with no indications or space provided for further stanzas; a unique text/music transmission.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Stanzaic construction: Anderson's edition (*NDRC*, 2:xxx) offers the poem as two identically constructed six-line strophes, but as the piece stands there is little indication to support such a division, and it is just as arguable to propose that it contains four three-line stanzas, with the first and third lines of each beginning "Ave." The decision to present this work here as a single-strophe setting is prompted by the lack in the unique MS of any major initial or capital letter at any of the likely demarcation points in the text; the music, likewise, implies no complementary subdivisions through the disposition of its caudae, except for the final tercet (which is not to say that caudae are well disposed only if they suggest a particular structural division). **Marian features:** the poem is representative of countless Marian lyrics in its presentation of a list of fairly common attributes for the Virgin; a number of biblical or other sources for several of these attributes are listed below, and are common throughout the conductus and medieval Latin lyric repertory. Somewhat uncharacteristically, though, a closing petition for mercy or similar type of request is not included in this poem. Such a feature might suggest further stanzas may have existed at one time. **Textual notes: 4:** Christ and Mary claim royal ancestry from the line of Jesse through David; for the source of this conceit, see Isaiah, 11:1 and the respond section of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16). **6-7:** see the story of Gideon's fleece, as recounted in Judges, 6:36-40; the dew that collected on the fleece is symbolic of Christ; the fleece itself, soaked by the dew without ever lying open to it, is a figure of the Virgin Mary that represents her preserved chastity. For more images of dew as a type for Christ, cf. Isaiah 45:8.¹ **10-12:** a star is a frequent attribute of the Virgin

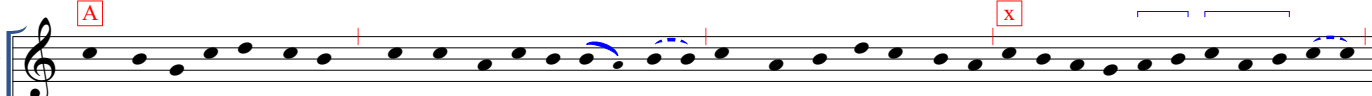
¹Isaiah 45:8: "Rorate, caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum; aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem, et iustitia oriatur simul: ego Dominus creavi eum" ("Drop down dew, O heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain down a just man: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior: and let justice spring up at the same time: I the Lord made him").

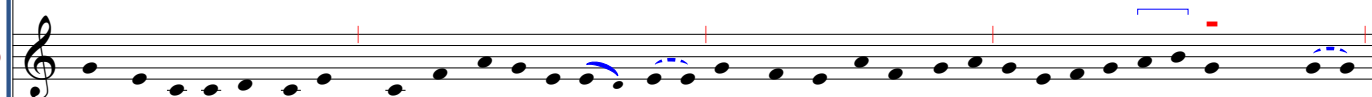
Mary; line 12 quotes the opening verse of the well-known Marian hymn, one of the most common of her attributes; see also in this regard the incipits of the conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/34) and *Ave maris stella virgo* (D1/34).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **5,2:** F: the final syllable of “refugium” is faint, although it shows no signs of erasure. **MUSIC:** in each of the extensive caudae that are shot all through this piece, phrases are dovetailed nearly completely throughout; the only exception seems to occur in the final cauda at L39-L41. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** All 10 notes of the T (along with parts of the D and Tr) of “Ave salus hominum” (line 1) = **1a.** the same sequence of notes in the T(DTr) of the first phrase of the cauda immediately following on “[homi]num.” **Opening cauda:** This transcription differs notably from Anderson’s by using B rests exclusively in its first half. **Cauda on line 3,1:** D: F: at the end of the second phrase, at L8-L9, the double stoke presented above the staff in the score indicates that the MS suggests that an upbeat phrase follows, rather than a short passage in mode 2; see the use of this same device in the T and D in an early part of the final cauda. **Cauda on line 3,1:** Tr: F: 3 of 3li at L18 written a bit crookedly as a *d*; editorial emendation to *c* for consonance. **Cauda after line 5:** T: F: the penultimate note of the “refugium” cauda is om, supplied editorially. **Cauda on line 10,1:** T: F: at the fourth note into the cauda, at L3, the 3 of the 3li given here as *gbd* looks like *c*; Tr: F: within the fifth phrase, at L14-L15: omission; conjectural 2li=*ef* supplied editorially. **Final cauda:** T: F: at the end of the second phrase, at L13-L14, the double stoke presented above the staff in the score indicates that the MS suggests an upbeat phrase follows; D: the same double stroke implies an upbeat beginning for the sixth phrase of this voice, at L15-L16. Tr: F: last note of sixth phrase and first note of seventh (at L29-30): *c’ d’* for *d’ c’*; editorial substitution for consonance.

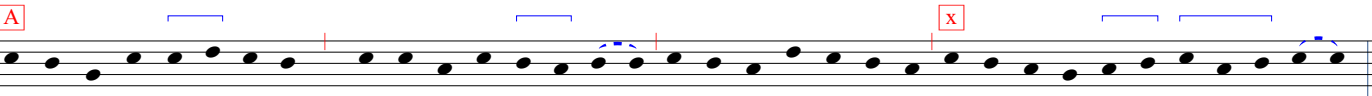
NICHOLAI PRESULIS
Conductus (F27/217)

F, f. 248r (6,55)

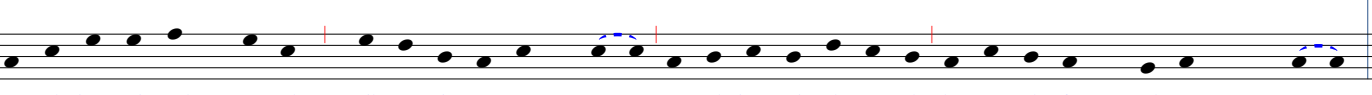
Tr  [Ni - cho-la - i pre-su-lis fe-stum ce-le-bre - mus con-cre-pan-do mo-du-lis le-ti-ti-e so-ne - mus.

I D  [Ni - cho-la - i pre-su-lis fe-stum ce-le-bre - mus con-cre-pan-do mo-du-lis le-ti-ti-e so-ne - mus.

T  Ni - cho-la - i pre-su-lis fe-stum ce-le-bre - mus con-cre-pan-do mo-du-lis le-ti-ti-e so-ne - mus.

 ver-si-bus al - mis - so-nis di-em de-co-re - mus. vo-ci-bus al - tis-so-nis in - ten-ti fe - sti-ne - mus.

 ver-si-bus al - mis - so-nis di-em de-co-re - mus. vo-ci-bus al - tis-so-nis in - ten-ti fe - sti-ne - mus.

 ver-si-bus al - mis - so-nis di-em de-co-re - mus. vo-ci-bus al - tis-so-nis in - ten-ti fe - sti-ne - mus.

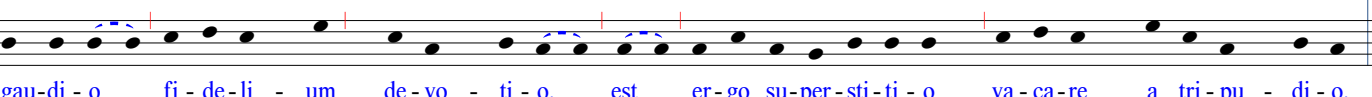
Tr  In tan-to na - ta - li - ti - o pa - trum do - cet tra - di - ti - o ut con-so-net in

II D  In tan-to na - ta - li - ti - o pa - trum do - cet tra - di - ti - o ut con-so-net in

T  In tan-to na - ta - li - ti - o pa - trum do - cet tra - di - ti - o ut con-so-net in

 gau-di - o fi - de-li - um de - vo - ti - o. est er-go su-per-sti-ti - o va-ca-re a tri-pu - di - o.

 gau-di - o fi - de-li - um de - vo - ti - o. est er-go su-per-sti-ti - o va-ca-re a tri-pu - di - o.

 gau-di - o fi - de-li - um de - vo - ti - o. est er-go su-per-sti-ti - o va-ca-re a tri-pu - di - o.

Tr
Nunc
III D
Nunc
T
Nunc

or: [B'] i - gi-tur iu - sto-rum su-

[Nunc] i - gi-tur iu - sto-rum su-

[Nunc] i - gi-tur iu - sto-rum su-

[X] [B'] [X]

- a - vi - tas can - to - rum per tym-pha-num et cho-rum et o-mne mu - si - co - rum

- a - vi - tas can - to - rum per tym-pha-num et cho-rum et o-mne mu - si - co - rum

- a - vi - tas can - to - rum per tym-pha-num et cho-rum et o-mne mu - si - co - rum

[B'] [X"]

ge - nus in-stru-men - to-rum psal-lat de - o de - o -

ge - nus in-stru-men - to-rum psal-lat de - o de - o -

ge - nus in-stru-men - to-rum psal-lat de - o de - o -

- rum.]

- rum.]

- rum.

NICHOLAI PRESULIS

Conductus (F27/217)

F, f. 248r (6,55)

I Nicholai presulis festum celebremus. Concrepando, modulis letitie sonemus. Versibus almissonis diem decoremus. Vocibus altissonis intenti festinemus.	Let us celebrate the feast of Bishop Nicholas. Let us sound forth by ringing out with melodies of joy. 5 Let us adorn the day with verses resounding in grace. Let us, his devotees, act promptly with voices resounding on high.
II In tanto natalitio, patrum docet traditio ut consonet in gaudio fidelium devotio. Est ergo superstitio vacare a tripudio.	On such a great feast day, 10 the custom of the Fathers instructs that the devotion of the faithful should harmonize in joy. It therefore is a hollow fear that one should avoid the dance.
III Nunc igitur iustorum suavitas cantorum, per tymphanum et chorum et omne musicorum genus instrumentorum, psallat deo deorum.	15 Now, therefore, let the sweetness of righteous singers, with drum and dance and every type of musical instrument, 20 sing to the god of gods.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 55, f. 248r; a3; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III headed by capitals; unique text and music, with no space to accommodate further stanzas. The next work in *F*-6, *Stephani sollempnia* (F28/340), is also dedicated to a named male saint.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: General remarks: Although the content is otherwise generic, and might be appropriated to celebrate a variety of subjects, this poem specifically names Saint Nicholas (b. 270-d. 343; prelate from ca. 317), the fourth-century Bishop of Myra (now Demre) in the ancient Lycian region of what is now Turkey; his feast day is celebrated on 6 December, the anniversary of his death.¹ Before his episcopal installment, Nicholas is reported to have made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and as a prelate he was supposed to have taken part in the first council of Nicaea in 325 and been involved in the crafting of the Nicene Creed. His many legends and

¹For a thorough and expansive treatment on the musical significance of St. Nicholas especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Mary Channen Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2013), chapter 4 (pp. 406-526); a number of points made here stem from Caldwell's observations.

miracles include bringing three murdered children (sometime portrayed as student clerics) back to life, and secretly giving presents of money towards the dowries of a poor man's three daughters, thus allowing them to marry and avoid turning to prostitution. He is a patron saint of children, mariners, merchants, pawnbrokers, students, and clerics (among others). Nicholas was persecuted and imprisoned during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian (reg. 284-305), but later released upon the accession of Constantine (reg. 306-337). He was not martyred, but died in 343 and was buried in Myra, until a significant portion of his remains were forcibly removed and translated by sailors to Bari in Italy in 1087. From there his cult began to spread more fully throughout Western Europe. Purportedly, Nicholas's tomb in Bari to this day miraculously exudes a sweet-smelling liquid (called manna or myrrh) that is collected annually on the feast of his translation (9 May). Nicholas is one of the most sung-about of all the non-biblical saints, and the repertory of musical items devoted to him is especially replete with musical references. Such is the case with *Nicholai presulis*, where musical terminology and performative content abound in the poem. Besides this work, in addition to organa, motets, and refrain songs within the Parisian repertory, the conductus *Fulget Nicholaus* (E7/135), transmitted earlier at F-6,16, is also devoted to him. **Textual notes: 9,3:** despite its derivation from "natalis" ("relating to birth"), the word "natalicius" also connotes the celebration of a saint's feast day such as that of Nicholas which honors his death (see the *DMLBS*, s.v. "natalicius," 1,c, at <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#natalicius>). **14:** on the term *tripudium* (often rendered as "dance") and its various connotations, see Donna La Rue, "Tripudium," 25–29.² In this case I have translated the term here as "dance" (rather than, say, "celebration") in view of the appearance of the word "chorum" (also meaning "dance") at 17,4, yet see the notes for this word. **17,4:** see the notes for line 14; alternative renderings for this word outside of "dance" could include: "multitude," "band," "crowd," or "group." For other conductus that may mention dancing, see, in addition to *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Baculi solempnia* (J52/20), *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144); and notice also the troped organum with connections to Nicholas, *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI), especially lines 15-17. **15-20:** as with *Stephani sollempnia* (F28/340), which follows it in F-6, *Nicholai presulis* not only gives a nod to a particular saint, but includes a concluding injunction to praise God, thus functioning much like a troped BD setting.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: no variants. **14:** no period to punctuate the end of Strophe II; added editorially throughout, but not bracketed for greater legibility. **MUSIC:** This piece is one of only four conductus preserved in the main Notre Dame MSS (*F*, *W1*, *W2*, *Ma*) to have a final on *c*; all told, they are *Nicholai presulis*, (F27/217), *O mens cogita* (K57/240), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28/292, ending additionally in the upper octave), and *Festa Ianuaria* (F3/122, unique to *W1*). Interestingly, the troped organum (i.e., not a conductus) *Beatis no adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI) that appears just three items later at F-6,58 is also oriented on *c* and happens to be constructed on a cantus firmus that is derived from a chant responsory for Saint Nicholas. **Form:** The music is heavily repetitive, with the recurrences in the T mirrored in the other parts – the large-scale repeating divisions are marked above the system; form: I: AA (= abcd,abcd for each line), II: BBB (= ef,ef,ef), III: B'B'B'' (= e'f',e'f',e'f'); furthermore, the recurring cadential figure seen in the Tr over differing lower parts throughout the larger sections (marked with an "x" above the staff) unites by musical rhyme all of the closing gestures of each of the larger "A" and "B" segments within each strophe. **Doubled notes:** The repeated-note si+si figures over single syllables that end and begin many phrases throughout the setting (apparently indicating additional length) are indicated in the transcription by dashed ties; these may, but should not necessarily suggest that the second note of the pair should not sound. It conceivably might also be argued that the appearance of these figures could suggest a modal-rhythmic reading of the heavily syllabic *cum littera* segments of this conductus. For the use of these figures in a similar context, see the conductus a2 *Rose nodum reserat* (I 1/313) and the four-voiced *Vetus abit littera* (B3/379). **Line 2,1:** D: F: d

²Donna La Rue, "Tripudium: Its Use in Sources from 200 BCE to 1600 CE," *ARTS (The Arts in Religious and Theological Studies)*, vol. 7, no. 3 – separately paginated – (1995): 25–29.

for first syllable of “festum”; the *c* given here as a correction comes from the later repetition at line 6,1. **3,1:** D: *e,d,c*, 3 too low for “concrepan[do]”; adopted reading taken from the later repetition at line 7,1 (“vocibus”).

11,2: T: F: *e,d* for the adopted *c,e* over the first two syllables of “conso[net]”; reading from the various appearances of this “B” motive at lines 9,11,13. **20,3:** Tr: F: the paired unisons *dd* over “[de]o[rum]” are given for the adopted *cc* at the end of the “x” phrase; revised by comparison to wherever else motive “x” is found with a doubled concluding note.

STEPHANI SOLLEMPNIA

Conductus (F28/340)

F, f. 249r (6,56)

Tr
8 [Ste - pha-ni sol-lem-pni-a gau - di - a mun - do fe-rant ho - di - e. glo - ri - e

I D
8 [Ste - pha-ni sol-lem-pni-a gau - di - a mun - do fe-rant ho - di - e. glo - ri - e

T
8 Ste - pha-ni sol-lem-pni-a gau - di - a mun - do fe-rant ho - di - e. glo - ri - e

8 di - es fe-stus a - gi - tur. co - li - tur. gau - de - a - mus i - gi - tur. do - mi - no

8 di - es fe-stus a - gi - tur. co - li - tur. gau - de - a - mus i - gi - tur. do - mi - no

8 di - es fe-stus a - gi - tur. co - li - tur. gau - de - a - mus i - gi - tur. do - mi - no

8 re - gi si - ne ter - mi - no qui de mor - tis car - ce - re ve - nit ser - vos sol - ve - re

8 re - gi si - ne ter - mi - no qui de mor - tis car - ce - re ve - nit ser - vos sol - ve - re

8 re - gi si - ne ter - mi - no qui de mor - tis car - ce - re ve - nit ser - vos sol - ve - re

8 ce - li pan - dens a - di - tum ab - di - tum.]

8 ce - li pan - dens a - di - tum ab - di - tum.]

8 ce - li pan - dens a - di - tum ab - di - tum.]

STEPHANI SOLLEMPNIA

Conductus (F28/340)

F, f. 249r (6,56) (unique)

I Stephani sollempnia		May the solemn rites of
gaudia		Stephen's feast bring
mundo ferant hodie.		joys upon the world.
Glorie		The festal day of
dies festus agitur,	5	glory is celebrated
colitur.		and honored.
Gaudeamus igitur		So let us rejoice
domino,		in the Lord,
regi sine termino,		the boundless king,
qui de mortis carcere	10	who came to deliver the
venit servos solvere,		slaves from death's prison,
celi pandens aditum		opening the concealed entrance
abditum.		of heaven.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 56, f. 249r: a3; Strophe I complete; unique setting of both words and music, with no provision for further text. Outside of the Offertory prosula setting of *O vera O pia* (F21/248), located at *F*-6,49, f. 242v, *Stephani sollempnia* is the first piece in *F*-6 to have no caudae whatsoever since the end of the mostly *sine caudis* series in *F*-6 that extends from *F*-6, 20-47; as such it seem a bit out of place among its surroundings.¹ The previous work in *F*-6, *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), is also dedicated to a named male saint.

Text only: none.**Music only:** none.**Contrafacts:** none.

Notes on the Text: 1-2: for the appearance of St. Stephen in the Bible and his preaching, condemnation, trial, and death that earned him the title of *protomartyr* ("first of martyrs"), see Acts, 6:1-8:3. He is also regarded as one of the first deacons of the early church, being one of the seven Hellenistic Jews chosen by the apostles to help render assistance in the distribution of charity to Hellenistic widows who had complained that they did not receive the same amount of assistance as their Hebrew-speaking counterparts (see Acts, 6:1-7). **4-6:** Stephen's feast is celebrated the day after Christmas, 26 Dec. It is notable enough that it is generally inscribed within liturgical books in the *Proprium de Tempore*, which mostly concern events in the life of Christ, rather than the *Proprium Sanctorum* with most of the other saints; other feasts with this distinction (all falling within the octave of Christmas) include John the Apostle and Evangelist on 27 Dec., Holy Innocents on 28 Dec., and (by 1173 or so) Thomas of Canterbury, bishop and martyr, on 29 Dec. For another conductus celebrating Stephen within the central sources of *F*, *W1*, *W1*, *Ma*, see *Ortus summi peracto gaudio* (F4/257). **7-8:** as with *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), which precedes it in *F*-6, *Stephani sollempnia* not only gives a nod to a particular saint, but contains a concluding injunction to praise God, thus sounding much like a troped BD setting. **10-11:** cf. Revelation:

¹On the disposition of musical style in this section of *F*-6, see the footnote in the source report on *F* to *Vhe proclamet clericorum* (F19/357), earlier at *F*-6,47.

2:10.² **12-13:** this closing phrase of the poem recollects Stephen’s final words before his death from Acts, 7:55;³ portions of this passage recur in some of the proper liturgical items for Stephen’s feast, such as the Alleluia and Communion Mass chants.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** no variants. **Accidentals:** *F* presents a sig quad on *f* (an *f*# sign) in the Tr alone throughout the whole score. In the transcription, when editorial inflection is suggested, as is customary, unbraced above-staff accidentals are vouched for by *F*, and bracketed accidentals above the staff are done via editorial initiative, with the inflection lasting only the length of the current phrase (in this case corresponding to each line of the poem); on occasion courtesy reminders of the prevailing accidental are placed above-staff, in parentheses. Also usual for this repertory, the only *f* pitch that the sig quad appears regularly to affect is the one above middle *c*. As a result, any *f* pitches in the lower octave retain their uninflected status whenever possible; this sometimes affects the interpretation of cross relations in other voices. For the setting of the final two words of the poem, the pungency of the dissonances on “[adi]tum” compelled me to treat the *f* pitches as natural in the Tr, despite the discords that remain.

²Revelation: 2:10: “Nihil horum timeas quae passurus es. Ecce missurus est diabolus aliquos ex vobis in carcerem ut tentemini: et habebitis tribulationem diebus decem. Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitae” (“Fear none of those things which you shall suffer. Behold, the devil will cast some of you into prison that you may be tried: and you shall have tribulation ten days. Be faithful until death: and I will give you the crown of life.”).

³Acts, 7:55: “Cum autem esset plenus Spiritu Sancto, intendens in caelum, vidit gloriam Dei, et Jesum stantem a dextris Dei. Et ait: ‘Ecce video caelos apertos, et Filium hominis stantem a dextris Dei’ ” (“But he [Stephen], being full of the Holy Spirit, looking up steadfastly to heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. And he said: ‘Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.’ ”).

STELLA SERENA
[with additional contrafact text *Ave Maria*]
Conductus (F29/339 – O2,O4/30)

F, f. 249v (6,57) [contrafact text *Ave Maria* III in T from *StV* f. 259r (1,4)]

Tr
[Stel -

I D
[Stel -

T
Stel -
[A -

[Stel] - - la

[Stel] - - la

[Stel] - - la
[A] - - ve

se - re - na. lu - mi - nis or - tus.

se - re - na. lu - mi - nis or - tus.

se - re - na. lu - mi - nis or - tus.
ma - ri a gra - ci - a ple - na

dux
y

dux
z

dux
do -

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a red 'b' above the first measure. The bottom staff has a red 'x' above the first measure. The lyrics are: [dux] vi - a, [dux] vi - a, [dux] vi - a, [do] - mi - nus.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a red 'b' above the first measure and a red 'h' above the fifth measure. The lyrics are: por - tus., por - tus., por - te - tus. cum.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na. flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na. flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na. be - ne - di - cta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a red 'b' above the first measure and a red 'b' above the second measure. The lyrics are: flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na. flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na. flo - ri - ger or - tus. me - di - ci - ne ve - na.

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are: lux lex pax a - ve. lux lex pax a - ve. lux et lex be - pax ne - a di - ve. ctus. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and beams. There are red boxes containing the letters 'y', 'z', and 'x' above certain notes. Blue brackets are placed above groups of notes. A blue dashed line connects a note on the third staff to a note on the second staff.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are: sal - - va sal - - va sal - fruc - - tus. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and beams. There are red boxes containing the letters 'A', 'z'', and 'A'' above certain notes. Blue brackets are placed above groups of notes.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are: ser - ser - ser - ven - The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and beams. There are red boxes containing the letters 'y''' and 'z' above certain notes. Blue brackets are placed above groups of notes. A blue dashed line connects a note on the third staff to a note on the second staff.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are: - vos a vhe.] - vos a vhe.] - vos a tu - i a - The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and beams. There is a red box containing the letter 'B' above a group of notes. Blue brackets are placed above groups of notes.

First system of musical notation, measures 1-4. The system consists of three staves. The first staff has a red box labeled 'B' above the first measure. The second staff has a red box labeled 'C' above the second measure. Blue brackets connect notes across staves. Red accents are present on some notes.

Second system of musical notation, measures 5-8. The system consists of three staves. The first staff has a red box labeled 'C' above the first measure. The second staff has a red box labeled 'D' above the second measure. Blue brackets connect notes across staves. Red accents are present on some notes.

Third system of musical notation, measures 9-12. The system consists of three staves. The first staff has a red box labeled 'D' above the first measure. The second staff has a red box labeled 'E' above the second measure. Blue brackets connect notes across staves. Red accents are present on some notes.

Fourth system of musical notation, measures 13-16. The system consists of three staves. The first staff has a red box labeled 'E' above the first measure. The second staff has a red box labeled 'F' above the second measure. Blue brackets connect notes across staves. Red accents are present on some notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

STELLA SERENA – (Ave Maria III – *StV*)Conductus (F29/339 – O2, *olim* O4/30)¹*F*, f. 249v (6,57)

I	Stella serena,	Serene star,
	luminis ortus,	origin of the light,
	dux, via, portus,	guide, path, harbor,
	floriger ortus,	flowering garden,
	medicine vena,	5 dose of medicine,
	lux, lex, pax: ave!	light, law, peace: hail!
	Salva servos a vhe.	Save your subjects from woe.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 57, f. 249v: a3; Strophe I complete, with no provision for further text; unique setting with this text, but the music survives as a contrafact in *StV*. *Stella serena* is followed in *F* by the rather unusual troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI).

Text only: none.

Music only:

Contrafact:

Ave Maria III (O2, *olim* O4/30)² – in the musical transcription of *Stella serena*, the *Ave Maria* text from *StV* is provided under the T voice in slightly smaller type and encased in brackets for the sake of comparison:

StV (*F-Pn lat. 15139*), music gathering 1, no. 4, f. 259r: a3;³ complete prose text with concluding “Amen”; space is provided for a system-high opening initial that was apparently never supplied, but a fairly large guide letter appears at the left margin under the T staff. This piece is the first of two compositions, each later entries in different hands, added to the single leaves, ff. 259 and 260, that succeed the two double leaves (ff. 255-258) beginning the first gathering of music in *StV*.⁴ The second piece – the uniquely preserved double motet *Vivere vere si tu cupias / O perversa conditio / In odorem* (vdW 499/499a/M45) – is missing note entries for the last eight systems of its fully transmitted motetus text (including two final

¹The Roman-numeral designation of this particular *Ave Maria* in Anderson’s conductus catalog is *Ave Maria (II)*; the work is given as *Ave Maria III* in the CPI database, which is followed here.

²The differences in the supplied reference numbers are due to Anderson’s unpublished, handwritten revisions to his conductus catalog, where he removed two prior pieces (*Et honore virginali* and *Sanctorum meritis*, both from *LoA*), reclassifying them as prose and hymn, respectively. Anderson published the *Ave Maria* setting after *StV* in *NDRC*, 9 under the new numbering of O2; O4, though, is the catalog entry given by the CPI website. For a further contrafact of *Sanctorum meritis* in the conductus repertory, not recorded by the CPI website, see the sources for *Procurans odium* (E9/274), at *F*-6,24.

³Images of the source available [here](#).

⁴For these codicological and other details from *StV*, see Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1: *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, part 1: *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, 2nd rev. ed., Luther Dittmer, ed., Musicological Studies, no. 7. (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 140-141; and Ethel Thurston, ed., *The Music in the Saint Victor Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 15139: Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century*, Publications of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts, no. 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1959), 4.

systems that were never ruled with staff lines), and for all of its tenor. As the verbal cue for the motet tenor appears at the very end of folio 260v without sufficient space for all its music to be entered, it is possible that at least one more leaf was intended to follow this folio. With folio 261r, a new gathering begins with the conductus *Gaude felix Francia* (P3/136) in the hand of the first music scribe.

Notes on the Text: Priority of the StV version: Robert Falck, in “New Light,” 316-317,⁵ argues that the *Ave Maria* redaction of this piece in *StV* is the original version, due to its state as a prose text that was then adapted into the loosely structured poetic form of the lyric as it appears in *F*; the reverse situation, he claims, is a less likely occurrence. For a comparable state of affairs reported in the same article, see the conductus *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370) in *F*, which shares its music with the contrafact *Mater patris et filia* (F34/207), transmitted elsewhere only in *Ma* and *Hu*. In addition, the final cauda of *Ave Maria III* appears to make more sense underlaid with the two syllables of “Amen” in *StV* than as an extension of the final word “vhe” of *Stella serena* in *F*. **Textual notes:** **4,2:** an alternative form of “hortus,” thus furnishing a pun through *annominatio* with the homograph of line 2,2. **5,2:** for the connotation of the word “vena” as a measure of liquid, construed here as “dose,” see <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html>, s.v. “vena,” *DuCange* section: “Vena, Mensura liquidorum.” **6-7:** a frequently encountered play on words, contrasting the woe (“vae / vhe”) of Eve (“Eva”) that was counteracted by Mary’s response to Gabriel’s greeting (“ave”); see Luke, 1:28.⁶ For similar treatments, see the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), and *O lilium convallium* (F18/236).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: *F*: no variants. **7,1:** *StV*: “fructus” (corresponding to (“salva” in *F*) is divided as in the MS. **MUSIC:** there is much motivic recall throughout the piece, and several of its caudae feature large-scale repetition, noted below. The Tr, furthermore, lies relatively high, extending from middle *c* to the *b-flat* above. **Opening cauda:** The first two phrases of this melisma may be rendered with equal validity in mode 3. *T*: *F*: in its fourth phrase, at L23-L24, the 2li=*gf* overlaps a prior stroke, signaling an error, not included in the transcription. The dissonance between *g* and *f* on the following L appears in both sources. **Line 1,2:** *T*: *F*: the *g* over the second syllable of “[se]re[na]” has atop it a redundant *b-flat* sign; this is preceded by an earlier clef change to *c4* with the same signature at L31 of the opening cauda, while a further prior *b-flat* signature following a *c3* clef begins the same system at L9. **Lines 3,1; 6,1; 7,2:** similar phrase openings in TD; these are marked in the score; details follow below in their proper places. **Cauda on 3,1:** TD: *F*: the opening of the cauda on “dux” = the line 6,1 cauda on “lux,” and also = the start of the line 7,2 cauda on “ser[vos]”; all these are marked in the score with “z” and “y” and their variants; Tr: *F*: the opening of the final phrase of the melisma on “dux” at L12: 2li *de,ef*, with the second figure crowding the first, is likely showing a mistake; corrected after *StV*. **Line 3:** *T*: *F*: following the cauda on “dux” at line 3,1, the music of “[dux] via por[tus]” = line 6,2-4 (“lex pax ave”); this is marked with an “x” in the score. **Cauda on 3,3:** TD: *StV*: slightly different from *F* for the first 4L, then the lower two voices exchange parts for the subsequent phrase. **Lines 4-5:** TD: *F*: exchanged in *StV* up to the cauda at the end of line 5. **5,2:** Tr: *F*: on “vena”: 2li,*si=fe,d*; correction to 2si=*f,e* from *StV*. **Cauda on 6,1:** TD: *F*: setting of “lux” = the opening of the cauda on “dux” in line 3,1 and also = the start of the line 7,2 cauda on “ser[vos]”; all marked in the score with “z” and variants of “y.” **6,2-4:** *T*: *F*: music of “lex pax ave” = line 3 (“[dux] via por[tus]”), marked with an “x” in the score; Tr of “lex pax ave”: *F*: si,2li, si(el)P,*si=g,fd,d(el)eP,f*; emended after *StV*. **Cauda on 7,1:** a varied antecedent-consequent phrase pair in all parts, repeats marked with upper-case letters “A” and “A’” above the system. **Line 7,2:** *F*: *T* and similar D of “ser[vos]” = “dux [via],” opening the cauda at line 3, and “lux [lex]” of line 6, all marked with “z” and “y” variants in the score. The first several notes of the “z” repeated figure also appear in the final cauda, in the

⁵Robert Falck, in “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970): 315-326.

⁶Luke, 1:28: “Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: ‘Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus’ ” (“And the angel, entering, said to her: ‘Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women’ ”).

initial phrases of the segments marked “A” and “A' ”; these are marked in the score with “z'.” **Final cauda:** a four-fold series of slightly varied antecedent-consequent phrase pairings, repeated in all parts, marked above the systems from “B” to “E.” Prior to the seventh T phrase, at L33 or “D' ” as marked in the score, *StV* additionally repeats much of the content of the first 4L of the D-lettered music in all parts; this is not included in the transcription of *F*.

BEATIS NOS ADHIBE / BENEDICAMUS DOMINO
Troped Organum a3 (A7/44 – vdw 761/BD VI)

F, f. 250r (6,58)

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Tr' and the bottom staff is labeled 'T'. The middle staff is labeled 'D'. The lyrics are written below the notes. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are in Latin and are written in a blue font. The score is for a three-part setting of the troped organum.

Tr
[Be - a - tis nos ad - hi - be be - ans vi - ta ce - li - be. rex ce - lo - rum do - mi - ne.

D
Be - a - tis nos ad - hi - be be - ans vi - ta ce - li - be. rex ce - lo - rum do - mi - ne.

T
Be - - - - - ne -

Ut sum - mo cum a - gmi - ne sto - lis al - bis can - di - di. ca - ri - ta - te fer - vi - di.

Ut sum - mo cum a - gmi - ne sto - lis al - bis can - di - di. ca - ri - ta - te fer - vi - di.

- di -

mo - du - lan - do can - ti - ca fi - de vo - cum mel - li - ca. ti - bi be - ne - di - ca - mus

mo - du - lan - do can - ti - ca fi - de vo - cum mel - li - ca. ti - bi be - ne - di - ca - mus

- ca - - - - - mus

ti - bi lau - des sol - va - mus. do - na can - tu pla - ci - do thro - no cu - ius ful - gi - do

ti - bi lau - des sol - va - mus. do - na can - tu pla - ci - do thro - no cu - ius ful - gi - do

do -

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: a - stat cum pre-co - ni - o an - ge - lo - rum con - ti - o. In ce - le - sti so - li - o. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [e'], [g], and [i]. The middle staff is a vocal line with the same lyrics. Above the staff is a red box containing the phonetic symbol [h]. The bottom staff is a basso continuo line with a red dot in a box at the beginning and a red bracket under the first measure.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: lau - dat cum tri - pu - di - o ca - ren - tem prin - ci - pi - o. quo - rum nos col - le - gi - o. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [k], [g], and [f']. The middle staff is a vocal line with the same lyrics. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [j] and [f']. The bottom staff is a basso continuo line with a red dot in a box at the beginning and a red bracket under the first measure.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: tu - a mi - se - ra - ti - o iun - gat ex ve - sti - gi - o in ce - li pa - li - ti - o. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [i] and [a]. The middle staff is a vocal line with the same lyrics. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [h] and [b2]. The bottom staff is a basso continuo line with a red dot in a box at the beginning and a red bracket under the first measure.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: ne mo - re dis - pen - di - o sce - le - rum col - le - cti - o no - stra sit con - tri - ti - o. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [k'] and [j']. The middle staff is a vocal line with the same lyrics. Above the staff are red boxes containing the phonetic symbols [c] and [j']. The bottom staff is a basso continuo line with a red dot in a box at the beginning and a red bracket under the first measure.

in ar-cto iu-di - ti - o. sed qui mo - re pro - pri - o do-nas in con-vi - vi - o

in ar-cto iu-di - ti - o. sed qui mo - re pro - pri - o do-nas in con-vi - vi - o

in ar-cto iu-di - ti - o. sed qui mo - re pro - pri - o do-nas in con-vi - vi - o

a - nu-lum cum pal - li - o pe - ni - ten - ti fi - li - o pa - sto in ex - i - li - o

a - nu-lum cum pal - li - o pe - ni - ten - ti fi - li - o pa - sto in ex - i - li - o

a - nu-lum cum pal - li - o pe - ni - ten - ti fi - li - o pa - sto in ex - i - li - o

por - co - rum ci - ba - ri - o; pa - scat cum sol - lem - pni - o vul - tus tu - i vi - si - o.

por - co - rum ci - ba - ri - o; pa - scat cum sol - lem - pni - o vul - tus tu - i vi - si - o.

por - co - rum ci - ba - ri - o; pa - scat cum sol - lem - pni - o vul - tus tu - i vi - si - o.

in sum-mo ce - no - bi - o. u - bi pa - ri gau - di - o cum le - to con-sor - ti - o

in sum-mo ce - no - bi - o. u - bi pa - ri gau - di - o cum le - to con-sor - ti - o

in sum-mo ce - no - bi - o. u - bi pa - ri gau - di - o cum le - to con-sor - ti - o

ef-fun - da - mus va - ri - o car-mi-nis in - di - ti - o pi - a si - ne ter - mi-no

ef-fun - da - mus va - ri - o car-mi-nis in - di - ti - o pi - a si - ne ter - mi-no

vo - ta cor - dis in - ti - mi ac me - dul - las a - ni - mi do - mi -

vo - ta cor - dis in - ti - mi ac me - dul - las a - ni - mi do - mi -

- mi -

- mi -

- no.]

- no.

- no.

(Response derived from T of organum, neumatism based on *F-Pn lat. 15181*, f. 372v [CCCLXIV])

De - - o gra - - ti - as.

BEATIS NOS ADHIBE / BENEDICAMUS DOMINO

Troped Organum a3 (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI)

F, f. 250r (6,58)

D,Tr	Beatis nos adhibe, beans vita celibe, rex celorum domine,		Enroll us among the blessed, blessing us with a chaste life, O Lord, king of the heavens,
	ut, summo cum agmine, stolis albis candidi, caritate fervidi, modulando cantica fide vocum mellica tibi <i>benedicamus</i> . Tibi laudes solvamus, dona cantu placido, throno cuius fulgido astat, cum preconio, angelorum contio.	5 10	so that, together with that heavenly army, shining in white robes and burning with love, <i>we may bless</i> you by singing honey-sweet songs upon the harpstring of our voices. Let us unleash praises, gifts in gentle song, to you, by whose shining throne there stands, proclaiming, a band of angels.
	In celesti solio laudat cum tripudio, carentem principio. Quorum nos collegio. tua miseratio iungat ex vestigio in celi palitio, ne, more dispendio, scelerum collectio nostra sit contritio in arcto iuditio.	15 20 25	With celebration this cohort praises the one on the heavenly seat, the one with no beginning, May your mercy join us immediately to their community within the palisade of heaven, lest, through squandering time, our amassing of sins become an impediment under rigorous judgment.
	Sed qui more proprio donas in convivio anulum cum pallio penitenti filio, pasto in exilio porcorum cibario; pascat cum sollempnio vultus tui visio in summo cenobio, ubi, pari gaudio, cum leto consortio, effundamus, vario carminis inditio, pia sine termino, vota cordis intimi, ac medullas animi <i>domino</i> .	30 35 40	But you, who in your special way give the ring with the cloak to the repentant son at the banquet, to the one who in exile fed upon pigs' slops; let the vision of your countenance feed us with solemnity within that cloister so high, where, with equal joy, with happy fellowship, we may pour forth pieties without end, thanks to the manifold configuration of song, vows deep within the heart, and the very marrow of the soul, to <i>the Lord</i> .

T Benedicamus domino.

Let us bless the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 58, f. 250r:¹ a3; complete, with larger letters beginning lines 4 and 15, and possibly 26 (shown by extra space in the text above); a unique musical and textual setting. As a troped, sustained-tone organum setting, this piece exerts a slight generic and formatting disruption akin to the presence of the two motets, conductus prosula, and offertory prosula earlier in *F*-6.² The T of *Beatis nos adhibe* appears in score below the complex of the D and Tr, and is underlaid with the separate words of the *Benedicamus Domino* response. The two upper parts, with the words set below the D, thus offer the trope text sounding along assonantly with the drawn-out syllables of the BD respond in the T. For more on the idiosyncratic characteristics of *Beatis nos adhibe*, see further below.

Text only: none.

Music only:

No major concordances, although the BD VI tenor is derived from the melisma “clementiam” within the Matins responsory *Qui cum audissent. Clara quippe* (O45a) for the feast of Saint Nicholas (6 December). The catalog number of this responsory is that of van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 131. The melody of the T is drawn, unusually, from the choral portion at the very end of the respond section. A Parisian version of the responsory, transposed up to *f*, may be seen in [F-Pn lat. 15181, f. 372r \(CCCLXIr\)](#); and it may be located in the [Cantus Index](#) under ID numbers 007474 and 007474a. Other pieces of polyphony written to the O45a chant text include a clausula, also on the tenor “clementiam,” transmitted in the fifth fascicle of *F*, claus. 455 (f. 184r, system VI, piece 2), and pitched a fourth higher than the T of *Beatis nos adhibe*, as is the chant in *F-Pn lat. 15181*. Another use of the melody in a polyphonic context occurs in a *Benedicamus Domino* organum a3 transmitted in *W1*, f. 7v (11v); *F*, f. 41r (at *F*-2,23); and *W2*, f. 28r (all pitched at the lower transposition). The discant section on “domino” within this BD organum, furthermore, provides the music for two Latin and two French motets (vdW nos. 762-765). A further a3 setting of BD VI, again at the lower pitch level, occurs in the first fascicle of *Mo* (*Mo*-1,4, on f. 4v); and a final polyphonic example of this melody, now at the higher transposition, lies in a Latin double motet that is unique to *Hu* (*Virgo parit puerum / Nova salus hominis / [Benedicamus domino]* – vdW 761a/761b/[BD VI]); this specimen does not supply a T label, but each of the upper parts ends with a clear reference to the BD text.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Style and Attribution: this poem has been put forward by Anderson as a possible attribution to Philip the Chancellor due to the musico-poetic stylistic conceits it shares with Philip’s prosulas to Perotinian organa, and because of the presence of the biblical figure of the Prodigal Son, a favorite rhetorical trope of Philip.³ Both *Beatis nos adhibe* and the similarly disposed troped organum *Veni doctor previe / Veni sancte spiritus reple ... amoris in eis* (A8/- – vdW 359/M27, transmitted at *F*-8,16 among three-part motets)

¹There is an additional Roman numeral “x” in the folio’s original numbering, partially erased but clearly visible before the “l” of “ccl”)

²These consist of: *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), *Serena virginum* (323/A1 – vdW 69/M5), and *O vera O pia* (F21/248), at *F*-6, nos. 34, 35, 40, and 49, respectively. Additionally, the text of the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53) appears separately after the musical setting that contains its melismatic model, *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), at *F*-6, 3

³Gordon A. Anderson, “Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter dicta,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 58 [1972]: 349-364; see p. 362.

share with Philip's prosulas a motet-like upper part or parts disposed over a sustained-tone tenor; they also regularly echo the sounding syllables of the tenor text through assonance, rhyme, and the strategic placement of syllable changes. Nonetheless, prompted mostly by the isosyllabism of their poetry, these two pieces do not seem to have originated as texts added to melismatic polyphony, as did Philip's prosulas. Therefore, unless other supporting evidence can be brought forward, their attribution to him is questionable. They actually have more in common with a series of approximately seven or eight similarly double-texted organal pieces found within the earlier Aquitanian polyphonic repertory. For further treatment of these questions, see my dissertation, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 226-286 (especially 248-271);⁴ and my *Motets and Prosulas*, xi-xviii. **Textual notes: 2,3:** F: "celibe" is ablative case; find it in the standard dictionaries under "caelebs." **8,1:** for the unusual, but contextually appropriate connotation of the word "fides" as "harpstring," see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/fides>, s.v. "fides," *LewisShort*, second entry ("fides, ium"), II; *DMLBS*, meaning 2. **16,3:** on the term *tripudium* (here construed as "celebration," often rendered elsewhere as "dance") and its various connotations, see Donna La Rue, "Tripudium," 25-29.⁵ For conductus that mention dancing, see *Nicholai presulis*, (F27/217), *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Baculi solempnia* (J52/20), *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144), in addition to the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe*. **20,2-3:** for this idiom ("e/ex vestigio" = "immediately"), see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/vestigium>, s.v., "vestigium," *LewisShort*, II,B,b; *DMLBS*, 2,1,c; and the conductus *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155), line 17a. **22,2-3:** for the idiom "morae dispendium" = "loss of time," see <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/dispendum>, s.v. "dispendium," *LewisShort*, 2; *DMLBS*, 1,c. **26-31:** references to the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32); here the father represents God and the returning prodigal son fuses with the celebratory speakers in the organum trope's text. The allegorical sense of this passage (i.e., the prodigal's father's representation as a type for God) is also implied by the expression "more proprio": God's "special" or "own way" of giving the ring and cloak to the prodigal results in salvation for the penitent sinner. For further representations of this parable within the music associated with Notre Dame, see Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music – A Postscript," *Studies in Music*, 5 (1971): 36-42; Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 50; and the commentary to *Beatis nos adhibe* in Anderson's conductus edition (*NDRC*, 1:viii). Given that the elder son of the parable does not surface in *Beatis nos adhibe*, it seems as if the typologies of the elder and younger son as the representatives of the Old and New Law, or Jews and Gentiles, respectively, may not necessarily be at the forefront here, as Anderson's edition implies. **38,2:** literally "inditio" (nominative) refers to a written composition of some type, which could well include music (see logeion.uchicago.edu/inditio, s.v. "inditio"; its modifier here, "vario" (ablative), suggests that "inditio" is to be construed here as an ablative, quite possibly associated particularly and formally with the visually and audibly similar word "indicio," the ablative of "indicium" ("sign, token, proof, gesture, disclosure"), but also conceivably with the additional sense (prompted by "inditio") of delivering various types of praiseworthy song to God, the conceit that occupies the whole poem.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 20,2: F: et for ex; the editorial emendation supplies a recognized Latin idiom; see the notes on the text in this place for further information. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Beatis nos adhibe* is centered around a final on *c*, which is rather rare for the company it keeps in *F*. Only four conductus preserved among the approximately 275 pieces within the main Notre Dame MSS (*F*, *W1*, *W2*, *Ma*) have a *c* final; these are *Nicholai presulis*, (F27/217), *O mens cogita* (K57/240), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28/292, ending additionally in the upper octave), and *Festa Ianuaria* (F3/122, unique to *W1*). In this regard, it may be interesting to note that one of these conductus, *Nicholai presulis* (located just three items prior to *Beatis* at F-6,55), is connected to Saint Nicholas, as is *Beatis* in the derivation of its tenor melody. There is frequent, if

⁴Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School," 5 volumes, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1991).

⁵Donna La Rue, "Tripudium: Its Use in Sources from 200 BCE to 1600 CE," *ARTS (The Arts in Religious and Theological Studies)*, vol. 7, no. 3 – separately paginated – (1995): 25-29.

irregular repetition among numerous phrases throughout the piece, with varying levels of correspondence among them. A number of such repetitions (primarily demonstrating identities visible at the start of phrases) have been marked above the staff. By allowing even wider latitude for variation among similar gestures, more may easily be supplied. Periodic musical rhyme at the ends of phrases is common, too. **Line 9:** D: F: the recurrent phrase at this point (marked “b1” in the score) shows more dissonance here with the Tr than its siblings elsewhere; one might perhaps amend the D notes of line 9,2 (“benedicamus”) to *ga, bc, ba, ba, g* to allow for a level of consonance more characteristic of the rest of the piece. **18,3:** D: F: on the first syllable of “col[legio]”: *f, feP*; the editorial emendation removes a repeated pitch before the plicated note. **29,2:** Tr: F: on the second syllable of “[fi]li[o]”: *d, dcP*; again, an editorial removal of a repeated pitch before the plicated note. **34,2:** D: F: for “ce[nobio],” *g* at same point in the otherwise identical line 41,2 (“[me]dul[las]” = phrase “m/m’”), q.v., below for implications for identical repetition. **37,1:** D: F: a very small, light stroke precedes the second syllable of “[va]ri[o]”; its significance, if any, is unclear; it may not be intentional. **41,2:** D: F: *a* at the same point in otherwise identical line 34,2 (“ce[nobio]” = phrase “m/m’”), q.v. ; one might possibly revise the *g* here to *a*, avoid the dissonance, and thereby also equalize the two similar phrases.

EXCITATUR CARITAS IN YERICO

Conductus (F30/111)

F, f. 252r (6,59): Strophe I; *SOM 351*, f. 16r (no. 8): Strophes II-V*

Tr

8

1. [Ex - ci - ta - tur ca - ri - tas in ye - ri - co. fa - cta est plu - ra - li - tas in
2. [No - vus cul - tor cre - di - tus est vi - ne - e o - le - a - ster in - si - tus est
3. [Quos ser - pen - tis per - i - mit fraus e - mu - li; sa - gi - na - ti re - di - mit mors
4. [San - ctum neu - pma tha - la - mum ex - co - lu - it in quo vi - te bal - sa - mum de -
5. [Er - go sa - cro fla - mi - ni sa - cra - ri - um spe - ci - a - le do - mi - ni tri -

D

1. [Ex - ci - ta - tur ca - ri - tas in ye - ri - co. fa - cta est plu - ra - li - tas in
2. [No - vus cul - tor cre - di - tus est vi - ne - e o - le - a - ster in - si - tus est
3. [Quos ser - pen - tis per - i - mit fraus e - mu - li; sa - gi - na - ti re - di - mit mors
4. [San - ctum neu - pma tha - la - mum ex - co - lu - it in quo vi - te bal - sa - mum de -
5. [Er - go sa - cro fla - mi - ni sa - cra - ri - um spe - ci - a - le do - mi - ni tri -

T

1. Ex - ci - ta - tur ca - ri - tas in ye - ri - co. fa - cta est plu - ra - li - tas in
2. [No - vus cul - tor cre - di - tus est vi - ne - e o - le - a - ster in - si - tus est
3. [Quos ser - pen - tis per - i - mit fraus e - mu - li; sa - gi - na - ti re - di - mit mors
4. [San - ctum neu - pma tha - la - mum ex - co - lu - it in quo vi - te bal - sa - mum de -
5. [Er - go sa - cro fla - mi - ni sa - cra - ri - um spe - ci - a - le do - mi - ni tri -

8

1. u - ni - co. ya - cob ex - u - lat. et pul - lu - lat fi - des in gen - ti - bus.
2. o - le - e. fi - cus ste - ri - lis im - mo - bi - lis in le - gis a - re - a
3. vi - tu - li de - i fi - li - us non a - li - us as - su - mit ho - mi - nem
4. - li - tu - it nec in - tel - li - git sed ne - gle - git et stu - pet lit - te - ra;
5. - cli - ni - um; na - tum po - stu - les ut ex - u - les re - stau - ret pa - tri - e

1. u - ni - co. ya - cob ex - u - lat. et pul - lu - lat fi - des in gen - ti - bus.
2. o - le - e. fi - cus ste - ri - lis im - mo - bi - lis in le - gis a - re - a
3. vi - tu - li de - i fi - li - us non a - li - us as - su - mit ho - mi - nem
4. - li - tu - it nec in - tel - li - git sed ne - gle - git et stu - pet lit - te - ra;
5. - cli - ni - um; na - tum po - stu - les ut ex - u - les re - stau - ret pa - tri - e

*The setting, as given above, is followed immediately in *F* by a recapitulation of the music of the two closing phrases, now underlaid with the final four verses from Strophe III (lines 15-18: "dei filius ... virginem"), and headed by a small capital letter; this appendage presents two minor deviations that rectify copying mistakes apparent in its first appearance over the concluding text of Stanza I, but it also seems, in view of its presentation, to indicate a refrain. The existence of such a refrain, though, seems improbable, as none appears in any other source, and both the text and music of this supposed refrain merely reproduce the end of Strophe III. As a result, this ancillary portion has been omitted from the main transcription, but is supplied in the alternative reading that follows.

1. la - pis tol - li - tur fons o - ri - tur po - tan - dis gre - gi - bus.]
 2. man - na re - i - cit nec e - li - cit gra - num de pa - le - a.]
 3. ym - brem spi - ri - tus pa - ra - cly - tus plu - it in vir - gi - nem.]
 4. de - um ho - mi - nem et vir - gi - nem cum sit pu - er - pe - ra.]
 5. quos in - car - ce - rat et la - ce - rat val - lis mi - se - ri - e.]

ALTERNATIVE READING:

*F, f. 241v, IV; additional setting of the closing two phrases of the strophe, following immediately after the music above, and overlaid to the text of lines 15-18 from Strophe III, as if implying a refrain

[De - i fi - li - us non a - li - us as - sum - psit ho - mi - nem]

ym - brem spi - ri - tus di - vi - ni - tus plu - it in vir - gi - nem.]

EXCITATUR CARITAS IN YERICO

Conductus (F30/111)

F, f. 252r (6,59): Strophe I; *F-SOM 351*, f. 16r (no. 8): Strophes II-V

I	Excitatur caritas in Yerico. Facta est pluralitas in unico. Yacob exulat, et pullulat fides in gentibus. Lapis tollitur, fons oritur potandis gregibus.		Charity is kindled in Jericho. Plural has become singular. Jacob is exiled, and faith sprouts among the Gentiles.
		5	The stone is removed, and a fountain springs up for the thirsting flocks.
II	[Novus cultor creditus est vinee. Oleaster insitus est oleae. Ficus sterilis, immobilis in legis area, manna reicit, nec elicit granum de palea.		A new planter is entrusted to the vineyard. The wild oleaster is grafted to the olive tree. The fig tree, sterile and unbending upon the threshing floor of the Old Law, renounces the manna and fails to extract the grain from the chaff.
		10	
III	Quos serpentis perimit fraus emuli, saginati redimit mors vituli. Dei filius, non alius, assumit hominem. Ymbrem spiritus paraclytus pluit in virginem.		Those that the trickery of the enemy serpent destroys, the death of the fatted calf redeems. God's son, and none other, takes on human form. The Holy Spirit pours down a shower of rain upon a virgin.
		15	
IV	Sanctum neupma thalamum excoluit in quo vite balsamum delituit. Nec intelligit, sed negligit, et stupet littera, deum hominem, et virginem cum sit puerpera.		The Holy Spirit cultivated the bedchamber in which the balm of life lay hidden. The Old Law does not understand, but is disdainful and dumbfounded when childbirth results in God as man, and a virgin.
		20	
V	Ergo, sacro flamine sacrarium, speciale domini triclinium, natum postules, ut exules restauret patrie, quos incarcerat et lacerat vallis miserie.]		Therefore, you shrine for the Holy Spirit, you special couch of the Lord, prevail upon your son, that he may restore the exiles to heaven, those this vale of misery imprisons and torments.
		25	
		30	

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 59, f. 252r: a3; provides the only extant musical setting of this poem, overlaid to the complete text of Strophe I, followed immediately by a recapitulation of the song's closing phrases, underlaid to the final four verses from Strophe III (lines 15-18) and headed by a small capital letter. This appendage presents two minor deviations from the earlier portion of the piece that show readings preferable to the first appearance of the music (and thus adopted for the main transcription), but it also seems, in view of its visual representation, to indicate a refrain. Such a refrain, though, is implied in no other source. Its text, furthermore, merely reproduces the end of Strophe III, while its music simply restates the close of the stanza, both features that could challenge its refrain status. As a result, this ancillary portion has not been included in the main transcription, but is supplied afterwards as an alternative reading. Room is available for possible additional

strophes in *F* after the close of the piece on the first system of f. 252r, prior to the inclusion of the two mensurally notated musical additions reported below, but no strophic-form work in *F*-6 with additional stanzas has offered more than the first since *Parit preter morem* (E12/261) at *F*-6,36. Looking like a possible afterthought following the presentation of the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI), *Excitatur caritas* is the last piece entered into *F*-6 in modal notation, but it is now followed by the later inclusion of two untexted, mensurally notated conductus: *Parens patris natique filia* (F31/260) and an incomplete version of *Si membrana esset celum* (F32/326). These items are both entered in a different hand from the main music scribe and allot greater than usual space for large opening initials that were never executed. The two pieces occupy the start of the second system of f. 252v (just below the ending system of *Excitatur caritas*) all the way through to the Tr staff of the third system (out of four) on f. 254v, which finishes incompletely after the other voices leave off. The sixth fascicle of *F* presently ends with a further six empty (but foliated) leaves prepared to accommodate music, but which were never inscribed with notes or text: ff. 257r-262v, with ff. 255r-256v, the gathering's central bifolio, now missing; for additional information, see the reports on the final two pieces in *F*-6.

Text only:

SOM 351 (*F-SOM 351*; *Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 351*), no. 8, f. 16r^a: text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with no apparent distinction given to the beginnings of stanzas; capital letters start each inscribed line; further details of this presentation are supplied below in the observations on versification and capitalization.¹

F-Pn lat.4880, f. 84v^a: text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V marked with capitals, and with V beginning “Virgo”; the poem begins about halfway down the column.²

Graz 409 (*A-Gu 409*), no. 23, f. 71v: text only of Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V signaled by capitals, and V beginning “Virgo”; rubric: “Conductus.”³

F-CV190 (*Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, 190*), f. 159v^b (clxii^v): text only of Strophes I-III and the first four lines of IV (lines 1-22, in all), with the subsequent stanzas indicated by capitals; the rest of the poem was presumably lost with the missing subsequent folio.⁴

Distinctiones monasticae: The first two strophes of *Excitatur caritas* are quoted (with the first half of the second stanza appearing twice) and some of their symbolism is addressed by the so-called *Distinctiones monasticae* (an alphabetically / topically organized lexicon of biblical allegory, typology, and symbolism). Extracts from a thirteenth-century MS version of this work (*Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3475*), along with others of similar stripe, are published in Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*;⁵ specific information derived from this source is supplied below in the notes on the text.

¹Images of *SOM 351* available at <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md58pc28d227>.

²Images of *F-Pn lat. 4880* available [here](#).

³Images of *Graz 409* may be found [here](#).

⁴Images of *F-CV190* available [here](#); see image no. 170.

⁵Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, 4 vols. (Paris, F. Didot, 1852-1858); see vol. 2 (1855): 331, 373, 381 for the quoted appearances; available online [here](#).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text:

Attribution: this poem is ascribed to Walter of Châtillon by Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon*, 197-222.⁶ Walter's authorship is also supported in the edition of his lyric works by David A. Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*.⁷ These two editions, along with that of Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxxiv-xxxv, text and translation; 67-68, music; 102, commentary), have contributed heavily to the rendering of the text and the material for the explanatory notes given here. **Content:** much of this poem's imagery hinges on the conflict between the Old and New Law, a frequent topic within the conductus repertory (see a list of such pieces in the notes on the content of *Legem dedit olim deus* [I21/192]). Here, the old law of the Mosaic covenant, propounded through the Ten Commandments (see Exodus, 20:1-17), is replaced by a new compact through the birth of Christ (see Romans, 7:4-6).⁸ Further examination of this conceit within the conductus repertory is available in my article "*Vetus abit littera*,"⁹ with *Excitatur caritas* specifically explored on pp. 173-177, and where some of the information given here may also be found. **Textual notes: 1:** Besides its notable appearance in the book of Joshua, the city of Jericho figures in other ways that happen to bear on this poem. In Luke, 10:30-37, within Jesus's account of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the wounded traveler ultimately helped by the Samaritan is attacked while making his way to Jericho from Jerusalem, a journey that at the time was considered especially dangerous, as the road was known to be populated by thieves and other criminals. Saint Jerome, for example, reports that the territory crossed by this passage, named *Adummim* or *Adommim*, was known as "the bloody way."¹⁰ Also, interpretations by Isidore of Seville in his *Allegoriae*, paint the Samaritan as a figure of Christ, the robbers' victim as Adam, Jerusalem as heaven, Jericho as the sinful world, and the thieves as "angels

⁶Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*, Berlin: (Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925), presented on 12-13. See also by this author, "Walter von Châtillon, der Dichter der Lieder von St. Omer," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 61 (1924): 197-222.

⁷David A. Traill, ed., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013); for this poem: xlix-l – introductory notes, 15-17 – text, commentary, translation).

⁸Romans, 7:4-6: "Itaque fratres mei, et vos mortificati estis legi per corpus Christi: ut sitis alterius, qui ex mortuis resurrexit, ut fructificemus Deo. Cum enim essemus in carne, passionibus peccatorum, quae per legem erant, operabantur in membris nostris, ut fructificarent morti. Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae" ("Therefore, my brethren, you also are become dead to the law, by the body of Christ; that you may belong to another, who is risen again from the dead, that we may bring forth fruit to God. For when we were in the flesh, the passions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we are loosed from the law of death, wherein we were detained; so that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.").

⁹Thomas B. Payne, "*Vetus abit littera*: From the Old to the New Law in the Parisian Conductus," *Ars Antiqua: Music and Culture in Europe c. 1150-1330*, Gregorio Bevilacqua and Thomas B. Payne, eds., 163-204, *Speculum Musicae*, no. 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

¹⁰See Jerome, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, in *PL*, 23, col. 916, s.v. "Adommim ... Latine autem appellari potest, ascensus ruforum, sive rubentium, propter sanguinem qui illic crebro a latronibus funditur. Est autem confinium tribus Judae et Benjamin, descenditibus ab Aelia Jerichum, ubi et castellum militum situm est ob auxilia viatorum. Hujus cruenti et sanguinari loci, Dominus quoque in parabola descendit Jerichum de Hierosolyma recordatur" ("Addommim ... can be called 'the red ascent' or 'the bloody way' in Latin, on account of the blood that is repeatedly spilled there by thieves. It constitutes a border for the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, wending down from Jerusalem (*Aelia*) to Jericho, and where a fort of soldiers is positioned to aid travelers. Its places are blood-stained and bloodthirsty, just as the Lord recalled in the parable of the man going down to Jericho from Jerusalem.").

of darkness.”¹¹ By comparison, the priest and Levite, who passed up the chance to help the victim, thereby become associated with the Old Law. For other references to the story of the Samaritan, see the conductus *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), lines 21-24, and *Circa mundi vesperam* (J54/63), lines 5-6. Furthermore, in the *Glossa ordinaria*, the name of Jericho is said to be derived from the word for “moon,” which signifies the defect of mortality,¹² most likely thanks to its variable states of waxing and waning. In the context of the conductus poem, then, the birth of Christ through God’s love (“charity,” the greatest of the theological virtues – note 1 Corinthians, 13:13)¹³ occurs within a dangerous and wayward world in order to save humanity from the defect of original sin. **2:** the three separate yet equal members of the Trinity – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – epitomize the concept of plurality within singularity; the third entity of this troika makes notable appearances in the closing three stanzas of this poem. **3-6:** events stemming from Genesis, 28:1-5, and 29:1-13. After stealing his brother Esau’s paternal blessing with aid from his mother Rebecca, Jacob is sent away from Canaan by his father Isaac into Mesopotamia in Syria, not only to escape Esau’s wrath, but to seek a wife from the daughters of Laban, his maternal uncle – this is the “exile” mentioned in line 3. During his journey, and upon his arrival, he has two different encounters that involve a stone (referred to in lines 5-6). The first occurs as part of the story of the vision of Jacob’s Ladder, given in Genesis, 28:10-22; for further context for this account and its appearance elsewhere in the conductus repertory, see the remarks for *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 18-20. The second mention of the stone – and the one specifically invoked in *Excitatur caritas* – occurs in Genesis, 29:1-13. In this account, upon arriving at his destination, Jacob comes upon a stone-covered well that the nearby shepherds use to water their flocks. Rachel, the younger daughter of Jacob’s uncle Laban (and one of Jacob’s future wives), is then seen arriving with her father’s sheep, and Jacob (having discovered her identity) urges the shepherds to take away the stone and reveal the well, water their flocks immediately, and then lead their sheep elsewhere to pasture. They counter that they do not normally move the stone to expose the well until after every one of the various flocks have arrived. Upon Rachel’s approach, though, Jacob does just that: he removes the stone and offers her flock water from the well; he then kisses her, weeps aloud, and introduces himself as her cousin. He will subsequently work fourteen years for her deceitful father Laban in his determination to secure Rachel as his wife. The *Glossa ordinaria* (in *PL*, 113, col. 153D) understands Jacob’s flight from his father’s homeland as Christ leaving the Jews in favor of the Gentiles, to whom he offers his church.¹⁴ The water in the well that Jacob (Christ) uncovers is also revealed here as the learning of the Old

¹¹“Homo qui descendebat a Jerusalem in Jericho, et incidit in latrones (*Luc.* X), ipse Adam figuratur in genere suo, qui dum descendit de paradiso coelesti in mundum, incidit in angelos tenebrarum. Samaritanus descendens, qui vulnera eius curavit (*Ibid.*), Christus est custos noster, qui de caelo descendit, et genus humanum a vulneribus peccatorum curavit” (“The man who came down into Jericho from Jerusalem, and fell upon thieves, he symbolizes in his own way Adam, who, when he came down into the world from celestial paradise, fell upon the angels of darkness. The traveling Samaritan who cured his wounds is Christ our protector, who came down from heaven, and cured the human race from the wounds of its sins”); from *PL*, 83, cols. 123-124.

¹²See the *Glossa ordinaria* on Luke, 18:35, in *PL*, 114, col. 323A: “Jericho luna interpretatur, per quam defectus mortalitatis intelligitur.”

¹³Corinthians, 13:13: “Nunc autem manent fides, spes, caritas, tria haec: major autem horum est caritas” (“And now there remain faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity.”).

¹⁴“Jacob fugiens dolos [*δόλος*] fratris, relicta domo patria, et parentibus, vadit in regionem longinquam, ut accipiat uxorem. Similiter, Christus, relictis parentibus secundum carnem, id est Judaeis, et patria, id est Hierosolyma, et omnibus Judaeae regionibus, abiit in gentes, ut acciperet sibi Ecclesiam” (“Jacob, fleeing the treachery [*dolos – δόλος*] of his brother, upon leaving his father’s house and his parents, went into a far-off region, in order to take a wife. Likewise, Christ, having left his parents according to the flesh, that is the Jews, and his homeland, that is Jerusalem, and all the regions of the Jews, passed into those of the Gentiles, in order to take the church to them.”); from *PL*, 113, col. 153D. Similar comparisons arise in the segment from Isidore’s *Allegoriae*, given in *PL*, 83, col. 105A: “Jacob autem [*Gen. 25*] Christum demonstrat, sive populum gentium, qui Dei Patris benedictione praelatus est prior populo Judaeorum. Laban legis et diaboli habuit typum, ex cuius corpore assumpsit sibi Christus duas conjuges, plebis scilicet circumcisionis et gentium” (“Jacob represents Christ or the Gentile people, who by the blessing of God the Father were preferred over the Jewish people. Laban represents the figure of the [old] law and the devil, out of whose progeny [*corpore*, i.e., from Laban’s body] Christ took up two wives for himself [Jacob’s spouses Leah and Rachel], namely one from the people of the circumcision [i.e., the

Testament, whose spiritual (as opposed to literal) sense is obscured by the stone's cover. When Christ (Jacob) removes the stone, the truth of the gospel is revealed to the waiting flocks (the Gentiles) and the Mosaic Law is contravened.¹⁵ The *Distinctiones monasticae*, as part of its own treatment of stones, relates similar typologies, and actually offers the complete first strophe of *Excitatur caritas* as an exemplar for the figures.¹⁶ 7: vineyards and their cultivators are figures frequently encountered in scripture. Jesus, for example, describes himself as the "true vine" and God as its keeper in John, 15:1.¹⁷ Other typologies suggest the vineyard is the collected faithful of the Church and the planter represents Christ.¹⁸ When taken together, two vineyard parables, set cheek by jowl in the Gospel of Matthew, express this latter allegory, as well as treating the turnover of the Old to the New Law. The first, in Matthew, 21:28-31, is the parable of two sons, commanded by their father to work in his vineyards; one of them first declines to work, and then, feeling guilty, capitulates and labors in the fields; the other, in opposition, immediately agrees to work, but never actually does his father's bidding. Jesus draws from his listeners the observation that the first son will more readily achieve salvation, whereas the other (whom he equates with the priests and Pharisees whose questions prompted his telling of the parable) will need

Jews], and one of the Gentiles.”). On this allegory as presented in scripture itself, see Galatians, 4:22-24, 28, 31; where the Apostle Paul specifically denotes Hagar and Rachel as allegorical types of the Old and New Covenants, respectively (Payne, “*Vetus abit littera*,” 169-170, supplies the texts).

¹⁵“Aqua putei scientia Veteris Testamenti: quam lapis clauderat, quia littera legis spiritualem sensum in eo celabat; se veniente Christo lapis remotus est, cum per praedicationem Novi Testamenti umbra legis exclusa et veritas Evangelii patefacta est” (“The water of the well is the learning of the Old Testament, which the stone covers up, because the letter of the [old] law conceals the spiritual sense in it; with the arrival of Christ himself, the stone is taken away, when, through the preaching of the New Testament, the shadow of the law is excluded and the truth of the Gospel is revealed.”); from *PL*, 113, col. 155C. See also, for related treatment, the remarks drawn from Isidore’s *Quaestiones in Veteri et Novo Testamento*, in *PL*, 83, cols. 258-259, given in translation by Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxxiv, note 5.

¹⁶“Lapis significat carnalem intellectum legis, quod spiritualis ejus intelligentia clauderetur, donec ille removet lapidem, ‘qui claudit, et nemo aperit; aperit, et nemo claudit.’ Ipse est enim verus Jacob, validus luctator, et prudens supplantator Ipse de terra Chanaan in Mesopotamiam migrans, id est, de Judaeis in Apostolis suis ac discipulis ad gentes transiens, lapidem amovit ab ore putei, id est, litteralem sensum amovit a lege veteri, sicut vir quidam, quondam magni nominis, ait: [and then follows the first strophe of the conductus, given in four lines.] (“The stone signifies the literal [actually “carnal,” i.e., non-spiritual] understanding of the law, because its spiritual understanding was closed off until he [Jacob] removed the stone: ‘the one who closes and no one opens, and who opens and no one closes’ [see Isaiah, 22:22; Revelation, 3:7]. For he [Christ] is the true Jacob, the powerful wrestler [of the angel, see Genesis, 32:22-31] and prudent supplanter [of his brother] He, journeying from the land of Canaan into Mesopotamia, that is, crossing over from the Jews to his apostles, disciples, and the Gentiles, moves away the stone from the mouth of the well, that is, the literal sense from the old law, just as a certain famous person once said: [then Strophe I of *Excitatur caritas* follows in full]”); for this text, see Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, vol. 2 [Paris, F. Didot, 1855], 331).

¹⁷ John, 15:1: “Ego sum vitis vera, et pater meus agricola est” (“I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinekeeper”).

¹⁸For this, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica*, 30,2 (in *PL*, 183, col. 934C). The relevant passage concerns Bernard’s musings on the bride’s statement in Song of Songs, 1:5: “... posuerunt me custodem in vineis: vineam meam non custodivi.” (“... they have made me the keeper in the vineyards: my vineyard I have not kept.”). Bernard’s commentary runs: “Quae enim convenientia sponsis et custodiae vinearum? Sed etsi convenire putetur, unde docebimus fuisse aliquando Ecclesiam istiusmodi deputatam officio? Numquid de vineis cura est Deo? Si autem spirituali sensu vineas Ecclesias, id est fideles interpretatur populos, juxta prophetiae sensum dicentis, ‘*Vinea Domini sabaoth domus Israel est*’ (Isa. v,7) incipiet fortassis elucere nobis quomodo sponsae minime indignum sit fieri custodem in vineis.” (“For what are the things associating brides and a keeper of the vineyards? Yet even if it be reckoned that they belong together, shall we thereby teach that at one time the church was entrusted with a duty of this sort? What concern does God possibly have for a vineyard? But if we understand the vines as churches in a spiritual sense, that is the faithful populace, according to the sense of the saying of the prophet, ‘the vine of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel (Isaiah, 5:7),’ it will perhaps begin to be apparent to us how it is by no means unworthy for a bride to be made a keeper in the vineyards.”). A similar, and very direct expression of vineyard as church is given by Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones* (in *PL*, 210, col. 211B): “Haec autem vinea est Ecclesia” (“This vineyard is the church.”). Also note the image in the opening lines of Philip the Chancellor’s conductus *Qui ultra tibi facere / mea vinea potui* (F17/288), where Christ speaks: “What more could I do for you, my vineyard,” which recalls Isaiah, 5:4: “Quid est quod debui ultra facere vineae meae, et non feci ei? an quod exspectavi ut faceret uvas, et fecit labruscas?” (“What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?”).

to wait his turn to enter heaven. Here the first son of the parable is equatable with the Gentiles, who were initially deprived of the father's kingdom, but now have a chance to enter it thanks to the promise of the New Covenant. The latter son, who offers lip service to his father's wishes, but who never rises to the task of fulfilling them, is an allegory of the followers of the Old Law. The second parable, given immediately thereafter in Matthew, 21:32-46, relates the story of the wicked tenant farmers (also appearing in Mark, 12:1-12 and Luke, 20:9-19). Here, a father sends his son to collect the profits from a vineyard he has entrusted to two evil tenants. These criminals have already killed or seriously injured at least three previous servants sent for the same reason by the landowner, and in this case they now kill the son in an attempt to acquire his inheritance. The parable concludes as follows: "Cum ergo venerit dominus vineae, quid faciet agricolis illis? Aiunt illi: Malos male perdet: et vineam suam locabit aliis agricolis, qui reddant ei fructum temporibus suis." ("Therefore [asks Jesus], when the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do with those vine keepers?" They [the priests and Pharisees] say to him: 'He will bring those evil men to an evil end; and will let out his vineyard to other farmers, that shall render him the fruit in due season.'") – quoted from Matthew, 21:40-41). In this parable, the sacrifice of the son by the father invokes the passion of Jesus, and the faithful keepers who will eventually come to tend the vineyards represent the Gentiles securing salvation over the Jews through the New Law.¹⁹ 8: on the grafting of the oleaster (the wild olive, signifying the Gentiles) onto the cultivated olive (the new law represented by Christ, originally corresponding to the old Mosaic Law), see Romans, 11:16-24, especially 11:24, where the apostle Paul looks towards the inclusion of the Jews in the new faith.²⁰ The *Distinctiones monasticae*, in Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, 2:381, also makes it clear that this image calls upon the Gentiles to convert to the faith by quoting the opening two lines of Strophe II of *Excitatur caritas*.²¹ 9: the barren fig tree signifies the Jews who follow the Old Law, see the parable in Luke 13:6-9; and Jesus's separate actions in Matthew, 21:17-21 (also in Mark 11:12-14). In the parable, a landowner who is discomfited by a fig tree that yields no fruit wishes to cut the tree down. However, the vinekeeper decides to give it another chance, and promises to fertilize the tree to see if it will produce. If it does not, it will be cut down. The result is never later specified in the parable. The second story recalls the first, when Jesus, who wishes to eat from a fig tree but finds nothing on it, curses the tree so that it immediately withers and dies outright. The Apostles, marveling, ask Jesus how he did it, and he answers that if they have unwavering faith, they can not only accomplish feats like this, but they may even move mountains. The *Distinctiones monasticae* (Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, 2:372-373) explains the second fig tree story as follows: just prior to quoting the entirety of Strophe II of *Excitatur caritas*, it relates: "The fig tree, on which the Lord found nothing but leaves, signifies the unbelieving Synagogue, possessing the words of the law, but not its works; a certain person very elegantly talks about this in a certain rhythmic poem, either about the conversion of the Gentiles or about the stubbornness of the Jews: [Strophe II then follows immediately]".²² This same significance appears for both

¹⁹See in particular the commentary on Luke 20:9-10 by Hugh of Saint Victor from his *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* (from *PL*, 175, cols. 826-828), translated in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxxiv, note 8, which invokes Isaiah, 5:7 ("For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel"); Hugh's remarks include the following: "Vinea alteri datur, cum gratis, quam superbus abjicit, humilis ditatur" ("The vineyard, which the proud man rejects, is given to another with grace, when the humble man is enriched.").

²⁰Romans, 11:24: "Nam si tu ex naturali excisus es oleastro, et contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam: quanto magis ei qui secundum naturam inserentur suae olivae?" ("For if you [the Gentiles] were cut out of the wild olive tree, which is natural to you; and, contrary to nature, were grafted into the good olive tree; how much more shall they that are the natural branches [the Jews], be grafted into their own olive tree?")

²¹Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, 2:381: "... et quidam, in rhythmo de vocatione gentium, immo conversione ad fidem: 'Novus cultor creditus est vinee / oleaster insitus est oleae.' " ("... and a certain person, in a rhythmic poem about the calling of the Gentiles, or rather about their conversion to the faith [says]: 'A new planter is entrusted to the vineyard. / The wild oleaster is grafted to the olive.'").

²²"Ficus, in qua Dominus invenit nisi folia tantum, significat Synagogem incredulam, verba legis habentem, sine operibus; de qua quidem satis eleganter ait, in quodam rhythmici de conversione gentium, vel obduratione Iudaeorum:"

parables in the *Distinctiones* of Alain de Lille (given in *PL*, 210, col. 790C).²³ A like opinion is expressed in the *Glossa ordinaria* (in *PL*, 114, col. 153), translated by Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxxv, note 10). **11,1**: “manna,” being a Semitic word, is often treated (as here) as an indeclinable neuter noun; see <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#manna>, s.v. “manna,” within *LewisShort*, ††; *Gaffiot2016*, 2. On the significance of manna in the context of the conductus poem, where it appears as a figure for Christ or his body, see the *Distinctiones* of Alain de Lille (in *PL*, 210, col. 849D, bottom), s.v. “manna”: “Manna ... Dicitur corpus Christi” (“Manna ... is said to be the body of Christ.”). References to manna in the Bible include: Exodus, 16:1-36; Numbers, 11:4-9; Joshua, 5:11-12; Psalms, 77: 23-25. **12**: the separation of wheat grains from chaff through winnowing on a threshing floor (an image present earlier in line 10) comes from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, where it is presented as a symbol of the faithful achieving salvation by their separation from the damned. The image is rife among pieces in the Parisian repertory (for some samples, see the notes on the text to line 4 of the conductus *Relegentur ab area* [C6/304], and Payne, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, p. 27). In the case of *Excitatur caritas*, those who cling to the principles of the chaff (the Old Law) do not partake of the same benefits as those who are able to extract the grain from it (salvation through the promise of the New Covenant). **13-14**: of the two images present in these lines, the deceitful serpent is, of course, the figure associated with the devil that tempted Adam and Eve into original sin in Genesis, 3. The fatted calf comes from the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32), where the father (God) rejoicing at the return of his absent son (the Gentiles), sacrifices the calf (Christ) to the envy of the older son (The Jews). Note also Alain de Lille, *Distinctiones* (in *PL*, 210, col. 1008C), s.v. “vitulus.”²⁴ For further representations of this parable within the music associated with Notre Dame, see Anderson, “Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music – A Postscript,” *Studies in Music*, 5 (1971): 36-42; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 50. **15**: the expression, “the son of God and no one else,” (“*dei filius non alius*”) reappears several times in the medieval Latin lyric repertory. See Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon*, 13, under his remarks for strophe 3, line 3 of this poem. **18**: for the Holy Spirit raining down upon the virgin, see the conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/34), a Marian poem glossing the familiar hymn with the same incipit, whose refrain consists of “*descendit ut pluvia*,” (“he descended like the rain”); and cf. *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), lines 1-3; also cf. Matthew, 7:24 and 7:27, for the parable of the houses built on rock and on sand: “*et descendit pluvia, et venerunt flumina ...*” (“and the rain fell and the floods came ...”). Frequently, the symbolism of moisture associated with the incarnation of Jesus within the Virgin is likened to dew. For example, the dew that collected on Gideon’s fleece, as recounted in Judges 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ; the fleece itself, soaked by the dew without ever lying open to it, is a figure of the Virgin Mary that represents her preserved chastity. For more images of dew as a type for Christ, cf. Isaiah 45:8.²⁵ **19-20**: the “bedchamber” (“*thalamum*”) is the Virgin, specifically her womb; the “balm of life” (“*vite balsamum*”) that inhabits it, is Christ; for a reference to the former from Rupert of Deutz’s *De Divinis Officiis* (in *PL*, 170, col. 67), see Traill, *Walter of Châtillon*, 17, note 80. **19,2**: an orthographical variant of “*pneuma*.” **23-24**: literally “... dumbfounded that there is God as man and a virgin when there is a childbirth.” **25-26**: for references to the “shrine” (“*sacrarium*”) and “sleeping couch” (“*triclinium*”) that connote the womb of the Virgin, see the citations given in the remarks to lines 19-20. **27,3-28**: as Traill observes (*Walter of Châtillon*, 17, note 81), the

²³ *PL*, 210, col. 790C: “*Ficus ... Dicitur Synagoga, unde in evangelio: ‘Homo quidam plantavit ficum in vinea, nec fructum fecit’; Synagoga sterilis fuit fructu bonorum operum, unde Christus maledixit ficui non habenti fructum*” (“The fig tree ... is said to be the Synagogue, whence in the gospel [it says]: ‘A certain man planted a fig tree in a vineyard, and it did not make fruit’ [cf. Luke, 13:6]; the Synagogue was sterile with respect to the fruit of good works, whence Christ cursed the fig tree for not having fruit.”).

²⁴ *PL*, 210, col. 1008C: “*Vitulus ... Etiam dicitur Christus, unde legitur de paterfamilias quod prodigo filio redeunti obtulit vitulum saginatum*” (“The calf ... is also said to be Christ, as when one reads about how the family patriarch offered up a fatted calf to his returning prodigal son.”).

²⁵ Isaiah 45:8: “*Rorate, caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum; aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem, et iustitia oriatur simul: ego Dominus creavi eum*” (“Drop down dew, O heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain down a just man: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior: and let justice spring up at the same time: I the Lord made him.”).

exiled in this case are mortals awaiting the chance to enter their original homeland (“patria”), i.e., “heaven.” **30:** unlike Anderson’s and Traill’s translations, I construe “vallis” as nominative, making it the subject of the sentence (the ablative case of this word as implied in both their renderings would normally be “valle”). The formulation “vallis miserie,” as both Strecker (p. 13) and Traill (p. 17) observe, is a combination of “vallis lacrimarum” (Psalm 83:7) and “lacu miseriae” (Psalm, 39:3). Other instances of this expression in the Latin lyric repertory are offered in Strecker (*ibid.*).

Observations and Variants: TEXT: The sources used to establish the poetic text are *F*: Strophe I; *SOM 351*: Strophes II-V; variants throughout both these sources are included in the reports below, including the text of lines 15-18 in the musical “appendage” described above in the source report on *F*. **Versification:** there are various ways to interpret the poetic structure of this lyric. *SOM 351*, the single extant source to present this text as separate rather than run-on lines, suggests that the scribe initially considered each strophe to contain four long verses of 2(11pp)+2(15pp). *F* suggests the same disposition in its musical setting of Strophe I and the appendage with text from Strophe III. Each longer verse-unit, though, also employs a regular internal rhyme pattern that offers further ways to break up these longer lines: 11pp=7pp+4pp; 15pp=5pp+4pp+6pp. Beginning with the second line of Strophe IV, though, upon moving to the second column of f. 16r to complete the poem, the scribe of *SOM 351* then presents each of the 15pp lines divided as 9pp+6pp, apparently in an effort to keep each 15-syllable line from significantly overshooting the column’s right margin. The versification given in the text presented here follows Anderson’s edition (*NDRC*, 2:xxxiv-xxxv) in formatting the poem throughout according to the scheme chosen for the latter strophes by the scribe of *SOM 351*. Internal rhymes within a line in the text above are distinguished by extra horizontal spacing. **Capitalization:** for lines 1-21, *SOM 351* provides capital letters at the start of each stanza’s four long lines (corresponding to 1,2,3-4,5-6 in the text above). Starting with line 22, though, with the change in layout to four-line stanzas described above under the remarks on versification, capitals now occur at the beginnings of lines as they are laid out in the text given here. These capitals in *SOM 351* are given in lower case in the music transcription, except when they signal the beginning of a strophe, which are never distinguished in this source. In this way, the capitalization reflects the practice of the other text MSS. **Textual variants: 1,4:** *SOM 351*: iericho. **3,1:** *SOM 351*: Iacob. **6,1:** *F*: originally entered as the non-existent word “pontandis,” but the “n” seems now partially erased. **12, 18:** *SOM 351*: no period to conclude Strophes II or III; supplied editorially in the transcription, but left unbracketed for clarity. **16,1:** *F*: assumpsit. **17,1:** *F*: imbrem. **17,3:** *F*: “divinitus” for “paraclytus.” **MUSIC:** T: *F*: Each of the four larger phrases that make up the T melody closes with the same five-note *d-e-d-c-d* musical rhyme; the opening phrase pair, moreover, is musically identical except for the material over its first four syllables. **Tessitura:** both the T and D lie rather lower than is typical, even for pieces oriented on *d* (reaching low *g* and *a*, respectively); the Tr also never rises above the higher *d* pitch that also forms the outermost reach of the D’s range. **Line 3,1-2:** T: *F*: *g,f,ed,c,d*; the D phrase for “yacob exulat” is entered here in the T by mistake; the emendation is supplied from the added-on setting of lines 15-18. **3,3-4:** D: *F*: *c,d,e,g* for *a,c,d,e* for “et pullulat”; emended from the later setting of lines 15-18. **15-18:** as already mentioned, *F* offers a concluding ancillary setting of the final phrases of the music, overlaid to the text of lines 15-18 from Strophe III (presented here as an alternative reading following the main transcription). Although some have suggested this may constitute a refrain, such a function is not observed here, as explained above; the additional music actually presents improved readings of the otherwise identical passage it follows, which may explain its presence.

PARENS PATRIS NATIQUE FILIA

Conductus (F31/260)

F, f. 252v (6,60): music; *Hu*, f. 139v (no. 150): text of Strophe I; Strophe II not extant, adapted from Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxxvi

Tr
8 [Pa -

I D
8 [Pa -

T
8 [Pa -

[c] [b] [a]

[Pa] - rens pa - tris na - ti - que fi - li - a

[Pa] - rens pa - tris na - ti - que fi - li - a

[Pa] - rens pa - tris na - ti - que fi - li - a

vir - go ma - ter pre - ful - gens gra - ci - a

vir - go ma - ter pre - ful - gens gra - ci - a

vir - go ma - ter pre - ful - gens gra - ci - a

ut de-stru-ctos in hac mi-se-ri-a

ut de-stru-ctos in hac mi-se-ri-a

ut de-stru-ctos in hac mi-se-ri-a

This system contains three staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melodic line with various intervals and rests, including a blue bracketed phrase. The second and third staves are in the same key and have a similar melodic structure. Red square annotations with letters are present: a red square with a sharp sign (#) above the first staff, a red square with a letter 'h' above the second staff, and a red square with a letter 'd' above the third staff. Blue lyrics are written below each staff.

ex te na-to nos re-con-ci-li-a.]

ex te na-to nos re-con-ci-li-a.]

ex te na-to nos re-con-ci-li-a.]

This system contains three staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melodic line with various intervals and rests, including a blue bracketed phrase. The second and third staves are in the same key and have a similar melodic structure. Red square annotations with letters are present: a red square with a letter 'h' above the first staff, a red square with a letter 'g' above the second staff, a red square with a letter 'f' above the third staff, and a red square with a letter 'd' above the first staff. Blue lyrics are written below each staff.

Mode 1

This system contains three staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melodic line with various intervals and rests, including a blue bracketed phrase. The second and third staves are in the same key and have a similar melodic structure. A red square annotation with a sharp sign (#) is present above the first staff. The text 'Mode 1' is written above the first staff.

This system contains three staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melodic line with various intervals and rests, including a blue bracketed phrase. The second and third staves are in the same key and have a similar melodic structure. Red square annotations with letters are present: a red square with a sharp sign (#) above the first staff, a red square with a letter 'h' above the second staff, and a red square with a letter 'h' above the third staff. Blue lyrics are written below each staff.

*Hu: concludes with with an alternative passage for this cadence, see at end

8 8 8

Tr 8 [g'] [Vir -

II D 8 [f'] [Vir -

T 8 [c] [Vir -

| Mode 3

8 8 8

[Vir] - go pu - ra,
[Vir] - go pu - ra,
[Vir] - go pu - ra,

8 8 8

au - la mi - ri - fi - ca,
au - la mi - ri - fi - ca,
au - la mi - ri - fi - ca,

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: Vi - ri ma - ter. There are red boxes containing the letters 'k', 'j', and 'h' above the notes. There are also red boxes containing the letters 'i' and 'i' above the notes. There are blue brackets above the notes.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: ne - sci - a de - i - ca, ne - sci - a de - i - ca, ne - sci - a de - i - ca, There are red boxes containing the letters 'h'' and 'h'' above the notes. There are also red boxes containing the letters 'i' and 'i' above the notes. There are blue brackets above the notes.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: Tu vir - ga fu - mi a - ro - ma - ti - ca, Tu vir - ga fu - mi a - ro - ma - ti - ca, Tu vir - ga fu - mi a - ro - ma - ti - ca, There are red boxes containing the letters 'h'' and 'h'' above the notes. There are also red boxes containing the letters 'i' and 'i' above the notes. There are blue brackets above the notes.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: Tu vir - ga fu - mi a - ro - ma - ti - ca, There are red boxes containing the letters 'h'' and 'h'' above the notes. There are also red boxes containing the letters 'i' and 'i' above the notes. There are blue brackets above the notes.

In te por - ta - tur mun - di fa - bri - ca, Pa - rens pa - tris

u - ni - ca.]

u - ni - ca.]

u - ni - ca.]

First system of the musical score, consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. The music features various note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, with many beamed notes. Blue brackets are placed above several groups of notes. A red bracketed '4' is visible in the top staff towards the end of the system.

Second system of the musical score, consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and beamed notes. Blue brackets are placed above several groups of notes. A red bracketed '4' is visible in the bottom staff towards the end of the system.

***ALTERNATIVE CLOSING PASSAGE FOR STROPHE I, Hu, f. 140v:**

Alternative closing passage for Strophe I, consisting of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values and beamed notes. Blue brackets are placed above several groups of notes. A red bracketed '4' is visible in the bottom staff towards the end of the system.

Alternative closing passage for Strophe I, consisting of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values and beamed notes. Blue brackets are placed above several groups of notes. A red bracketed '4' is visible in the bottom staff towards the end of the system. A blue bracketed note is visible in the top staff towards the end of the system.

PARENS PATRIS NATIQUE FILIA

Conductus (F31/260)

F, f. 252v (6,60): music; *Hu*, f. 139v (no. 150): text of Strophe I; Strophe II not extant, adapted from the conjectural completion and English translation in Anderson, *NDRC*, 2:xxxvi¹

I [Parens patris natique filia, virgo mater, prefulgens gracia, ut destructos in hac miseria, ex te nato nos reconcilia.] II [Virgo pura, aula mirifica, Viri mater nescia deica, Tu, virga fumi aromatica, In te portatur mundi fabrica, Parens patris unica.]	Mother of the father and daughter of the son, virgin mother, shining with grace, since we are crushed in this affliction, reconcile us to the son born from you. 5 [Virgin pure, marvelous chamber, heavenly mother, not knowing man, thou, branch of fuming aromatic spices, in thee was carried the workshop of the world, 9 O singular mother of the father.]

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 60, f. 252v: a3; only the music is supplied for this work; its verbal text was never entered. Based on comparison with the only other known concordance of this piece in *Hu*, the transmission in *F* continues with a second stanza whose text has not survived. *Parens patris* is a later addition to the main body of music contained in this MS, recorded in fully mensural (as opposed to modal) notation and in a different hand from the primary music scribe elsewhere in *F*. Beginning on the second system on the page, following the previous piece, *Excitatur caritas in Yericco* (F30/111), space with empty staff lines is allotted at the left margin, apparently for an opening initial that would have been larger than the others seen in *F*, but which was never executed. There is no such indication for the second stanza. A similarly textless conductus in mensural notation, *Si membrana esset celum* (F32/326), follows *Parens patris* in *F*, but in this case the music was never completed, and its single remaining concordance is also fragmentary.

Hu (*E-BULh* 11; *Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, 11 [olim IX]*;² *Las Huelgas Codex*), no. 150, f. 139v: a2 (TD); music and text provided only for Strophe I,³ in mensural notation, with a different conclusion (supplied as an alternative at the end of the main transcription). The single, unbroken word “virgo” appears at the bottom of f. 140r, under the beginning of the second phrase of the cauda after line 4. This is assumed by Anderson to be the first word of the second strophe, whose music is present in *F*, but which leaves no traces in *Hu*. There is no indication that this piece may be incomplete in *Hu*, as its conclusion is followed immediately in the next system by the conductus *O gloriosa dei genitrix* (P16/233).

Text only: none

Music only: see the report on *F* above.

Contrafacts: none.

¹For details on the changes in my adaptation, see the remarks in the notes on the text.

²On the recent change in signature for this manuscript, see David Catalunya, “Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas ‘Solmization Song,’ ” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8: (2017): 89-133, at 89, note 1.

³The CPI website mistakenly indicates that *Hu* transmits both strophes.

Notes on the Text: Establishing the conductus poem: This incompletely preserved composition is a problematic piece to attempt to reconstruct. The music of the work was apparently added to *F* well after the main body of the manuscript had been completed; it is entered by a different scribe from the main hand in *F*, in a more advanced, rhythmically explicit mensural notation, and it lacks any verbal text. The only other extant concordance, in *Hu*, does not contain the whole piece in comparison with *F*; it sets what appears to be only the first of two unequally structured poetic strophes, and it adds a different concluding passage to replace the *punctus organi* at the end of Strophe I in *F*. As described above, *Hu* also includes a single word, “virgo,” after line 4, but this is underlaid to a phrase in the closing cauda that sounds well before the end of the music of Strophe I. Anderson interprets this rogue word as the first line of the following strophe, although it is by no means certain that this is what it is supposed to signify. With no recourse to any other known source for the omitted verses, and in an effort to represent this work in something akin to its condition in *F*-6 without contributing to an overload of different choices for the lost text, I have adapted Anderson’s completion of Strophe II here with a few modifications; for further details, see the notes on lines 5-9, below. **Textual notes:** **1:** a common Marian conceit, whereby natural laws are thrown into disarray by the birth of Christ by God from a virgin: Mary is simultaneously daughter to her son and mother to her father; see, for just one example, the conductus *Mater patris et filia* (F34/207), a contrafact of *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370). **2:** a nod to the angel Gabriel’s greeting of Mary at the Annunciation in Luke, 1:28.⁴ **5-9 (details on adapting Anderson’s conjectural completion of Strophe II):** the completion of the text as well as the translation of Strophe II have been adjusted from the one provided by Anderson in his edition of this piece (*NDRC*, 2:xxxvi – text and translation, 2:69-75 – music). Interestingly, the presentation of the words in these two different places happens to be slightly different. Line 5,4 as given in the music score (“mirifica”) appears as “sanctissima” in the text and translation; the former choice is adopted here in an effort to keep the same rhyme sound throughout the stanza, as is apparent in Strophe I. Also, Anderson’s line 9 shows another discrepancy between text/translation and music (see the remarks on this line further down for how it is handled there). My first modification to Anderson’s text occurs in line 6,2-3, where I have swapped the word order (Anderson’s “nescia mater” becomes “mater nescia” here). The reasoning is that lines 6-8 in Anderson’s conjectural completion do not include the customary caesura after the fourth syllable of the 10pp verses, a feature that appears regularly throughout the surviving lines 1-4 in *Hu*, for example. Had he allowed for the caesura, Anderson would have experienced less difficulty in fitting line 6 with the extant music of *F*; his bars 103-106 could have taken on the first four syllables of the line in a manner consistent with bars 21-23 in his edition (the setting of the opening of line 1), and the following six-syllable portion of the verse could be underlaid easily to bars 107-110 on the model of bars 24-27 (the closing portion of line 1). Such a solution would preclude the breaking of ligatures that Anderson is forced to employ in bars 106-108 (see the comment in his critical notes on *Parens patris* in *NDRC*, 2:102). As a result, I have exchanged the second and third words of line 6 to preserve the caesura, where it is called for by the musical setting, and I have realigned the text with the music as I have just proposed, avoiding as well any breaking of ligatures. Although Anderson’s remaining supplied 10pp lines (7-8) also lack the expected caesura, these do not provoke the same problems of accommodation as line 6, so they stand here as he originally gave them. **Accommodating Line 9:** The second change to Anderson’s reconstructed text in this transcription occurs in the final line of the poem. Here he gives his completion of line 9 as “parens patris deique unica” (“sole parent of the father and of God”) in the text and translation section of his edition; the musical score, however, offers only “parens patris unica” (“singular mother of the father”), which omits three syllables in comparison to all other lines of the poem. Possibly the disagreements between these two parts of the edition is the result of unclear intentions on Anderson’s part, since at least some of the work on the publication is likely to have been accomplished after the author’s death on 30 June 1981 (the volume containing *Parens patris* appeared in 1986). Note that Anderson’s inclusion of line 9 extends Strophe II by an additional verse in

⁴Luke, 1:28: “Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: ‘Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus’ ” (“And the angel, entering, said to her: ‘Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women’ ”).

comparison to Strophe I. He explains the decision to include the additional line by noting that it recalls the music set to the opening four syllables of line 1 of the poem in all three parts (p. 102). This feature also prompted him to reiterate the opening two words of Strophe I at this juncture. Although it is conceivable that this repeated portion might originally have been untexted, the fact that the ligatures are divided in the same places as before implies that they were indeed intended to receive text, since ordinarily one would expect further ligation if this passage were to be rendered *sine littera*. On the other hand, attempts to add an additional six syllables to the music of this line so that it retains the same isosyllabic 10pp disposition seen consistently elsewhere in the poetry is fraught with problems. This impediment may also be an additional factor in explaining the different versions of line 9 in the two different sections of Anderson's edition – final decisions may never have been reached. There does not appear to be an opportunity in the hocket-ridden remainder of the piece where one could complete a ten-syllable line without breaking ligatures or having the syllables sound at different times among the voices – a practice not at all suggested by the earlier portions of this piece, whether with extant text or with the reconstructed lines proposed here. Interestingly, the music that follows the first two words of line 9 is also a recollection from earlier; it restates in all three parts the first 4L of the material that opens line 6 (“Viri mater”), but with slightly different ligation and with a hocket segment immediately following. As a result, it seems impossible to include more than three further syllables to this line, as Anderson appears to have realized when preparing the music edition, and so departed from the text and translation given earlier in the volume. Here, I retain the final tri-syllabic word of Anderson's line 6, again to have all the rhymes of the strophe agree, yet I harbor a sneaking suspicion that, if one decided to create one's own version of Strophe II, it might be worthwhile trying to continue the same rhyme sound as occurs in the first stanza (“-ia”), recapitulate the opening words to begin line 9 (as did Anderson), but end it instead with the name “Maria.”

Observations and Variants: TEXT: 3,1: possibly an error, as the readiest translation of “ut” (“that we may be crushed in this affliction ...”) sounds a bit awkward. Perhaps substitute “ne” (“lest we be crushed ...”) as a correction? **4,3:** Hu: natos; emendation from Anderson's edition. **5,1:** Hu: “virgo”: this is the last word of the lyric to be transmitted in *Hu*, but it is set below the T of the second phrase of the cauda following line 4, and not in a way to suggest its incorporation into the poem at this point. It is therefore uncertain whether it was indeed intended (as per Anderson) to supply the first word of the following strophe in the textless continuation in *F*. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** Certain instances of chromatic inflection in this piece appear to counteract some of the tendencies of their deployment elsewhere among the conductus in *F*. Several times here one sees an *f-sharp* signature (sig quad on *f*) written in its customary place above middle *c*, but occurring over an uninflected lower *f* and *c* in the other parts. This chord can be seen, for example, preceding the cadences of line 1, in its succeeding cauda, in the cauda after line 2, and in the melisma following line 3. In most of these cases the *f-sharp* signatures suggest a relatively local effect, as the signs appear soon before the pitch they affect and are effectively canceled by a system change shortly afterwards that omits the signature. Similar practices can be seen in the Tr of the opening cauda of this piece, where successive signs for both *f-sharp* (aligned with *b-natural*) and *f-natural* (over uninflected *f*'s and *c*'s) appear in close proximity. The insistence of the placement of these sigs at these points thus suggests to me that they should trump my usual tendency to retain the *f-natural* in the lower octave as much as possible. Interestingly, this choice is buttressed here by an the only instance I can recall of a lower-octave *f-sharp* signature written into *F*, here within the D of line 8,4 (at “[mun]di [fabrica]”). As a result, the decision here to raise the lower *f* in the T has been employed to avoid a cross relation, but I have also chosen to leave the *c*'s as they are, rather than sharpen them as well. Any of these suggestions, of course, performers may choose to reject. **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** **1)** the T of “ut destructos in hac miseria” (line 3) = **1a:** the similar T of the whole following cauda on “[miseri]a” (line 3); **2)** the T and similar D and Tr of “ex te nato reconcilia” (line 4) = **2a:** the T(D,Tr) of the first phrase of the later cauda on “Vir[go]” (line 5, which opens Strophe II); **3)** the D of “aula mirifica” (line 5) = **3a:** the similar T of the second phrase of the following cauda on “[mirifi]ca” (line 5), and also = **3b:** the similar T of the next phrase on “nescia deica” (line 6). These correspondences, as well as some other detached examples of musical repetition are signaled by boxed letters above the staves. **Opening cauda:** T: F: rest at the end of the third

phrase at L26 om; supplied from *Hu*. **Line 1,1-2:** TDTr: F: music (as well as the text) for these four syllables is repeated in all parts as line 9, the final conjecturally completed *cum littera* segment of the piece. **Cauda after line 1:** T: F: phrase om and no clef supplied for entire system; restored from *Hu*. **Cauda after line 2:** Tr: F: end of first phrase: 3li=*dfe*=BBL(B rest), as in mode 1; retained in transcription. **Line 4,5:** T:Hu: the sig quad after the first syllable of “reconcilia” is placed on the *e* line, a convention seen elsewhere in *Hu*. Although highly conjectural, it might even be conceivable that such placement (indicating *e* as *mi*) could signal *f-natural* for this phrase. Here it is interpreted as indicating *f-sharp*. **Cauda after line 4 (closing Strophe I):** TDTr: F: the rests at L41, just prior to the cadential phrase over the extended T notes, are written as full-staff strokes, hence interpreted here as Ls; T: F: the 3li=*gfg* at L39-L40, preceding the cadential passage, is written *cum proprietate et perfectione*, and hence thus = BBL; the adopted LBL, mode-1 rhythm is supplied from *Hu*. TD: Hu: ends with a different cadential passage, given as an alternative at the end of the transcription. **Cauda opening Strophe II (at line 5):** Tr: F: material for the third and fourth phrases from L11-L14 om; supplied editorially. **Cauda following line 5:** T: F: elements 2 and 3 of the antepenultimate figure 3li=*edc* at L13-14 are smudged; but legibility is not compromised. **Line 6,1:** TDTr: F: the music of the first 4L of this line reappears in all parts as the conclusion of line 9. **Line 7, 4:** Tr: F: the 2li over the second syllable of “[*a*]ro[*m*atica]” written as LB, as if mode 1; retained here in the transcription. **Line 9:** TDTr: F: the music for the first four syllables this line in all parts is the same as in the opening 8L of the *cum littera* section of line 1; the music over the final word here = the *cum littera* setting of line 6,1 (“viri [mater]”); see the notes on the text for line 9 for further details and implications. **Final cauda (following line 9):** Tr: F: at L20, an om rest; at L27, om material; both supplied editorially; in the case of the latter omission, presumably the second 2li=*ab* (supplied here editorially) failed to be copied twice.

SI MEMBRANA ESSET CELUM

Conductus (F32/326)

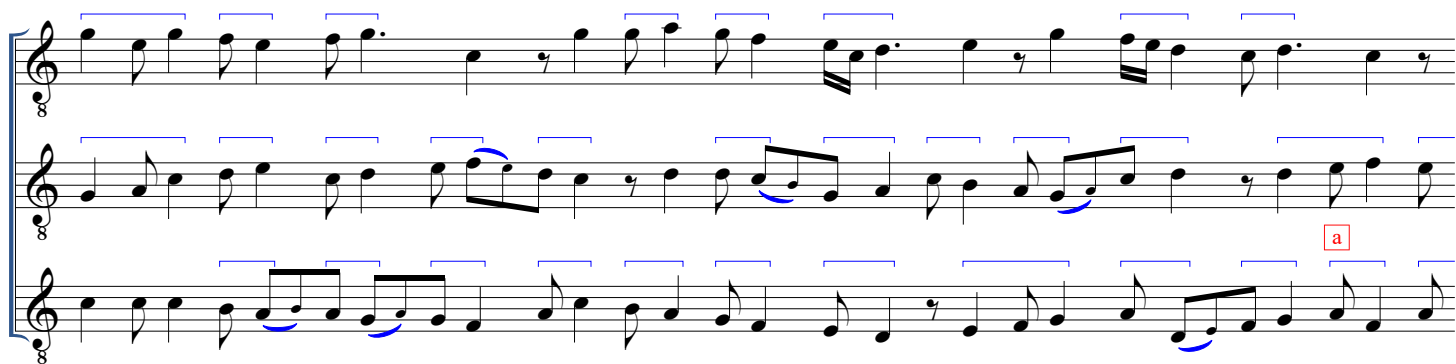
F, f. 254r (6,61): music up through line 4,2; *Da3471*, f Vr (no. 12): music from line 4,3 through what remains of the end;
F-T 1916, f. lxxxii^r (85r): verbal text throughout

| Mode 1

Tr  [Si]

I D  [Si]

T  [Si]



| Mode 2

[Si] mem - bra - na es - set ce - lum.

[Si] mem - bra - na es - set ce - lum.

[Si] mem - bra - na es - set ce - lum.

| T: *Kyrie celum creans* melody
 | Mode 1



| Mode 2

to - ta ter - ra a - tra - men - tum. ma - re fo - ret ut in - cau - stum.

to - ta ter - ra a - tra - men - tum. ma - re fo - ret ut in - cau - stum.

to - ta ter - ra a - tra - men - tum. ma - re fo - ret ut in - cau - stum.

TD: F: end of music after "lingua," Tr continues ↓

| Mode 1

om - nis lin - gua

om - nis lin - gua

om - nis lin - gua

Da3471, f. Vv (no.12)

ca - la - mus.

ca - la - mus.

ca - la - mus.

| Tr: F: end of music

| Mode 2

ins - tru - men - tum cun - cte ma - nus.]

ins - tru - men - tum cun - cte ma - nus.]

ins - tru - men - tum cun - cte ma - nus.]

The rest of the music is lost from
Da3471; the remaining text appears
in F-T 1916, f. lxxxii^r (85r).

[nec cessarent scribere.
non possent exprimere
laudes matris virginis.]

SI MEMBRANA ESSET CELUM

Conductus (F32/326)

F, f. 254r (6,61): music up through line 4,2; *Da3471*, f Vr (no. 12): music from line 4,3 up through the first phrase of the cauda after 5,3; *F-T 1916*, f. lxxxii^r (85r): verbal text throughout – that of the missing musical portion given below in italics.

I	[Si membrana esset celum, tota terra atramentum; mare foret ut incaustum, omnis lingua calamus, instrumentum cuncte manus, <i>nec cessarent scribere, non possent exprimere laudes matris virginis.</i>]	If heaven were parchment, and all the land black ink; if the sea were as purple ink, each tongue a pen, 5 all hands an instrument, and they never stopped writing, they could not express the praises of the virgin mother.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 6, no. 61, f. 254r: a3, a later addition to the main body of music contained in this source, in fully mensural notation, with the text never entered; cf. the analogous situation with the previous piece in *F-6*, *Parens patris natiue filia* (F31/260). For *Si membrana*, though, the music also is incomplete in both of its extant sources. In *F*, the T and D break off after the *cum littera* setting of line 4,2 but the Tr continues through to the following cauda and what appears to be a setting of line 5,1, although this final *cum littera* portion (reported in the music variants below) differs from the Tr music set to the same word in *Da 3471*. *Si membrana* is the last bit of music inscribed in the sixth fascicle of *F*; it concludes on the Tr staff of the third system (out of four) on f. 254v (leaving the five concluding staves wholly unnotated on this folio), and is presently followed with a further series of empty (but foliated) leaves prepared to accommodate music in the same layout, but which were never inscribed: ff. 257r-262v, with ff. 255r-256v, the gathering's central bifolio, now missing.

Da3471 (D-DS Hs 3471; Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 3471; “Wimpfener fragments”), no. 12, f. Vr: a3; incomplete, but the more extensive of the two surviving sources of this piece's music. This transmission demonstrates mensural notation throughout and preserves the piece in all three parts from its opening up through the first phrase of the cauda that follows line 5,3. The work opens with a system-high red initial with blue filigree; capital letters begin the *cum littera* portions of lines 1 (with a redundant “Si”), 2, and 5. There are some occasional musical differences from *F*, and the final preserved word of the verbal text (5,3, “spei”) departs from that in *F-T 1916*.¹

Text only:

F-T 1916 (Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac, 1916), f. lxxxii^r (85r); text only, complete, of an entry beginning at the top of the leaf, headed by a red-flecked capital and preceded by a red pilcrow; written successively, as if prose; rubric: “Cancellarius” (i.e., Philip the Chancellor – cf. the additional ascriptions in *Vat.339* and *Vyšší Brod* in the source reports below), here written towards the right margin in the regular black ink of the bulk of the text and preceded by a gallows-shaped pilcrow that separates it from the foregoing lines of the conductus that begins at the left. Curiously, unlike most other indicators of this kind in the MS,

¹Images of *Da3471* are available [here](#).

there are no further signals to call attention to the attribution (such as using red ink for the name, or highlighting it by striking it through with a line of red ink).²

Vat.339 (Vatican City, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Reg. lat. 339*), f. 69r; text only, with incipit “Si membrana celum esset,” omitting line 4, and with an extra line after line 5 (as given above) seen in no other source; further variants are collated below; rubric: “Philippus” (see also above in *F-T 1916*). The text is written twice, the first time partially, where only the initial three words are discernible, and with the same abbreviated attribution for both. A later addition to an empty portion of the leaf, it appears to have been scratched very lightly into the parchment, accompanying other marginalia and penials, with what looks to be a writing instrument of lead or graphite.³

Vyšší Brod (*Vyšší Brod, Klášterní Knihovna, XCVII*), f. 129r; text only, with incipit “Si celum esset menbranum” and omitting line 2; further variants are collated below; rubric: “Bernardus.” Images of this MS are presently unavailable to me. For information on this source, the attribution, and a transcription, see Hans Walther, “*Quot – tot*,” 287, cited in full further below, and *Xenia Bernardina*, 2:201.⁴

F-Pn lat. 3639, f. 216r: text of the single strophe, complete, headed by a red initial, and with smaller red capitals beginning each odd-numbered line; even-numbered lines open with darker capitals. Also capitalized are line 4,2 (“lingua”) and the name “Marie” that closes the poem, with the latter word written wholly in red ink.⁵

Music only: see also the above report on *F*.

Partial concordances: the T melody of the cauda following line 1,4 (“celum” – marked in the score) also appears in the following contexts:⁶

As the opening melodic strain of *Kyrie celum creans*, preserved in *LoB*, fasc. 2, no. 11, f. 92r: a1; this Latin-texted Kyrie first offers the melody in a syllabically texted form, follows this with two further text-only stanzas to be sung to the same strain, and then the melody reappears on the following leaf in a melismatic, neumed rendering with the words “Kyrie eleyson” that does not correspond to the ligation in either the conductus or the motet source given just below; the first note of both these musically inscribed Kyrie sections – *f* – differs from the *g* that begins both the conductus and the motet concordance, but otherwise all readings are extremely close. The fact that this chant is, as far as is presently known, unique to *LoB*, which itself is one

²*F-T 1916* is available online [here](#). Go to image 174.

³Images of *Vat.339* are available at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.339. Much of the information in this source report is facilitated by the descriptions of André Wilmart, ed. *Codices reginenses latini: Tomus II, Codices 251–500* (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1945), 268. Wilmart transcribes the poem from *Vat.339* and notes its attribution – both items sometimes difficult to make out. The volume is viewable online [here](#).

⁴*Xenia Bernardina: Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1891). The report on this source is available online [here](#). The segment containing the description of *Vyšší Brod* (olim Hohenfurth) is “Beschreibung der im Stifte Hohenfurt befindlichen Handschriften,” by P. Raphael Pavel, beginning on p. 165.

⁵Black-and-white images of this item may be consulted online [here](#); the first line of the poem is the last bit of writing on the page. Additional information aiding the description of this source appears in the detailed catalog entry on this MS at [this link](#).

⁶For some additional information on the following points, see the discussion in Manfred F. Bukofzer, “Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula,” *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953): 65-103, at 73-76.

of the three primary sources to ascribe poems to Philip the Chancellor and the only one with musical notation throughout, is intriguing, given the attribution of *Si membrana* to Philip in both *F-T 1916* and *Vat.339*.

As the T of the double motet *Donne ma dame / Adies sont / Kyrie celum* (vdW 620/621/M86f = Kyrie 6), transmitted in *Mo*⁷ (fasc. 7, no. 31; *Mo* no. 293), f. 335r (333r): a3; interestingly, besides including a double cursus, the correspondence of each color of the motet T with the conductus is exact, including its ligation and rhythm. See also the discussion of the chant source of the T immediately above.

Contrafacts: none.

Notes on the Text: Attribution: the text of *Si membrana* is given to Philip the Chancellor in two of its sources: *Vat.339* and *F-T 1916*. A competing ascription to St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) appears in *Vyšší Brod*. However, given the proverbial stamp of the language in the conductus and the nearly universal reach of the concepts it expresses (see the general remarks below), the association with a single author is complicated by the impression it gives of a longstanding oral tradition. A related caution attends the surviving music, as its only notated examples are in a mensural notation that is much more advanced than that of Philip's or Bernard's time. It is therefore worthy to consider whether the conductus setting as it appears in *F* and *Da3471* might conceivably hail from several decades after the passing of either of the two proposed authors. **General remarks:** this poem is a Marianized paraphrase, deriving from a number of associated proverbial sayings.⁸ Early parallels have been identified in a very wide range of literature, beginning with echoes in such classical Latin poets as Ovid and Virgil.⁹ The following, for instance, comes from a Babylonian Talmud, compiled between the fifth and seventh centuries CE, in Iraq, Shabbath 11a: "Said Rava the son of Mehasya, in the name of Rav Hama, son of Gurya, in the name of Rav [third-century Iraq]: If all the seas were ink, and all the fields were overgrown with quills and all the heavens were folios and all the people scribes, they would still be insufficient to describe the complexities of administering a government."¹⁰ Similar language also appears in the Quran: "Were the sea ink for the words of my Lord, the sea would surely fail before the words of my Lord fail" (Surah 18, verse 109); and "Were the trees that are in the earth pens, were the sea ink with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent" (Surah 31, verse 27).¹¹ A possibly more direct and

⁷Montpellier, *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H.196 (F-MO H196; Montpellier codex)*. Images available through [DIAMM](#).

⁸For this and some of the following points, see the extensive study by Hans Walther, "Quot – tot: Mittelalterliche Liebesgrüsse und verwandtes," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 65 (1928): 257-289, especially 283-288. Examples are also cataloged in the same author's *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina, no. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963), see no. 28626.

⁹See, for example, the following specimens – among others – provided by Walther ("Quot – tot," 266): Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8,533-535: "Non mihi si centum deus ora sonantia linguis / Ingeniumque capax totumque Helicon dedisset, / Tristia persequeretur miserarum voce sororum" ("Not if some god had given me a hundred mouths each with its tongue, a master's genius, and all Helicon's inspiration, could I describe the piteous prayers of those poor sisters."). A Virgilian parallel can be found in the *Georgics*, 2,42-44: "Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto, / Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, / Ferrea vox." ("Not mine the wish to embrace all the theme within my verse, not though I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron!"). The respective translations come from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Frank Justus Miller, trans., revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, vols. 42-43 (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, revised edition, 1999), 42:443; and Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, H.R. Fairclough, trans., revised by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 63 (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1916; revised edition, 1999), 119.

¹⁰I am much indebted to Gabriel Wasserman for locating this passage and for supplying me with the translation that appears above.

¹¹Translations of these two passages come from *The Qur'ân*, Edward Henry Palmer, trans., Sacred Books of the East, vol. 6, in 2 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), part 2, pp. 26, 134.

significant source is lines 5-8 (of a total of 45 distichs) of the *Akdmut*, a Jewish liturgical acrostic poem written in Aramaic and ascribed to Rabbi Meir bar Yitzchak Nehorai of Worms (d. ca. 1095). It originally served in the Ashkenazic Jewish liturgy as a preface to the reading of the Targum on the Ten Commandments.¹² Jeffrey Hoffman's translation of the relevant portion (on p. 174 of his article) is as follows: "Eternal glory is his [God's] and cannot be described, / (Even) if the heavens were parchment and all the forests pens; / (And even) if all seas and gathered waters (were) ink, / (and) earth's inhabitants (were all) scribes and authors." The expressions among these various sources have become proverbial, and even reappear in more modern contexts, as in the hymn "The Love of God" by Frederick Martin Lehman (1868-1953), stanza 3 (which derives directly from the *Akdmut*): "Were the sky of parchment made, / A quill each reed, each twig and blade, / Could we with ink the oceans fill, / Were every man a scribe of skill, / The marvelous story / Of God's great glory / Would still remain untold; / For He, most high / The earth and sky / Created alone of old."¹³ and also the English nursery rhyme (with occasional variants): "If all the world were paper [or 'apple pie'] / and all the sea were ink, / if all the trees were bread and cheese, / what should we have to [or 'for'] drink?"¹⁴ Compare also the concluding verse of the Gospel of John, 21:25.¹⁵ **Textual notes: 2-3:** the word "atramentum" usually signifies black writing ink, as does the word "incaustum" (or "encaustum") used in line 3,4. On the other hand, there are additional connotations for "incaustum/encaustum" that denote a purple or reddish ink used by the emperors in classical Rome. The translation as "inkwell" from Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:xxxvii) is attractive and describes very aptly the way the earth contains the sea in the same way an inkwell holds ink, except that one would typically expect the word "atramentarium" to denote this tool. As a result, I have erred on the side of caution in the translation. One might also suppose a type of nod to the different types of ink used in composing elaborate documents such as liturgical books or bibles to make sense here of the apparent redundancy.¹⁶ **4:** see Psalm 44:2.¹⁷ **5,2:** the sense of "cunctus" is usually that of "whole" or "entire," rather than "all," "each," or "every"; the context suggests the interpretation given here.

Observations and Variants: TEXT: the text used throughout the transcription is the supposedly complete single stanza from *F-T 1916*. This corresponds closely, although not exactly, to the version extant in *F-Pn lat. 3639*, a miscellany of Marian lyrics from the late 15th or early 16th century. In terms of the other sources, the version in *Da3471* is fragmentary, those of *Vyšší Brod* and *Vat.339* vary in their incipits and are missing subsequent lines, and the poem was never entered into *F*. Variants from all sources are collated below, as several of them are not included in Anderson's edition or on the CPI website; the readings of *Vat.339* come from the second, complete transmission in this source. **Line 1:** *F-T 1916*: Si membrana esset celum; the normalized orthography for line 1,2 here is preferred to avoid confusion since the word appears in the title. For a similar decision, see the observations on the opening lines of the conductus *Seminavit Grecia* (I23/322), and *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229). *Vat.339*: Si membrana celum esset; *Vyšší Brod*: Si celum esset membranum. **2:**

¹²For this information, see Jeffrey Hoffman, "Akdmut: History, Folklore, and Meaning," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99 (2009):161-183, at p. 161.

¹³First published in Frederick M. Lehman, ed., *Songs That Are Different: Book 1* (Kansas City, MO: Lehman Songs Company, 1918).

¹⁴For an example, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, ed. Iona Opie and Peter Opie, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 435.

¹⁵John, 21:25: "Sunt autem et alia multa quae fecit Iesus: quae, si scribantur per singula, nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui scribendi sunt libros. Amen" ("But there are also many other things that Jesus did; which, if every one were written, I do not think the world itself would hold the books that should be written. Amen.").

¹⁶I am indebted to Gregorio Bevilacqua for his advice on and assistance with this passage.

¹⁷Psalm 44:2: "lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis" ("my tongue is the pen of a scribe swiftly writing").

Vyšší Brod: om. **3:** F-Pn lat. 3639: mare foret et incaustum; Vyšší Brod: mare foret ut in caustum. **4:** Vat.339: om – see line 5 for the addition that takes up the slack; Vyšší Brod: et omnis lingua calamus. **5:** Da3471: Instrumentum cuncte spei; this is the final surviving bit of text in this source; the fact that a variant is introduced at this point could raise doubts that the text as transmitted in *Da3471* would continue in the same manner as in *F-T 1916*, as there are some significant variants from this point on in the sources for every one of the following lines. Vat.339: cuncta manus instrumentum, plus an added line to make up for the omission of line 4: “digiti tot turbines(?)”;¹⁸ Vyšší Brod: et omnis sciberet manus. **6:** F-Pn lat. 3639: et non cessarent scribere; Vat.339: nec cessarem scribere. **8:** F-Pn lat. 3639, Vat.339, Vyšší Brod: laudes virginis marie. The choice here of the unique rendering of *F-T 1916* was prompted by the more regular succession of accents in the line, which correspond with the previous verses of lines 6-7 (all 7pp with trochees running throughout); in every source this line, as well as the first, does not have a rhyming counterpart. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *F* is the primary source for the musical transcription up through line 4,2, the point that the scribe ceased filling in the T and D lines in the MS; from that point, *Da3471* serves as the exemplar for all voices, including the reading of the Tr for line 5,1, which departs from that of *F*. All perfect L (i.e., dotted quarter-note) rests in the transcription are expressed in *F* as full-staff, or nearly full-staff, strokes, rather than the expected three-space perfect L rests of Franconian notation. **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** **1)** the T (and portions of the D and Tr) in the penultimate phrase of the opening cauda on “Si [membrana]” (line 1) is similar to **1a)** the T (and parts of the D and Tr) of the later “tota terra atramentum” (line 2); this relationship is marked in the score with boxed letters. **Opening cauda:** TDTTr: Da3471: the initial “intonation” chord and following rests that start the piece in *F* om; T: F: the fifth phrase (L15-L18) om, supplied from *Da 3471*; Tr: F: at L23, the end of the sixth Tr phrase, there is a longer rest than needed, a two-space stroke; corrected from *Da3471*. T: F: the second *g* in the penultimate phrase of the cauda at L31 looks like *a*, clarified by *Da4371*. **Line 1,2:** Tr: F: an erased full-staff stroke follows the second syllable of “[mem]bra[num],” not included in the transcription. **1,4:** Tr: Da3471: on the first syllable of “ce[lum],” si=L=c, obviating the momentary dissonance in *F*. **Cauda after line 1:** D: F: the second phrase from L5-L10 written 3 lower; corrected after *Da3471*. **Line 2,3:** TDTTr: Da 3471: the final note and pause of the phrase = L(L rest); *F* gives L(B), as adopted here. **3,4:** TDTTr: Da3471: the end of the phrase is followed by full-staff strokes, not included here; *F* has a dot of perfection/division after the last note to clarify the following passage as mode 2. **Cauda after line 3:** T: Da3471: opening phrase: si,2li,3li=d,dc,ded; a descending stroke appears on the right side of the first note, apparently added later, turning a B into an L, and a repeated *c* found in *F* is om; as it now stands, a dot of perfection/division is still needed in *Da3471* after the opening *d* if the phrase is to suffice rhythmically – Tr: F: at L7 in the cauda, the 3li=def is missing a necessary cop stroke, rectified editorially; *Da3471* presents a different figure: 2li,siP=BB,B?P=de,efP. **Line 4,2:** TD: F: following this word (“lingua”), no more music for these two voices is entered into *F*; the Tr, however, continues up through line 5,1, although the phrase it supplies for the first three syllables of “instrumen[tum]” differs from that in *F* (q.v.). Beginning with line 4,3, the source for all parts in the transcription is *Da3471*. **4,3:** TDTTr: Da3471: the rests following “calamus” are full-staff strokes in all parts; the adopted B rest is taken from the remains of the Tr in *F*; its single-space length can be verified by a high-resolution image; the apparent greater length is actually the result of bleed-through. **Cauda after line 4:** D: Da3471: there is an apparent omission in the second phrase of the cauda (at L10,3-L11,1); reading restored following Anderson’s edition (*NDRC*, 2:76). I am reading the following plicated *simplices* in the TDTTr at L12,2-3 (where the Tr in *F* has a B rest) as plicated Bs through comparison with the plicated notes earlier in *Da3471*; most of these all seem to be plicated Ls (although see the remarks for the cauda after line 3), whereas the ones at this point in *Da3471* (especially in the T) have a pronounced ascending stroke at the left that is missing in the other siP figures. **Line 5,1:** Tr: F: over “instrumentum”: PL=Pe, cop3li=↑afg, L=e, L=↑b; the extant Tr reading from *Da3471* is adopted here. The Tr setting of this word is the last surviving music entered into fascicle 6 of *F*; see the report on this source above for details on the remainder of the contents of *F*-6. **5,3:** TDTTr: Da3471: the full-staff, or

¹⁸In the online images for *Vat.339*, this part of the verse is faint and obscured by the library’s ownership stamp. The reading here derives from that in Wilmart, *Codices reginenses latini*, 2:268, who also questions the reading of “turbines”.

nearly so, strokes that close the phrase are rendered here as B rests, since elsewhere in *Da3471* such strokes seem intended more as formal markers (dividing lines, half-lines, and separating caudae from *cum littera* sections) than strictly mensural ones. **Cauda after line 5:** TDTr: Da3471: after the first phrase of this melisma and its concluding full-staff strokes, the remainder of the music is lost. Anderson (*NDRC*, 2:77-78) supplies an editorial completion, with the *cum littera* segments and the closing passage in the style of a *puntus organi* composed by himself, while the intervening caudae are repurposed from earlier in the piece; I have not supplied a reconstruction.