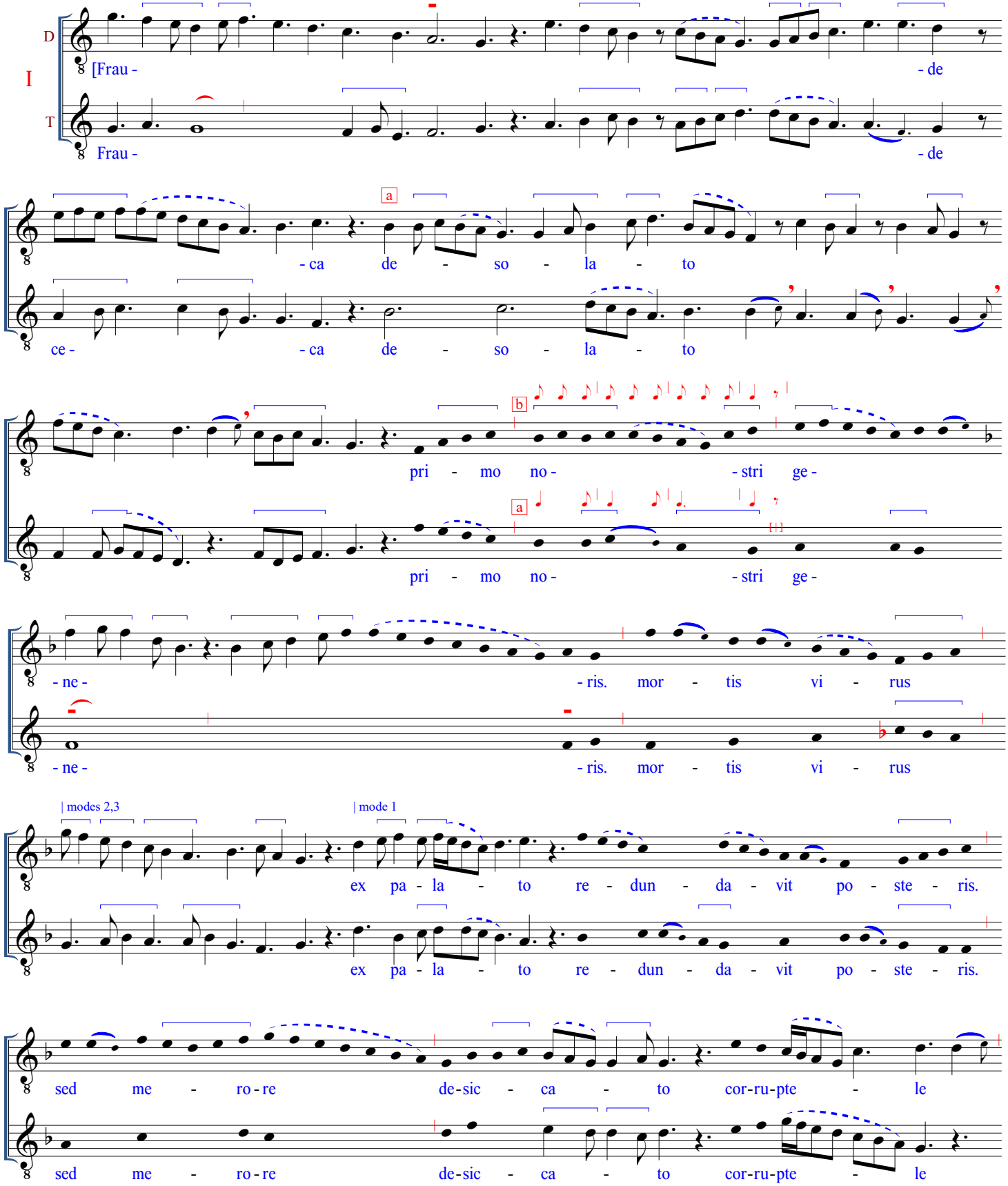Thomas B. Payne

F: Fascicle 7: Conductus a2
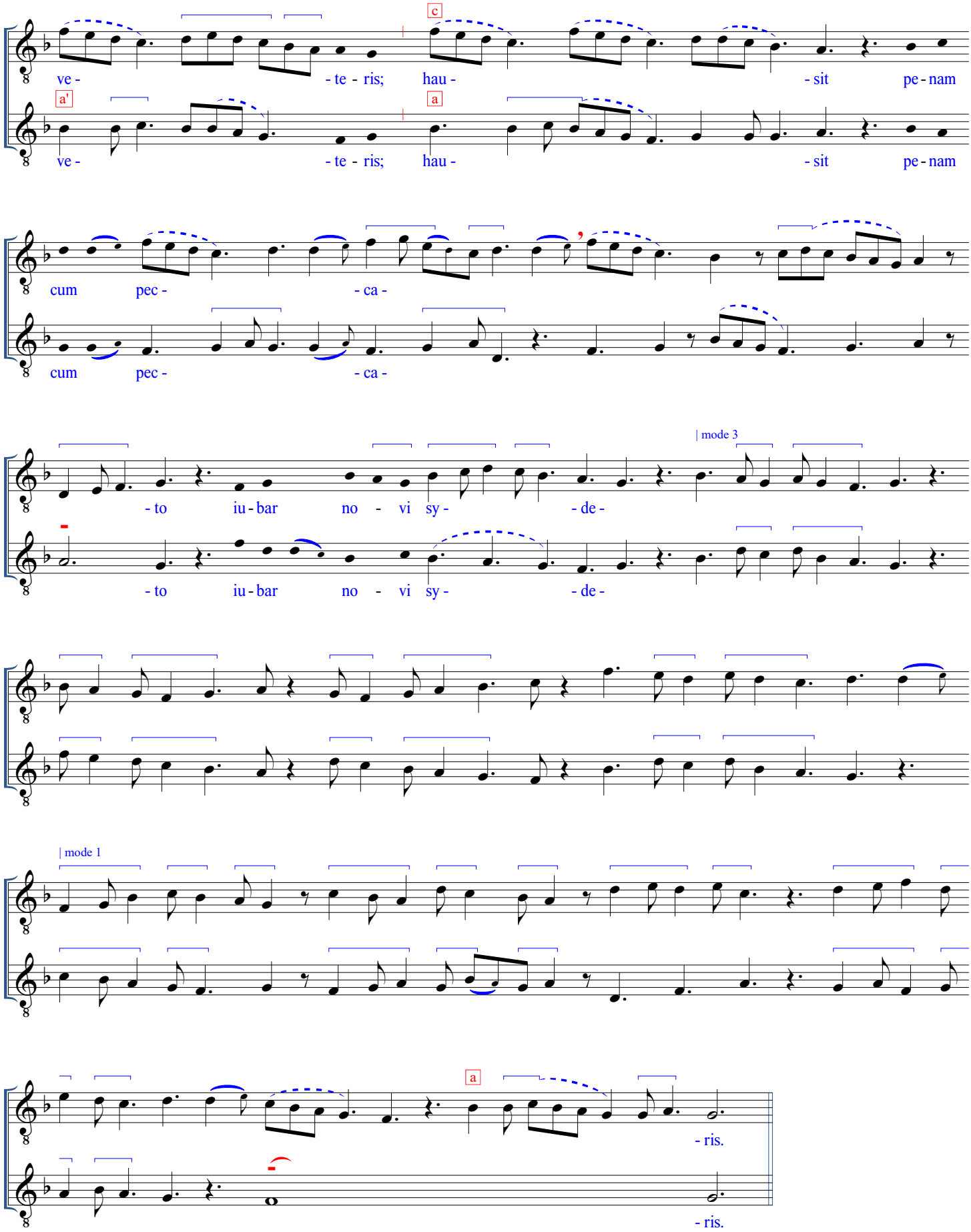
FRAUDE CECA DESOLATO
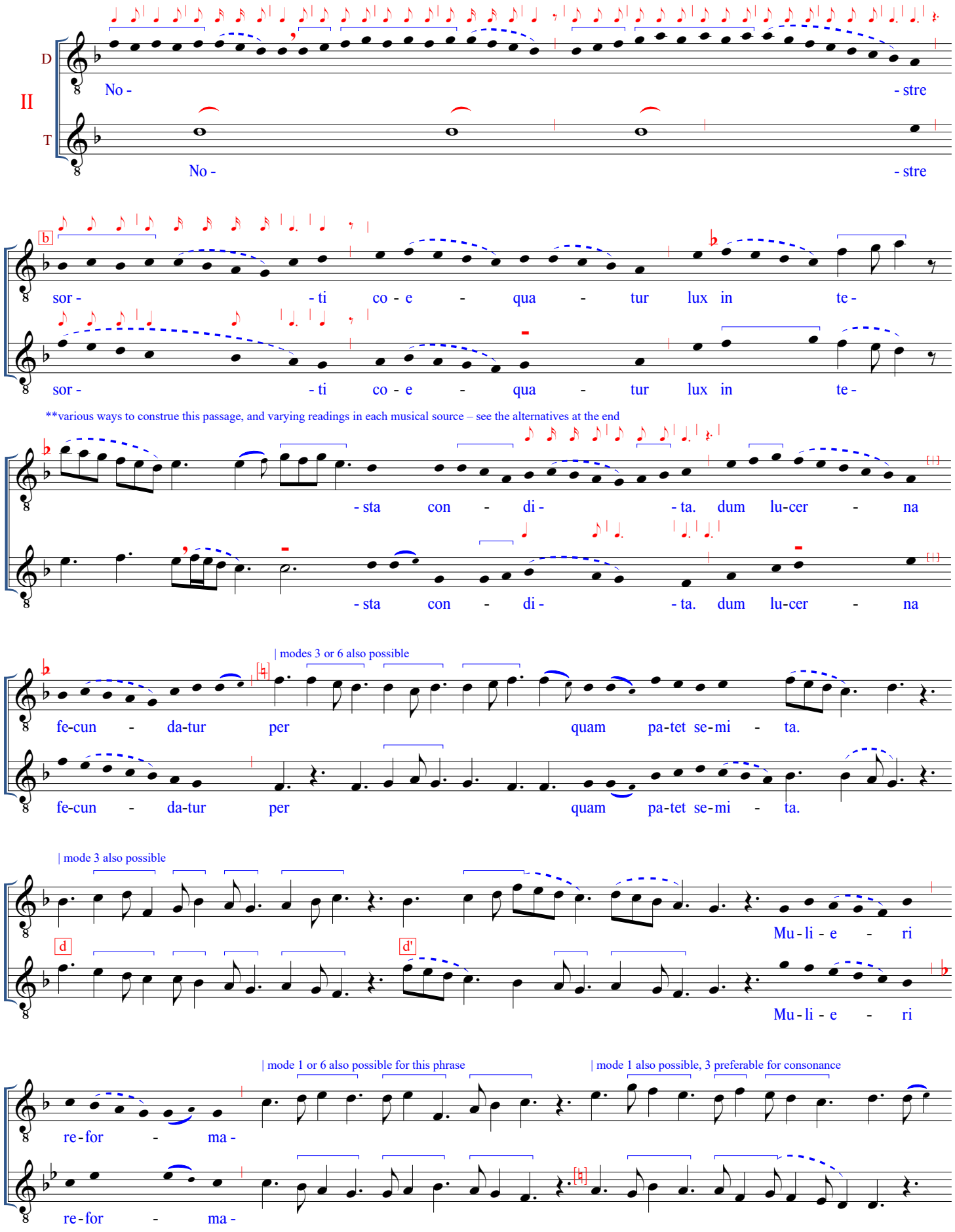
Conductus (G4/133)
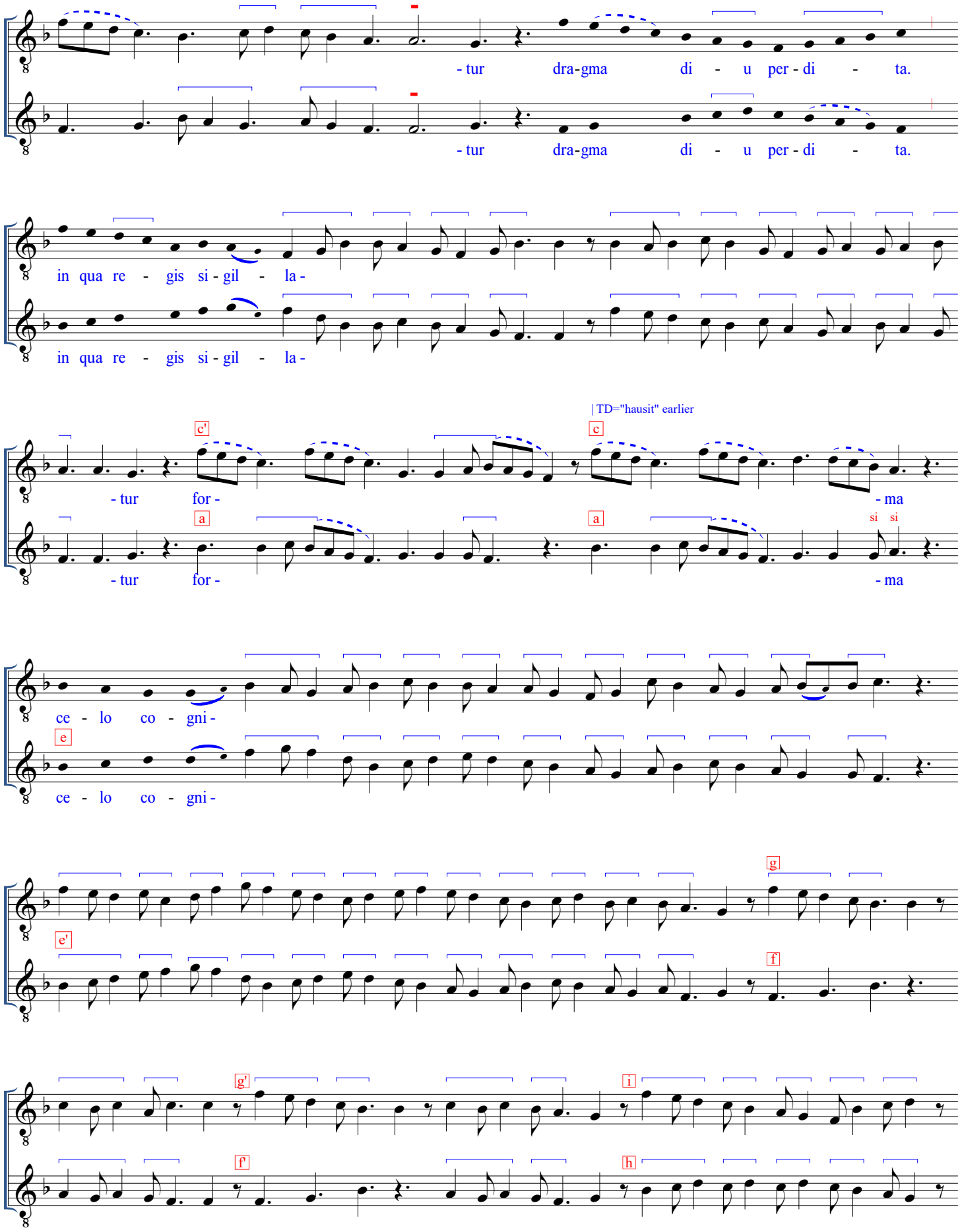
F, f. 263r (7,1)*
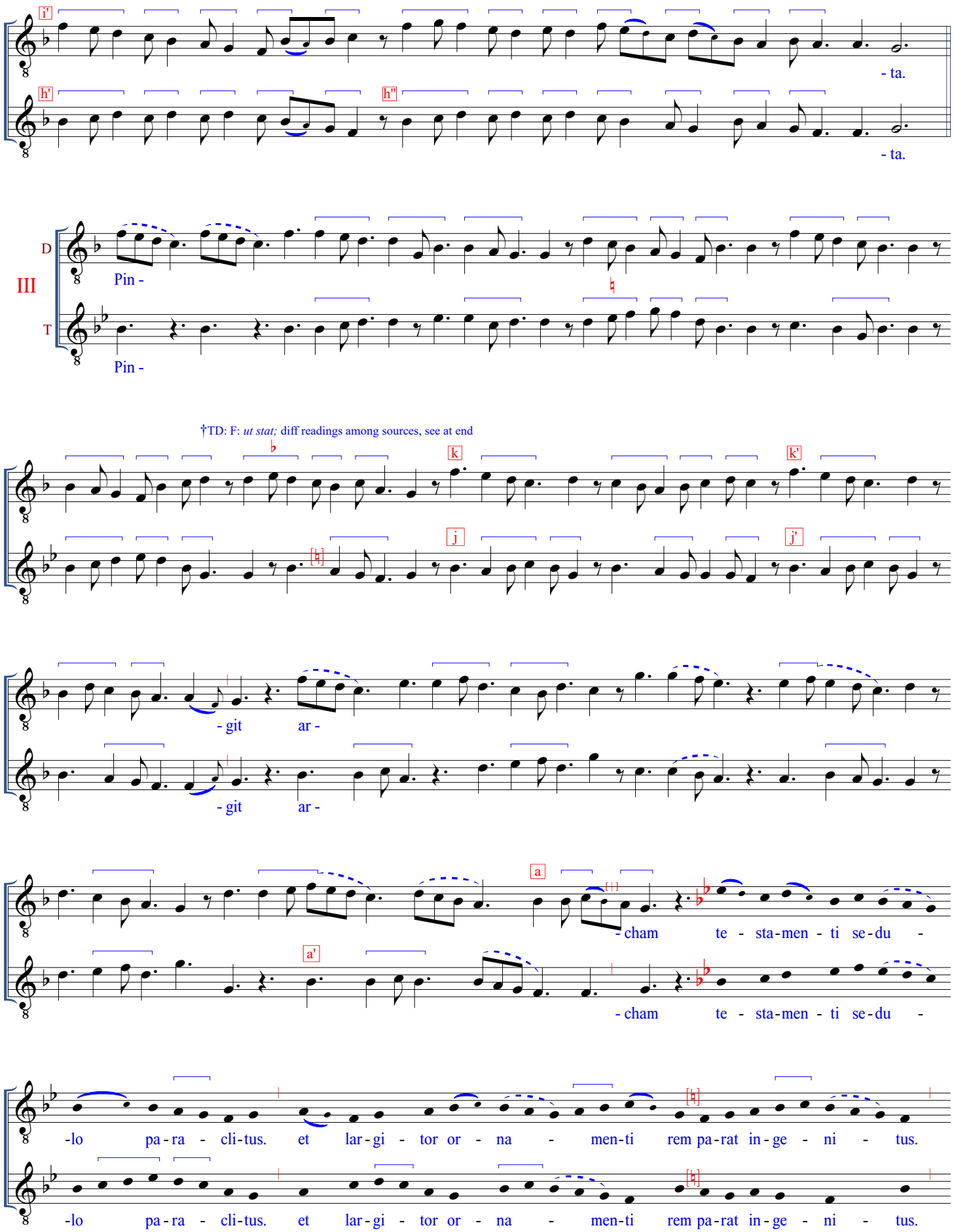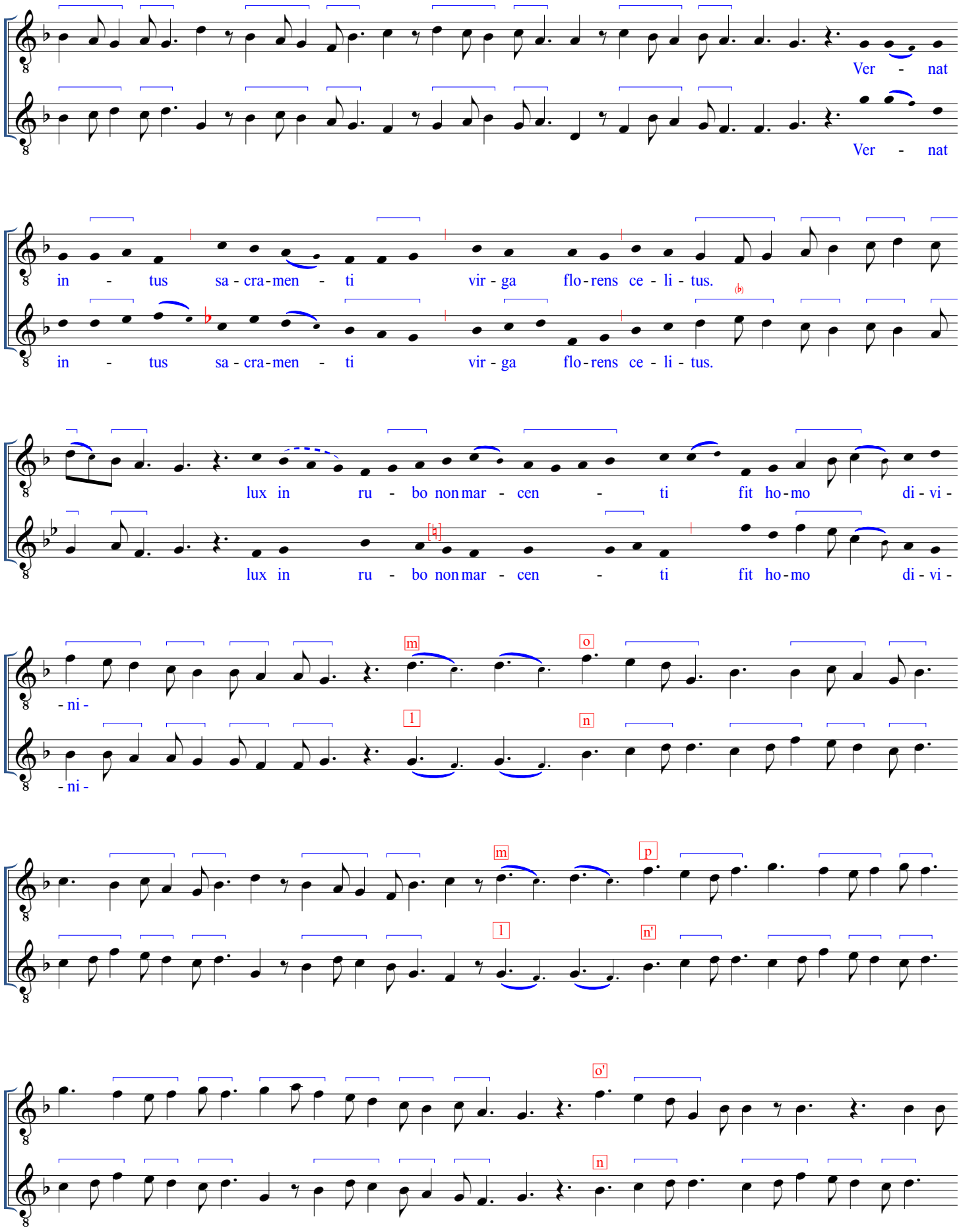


*The opening cauda has varying readings in all surviving sources, see the alternative transcriptions at the end.


c
ve - te - ris; hau - sit pe - nam
a'
a
ve - te - ris; hau - sit pe - nam
cum pec - ca -
cum pec - ca -
| mode 3
- to iu - bar no - vi sy - de -
- to iu - bar no - vi sy - de -
| mode 1
a
- ris.
- ris.


II
D
No -
- stre
T
No -
- stre
b
sor - - ti co - e - qua - tur lux in te -
sor - - ti co - e - qua - tur lux in te -
**various ways to construe this passage, and varying readings in each musical source – see the alternatives at the end
- sta con - di - - ta. dum lu-cer - na
- sta con - di - - ta. dum lu-cer - na
| modes 3 or 6 also possible
fe-cun - da-tur per quam pa-tet se-mi - ta.
fe-cun - da-tur per quam pa-tet se-mi - ta.
| mode 3 also possible
d
d'
Mu - li - e - ri
Mu - li - e - ri
| mode 1 or 6 also possible for this phrase
| mode 1 also possible, 3 preferable for consonance
re - for - ma -
re - for - ma -


- tur dra-gma di - u per - di - ta.
- tur dra-gma di - u per - di - ta.
in qua re - gis si - gil - la -
in qua re - gis si - gil - la -
| TD="hausit" earlier
- tur for - - ma
- tur for - si si - ma
ce - lo co - gni -
ce - lo co - gni -


i'
h'
h"
- ta.
- ta.
III
D
T
Pin -
Pin -
†TD: F: *ut stat;* diff readings among sources, see at end
k
k'
j
j'
- git ar -
- git ar -
a
a'
- cham te - sta-men - ti se-du -
- cham te - sta-men - ti se-du -
-lo pa-ra - cli-tus. et lar-gi - tor or - na - men-ti rem pa-rat in-ge - ni - tus.
-lo pa-ra - cli-tus. et lar-gi - tor or - na - men-ti rem pa-rat in-ge - ni - tus.


Ver - nat
Ver - nat
in - tus sa - cra - men - ti vir - ga flo - rens ce - li - tus.
in - tus sa - cra - men - ti vir - ga flo - rens ce - li - tus.
lux in ru - bo non mar - cen - ti fit ho - mo di - vi -
lux in ru - bo non mar - cen - ti fit ho - mo di - vi -
- ni -
- ni -
m
o
l
n
m
p
l
n'
o'
n

p'

n'

q

q'

- tus.]

- tus.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*opening cauda:

a. *W1,* f. 127v (118v), IV

D

T

Frau -

- de

b. *W2,* f. 119r, II

B
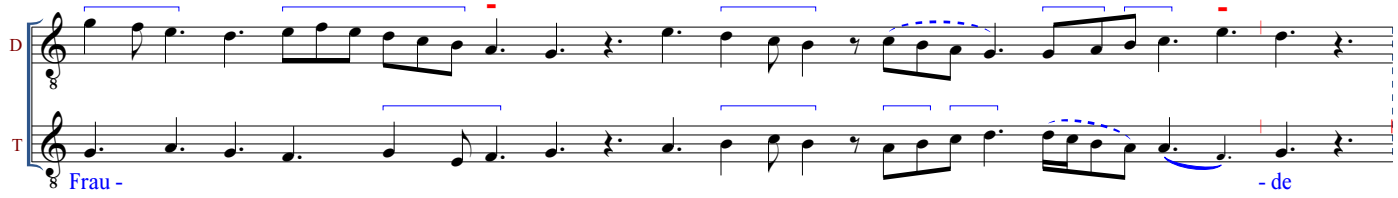
D

T

Frau -

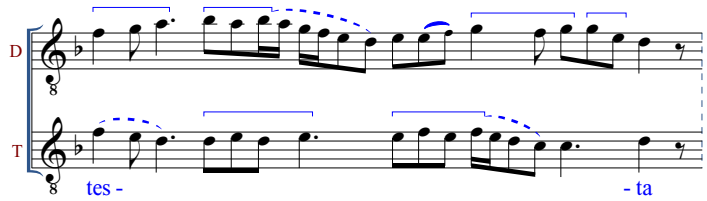
- de

c. *Ma,* f. 25r, I

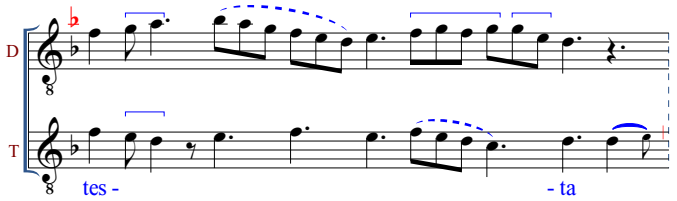


**cauda on line 10,3 ("testa") -- even further alternatives are possible for rendering this segment:

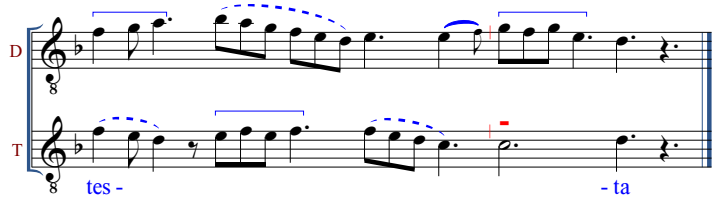
a. *W1,* f. 128r (119r), IV



b. *W2,* f. 120r, III

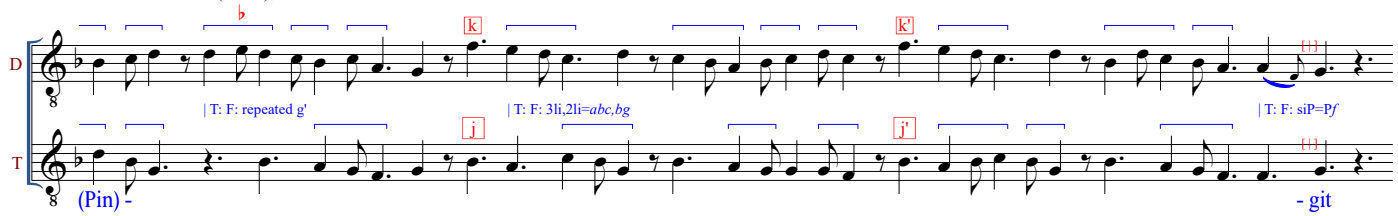


c. *Ma,* f. 25v, IV (this reading seems the most straightforward of the four)

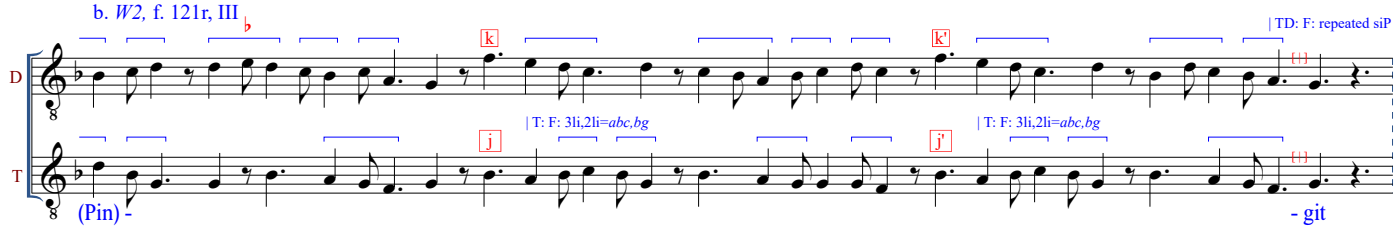


†cauda on line 17,1 ("Pingit" opening Strophe III), from partway through the fourth D phrase to the end – slight differences among the MSS:

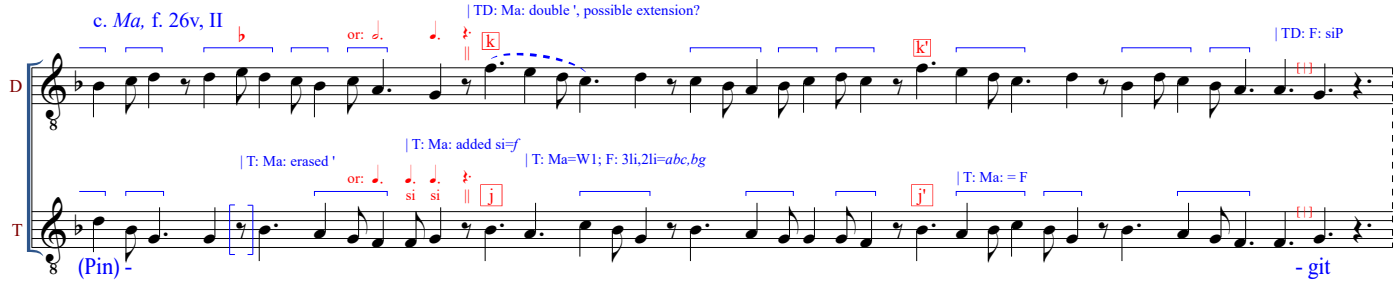
a. *W1,* f. 128v (119v), V



b. *W2,* f. 121r, III



c. *Ma,* f. 26v, II



FRAUDE CECA DESOLATO

Conductus (G4/133)

F, f. 263r (7,1)

I Fraude ceca desolato
primo nostri generis,
mortis virus ex palato
redundavit posteris.
Sed merore desiccato
corruptele veteris,
hausit penam cum peccato
iubar novi syderis.

Through a blind deception that left
the first of our kind forsaken,
a venom seeped from the palate
of death into future generations.
But in drying up the sorrow
of the ancient corruption,
the radiance of the new star
drew out the punishment along with the sin.

II Nostre sorti coequatur
lux in testa condita,
dum lucerna fecundatur,
per quam patet semita.

The light, created in an earthen shell,
is made equal to our lot,
while the lamp that reveals
the path conceives it.

Mulieri reformatur
dragma, diu perdita,
in qua regis sigillatur
forma celo cognita.

A coin, long since lost,
is refashioned for a woman,
upon which the recognized shape of a king
is stamped by heaven.

III Pingit archam testamenti
sedulo Paraclitus,
et largitor ornamenti
rem parat ingenitus.

The Holy Spirit industriously
decorates the Ark of the Covenant,
and the unbegotten granter of the
embellishment makes the thing ready.

Vernat intus sacramenti
virga, florens celitus;
lux in rubo non marcenti
fit homo divinitus.

The twig of the sacrament thrives
from within, blossoming divinely;
a fire in a bush that is not consumed
becomes a man sent from heaven.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 1, f. 263r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; the piece is headed by a large, historiated initial "F," divided into two levels, with a naked Adam and Eve tasting the forbidden fruit within the upper segment, while the serpent appears entwined around a tree or plant between them and faces the figure of Eve at the left. The lower portion depicts the couple's expulsion from Eden through a tall, rounded portal; Adam is passing through this gate, while Eve has already exited at right. There is a winged, haloed angel (one of the cherubim, according to Genesis, 3:24) at left, wielding a sword and with his hand on Adam's shoulder, while Adam, in turn, touches Eve's shoulder as she obscures her chest and her crotch with her hands. Capitals head the subsequent stanzas and also begin lines 13 and 21 (prompting the spaces in the text above).

W1, fasc. 9, no. 46, f. 127v (118v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, each headed with painted initials; an additional one opens line 13, as in *F,* but not line 21.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 1, f. 25r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete. In addition to the inclusion of the large decorated initial that starts this first piece in the fascicle (a feature frequently omitted in *Ma*), supplied capitals also begin lines 9 (opening Strophe II), 13 (as in *F,W1*), 16, 17 (with a relatively larger initial here starting Strophe III) and 21

(as in *F*).

W2, fasc. 6, no. 12, f. 119r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; besides the capitals beginning the subsequent strophes, only line 21 has another majuscule, slightly larger than usual, in the remaining text, analogous to *F* and *W1*.

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 6, (=*OxAuct,* no. 6), strips α: ext. b-int.b; 2: ext. b-int. b; 7: ext. b; 8: ext. b:[2] a2; fragmentary, various portions survive of certain lines from strophes I and II, for details see Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 99-100;[3] Anderson – apparently mistakenly – has this item number in *Ox-Sol* as a source for the conductus *Rex eterne glorie* (H21/309), whereas Everist, DIAMM, and RISM do not include *Rex eterne* among the Oxford fragments. For further discussion, see the remarks on the sources for *Rex eterne* at *F*-7,15.

CH-BM II.C.2 (Beromünster, Stiftsbibliothek, II.C.2): no. 4, f. 66v: a1 (T?), staffless neumes; Strophe I, only, with a smaller decorated initial heading line 7; rubric: "Item alius" (i.e., another conductus, continuing from the previous piece's rubric).[4]

Text only:

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95): no. 109, f. 73r (71r): laid out for music a1 with significant space allotted for melismas, but neumes never entered; text of Strophe I, only;[5] part of a group of five pieces – *Frigescente caritas* (L22/-),[6] *O clericorum optime* (Q59/-), *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133), *Cogito plus solito* (Q60/-), *Valle tellus* (L73/-) – that appear in the same order here as in *Fulda C11*.[7]

Fulda C11 (D-FUl Hs. C 11; Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, C11): f. 331v;[8] this paper MS from the later fifteenth-century gives the text of Strophe I only, with a missing initial and with the penultimate syllable of the stanza written repeatedly and spaced horizontally so as to conclude its last word at the right margin of the leaf, as in *Stutt,* but with no other indication that music was planned for inclusion; part of a group of five pieces – *Frigescente caritas* (L22/-), *O clericorum optime* (Q59/-), *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133), *Cogito*

---

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2), cited below.

[2]These specific locations come from the CPI website; images of these particular items are not provided on DIAMM, and are presently unavailable to me.

[3]Mark E. Everist,"A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus," *Gordon A Anderson (1929-1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen,* 2 vols. Musicological Studies, no. 49 (Institute of Medieval Music: Henryville, Pennsylvania, 1984), 1: 97-108, at 99-100.

[4]Images from this source may be consulted at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbb/cant.

[5]The CPI website incorrectly reports I-III.

[6]This is the Anderson catalog number as given in his personal annotated copy of his catalog. He changed the number from L23a (the reference given on the CPI site), due to his deletion of the earlier entry *Carnalitas luxuria* (*olim* L20), due to its reclassification as a motet voice, and shifted the following numbers accordingly.

[7]Images available here: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.d e/suche/suchergebnis; search "HB I 95."

[8]Images from this source may be found at: https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/ppnresolver?id=PPN446275026.

plus solito (Q60/-), *Valle tellus* (L73/-) – that appear in the same order here as in *Stutt.*

The opening line of *Fraude ceca* appears as line 2 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*: 1-4:** this figure invokes the deception of Adam and Eve by the serpent, in Genesis, 3, that brought original sin upon mankind through the eating of the forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge (see also Romans, 5:12-21; 1 Corinthians, 15:22, as well as the description of the historiated initial opening this piece in MS *F.* **7-8:** the "radiance of the new star" is Christ, who is frequently represented as a beam or ray emanating from a star symbolizing the Virgin, or the sun symbolizing God; cf., e.g., the conductus *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), lines 5-6. **9-12:** of the images encountered in this passage, the lamp is interpreted as the Virgin Mary, the light within it as Christ made mortal, and the earthenware shell as Christ's humanity. The clay or earthen pot (*testa, vas, vasculum*) is frequently symbolic of the body or flesh, formed from the clay of the ground (see Genesis, 2:7), as opposed to the soul. Similarly, the image of Christ in human form as an earthen pot created by God the potter is suggested by Isaiah, 45:9-12 and Romans, 9:20-21.[9] For the frequent references to these images within the Parisian conductus repertory, see the notes on the text to the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), lines 8-9; notice also the related image of Christ as a type of divine nutmeat within a human nutshell in the text of the conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 5-7. **11-12:** for the imagery of the lamp lighting the path, see Psalm 118:105: "Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis." ("Your word is a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths"). **13-16:** see Luke, 15:8-9, for the parable of the woman with ten coins who lights a lamp and sweeps her house until she finds the single coin of the ten she lost; the coin is interpreted variously as God incarnate in man and a symbol of salvation that overrides original sin. The text from Luke itself offers the interpretation that the woman's rejoicing over her recovery is comparable to the joy of God's angels when a single sinner repents. Similar language in connection with this image appears in the conductus *Rex eterne glorie* (H21), lines 6-9. **17-20:** The refurbished Ark of the (old) Covenant (see Exodus, 25:10-22) is here treated as an allegory of the virgin Mary, often herself described as the Ark of the New Covenant;[10] both the Holy Spirit and God the Father (the "unbegotten granter") ready Mary here as the vessel for bearing the Son. **21-22:** the shoot or branch ("virga") is Mary; the flowering of the shoot is a

[9]Romans, 9:20-21: "O homo, tu quis es, qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit: Quid me fecisti sic? An non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam?" ("O man, who are you that replies against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it: Why have you made me thus? Or has not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?")

[10] (On Mary as the ark, see the *De laudibus* of Richard of St. Laurent, book 10, chapter 1, especially p. 452 of the cited edition: Richard 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.

reference to Christ; for both images, see Isaiah, 11:1,[11] and also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16).[12] **23-24:** the burning bush that was not consumed, seen by Moses in Exodus, 3:1-4:17, is another common symbol of the Virgin Mary, symbolizing the retention of her chastity while conceiving and bearing Jesus (the fire within the bush).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **MUSIC:** A relatively large number of motives and some entire phrases in both the *sine littera* and *cum littera* segments of this piece are recalled throughout the piece; notable examples of such repetition are signaled by boxed letters above the staves. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T of "celo cogni[ta]" (l. 16, closes Strophe II) = **1a.** T of second phrase in the following cauda on "[cog]ni[ta]. Here the *cum littera* portion that prefaces the cauda initiates a long segment that repeats in the following phrase, this time with its opening gesture *sine littera;* such a context might suggest performance of the texted portion with the same rhythms as the melismatic one. **Opening cauda:** Varying ligations and different implied rhythms appear in all extant musical sources; see the alternatives supplied at the end of the transcription. **Line 2,1:** T: F: the figures over this word are 3 lower (=*dcba*), rectified from *W1,W2,Ma.* **Line 3,2:** the dissonances over the first syllable of "vi[rus]" appear in all extant musical sources; they might invite possible consideration as word painting. **Line 10,3:** the short cauda on "testa" presents various ways to construe this passage, with varying readings in all musical sources; see the alternatives that appear at the end. **Cauda on line 17,1 (opening Strophe III):** the central to closing portions of this melisma differ slightly among the sources; see the alternatives given at the end. **Closing cauda (over line 24,3):** this heavily repetitive melisma contains quite a number of dissonances that are confirmed by all other applicable sources.

[11]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.").

[12]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch *[virga],* and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit. The branch is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son.").

HEC EST DIES TRIUMPHALIS
Conductus (H12/152)

F, f. 264v (7,2)

I

D [Hec est di - es tri - um-pha-

T Hec est di - es tri - um-pha-

- lis mun - do gra - ta per - di - to.

- lis mun - do gra - ta per - di - to.

dans so-la - men no-stris ma-lis ho - ste iu - go sub - di-to. hec [hec]

dans so-la - men no-stris ma-lis ho - ste iu - go sub - di-to. hec [hec]

est de-o spe - ci - a-lis tan - to ni - tens me - ri-to. quod pec-ca - ti fit
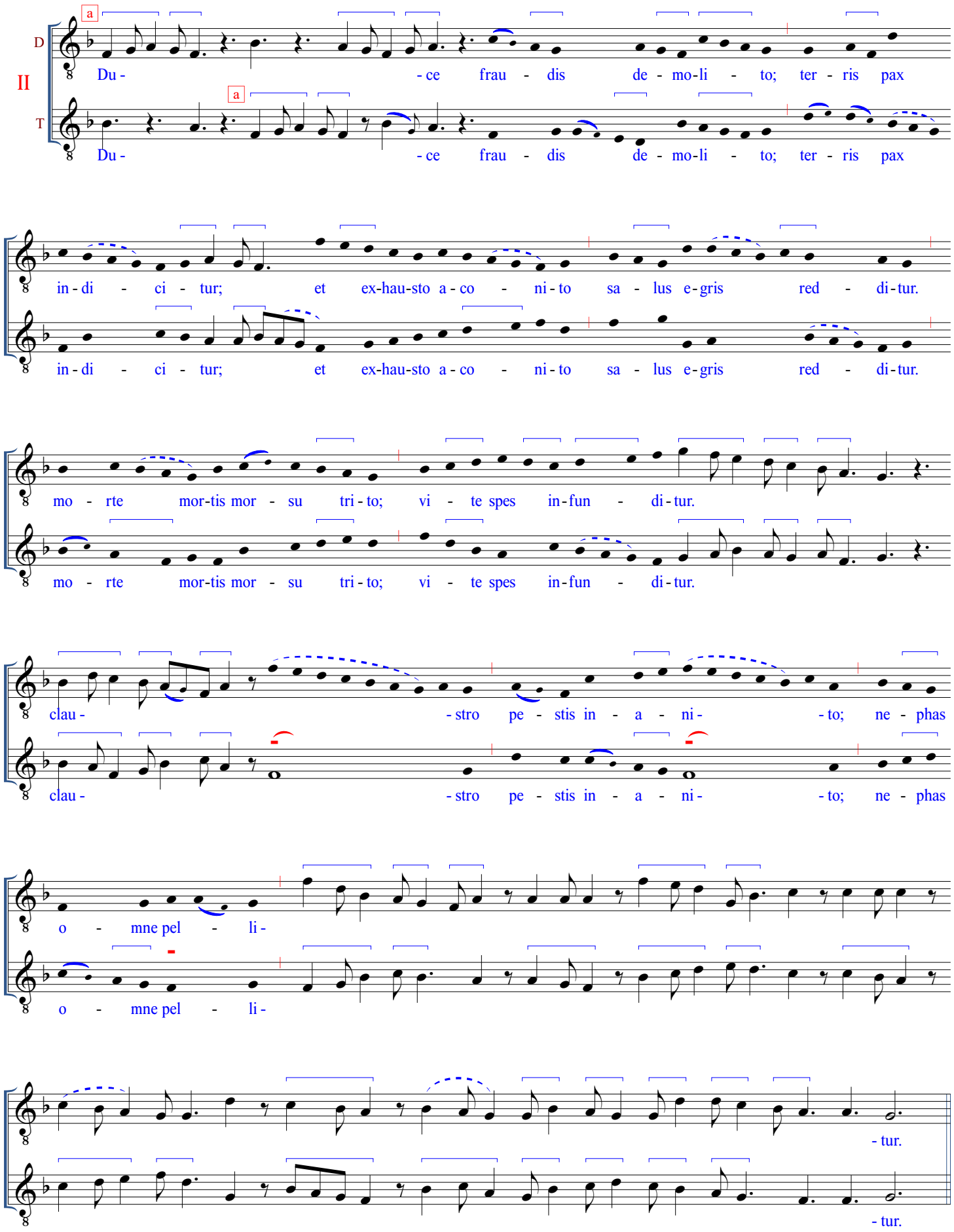
est de-o spe - ci - a-lis tan - to ni - tens me - ri-to. quod pec-ca - ti fit
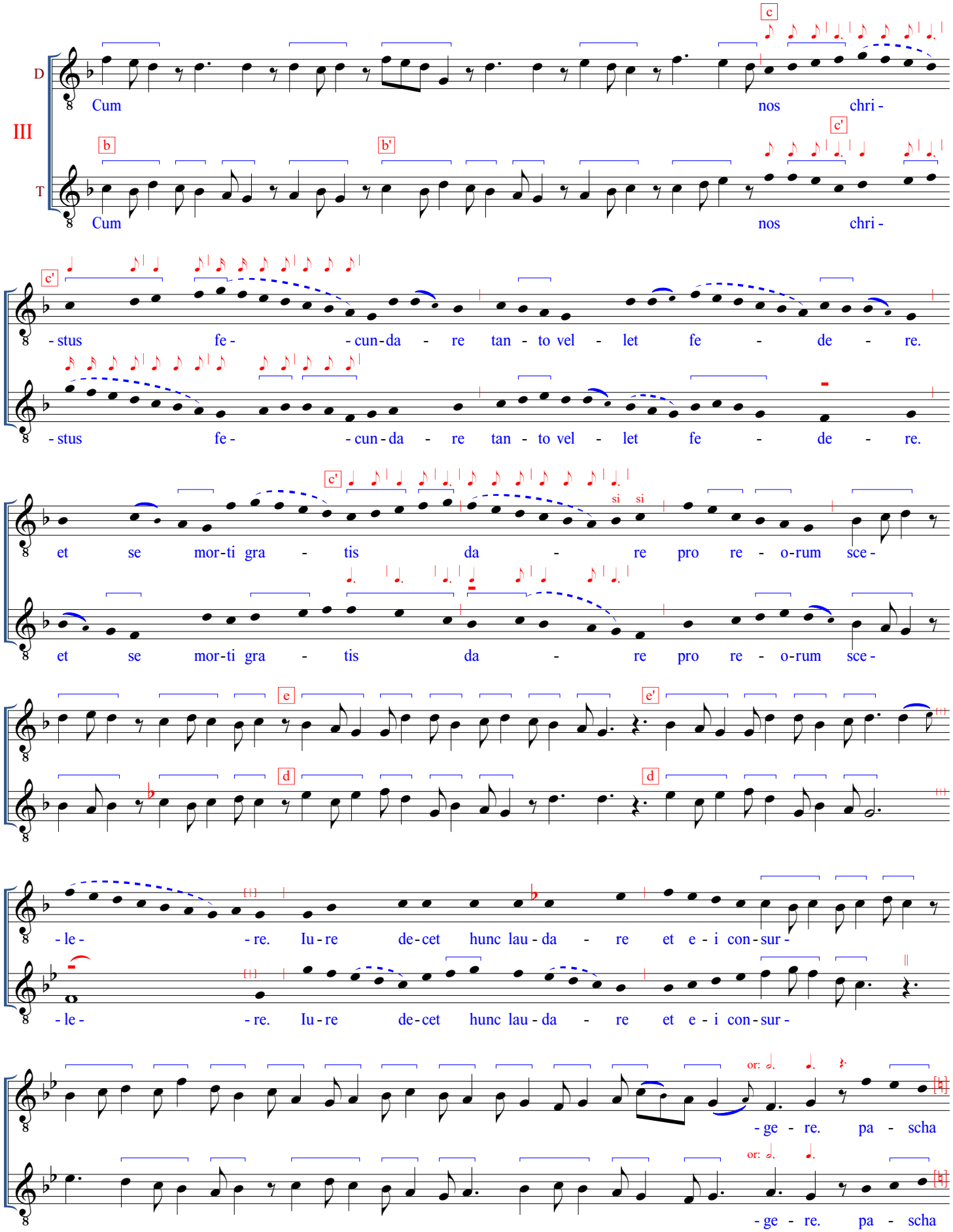
fi - na-lis ma - li ma - lo ir - ri-
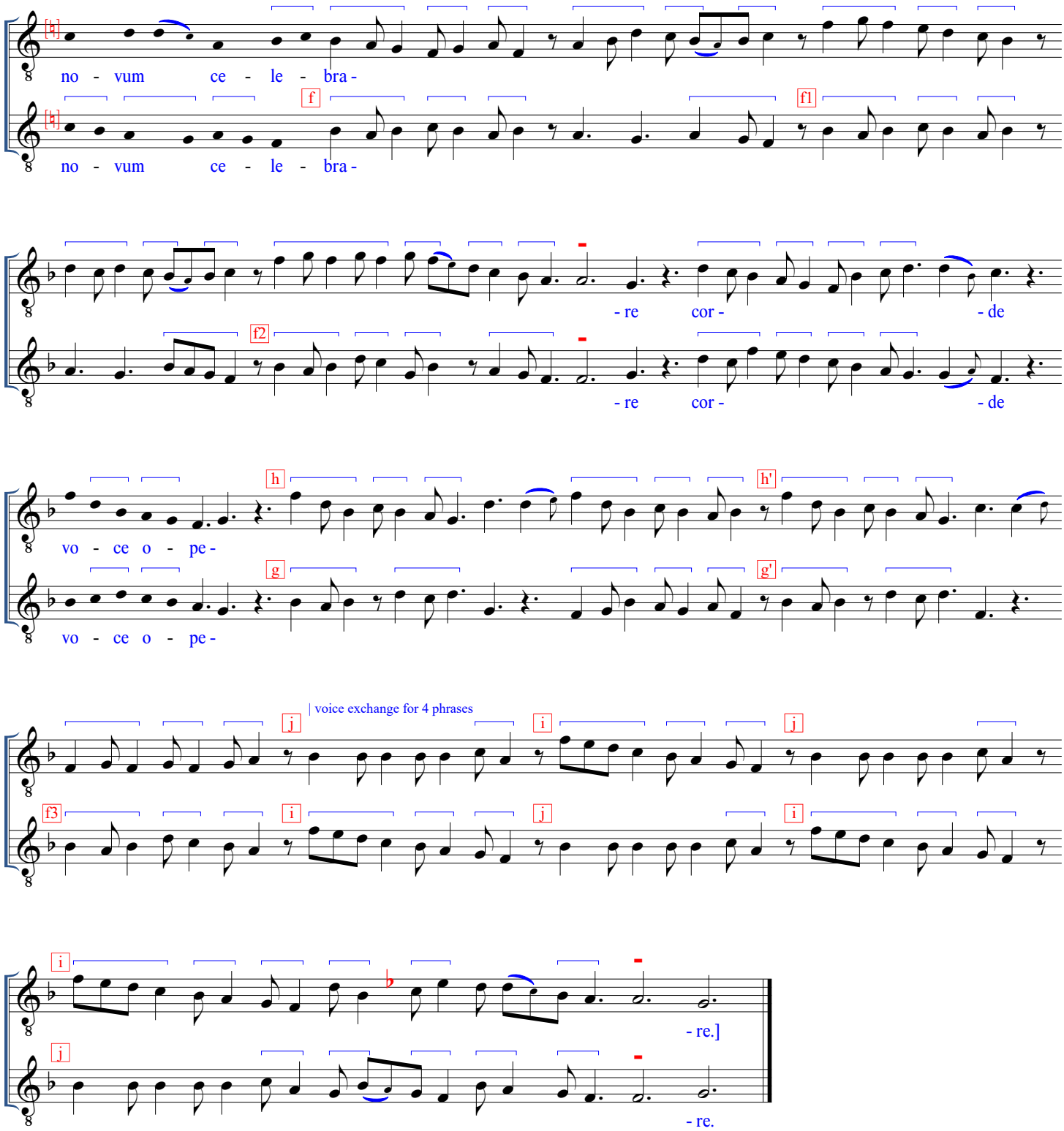
fi - na-lis ma - li ma - lo ir - ri-

- to.

- to.


II
D
T
a
Du - ce frau - dis de - mo-li - to; ter - ris pax
in - di - ci - tur; et ex-hau-sto a - co - ni - to sa - lus e - gris red - di - tur.
mo - rte mor-tis mor - su tri - to; vi - te spes in - fun - di - tur.
clau - stro pe - stis in - a - ni - to; ne - phas
o - mne pel - li -
- tur.


III
D
T
c
b
b'
c'
Cum nos chri-
Cum nos chri-
-stus fe- -cun-da - re tan - to vel - let fe - de - re.
-stus fe- -cun-da - re tan - to vel - let fe - de - re.
si si
et se mor-ti gra - tis da - re pro re - o-rum sce-
et se mor-ti gra - tis da - re pro re - o-rum sce-
e
e'
d
d
-le- -re. Iu-re de-cet hunc lau-da - re et e - i con-sur-
-le- -re. Iu-re de-cet hunc lau-da - re et e - i con-sur-
or:
-ge - re. pa - scha
or:
-ge - re. pa - scha


no - vum ce - le - bra -
f
f1
no - vum ce - le - bra -
- re cor - de
f2
- re cor - de
h
h'
vo - ce o - pe -
g
g'
vo - ce o - pe -
| voice exchange for 4 phrases
j
i
j
f3
i
j
i
i
- re.]
j
- re.

HEC EST DIES TRIUMPHALIS

Conductus (H12/152)

F, f. 264v (7,2)

I	Hec est dies triumphalis,	This is a triumphal day,
	mundo grata perdito,	welcome to a lost world,
	dans solamen nostris malis;	granting consolation for our faults,
	hoste iugo subdito.	now that the enemy has been subjected to the yoke.
	Hec est deo specialis,	It is special to God,
	tanto nitens merito,	shining with great value,
	quod peccati fit finalis	because an end is made of sin,
	mali malo irrito.	nullifying the evil of the apple.
II	Duce fraudis demolito,	By casting down the leader of fraud,
	terris pax indicitur;	peace is proclaimed across the lands;
	et, exhausto aconito,	and, with the deadly poison sucked out,
	salus egris redditur.	health is restored to the sick.
	Morte mortis morsu trito,	Since death is now curtailed by its own sting,
	vite spes infunditur.	hope is poured over life.
	Claustro pestis inanito,	With the citadel of pestilence purged,
	nephas omne pellitur.	every wrong is banished.
III	Cum nos Christus fecundare	Since Christ wished to make
	tanto vellet federe,	us fruitful through so great a covenant,
	et se morti gratis dare	and to give himself freely to death
	pro reorum scelere,	for the crimes of sinners,
	iure decet hunc laudare	by rights it is fitting to praise this man
	et ei consurgere,	and to rise together for him,
	pascha novum celebrare	to celebrate a new Passover
	corde, voce, opere.	in heart, in voice, and in action.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 2, f. 264v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III headed by capitals and Strophe III divided at line 21 by an additional capital (shown by extra space in the text above). This piece and the following one in *F* are in reverse order in *W1.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 50, f. 133r (124r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete; II is signaled by a painted initial, but one beginning III was never executed, although its small guide letter remains. This and the previous piece in *W1* are in reverse order in *F.*

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 8, f. 40r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; initials for each strophe and one for line 21 (dividing the stanza as in *F*) are all omitted from the spaces provided for them; the final few notes of the closing cauda intrude into the right margin of the last system of the piece.

Text only:

The opening verse of *Hec est dies triumphalis* is almost certainly recollected (as “hec est dies luminis”) in line 9 of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), the poem of which is constructed nearly completely from the

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*: 1:** the special day is Easter Sunday, as implied by line 23,1. **4:** the enemy (death and/or the devil – see lines 9 and 13), is now subjected to the burden of a yoke, as mankind had been earlier. There may conceivably be an invocation here of Galatians, 5:1, or some similar sentiment: "State, et nolite iterum jugo servitutis contineri" ("Stand fast, and be not again confined under the yoke of bondage."). **8:** the downfall of humankind and the inculcation of original sin, as related in Genesis, 3; a pun on the Latin homonyms for "evil" and "apple" ("malum") appears here; see, e.g., the conductus *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), Strophe IV, at *F*-6,19. **9:** the devil, commonly known as "the father of lies," from John, 8:44.[1] **11-12:** the image of the eradication of the poison of original sin recalls lines 5-6 of the previous conductus in *F*-7, *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133). **13:** on Death's sting (sin), and for the frequent conceit in the conductus repertory of death being overcome by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137). **15-16:** with Jesus's martyrdom, he has taken on the sins of the world (see line 19-20) and negated the effects of original sin (see line 8), thus restoring mankind to its initial state before the Fall. **23:** "pascha" can mean "Easter" as well; in this case, describing Jesus's resurrection as "new" suggests the connotation of line 23,1 here as Passover. **24:** for some similar three-fold injunctions, see the refrain (e.g., line 20: "ore, corde, opere") of the conductus *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227); and the motet *Serena virginum/Manere* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5), line 52 ("vocis, manus, cordis"), both transmitted in *F*-6 (nos.15 and 40, respectively).
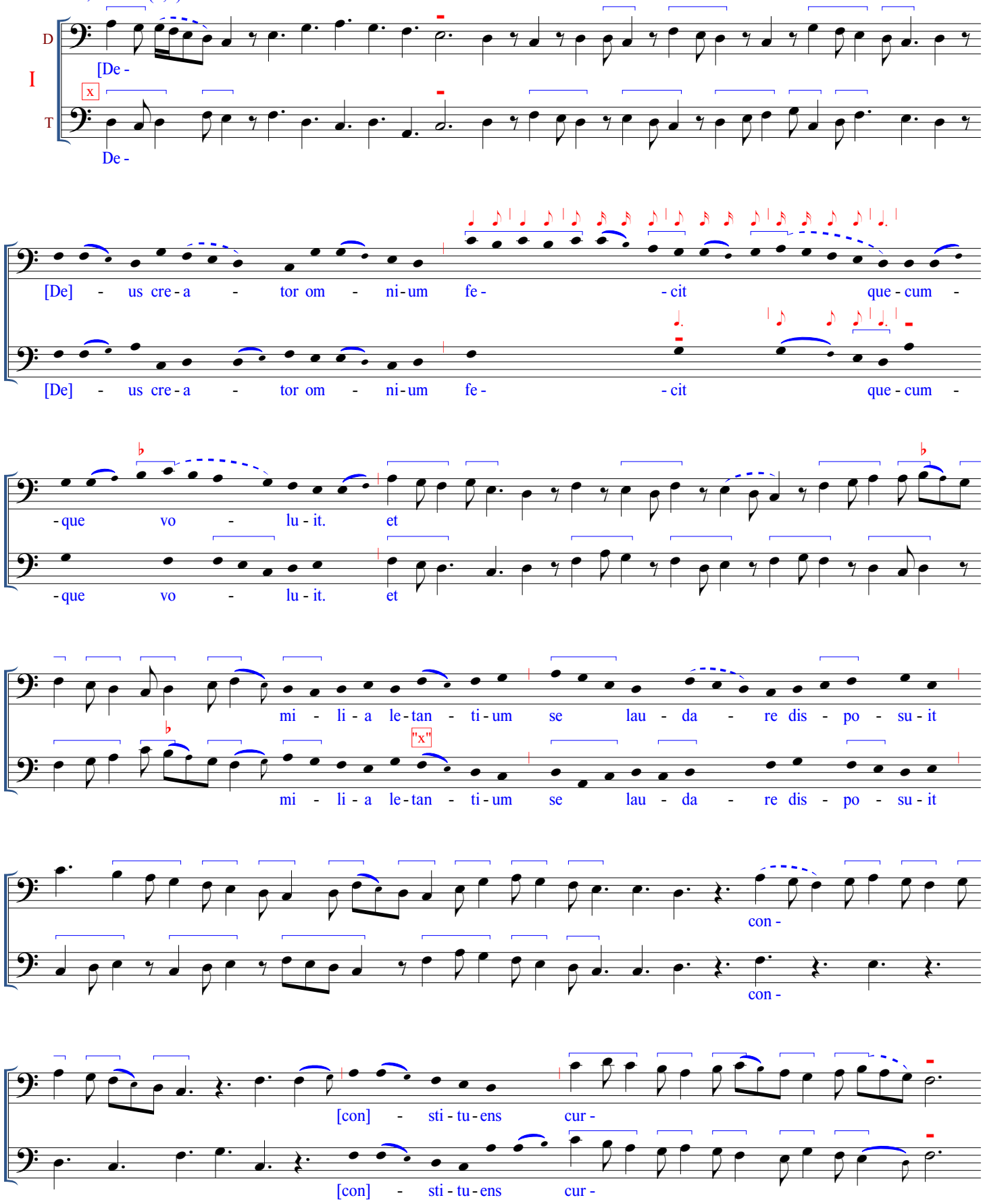
Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **16,2:** F: syllable placement confirmed by *W1,Ma.* **MUSIC: Line 1,4:** TD: F: the harmonic sixths beginning the phrase are attested by all MSS. **Cauda on line 8,3 (closing Strophe I):** D: F: second phrase (beginning *cbag*) 2 lower *(bagf),* corrected from *W1,Ma.* **Cauda on 22,3:** TD: F: the figures over the penultimate syllable of this word may show a slight elongation that could suggest rhythmic extension; the T of *W1* also implies extension here with LB=*aa* together with the si=*f* preceding the cadential *g*'s of the cauda.

[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.").
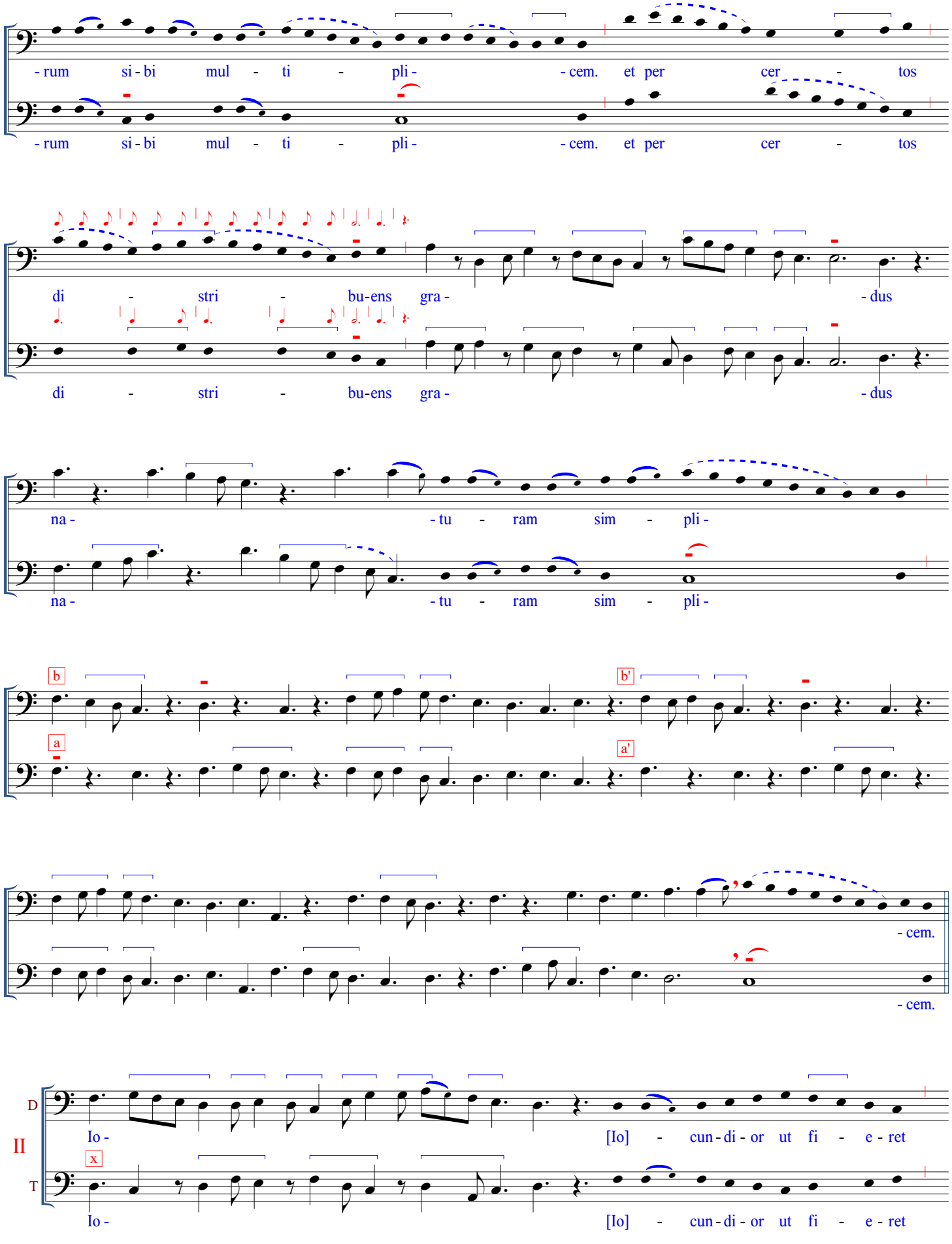
DEUS CREATOR OMNIUM
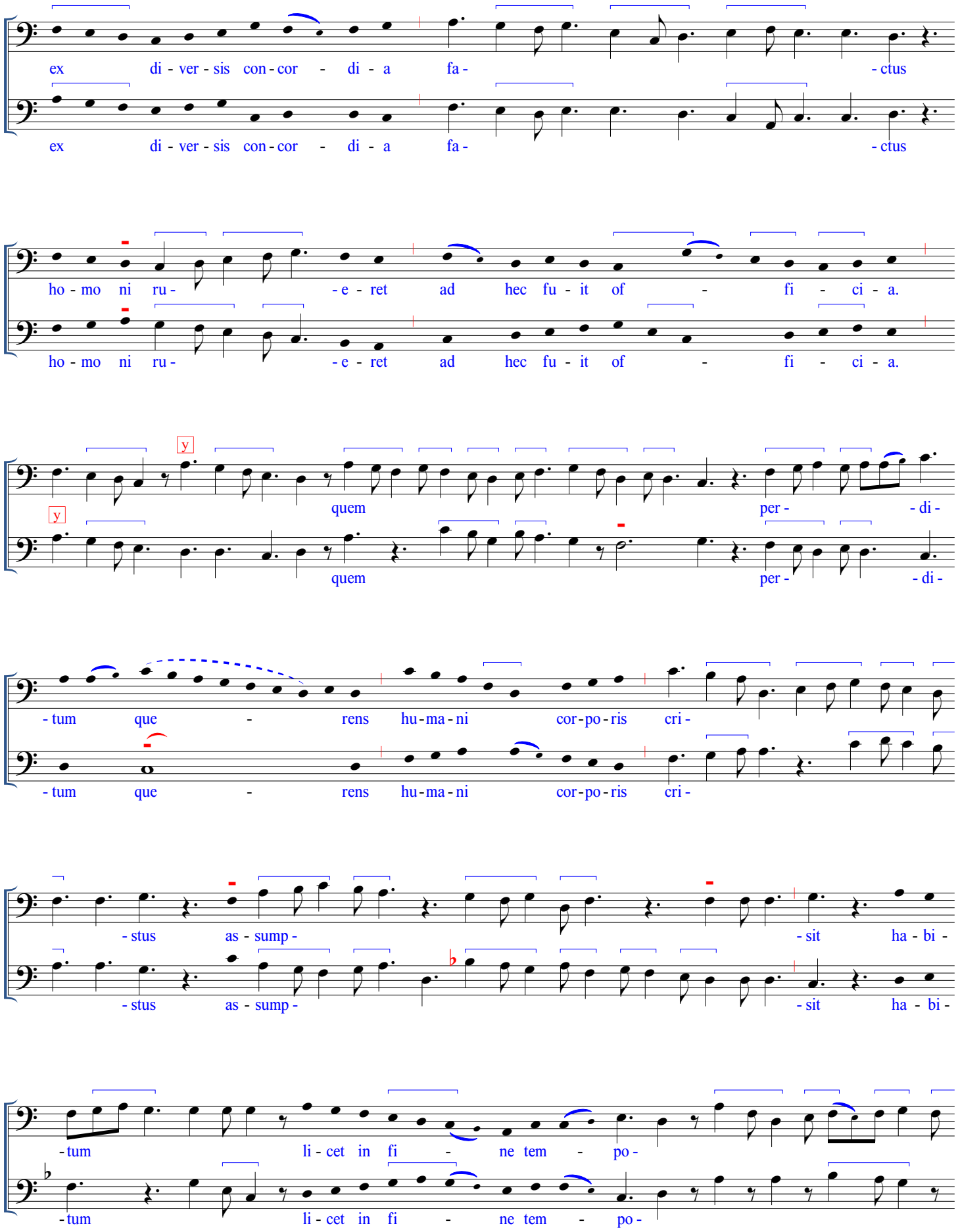
Conductus (H11 / 89)
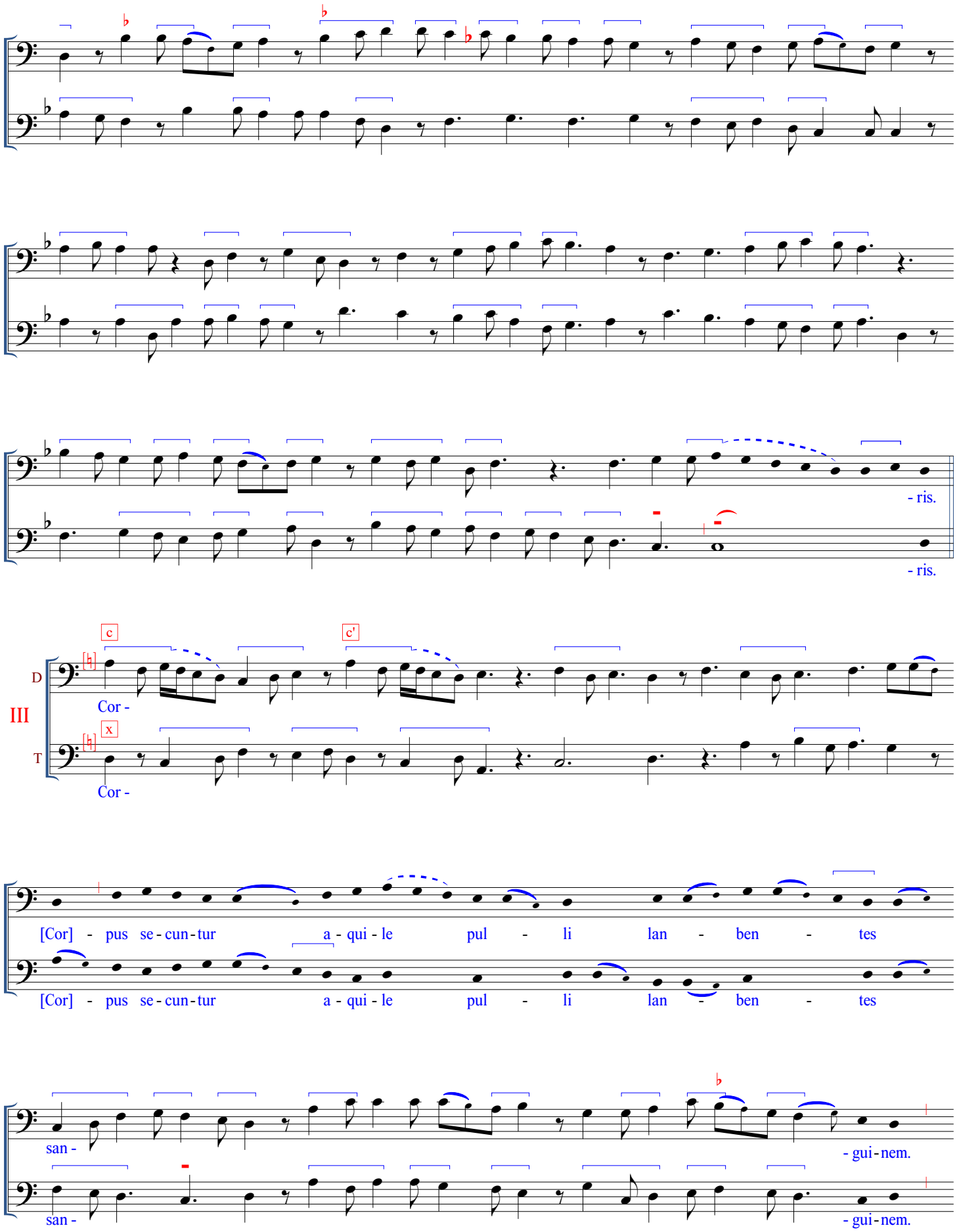
F, f. 266r (7,3)*
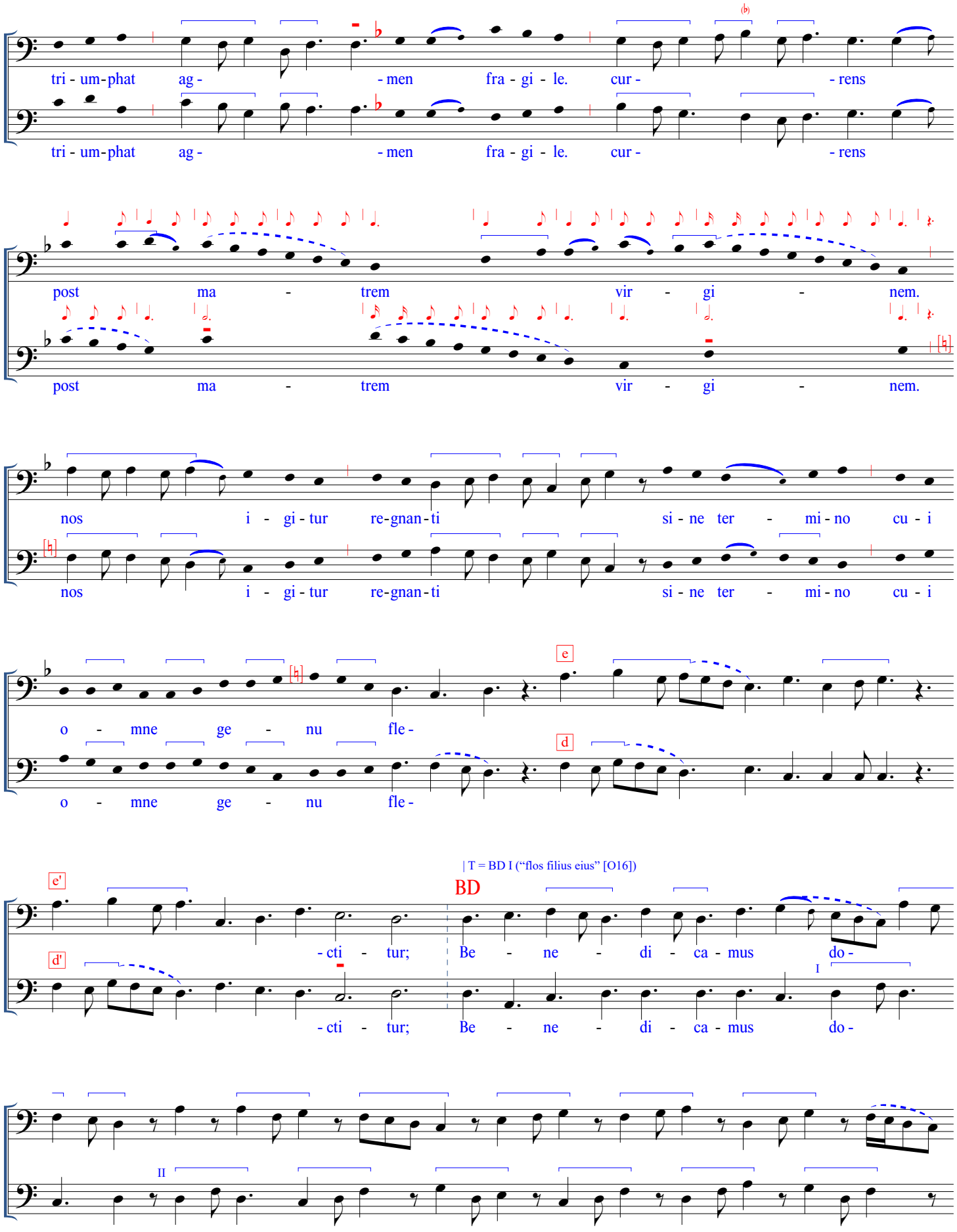


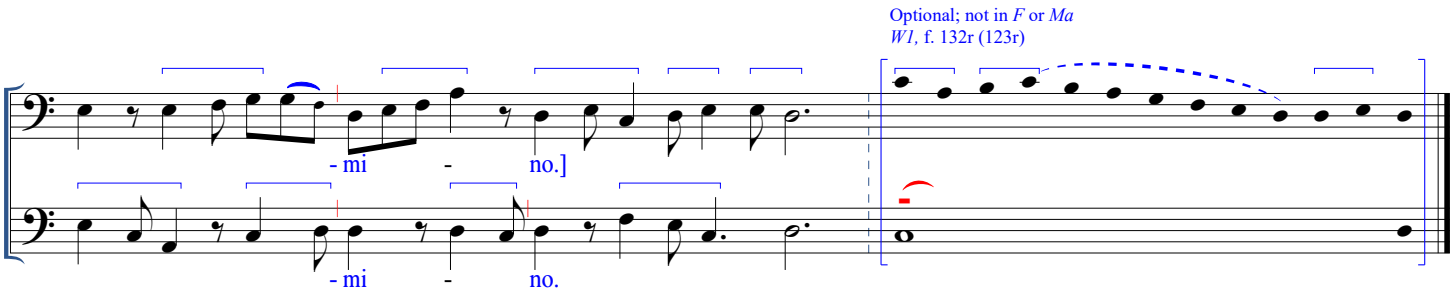
*The twelve pitches of the “x” motive begin the T in the caudae opening each strophe, set to different rhythms; see also the use of notes 6-12 of the "x" motive at “[le]tantium se lau[dare],” lines 3,3-4,2, also marked in the score.


- rum si - bi mul - ti - pli - - cem. et per cer - tos
- rum si - bi mul - ti - pli - - cem. et per cer - tos
di - stri - bu-ens gra - - dus
di - stri - bu-ens gra - - dus
na - - tu - ram sim - pli -
na - - tu - ram sim - pli -
b
b'
a
a'
- cem.
- cem.
D
II
T
x
Io - [Io] - cun - di - or ut fi - e - ret
Io - [Io] - cun - di - or ut fi - e - ret


ex di - ver - sis con - cor - di - a fa - - ctus
ex di - ver - sis con - cor - di - a fa - - ctus
ho - mo ni ru - - e - ret ad hec fu - it of - fi - ci - a.
ho - mo ni ru - - e - ret ad hec fu - it of - fi - ci - a.
y
quem per - - di -
y
quem per - - di -
- tum que - rens hu - ma - ni cor - po - ris cri -
- tum que - rens hu - ma - ni cor - po - ris cri -
- stus as - sump - - sit ha - bi -
- stus as - sump - - sit ha - bi -
- tum li - cet in fi - ne tem - po -
- tum li - cet in fi - ne tem - po -


- ris.
- ris.
c
c'
D
III
Cor -
x
T
Cor -
[Cor] - pus se - cun - tur a - qui - le pul - li lan - ben - tes
[Cor] - pus se - cun - tur a - qui - le pul - li lan - ben - tes
san -
- gui - nem.
san -
- gui - nem.


tri - um - phat ag - - men fra - gi - le. cur - - rens
tri - um - phat ag - - men fra - gi - le. cur - - rens
post ma - trem vir - gi - nem.
post ma - trem vir - gi - nem.
nos i - gi - tur re - gnan - ti si - ne ter - mi - no cu - i
nos i - gi - tur re - gnan - ti si - ne ter - mi - no cu - i
o - mne ge - nu fle -
o - mne ge - nu fle -
e
d
e'
d'
- cti - tur; Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -
- cti - tur; Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -
| T = BD I ("flos filius eius" [O16])
BD
I
II


Optional; not in *F* or *Ma*
W1, f. 132r (123r)
- mi - no.]
- mi - no.

DEUS CREATOR OMNIUM

Conductus (H11/89)

F, f. 266r (7,3)

I	Deus, creator omnium,	God, the creator of everything,
	fecit quecumque voluit,	did whatever he wished,
	et milia letantium	and arrayed a cheering throng
	se laudare disposuit,	of thousands to praise him,
	constituens	setting up for himself
	currum sibi multiplicem,	a manifold chariot,
	et per certos distribuens	and by determined steps
	gradus naturam simplicem.	dividing up his singular nature.
II	Iocundior ut fieret	As an agreement may be rendered more
	ex diversis concordia,	pleasing when it arises out of disparity,
	factus homo, ni rueret,	and that it not collapse,
	ad hec fuit officia.	there was a man created for these duties.
	Quem perditum	Seeking the lost,
	querens, humani corporis	Christ took on the mantle
	Christus assumpsit habitum,	of a human body,
	licet in fine temporis.	although at the end of time.
III	Corpus secuntur aquile	The eagle's chicks follow
	pulli, lanbentes sanguinem;	this body, lapping up its blood;
	triumphat agmen fragile,	this frail battalion exults,
	currens post matrem virginem.	hastening after the virgin mother.
	Nos igitur	Therefore
	regnanti sine termino,	to the ruler without end
	cui omne genu flectitur:	to whom every knee is bent:
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*	*Let us bless the Lord!*

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 3, f. 266r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with the closing BD segment indicated by a capital similar to the initials that begin Strophes II-III; this and the previous piece in *F* are in reverse order in *W1.*

W1: fasc. 9, no. 48, f.131v (122v): a2: Strophes I-III, complete, with BD; no painted initial for Strophe II (although a small guide letter remains), while Strophe III is so accommodated; the closing BD is signaled via an upper-case initial; this and the following piece in *W1* are in reverse order in *F.*

Ma: fasc. 3, no. 4, f. 32v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with BD; initials included for each stanza, with those for I and II additionally decorated with filigree; no special indications for the BD conclusion.

Text only:

The opening verse of *Deus creator omnium* appears as line 19 in 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:

The T of the *Benedicamus domino* portion that concludes this conductus is the widespread BD I melody, derived from the melisma "flos filius eius" that occurs within the verse of the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16), found in a variety of Parisian organum, conductus, and motet settings, as well as in chant; see the discussion of the BD conclusion below under the observations and variants section.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This is a difficult poem to construe, and certain details of its references and intent remain opaque. In the earlier portions of the poem especially, the translation and reportage by Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xx) is significantly different in many regards from the undertaking presented here. **3-6:** cf. Psalm 67:18: "Currus dei decem millibus multiplex, millia laetantium; Dominus in eis in Sina, in sancto" ("The chariot of God is attended by tens of thousands, thousands of them rejoicing: the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place."). The *Glossa ordinaria,* as given in *PL,* 113, col. 943A, indicates that the cheering throngs of Psalm 67 signify the great multitude of the saints, and such an interpretation may apply here as well, since the end of this poem turns to the image of eagle chicks, an allegory that has also been connected with the saints (see the remarks for lines 17-18, 19). For a possible further reference to the passage in Psalm 67, see the conductus *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343), lines 16-18. **7-8:** besides the power that God has to create variety out of singularity, this passage may also refer to him as both a multiplex entity and as one with a single nature, as in the doctrine of the Trinity. This possibility appears likely given the content of the following stanza (lines 9-16). **9-16:** since concord is all the more satisfying when it arises out of diversity, God chose to send his son to heal humankind, rather than accomplish it himself. Also, Christ's incarnation was deemed necessary so that the covenant between God and mankind should not falter. Anderson's interpretation (*NDRC,* 3:xx) that lines 9-12 refer to Adam being created and put in charge of all of God's recent creation (see Genesis, 1: 27-31) seems less likely to me, given the quick turn in the following verses to Christ's incarnation; however, Christ and Adam are frequently disposed as allegorical types of each other; see, e.g., the textual notes on the conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), lines 14-17. **11,4:** the precipitous musical descent to low *a* at the end of this word may suggest an attempt at word painting. **16:** possibly meaning that, although Christ was coexistent with God from the beginning, he was not incarnate as man until a later time; cf., e.g., the heretical controversies of Arianism, which claimed that God begat Christ separately from himself, and therefore was not consubstantial with the Father, nor eternally coexistent with him; and that of Adoptionism, which held that Jesus was not the true or direct son of God at his birth, but became his son at some point later in his life, such as at his baptism, resurrection, or ascension (hence Jesus was, so to speak, "adopted" by God, not born from him). Against such heterodox claims, see, for example, the text of the hymn *Christe* (or *Iesu*) *redemptor omnium,* Strophe I: "Christe redemptor omnium / ex patre patris unice / solus ante principium / natus ineffabiliter" ("Christ, redeemer of all, / from the father and uniquely of the father, / only-begotten, ineffably, / before the beginning."). For additional information on this point, see the remarks on the text of the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2 and the citations of the other conductus given there. **17-18:** see Job, 39:30, in reference to a mother eagle and her young: "pulli eius lambent sanguinem et ubicumque cadaver fuerit statim adest" ("her young ones shall suck up blood; and wherever a cadaver shall be, there immediately is she"). A typical interpretation of this passage is that the chicks here are the saints, and the eagle is Christ, rather than its usual allusion to the evangelist John. See, for this, the references given by Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xx) to the so-called *Veterum varius commentarius,* published in Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense,* 2 vols. (Paris, F. Didot, 1852-1858). Most apropos here are the remarks in vol. 2 (1855): 479-480. Note especially: "Aquila,

Christus: 'Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum': 'Sicut aquila protegit nidum suus, suscepit eos ... '" ("The eagle is Christ: 'As the eagle enticing [her young] to fly': 'As the eagle protects its brood, it has taken them up ...' " [for both quoted passages, see Deuteronomy, 32:11]).[1] Also: "Pulli aquilae, sancti: 'Pulli aquilae lingent,' id est sacramentum passionis Domini" ("The eagle's chicks are the saints: 'The eagle's chicks shall lick [the blood ... cf. Job, 39:30, given previously at lines 17-18],' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's passion.") – both the citations supplied here come from Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense,* 2:480. An alternative interpretation (not likely at play here) from the same reference, p. 479, sees the eagle's chicks as demons, based on Proverbs, 30:17: "Oculum qui subsannat patrem, et qui despicit partum matris suae, effodiant eum corvi de torrentibus, et comedant eum filii aquilae" ("The eye that mocks his father, and that despises the labor of his mother in bearing him, let the ravens from the brooks pick it out, and the young eagles eat it."). **19:** the saints or the faithful who follow after the Virgin Mary; these are likely described as frail here because they have just been compared earlier (lines 17-18) to eagle's chicks. **23:** see Isaiah, 45:23-24: "... quia mihi curvabitur omne genu, et jurabit omnis lingua" ("For every knee shall be bowed to me, and every tongue shall swear"); as well as the mirrored expressions in Romans, 14:11 and Philippians, 2:10.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **1,3; 15,2:** F: the syllable division in the musical transcription follows the MS. **MUSIC: Syllabic/Melismatic identity:** In the T of the caudae that open each of the three strophes, on "Deus," "Iocundior" and "Corpus," respectively, each begins with the same 12 pitches *(d,c,d,f,e,f,d,c,d,a,c,d)* set to different rhythms. Moreover, the final 7 pitches (P*f,d,c,d,a,c,d*) = the T of "[le]tantium se lau[dare]" (in lines 3,3-4,2); this is possibly coincidental, as it occurs over the span of two separate lines; nevertheless, the process fits with the "veiled" nature of the repeated material in each of the other caudae. Bukofzer ("Interrelations," 101)[2] says that the rhythmic variation in the caudae of this piece echoes procedures seen in the conductus *Rex eterne glorie* (H21/309), the version of *A deserto veniens* in both *W1* and *CaJ* (J31/1), and *Veri vitis germine* (H14/372), where recurring melodic passages in caudae appear with different rhythmic profiles; see the remarks on these other pieces for additional information. **Opening cauda:** TD: F: the dissonance at the start of the second phrase at L4 of the cauda is in all MSS; the graphical extension of the penultimate notes at L9-10 is slightly less apparent in *F,* but they are confirmed as DLs in both voices in *W1* and *Ma.* **Line 2,1-2:** T: W1: *b-flat* sig precedes line 2,1; D: W1: same sig precedes the third syllable of "quecumque"; these are in force for both parts until just before line 3,2. **Cauda over line 3,1:** T: Ma: a *b-flat* sig occurs prior to the *c* before the first *b* in the cauda (at L15), valid up to its disappearance before line 4,1. **Cauda over 6,1:** D: F: the second *c* (at L4) in the first phrase looks like *b; c* confirmed by *W1,Ma.* **Cauda over 8,1:** TD: F: the dissonance starting the fourth phrase in the D (at L6) is in all MSS. **Line 11,4:** D: F: the rhythm of this short melisma is clarified by the use of 3li,2li in both *W1,Ma;* T: W1: the notes over the last two syllables of this word are *d,e,* changing the cadence tone. See also the remarks at this place in the notes on the text. **13,2:** D: F: 3 lower over the first syllable. **15,2:** T: W1: the *b-flat* sig precedes the first syllable; D: Ma: *b-flat* sig precedes second syllable; T: F,Ma: *b-flat* sig at L5 of the cauda in both sources. **16,2:** TD: Ma: DL here and *b-flat* sigs cease; D: W1: strokes surround the *f* pitch for this syllable. **16,3:** TD: Ma and D: W1: stroke follows notes on the last syllable. **Cauda on 16,4 (closing Strophe II):** TD: Ma: *b-flat* sigs at start of first phrase; D: W1: *b-flat* sig, same place; D: F: 3 lower beginning the second phrase in this voice (at L8), up through the second *c* in the next phrase (in L13). **Cauda on 17,1 (opening Strophe III):** TD:F,: new system, no sigs start this off; Ma: new *c*1 clefs, no sigs; T: W1: a *b-flat* sig opens; T: Ma: DL starting the fifth phrase (at L9), verifies the rhythmic value used in the score. **Line 18,2:** D: W1: *b-flat* sig precedes the 2li over this

[1] The complete biblical citation runs: "Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos volitans, expandit alas suas, et assumpsit eum, atque portavit in humeris suis" ("As an eagle enticing her young to fly, and hovering over them, he spread his wings, and has taken him and carried him on his shoulders."). The slightly differently worded second passage probably stems from the pre-Vulgate [*Vetus Latina*] or Septuagint-based version of the text; it is quoted, for instance, by Jerome in his *Commentariorum in Isaiam prophetam,* book 18, chap. 66, in the text given in *PL,* 24, col. 662A, as well as by other authorities, such as Ambrose of Milan.

[2] Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques,* 1 (1953): 65-103.

word's third syllable. **19,2:** D: F: *g,gf* over second syllable 3 lower; verified by *W1,Ma;* **19,3:** TD: Ma: *b-flat* sigs precede. **20,1:** TD: Ma: flat sigs disappear. **BD conclusion:** This conductus finishes with a *Benedicamus domino* ending that is intrinsic to the structure of the poem and which also, unusually for a conductus, incorporates the actual melody from the BD I Office versicle, thus presenting a clausula at the end of the conductus (see Bukofzer, "Interrelations," 76-77). This chant is sung at a variety of liturgical occasions and is ultimately derived from the melisma on "flos filius eius" in the responsory *Stirps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16) for the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), also used for her Nativity (September 8). All the sources contain the clausula conclusion, which does not survive outside of this piece; *W1,* moreover, appends a *punctus organi* formula missing in *F* and *Ma;* this is supplied for optional inclusion at the end of the transcription.

PUER NOBIS EST NATUS
Conductus (H25/276)

F, f. 266v (7,4)

I

D [Pu -

T Pu -

[Pu] - er no - bis est na - tus dum de - us hu - ma - na - tus

[Pu] - er no - bis est na - tus dum de - us hu - ma - na - tus

si

non car - nis sed re - a - - tus ho - nus est de - di - gna - tus.
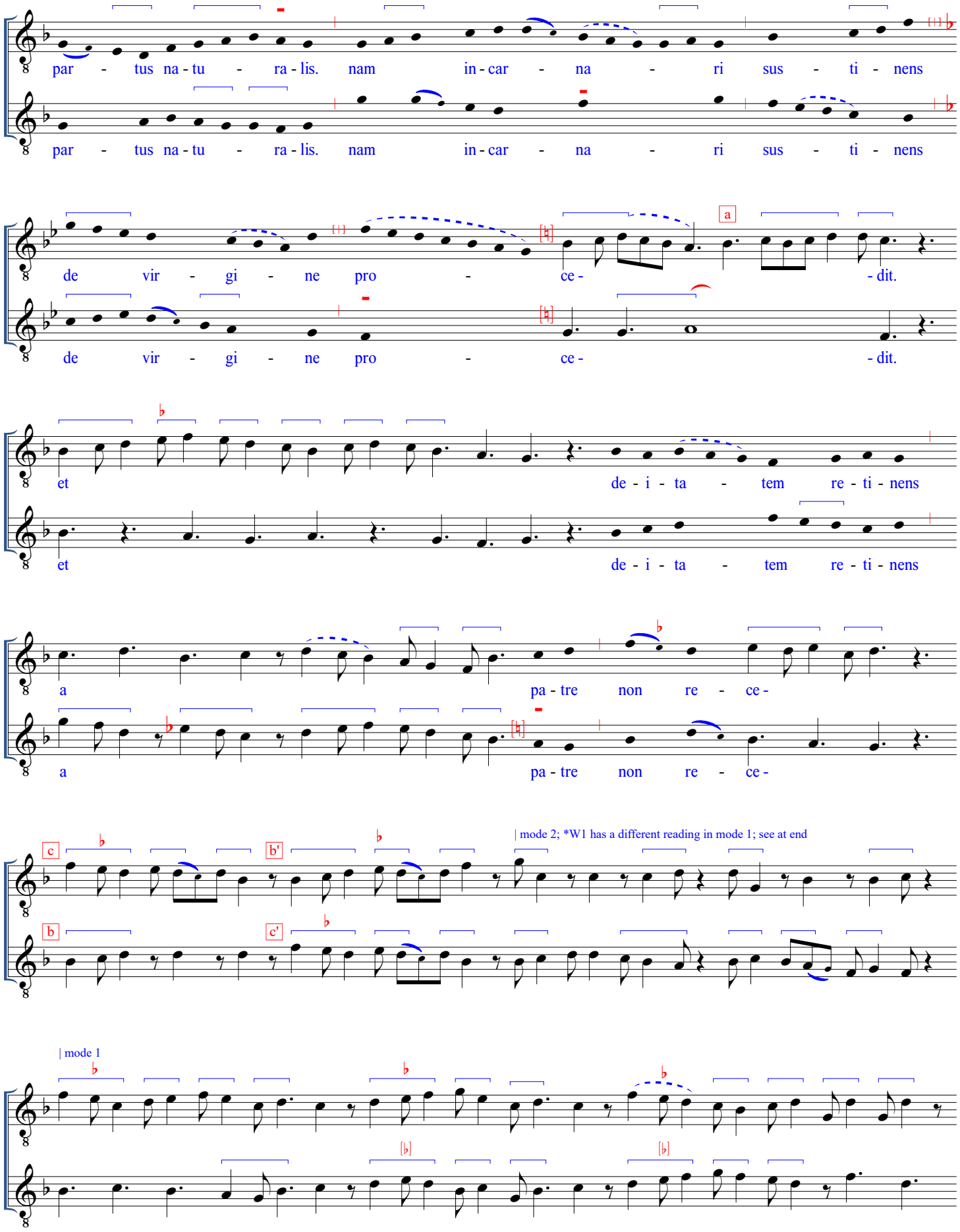
non car - nis sed re - a - - tus ho - nus est de - di - gna - tus.
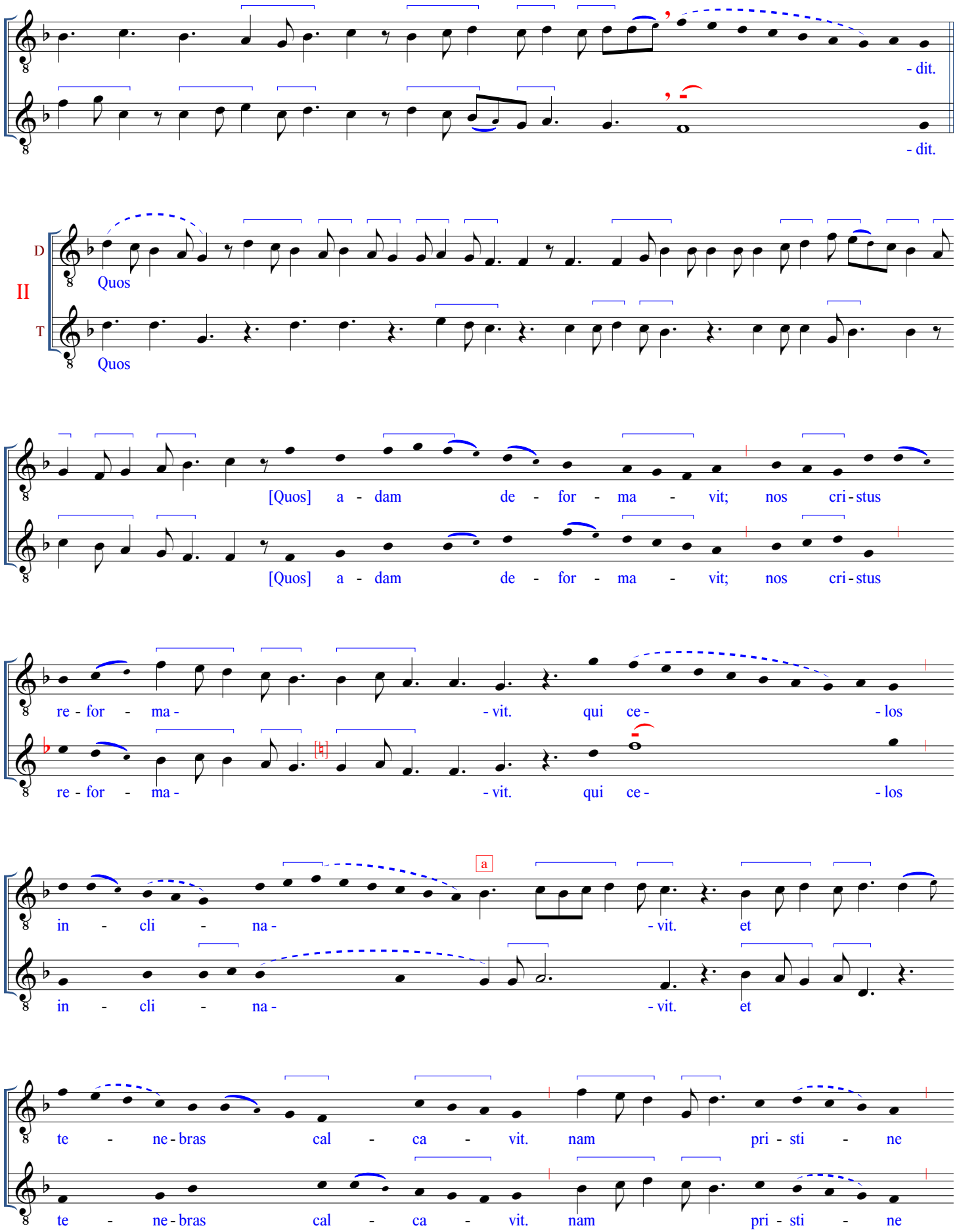
qui ge - ni - tus di - vi - ni - tus et pa - tri
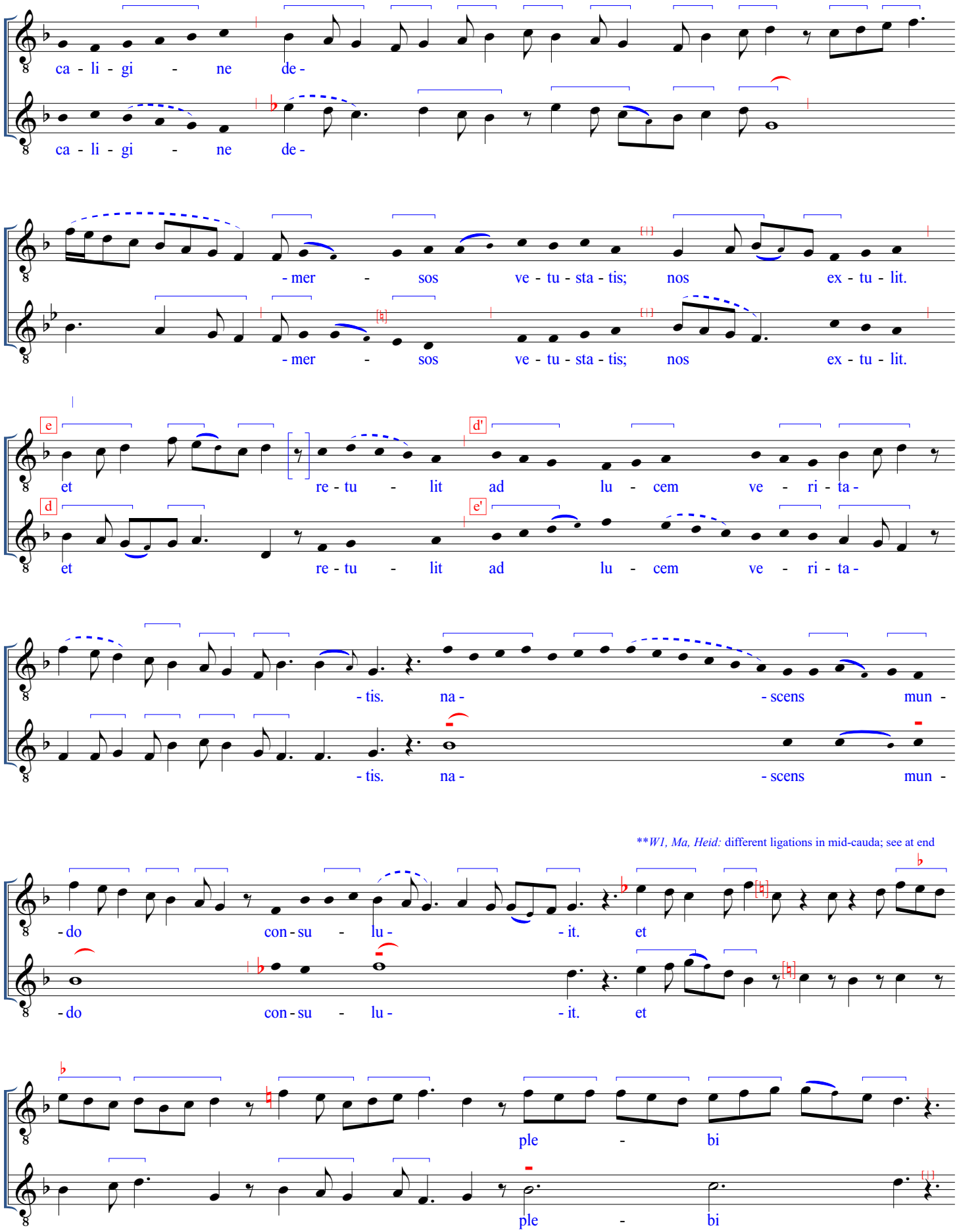
qui ge - ni - tus di - vi - ni - tus et pa - tri
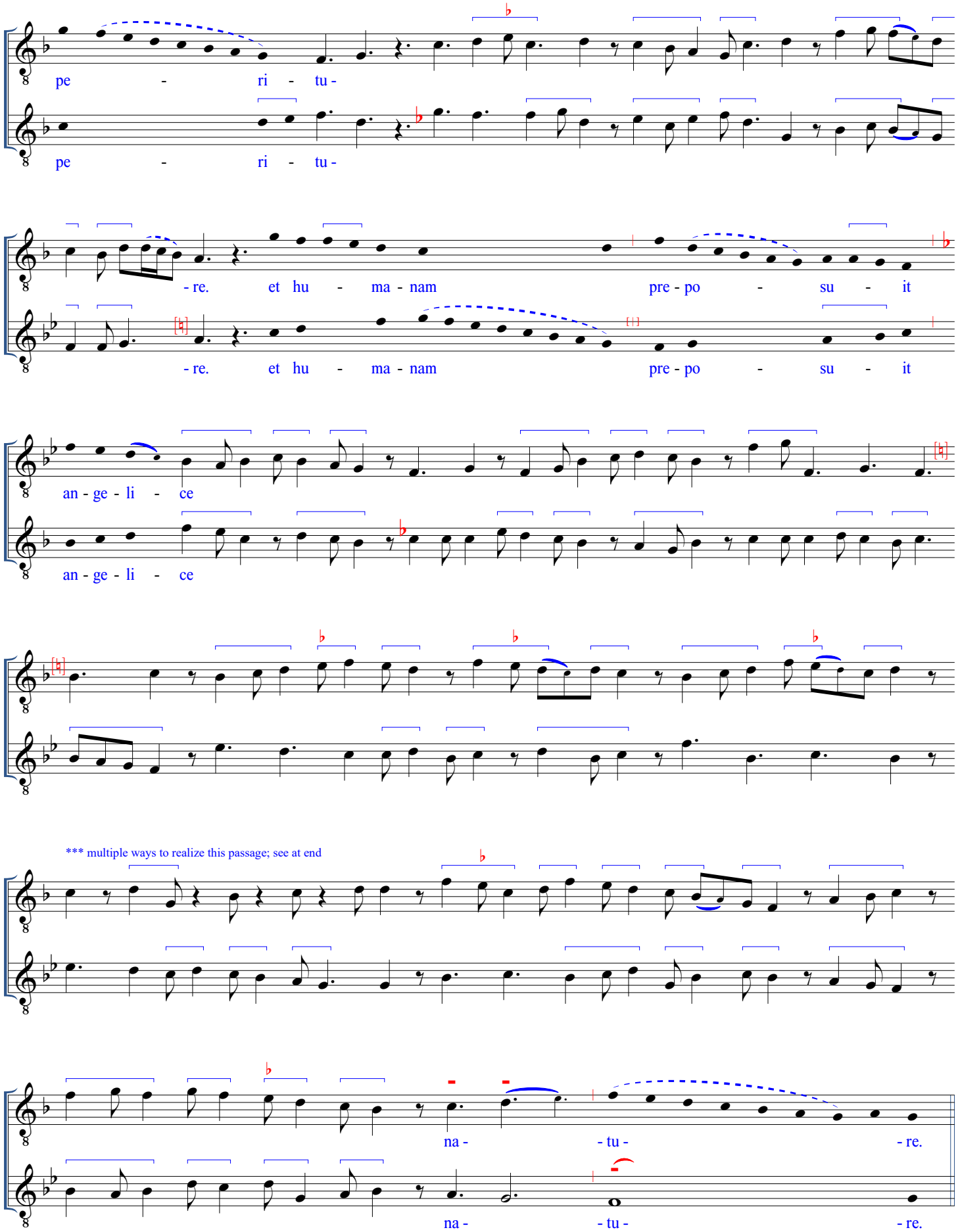
co - e - qua - lis dum na - sci - tur ex - ce - di - tur lex

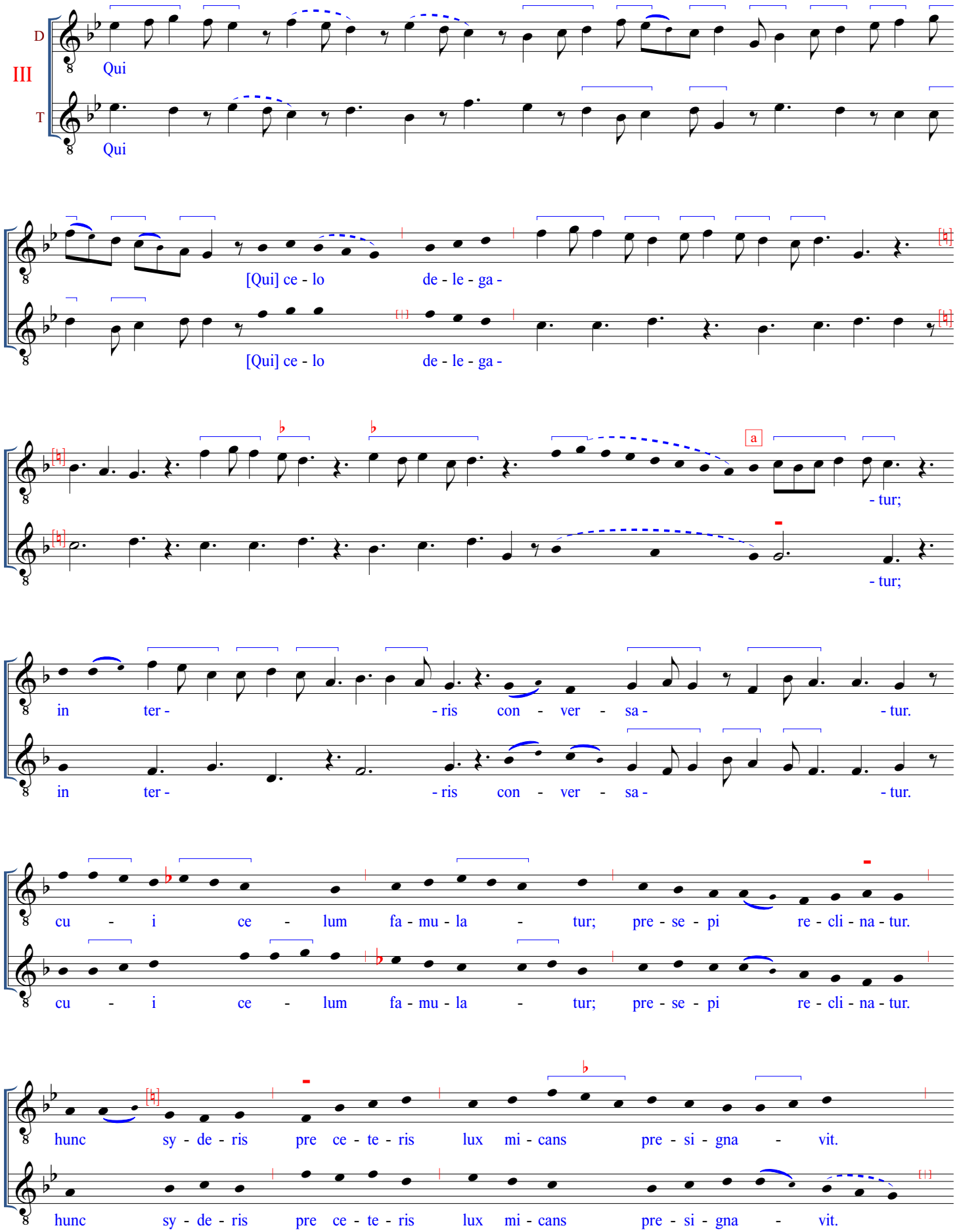
co - e - qua - lis dum na - sci - tur ex - ce - di - tur lex


par - tus na - tu - ra - lis. nam in - car - na - ri sus - ti - nens
par - tus na - tu - ra - lis. nam in - car - na - ri sus - ti - nens
a
de vir - gi - ne pro - ce - dit.
de vir - gi - ne pro - ce - dit.
et de - i - ta - tem re - ti - nens
et de - i - ta - tem re - ti - nens
a pa - tre non re - ce -
a pa - tre non re - ce -
b
c
b'
c'
| mode 2; *W1 has a different reading in mode 1; see at end
| mode 1


- dit.
- dit.
II
D
Quos
T
Quos
[Quos] a - dam de - for - ma - vit; nos cri - stus
[Quos] a - dam de - for - ma - vit; nos cri - stus
re - for - ma - - vit. qui ce - - los
re - for - ma - - vit. qui ce - - los
a
in - cli - na - - vit. et
in - cli - na - - vit. et
te - ne - bras cal - ca - vit. nam pri - sti - ne
te - ne - bras cal - ca - vit. nam pri - sti - ne


ca - li - gi - ne de -
ca - li - gi - ne de -
- mer - sos ve - tu - sta - tis; nos ex - tu - lit.
- mer - sos ve - tu - sta - tis; nos ex - tu - lit.
et re - tu - lit ad lu - cem ve - ri - ta -
et re - tu - lit ad lu - cem ve - ri - ta -
- tis. na - - scens mun -
- tis. na - - scens mun -
**W1, Ma, Heid: different ligations in mid-cauda; see at end
- do con - su - lu - - it. et
- do con - su - lu - - it. et
ple - bi
ple - bi


pe - ri - tu -
pe - ri - tu -
- re. et hu - ma - nam pre - po - su - it
- re. et hu - ma - nam pre - po - su - it
an - ge - li - ce
an - ge - li - ce
*** multiple ways to realize this passage; see at end
na - tu - re.
na - tu - re.


III
D
Qui
T
Qui
[Qui] ce - lo de - le - ga -
[Qui] ce - lo de - le - ga -
a
- tur;
- tur;
in ter - - ris con - ver - sa - - tur.
in ter - - ris con - ver - sa - - tur.
cu - i ce - lum fa - mu - la - tur; pre - se - pi re - cli - na - tur.
cu - i ce - lum fa - mu - la - tur; pre - se - pi re - cli - na - tur.
hunc sy - de - ris pre ce - te - ris lux mi - cans pre - si - gna - vit.
hunc sy - de - ris pre ce - te - ris lux mi - cans pre - si - gna - vit.

hic can - ti - cis an - ge - li - cis pa - sto - res ex - ci - ta - vit.

hic can - ti - cis an - ge - li - cis pa - sto - res ex - ci - ta - vit.

i - psi laus in ce - le - sti - bus et *glo - ri - a* can - ta - tur.

i - psi laus in ce - le - sti - bus et *glo - ri - a* can - ta - tur.

in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus de ce - lo nun - ti -

in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus de ce - lo nun - ti -

| TD: sequential canon at the interval of a second for 8 longs

(f)

- a -

f

- a -

- tur.]

- tur.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda at line 12,4 ("[re]ce[dit]"):
W1, f. 152v (143v), VI – TD: reading in mode 1 of the hocket section (L9-L16)

si si si si

D

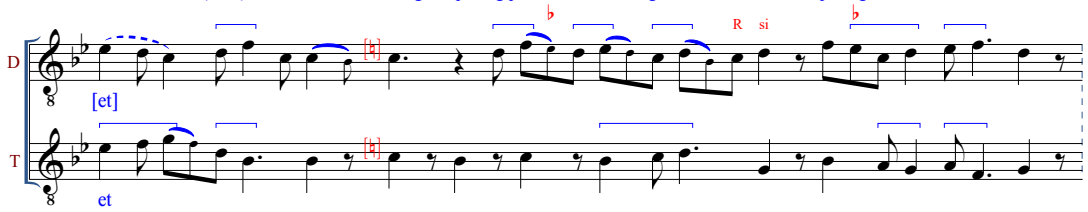
[re](ce)[dit]

T
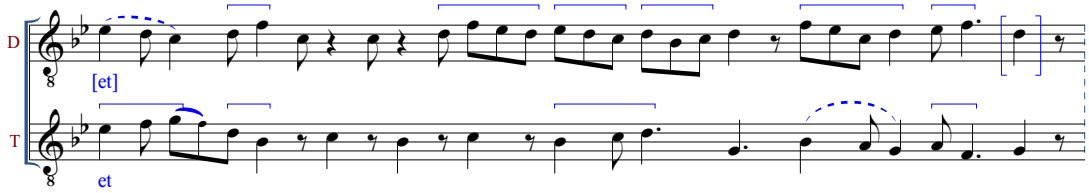
[re](ce)[dit]

**Cauda on line 22,1 ("et [plebi periture]")

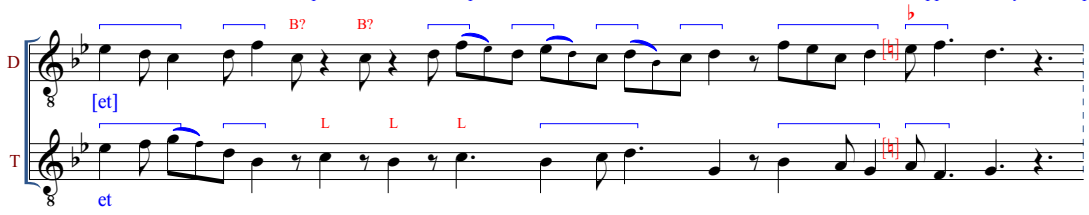
a. *W1,* f. 153r (144r), VI – TD: varied ending of opening phrases; different ligation in D of fast-note passage



b. *Ma,* f. 29r, IV – different ligation in D of fast-note passage



c. *Heid,* f. 1v, I – similar interpretation as *Ma,* with possible differentiation of L and B values here; all rest strokes approximately 2 staff spaces high

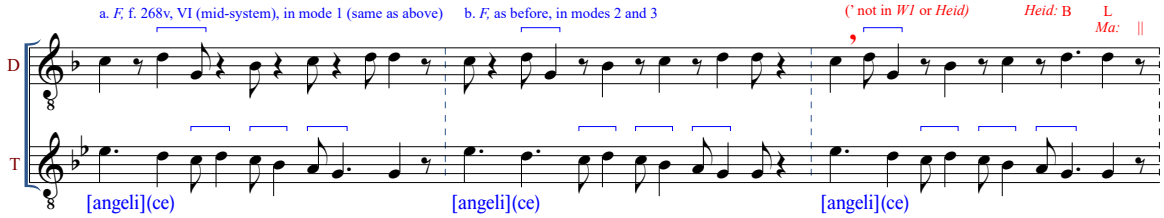


***Cauda on line 24,1 ("[angeli]ce" – closes Strophe II), interior hocket segment

a. *F,* f. 268v, VI (mid-system), in mode 1 (same as above)

b. *F,* as before, in modes 2 and 3

c. *F,* as before, prompted by the lack of the first stroke in *W1* and *Heid,* in mode 1 (' not in *W1* or *Heid)*



PUER NOBIS EST NATUS

Conductus (H25/276)

F, f. 267v (7,4)

I	*Puer nobis est natus.*	*Unto us a child is born.*
	Dum deus humanatus,	When God became man,
	non carnis sed reatus	it was the burden of sin, not the
	honus est dedignatus.	encumbrance of the flesh he disdained.
	Qui, genitus divinitus	When one is born who is sired from
	et patri coequalis,	heaven and co-equal to the Father,
	dum nascitur, exceditur	the law of natural
	lex partus naturalis;	childbirth is overstepped;
	nam, incarnari sustinens,	for, enduring incarnation,
	de virgine procedit,	he comes forth from a virgin,
	et deitatem retinens	and, retaining godliness,
	a patre non recedit.	recedes not from the Father.
II	Quos Adam deformavit	We whom Adam deformed,
	nos, Christus reformavit.	Christ reformed.
	Qui celos inclinavit.	He bent down the heavens
	et tenebras calcavit;	and trampled the shadows;
	nam, pristine caligine	for he extricated us,
	demersos vetustatis,	mired in the darkness of former
	nos extulit, et retulit	ancient times, and brought us back
	ad lucem veritatis.	to the light of truth.
	Nascens, mundo consuluit.	Being born, he provided for the world
	et plebi periture,	and the multitude slated to die,
	et humanam preposuit	and put before them a person
	angelice nature.	of angelic nature.
III	Qui celo delegatur	He who is dispatched from heaven
	in terris conversatur.	is turned upon the earth.
	Cui celum famulatur;	He whom heaven serves
	presepi reclinatur.	is laid in a manger.
	Hunc syderis pre ceteris	A glittering star of heaven
	lux micans presignavit.	marked him before all others.
	Hic canticis angelicis	He roused the shepherds
	pastores excitavit.	with the songs of angels.
	Ipsi laus in celestibus	To him praise and *glory*
	et *gloria* cantatur.	is sung in the heavens.
	In terra pax hominibus	*Peace on earth to mankind*
	de celo nuntiatur.	is announced from heaven.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 4, f. 267v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with capitals heading II-III.[1]

[1]In the facsimile edition of F – Luther A. Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca mediceo-laurenziana, Pluteo 29*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, nos. 10-11 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966-67) – the leaves for this piece are not presented in their proper sequence and are wrongly numbered (266v and 267v are

W1, fasc. 9, no. 69, f. 152r (143r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with painted initials for each stanza. At the bottom of f. 153v (144v) is a drawing of a standing humanoid figure, rotated horizontally at 90 degrees to fit within the width of the bottom margin under the writing block. The figure appears to be wearing a loincloth, or briefs, and shoes; it also bears two rather grotesque snarling animal heads atop its shoulders. From its left hand a thick, curving rope leads to what appears to be a bell, with its headstock and clapper visible, placed over the figure's heads.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 2, f. 27v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with a decorated opening initial and a capital for II, but without even a guide letter provided for III. On f. 30r, the music and text for line 34,3 ("[gloria] cantatur") was apparently skipped over initially and is now entered at the right margin in the space under the writing block, just below where needs to be inserted. It is in the same hand and ink as the rest of the piece, and several light crosshatches with the pen both precede the insertion and follow the previous word to indicate where the placement of the omission. The music in the final system on f. 30v ends well before the last text syllable, which is placed at the system's right margin.

MÜu 382 (D-MÜu 382; Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 382),[2] no. 1, f. *2r (back flyleaf): a2; fragmentary; on this essentially complete leaf are preserved music and text beginning with the last 10L of the final cauda of Strophe II through the end of the piece, and finishing within the first system of f. *2v; a painted initial heads Strophe III. The opening of *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214) follows.

Heid (D-HEu 2588; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 2588), no. 1, f. 1r:[3] a2; fragmentary; incompletely preserved are music and text beginning with line 21,1 of Strophe II ("Nascens" – which features a capital initial not seen elsewhere) through the D music for the first 6L or so of the final cauda on 36,3 from Strophe III ("nunciatur").[4] The notation of the *cum littera* portions of this piece shows mensurally distinguished L, DL, and elongated DL single figures, with few if any syllabic B values; the ligatures in the cauda segments, though, reveal the typical shapes of modal notation.

---

exchanged); the proper sequence, using Dittmer's faulty numbering, should be: 266v, 268r-v, 269r-v. The sequence of leaves as it presently stands in *F* itself is correct.

[2]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS originally possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included *GB-Csss 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of the two leaves of this MS, as well as others mentioned above; see her: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

[3]The 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 at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs2588. 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.

[4]The following portions are missing due to trimming or fading of the extant leaf in *Heid:* **1)** after starting on f. 1r with both parts beginning line 21,1 of Strophe II ("Nascens"), the text of first two syllables of line 23,2 ("[huma]nam") and the T over the first syllable of the same word is absent. **2)** the cauda on "angelice" (24,1) is either illegible or cut away from approximately L9 through L32 (i.e., much of its first half). **3)** the beginning of Strophe III is gone, up through approximately the last 10L of the opening cauda; f.1r concludes with L10 of the cauda on "delega[tur]" (25,3). **4)** continuing on with the preserved remainder of the cauda of line 25,3 ("delegatur"), f. 1v is missing the last two text syllables of 31,3 ("ange[licis]"), but preserves the T music for the rest of the word and the pitches in the D up through the first two syllables of 32,1 ("pasto[res]"). **5)** the music and text of the last syllable of 34,2 ("glori[a]") through 35,1 ("[In] terra") does not survive. **6)** Absent verbally is all but the first text letter of 36,2 ("c[elo]") to the end, but the D music is preserved up through the first 6L of the following cauda on "[nunci]a[tur]" (line 36,3), as are the T pitches for the music up through the first syllable of 36, 3 ("nun[ciatur]").

Oxf-Sol,[5] no. 4 (=*OxAuct,* no. 4): a2; fragmentary remains of the piece are extant on binding strips α, ext. a), 2 ext. a), 7 ext. a), 8, ext. a); along with a portion of a surviving bifolio from this source, given as f. 3r (= pag. 5) on the CPI website and in the general DIAMM inventories.[6] The binding strips contain portions of music and text from Strophe II;[7] the larger leaf contains preserved text and music from the final syllable of line 30,3 from Strophe III ("[presigna]vit") to the end of the piece.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 12, f. 236v (7v): text only; rubric: "De verbo dei humanato" ("On the word of God made human"); originally complete; rubric and lines 1-6 of Strophe I are now lost with missing folio 236 (7), although the complete piece was described before the disappearance (see Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:223); further information (including variants) on the missing leaf appears in the report on *OxRawl* in Hans Walther, "poetische Anthologie," 218-219;[8] and the edition of *Puer nobis est natus* in *AH,* 20:68, no. 44.[9] Larger capitals open the lines beginning Strophes II and III.

The opening verse of *Puer nobis est natus* is almost certainly recollected (as "unde puer nobis natus") in line 16 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*: Stanzaic structure:** Since the poem otherwise contains only 8pp and 7p verses, I have decided not to break the 8pp lines that display internal rhyme (4pp+4pp), but rather to call attention to this feature by horizontal spacing. This results in strophes of twelve rather than fourteen lines, as opposed to the differing presentation in Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xxx), and hence offers a rather tidy disposition of each stanza into three quatrains: 4(7pp), 2(8pp[= 4pp+4pp]+7pp), and 2(8pp+7pp); rhyming aaaa, b[=b+b]cb[=b+b]c, dede.
General remarks: This conductus offers several nods towards biblical texts that also appear as liturgical items

---

[5]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Mark Everist, "A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus," *Gordon A Anderson (1929-1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*. 2 vols., 1:97-108, Musicological Studies, no. 49 (Institute of Medieval Music: Henryville, Pennsylvania, 1984), at 107 (Table 2). Images of *OxAuct* can be consulted here via DIAMM.

[6]In the accompanying descriptions of the images when they are viewed at DIAMM, however, the larger leaf is described as "front endpaper verso (pag. 4 and 5)" – with the "4" and "5" corresponding to pencilled indications of the left and right segments, respectively, of this bifolio – while "f. i v" appears on the identifying text printed upon the image itself.

[7]For details of exactly what portions are transmitted in the various binding strips, see Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 99-104.

[8]Hans Walther, "Die poetische Anthologie des cod. Oxford Rawl. C. 510*" *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 3 (1966): 218-227.

[9]*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. Reisland, 1895).

in the Mass, specifically recollections of the Christmas Introit ("Puer natus est nobis ...") and the Gloria ("Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus ..."); see the remarks for lines 1 and 34-35. These allusions are highlighted in the text, translation, and transcription by presentation in italics. As a result of its citations, this piece shares the stage with approximately twenty-nine other conductus which may be associated in some fashion with the liturgy. These pieces quote, paraphrase, or refer to elements of ecclesiastical ceremony more directly than is typical for the genre.[10] **Textual notes: 1:** see 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"), which in its pre-Vulgate rendering ("Puer natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis") opens the introit of the third Christmas Mass; see also the analogous biblical/liturgical reference in lines 34-35. **2-4:** the significance of these lines likely addresses a common conceit that occurs frequently both in the Parisian conductus and elsewhere in various forms of medieval religious expression: that God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ (see, for example, the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* [I16/334], Strophe I and *passim,* and *Parit preter morem* [E12/261], lines 9-16). God's act of taking on human flesh does not mean that the flesh *per se* is unworthy of salvation, since God chose it as a vessel for his own sinless incarnation as Christ, but its culpable state as the result of original sin (alluded to in the conductus text especially at the start and conclusion of Strophe II) is what makes it regrettable. This very same point also concludes Strophe I. **10:** see Isaiah, 7:14: "... ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium ..." ("... behold a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son ..."). **13-14:** Note the similar expression in the conductus *Relegate vetustate* (H23/303), lines 5-6. Christ and Adam are frequently portrayed as typological figures in the manner of contemporaneous biblical exegesis, with Christ portrayed as a new Adam who rectifies the sin of the first man; see the remarks on the text for the conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), lines 14-17, for some biblical citations that attest to this comparison. **15-16:** see 2 Kings (2 Samuel), 22:10: "Inclinavit caelos, et descendit: et caligo sub pedibus ejus" ("He bowed the heavens, and came down: and darkness was under his feet."); and the same expression in Psalm 17:10. **17-18:** the darkness of long ago refers to the inculcation of original sin, caused by Adam and Eve and recounted in Genesis, 3; see also the remarks for lines 13-14. **25-28:** see Luke, 2:7: "Et peperit filium suum primogenitum, et pannis eum involvit, et reclinavit eum in praesepio: quia non erat eis locus in diversorio" ("And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him up in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no place for them in the inn."). **29-30:** likely a reference to the star that guided the Magi to Christ, as in Matthew, 2:1-12; but see also the prophecy of Balaam in Numbers, 24:17: "... Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget virga de Israhel" ("... A star shall rise out of Jacob and a scepter shall spring up from Israel."). Balaam and his prophecy also appear in the conductus *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), lines 21-24. **31-34:** this recalls the story of the angels who announced Jesus's birth to the shepherds in Luke, 2:8-14. **34-35:** paraphrased from Luke 2:14, which in its liturgical reading (beginning "Gloria in excelsis deo") supplies the opening text for the *Gloria* of the Mass: "Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis" ("Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace to men of good will.").

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Line 10,3:** the recurring cadential motive seen here, marked above the staff as "a," also appears in each of the other stanzas, within lines 15,3 and 25,3.

---

[10]"Liturgical" conductus within the primary Parisian sources *(W1, W2, F, Ma)* that feature quotations, references, or paraphrases of liturgical texts, as well as those that have been later pressed into service as rubricated liturgical items include: *Veni creator spiritus spiritus recreator* (E13/361), *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265) – the Lord's Prayer, *Ave maris stella virgo* (D1/34), *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), *O vera O pia* (F21/248), *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/267), *Pater noster commiserans* (H19/266), *Ave Maria gratia plena* (G7/29) – a frequently encountered liturgical text with several conductus settings, *Magnificat anima mea ... qui iudicat* (H10/203), *Flos de spina procreatur* (H29/127), *Qui de Sabba veniunt* (I20/281), *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), *Alma redemptoris mater* (I32/13) – one of the four major Marian antiphons sung throughout the year at Compline, *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori meo* (H1/145), *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343), *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), *Ver pacis aperit* (J32/366), *Veni creator spiritus et in me* (J41/360), *Gloria sit soli deo* (J43/146), *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), *Ave maris stella ave singularis* (J53/34), *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329), *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit* (K44/41), *Ave gloriosa virginum* (K75/28), *Veni sancte spiritus veni* (K76/364), *Salve sancta parens enixa* (J57/316), *Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317), *Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster* (J4/9), *Quis tibi Christe meritas* (F33/290).

Cauda at 12,4: the hocketing segment in mode 2 that follows the voice-exchange portion opening this melisma shows mode 1 in the T of *W1,* while the second and fourth 2li figures (*cd* ... *bc*) in *W1*'s D are each written as 2si; see the reading from this source at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at 22,1:** the hocket passage beginning this melisma shows differing ligations among the surviving sources; these are offered as alternative readings at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at 24,1:** the ambiguities inherent in the notation of the hocket passage beginning at approximately L29 in this cauda allow for various interpretations of duration and rhythmic mode; several alternatives, along with the reading presented in the main transcription to facilitate comparison, are given among the various possibilities at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at 36,3:** the sequential passage just after the start of this cauda presents a canon between T and D for 8L at the interval of a second; this is noted in the score above the system.

VERI VITIS GERMINE
Conductus (H14/372)

F, f. 269v (7,5)

I

D [Ve-

T Ve-

[Ve]-ri vi-tis ger-mi-ne

[Ve]-ri vi-tis ger-mi-ne

plan-ta-to- -ris ger-mi-nat.

plan-ta-to- -ris ger-mi-nat.

ve-rus or-to lu-mi-ne no-ctem sol ex-ter-mi-nat. dum na-to de vir-gi-ne
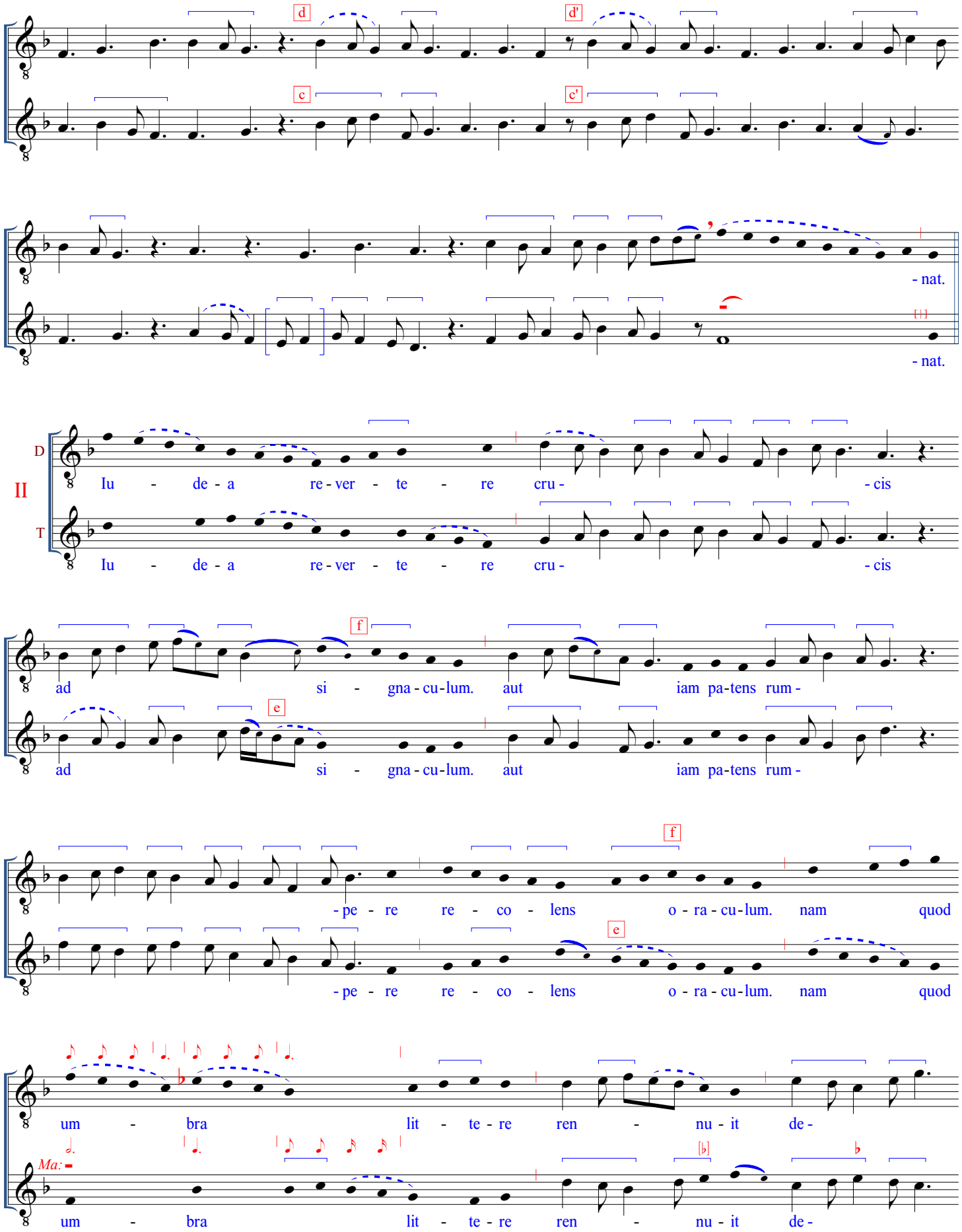
ve-rus or-to lu-mi-ne no-ctem sol ex-ter-mi-nat. dum na-to de vir-gi-ne
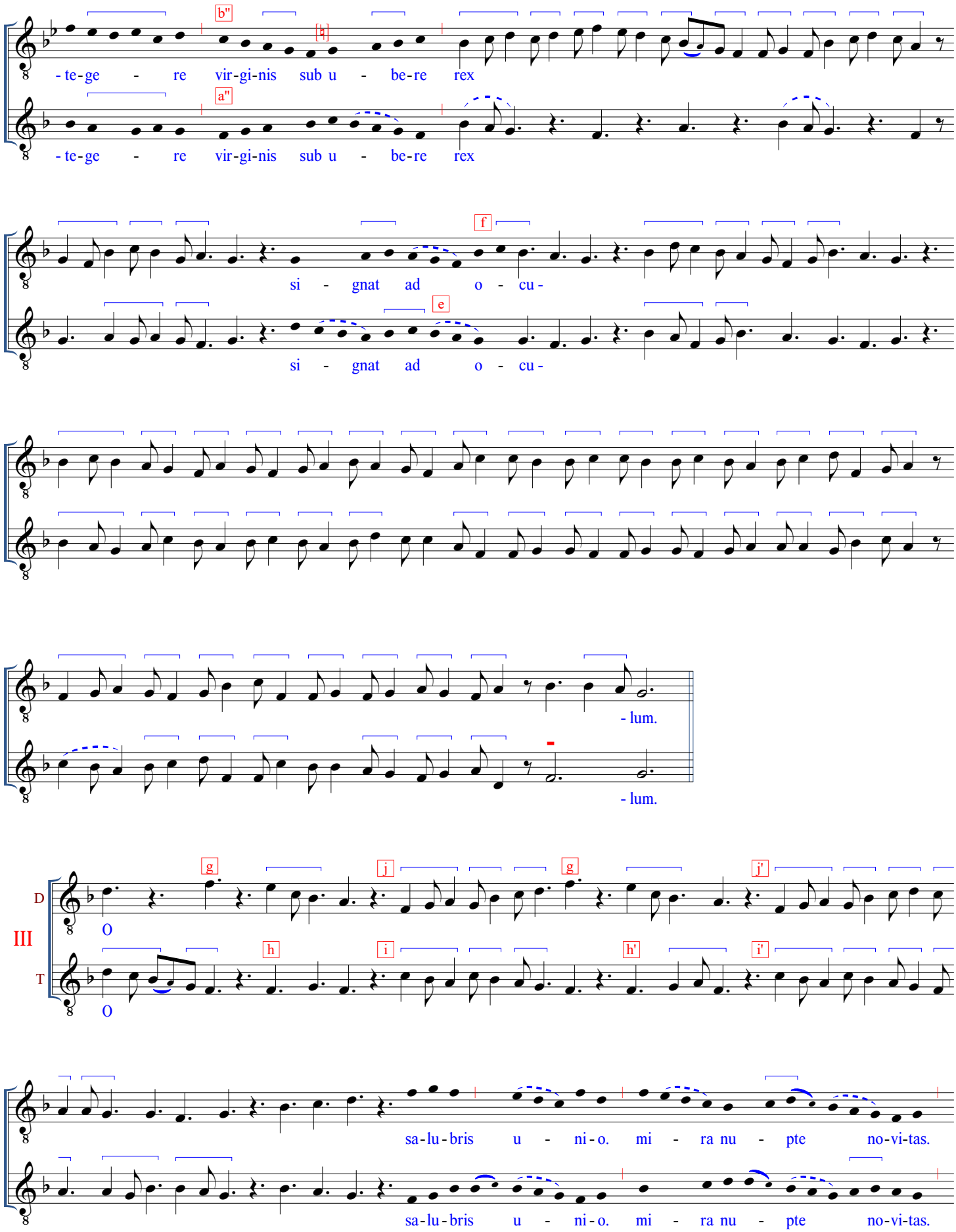
sum-mi pa-tris nu-mi-ne cri-mi-nis ab ho-mi-ne iu-gum
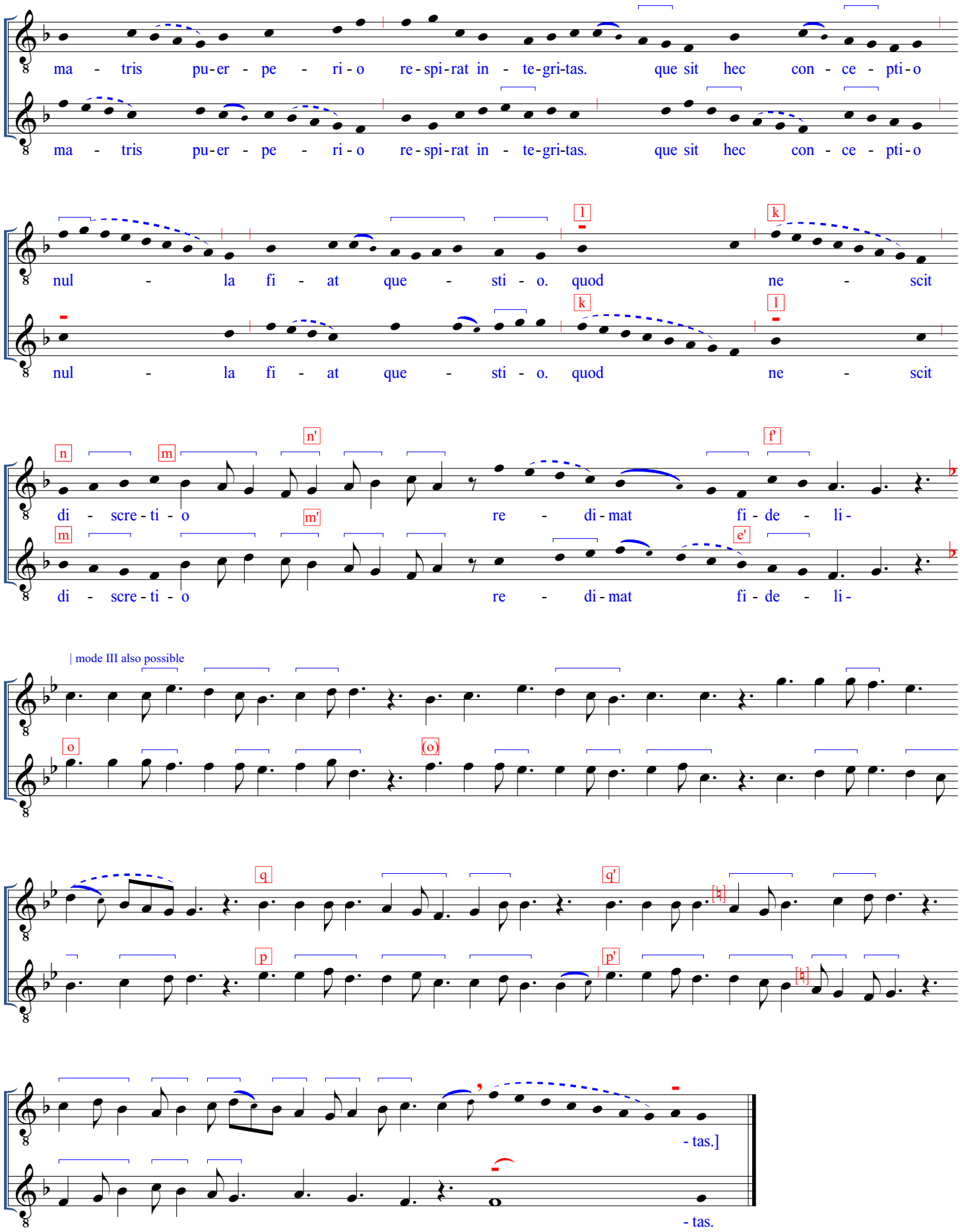
sum-mi pa-tris nu-mi-ne cri-mi-nis ab ho-mi-ne iu-gum

rex e-li-mi-

rex e-li-mi-


d
d'
c
c'
- nat.
- nat.
II
D
T
Iu - de - a re - ver - te - re cru - cis
Iu - de - a re - ver - te - re cru - cis
f
e
ad si - gna - cu - lum. aut iam pa - tens rum -
ad si - gna - cu - lum. aut iam pa - tens rum -
f
e
- pe - re re - co - lens o - ra - cu - lum. nam quod
- pe - re re - co - lens o - ra - cu - lum. nam quod
um - bra lit - te - re ren - nu - it de -
Ma:
um - bra lit - te - re ren - nu - it de -


b"
a"
- te - ge - re vir - gi - nis sub u - be - re rex
- te - ge - re vir - gi - nis sub u - be - re rex
f
e
si - gnat ad o - cu -
si - gnat ad o - cu -
- lum.
- lum.
III
D
T
g
j
g
j'
h
i
h'
i'
O
O
sa - lu - bris u - ni - o. mi - ra nu - pte no - vi - tas.
sa - lu - bris u - ni - o. mi - ra nu - pte no - vi - tas.


ma - tris pu-er - pe - ri - o re - spi - rat in - te - gri-tas. que sit hec con - ce - pti - o
ma - tris pu-er - pe - ri - o re - spi - rat in - te - gri-tas. que sit hec con - ce - pti - o
nul - la fi - at que - sti - o. quod ne - scit
nul - la fi - at que - sti - o. quod ne - scit
di - scre - ti - o re - di - mat fi - de - li -
di - scre - ti - o re - di - mat fi - de - li -
| mode III also possible
- tas.]
- tas.

VERI VITIS GERMINE

Conductus (H14/372)

F, f. 269v (7,5)

I	Veri vitis germine	The vine of the true planter
	plantatoris germinat;	sprouts forth with a bud;
	verus, orto lumine,	the true sun, rising from light,
	noctem sol exterminat;	banishes night;
	dum, nato de virgine,	while, born of a virgin,
	summi patris numine,	from a nod of the highest father,
	criminis ab homine	the king banishes the yoke
	iugum rex eliminat.	of sin from mankind.
II	Iudea, revertere	Judea, turn back to
	crucis ad signaculum,	the sign of the cross,
	aut, iam patens, rumpere,	or, already exposed, you will be broken,
	recolens oraculum.	recalling the prophecy.
	Nam quod umbra littere	For what the shadow of the law
	rennuit detegere,	refused to disclose,
	virginis sub ubere	a king, at the breast
	rex signat ad oculum.	of a virgin, expresses to the eye.
III	O salubris unio,	O healing union,
	mira nupte novitas,	wondrous novelty for a bride,
	matris puerperio	chastity breathes on
	respirat integritas.	the mother's childbearing.
	Que sit hec conceptio	Let there be no question
	nulla fiat questio.	what this conception means.
	Quod nescit discretio	Faithfulness compensates for
	redimat fidelitas.	what reason does not understand.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 5, f. 269v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with capitals for II and III. This and the following work in *F* are in reverse order in *W1.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 52, f. 135r (126r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with plain painted initials for the subsequent stanzas. This and the previous work in *W1* are in reverse order in *F.*

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 5, f. 35r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; the initials intended for each stanza were never entered; full-system-high space is left for the initial of II as well as I, while III shows a small space in the T that could accommodate a shorter letter; but *Ma* also shows a wide, mid-system gap in both voice parts before the *cum littera* setting of line 16, as if an initial was also planned for that place (despite the fact that the text of line 16,1 – "rex" – appears earlier before the preceding cauda, just as it does in both the other sources with music).

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Obl C510; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 26, f. 240v (11v): text only of Strophes I-III, complete, with pilcrows heading the lines beginning II and III; rubric: "de partu beate virginis" ("on the blessed virgin giving birth").

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** Jesus describes himself as the "true vine" and God as its keeper or planter in John, 15:1.[1] On the frequent figure of Christ as a bud or flower, see Isaiah 45:8;[2] Isaiah, 11:1;[3] and cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16).[4] **3-4:** among the many references or allegories to Christ as the sun or as a light that dispels darkness, see, e.g., Malachi, 4:2;[5] John 1:5, in reference to the Word;[6] and the similar expressions in Isaiah, 9:2, and John, 12:46. The phrase "true sun" in reference to either God or Christ occurs in a number of other conductus, such as *Rose nodum reserat* (I1/313), line 3; *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), line 23; and *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), line 1. **7-8:** on images of release from the burden of the yoke of sin, see, for example, Isaiah, 9:4;[7] Jeremiah, 28:2;[8] and the comparable expressions of Isaiah, 10:27, Jeremiah, 5:5, and 28:4. **12,2:** the prophecy ("oraculum") referred to here may relate to passages such as Jeremiah 31:31–34, where the Lord pledges to make a new covenant distinct from his earlier imposition of Mosaic law; see also Hebrews, 8:8-11, where the text of Jeremiah is recalled. **13-14:** for the treatment of the older Mosaic law as a shadow or veil that obscures the new law represented by Christ, see 2 Corinthians, 3:13-16;[9] and Hebrews, 10:1.[10] **14,1:** an alternative spelling of "renuit." **17:** the union is that of God's divinity

---

[1] John, 15:1: "Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est" ("I am the true vine; and my Father is the husbandman.").

[2] Isaiah 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.").

[3] 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.").

[4] "Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son").

[5] Malachi, 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").

[6] John 1:5: "Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt" ("And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend [or 'overcome'] it").

[7] Isaiah, 9:4: "Jugum enim oneris ejus, et virgam humeri ejus, et sceptrum exactoris ejus superasti, sicut in die Madian" ("For the yoke of their burden, and the rod of their shoulder, and the sceptre of their oppressor you have overcome, as in the day of Midian").

[8] Jeremiah, 28:2: " Haec dicit Dominus exercituum, Deus Israel: contrivi jugum regis Babylonis." ("Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon.").

[9] 2 Corinthians, 3:13-16: "et non sicut Moyses ponebat velamen super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Israel in faciem ejus, quod evacuatur, sed obtusi sunt sensus eorum. Usque in hodiernum enim diem, idipsum velamen in lectione veteris testamenti manet non revelatum (quoniam in Christo evacuatur), sed usque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur Moyses, velamen positum est super cor eorum. Cum autem conversus fuerit ad Dominum, auferetur velamen" ("And not as Moses [who] put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel might not steadfastly look on the face of that which is made void. But their senses were made dull. For, until this present day, the selfsame veil, in the reading of the old testament, remains not taken away (because in Christ it is made void). But even until this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. But when they shall be converted to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.").

[10] Hebrews 10:1: "Umbram enim habens lex futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum: per singulos annos, eisdem ipsis hostiis quas offerunt indesinenter, numquam potest accedentes perfectos facere" ("For the law having a shadow of the good things to come, not the image itself of the things; by the selfsame sacrifices which they offer continually every year, can never make perfect those who come to it").

wedded to mortal humanity by the birth of Jesus. **23-24:** for the oft-encountered trope that the circumstances surrounding Christ's birth (the "wondrous novelty" referred to in line 18) 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.
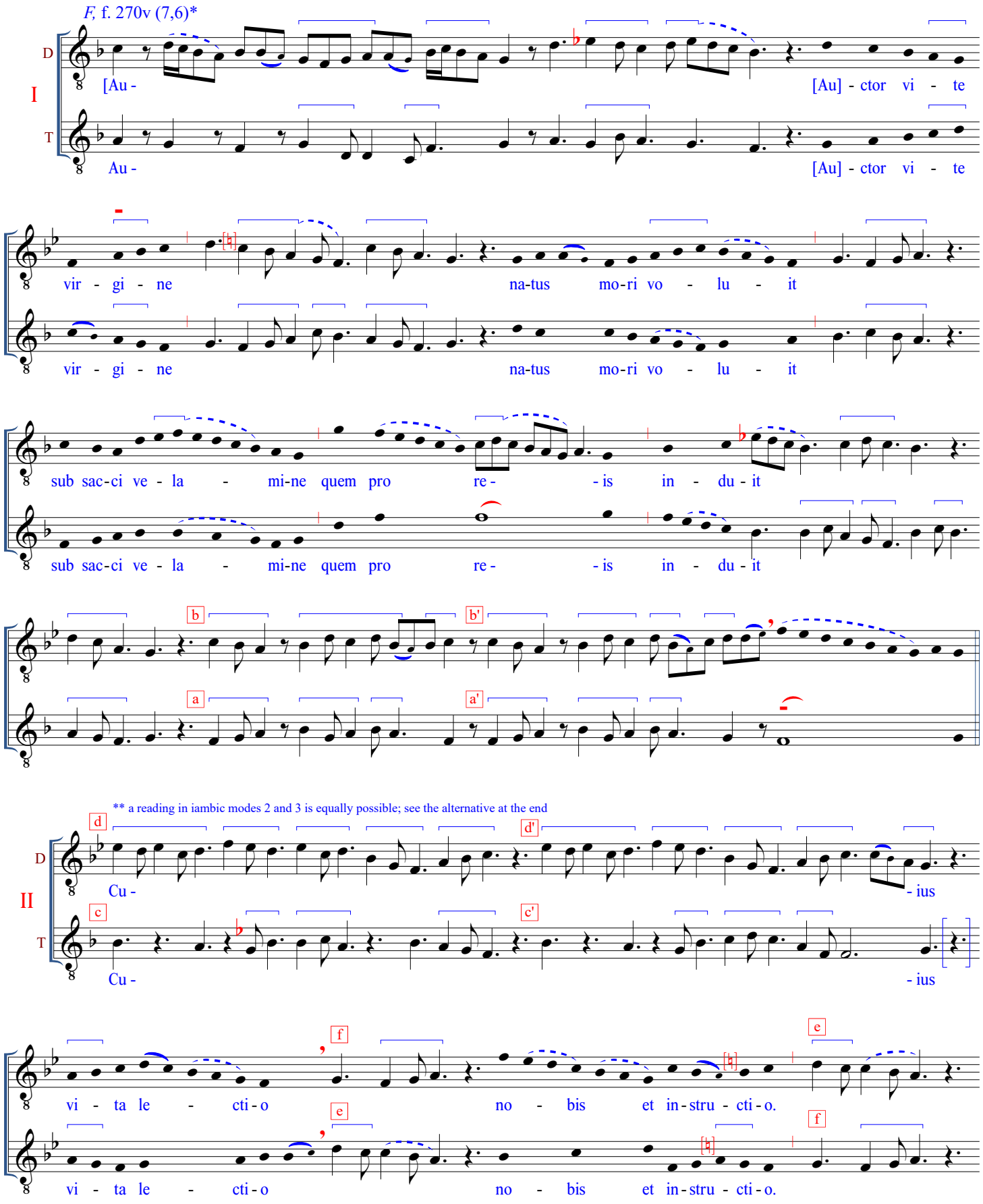
Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Syllabic-melismatic identity:**: **1.** A short, 4- or 5-note, scalar formulae, hence very minor: TD of "Veri vitis [germine]" (line 1) = **1a.** TD of second phrase of cauda on "[eli]mi[nat]" (line 8, closes Strophe I) = **1b.** T of third phrase of cauda on "[eli]mi[nat]" (line 8, closes Strophe I) = **1c.** T(D) of "virginis sub [ubere]" (line 15). **2.** A type of musical rhyme: T(D) of "signaculum"" (line 10) = **2a.**T(D) of "oraculum" (line 12) = **2b.** T(D) of first phrase of cauda on "ocu[lum]" (line 16, closes Strophe II) = **2c.** sim T(D) of "fidelitas" (line 24, closes Strophe III), an even more typical cadence formula. **3.** TD of "discreti[o]" (line 23, penultimate line of poem) = **3a.** D, then TD of first phrase of following cauda on "[discreti]o." **Supposed modal transmutation/rhythmic variation:** Bukofzer ("Interrelationships," 101)[11] raises the possibility that a type of modal transmutation via rhythmic variation may be observed within some of the caudae of *Veri vitis germine,* such as is seen in *Rex eterne glorie* (H21/309), *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89), and the transmission of *A deserto veniens (I)* as given in *W1* (J3/1). He gives no specific examples for *Veri vitis germine,* but the repeated segments I identify above seem given over more to short formulae and cadential figures. The degree of modal transmutation, therefore, appears to be minimal in this case, since most of the correspondences in the caudae correlate with *sine littera* segments, which do not communicate verifiable rhythms. **Line 2,3:** T: F,W1: looks more like *e*; clarified by *Ma.* **Cauda at line 8,3 (closing Strophe I):** T: F: 2li=*ef* om in antepenultimate phrase; supplied from *W1,Ma.* **Cauda at 16,4 (closing Strophe II):** TD: in place of the last phrase, *W1* has a conventional *punctus organi* descent over the penultimate *f* in the T; it (along with the other *punctus organi* in this source) is similar to the ones also ending Strophes I and III as presented in *F,* but with an additional antepenultimate *g* in the D, bound as a 2li to the penultimate *a; Ma,* which closes its setting of Strophe II in the same way as *F,* has the same disposition for the other two *punctus organi* as *W1.* **Cauda at 24,2 (Closing Strophe III):** TD: F: the *e-flat* sigs that appear before the cauda are written 2 lower in the *d* space on the staff.

[11] Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques,* 1 (1953): 65-103.
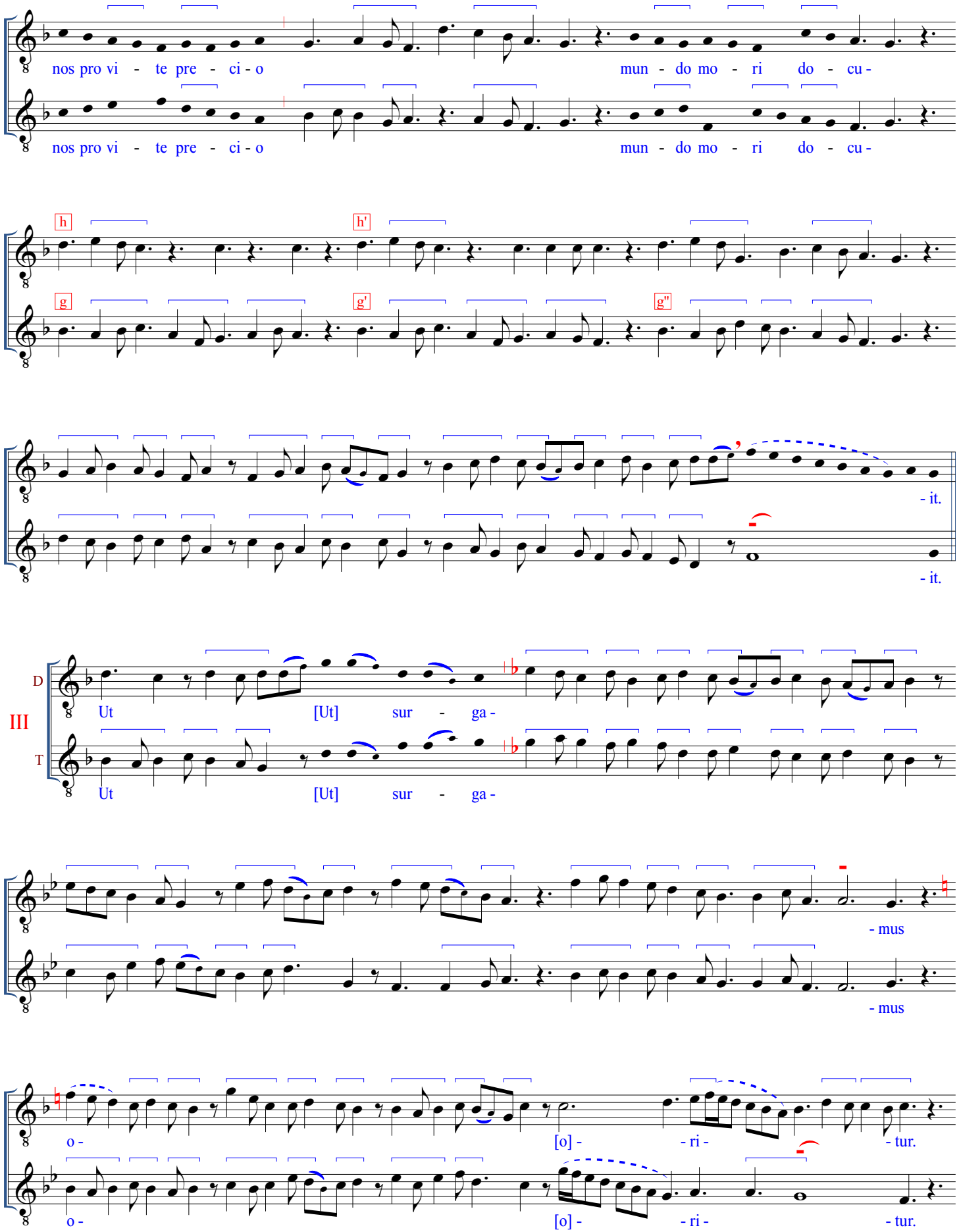
AUCTOR VITE VIRGINE
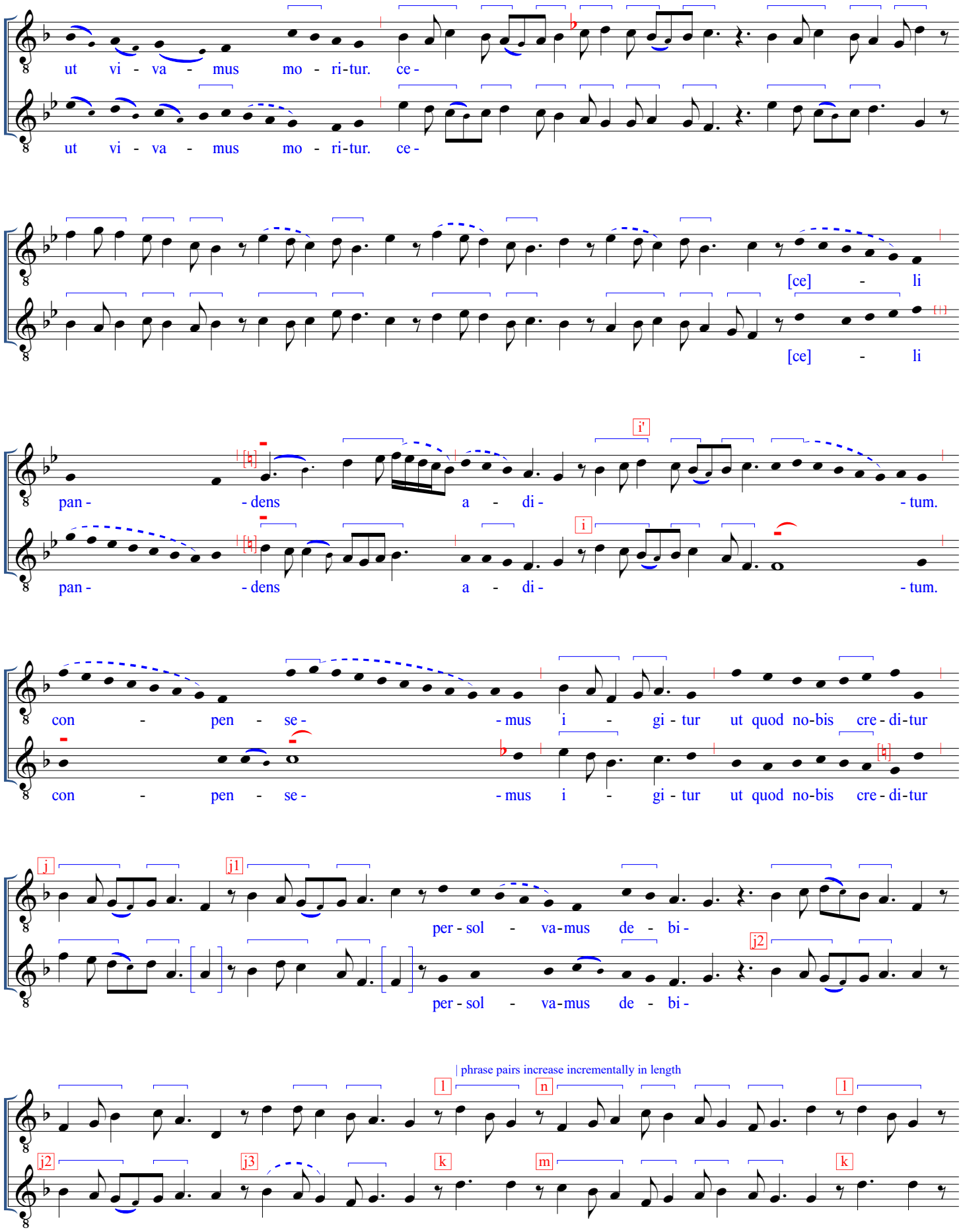
Conductus (H13/23)

F, f. 270v (7,6)*

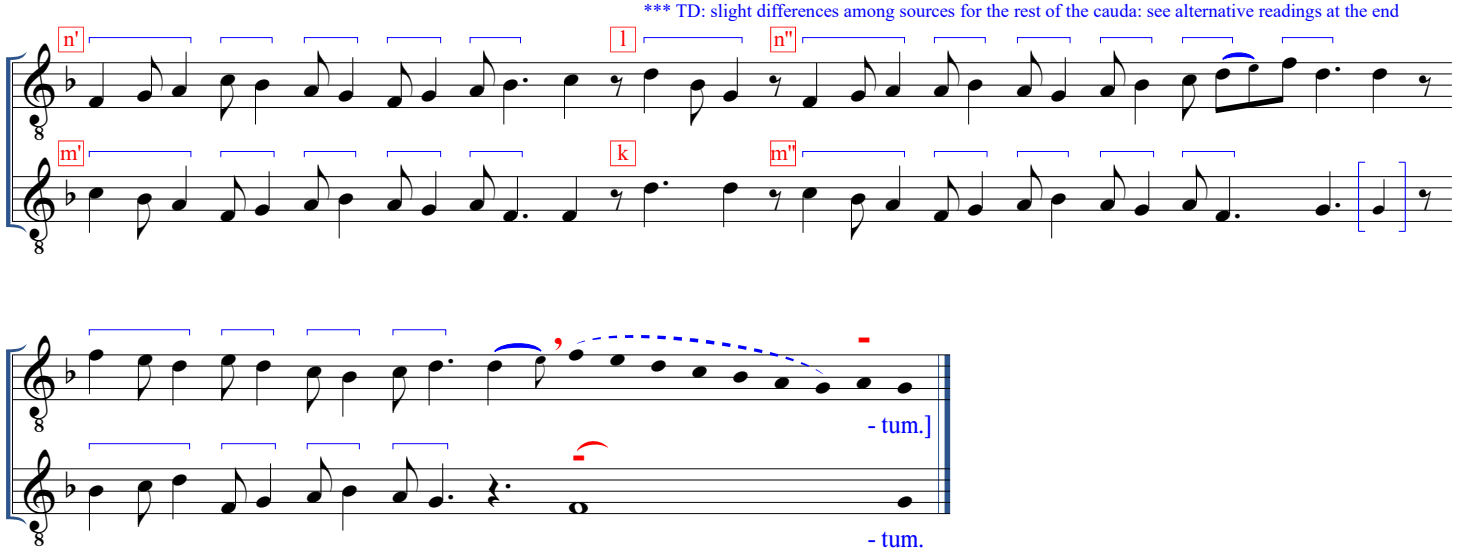


**Ma* has an extended version of the first part of the opening cauda (see the alternative reading at the end)


nos pro vi - te pre - ci - o
mun - do mo - ri do - cu -
nos pro vi - te pre - ci - o
mun - do mo - ri do - cu -
h
h'
g
g'
g"
- it.
- it.
III
D
T
Ut [Ut] sur - ga -
Ut [Ut] sur - ga -
- mus
- mus
o - [o] - - ri - - tur.
o - [o] - - ri - - tur.

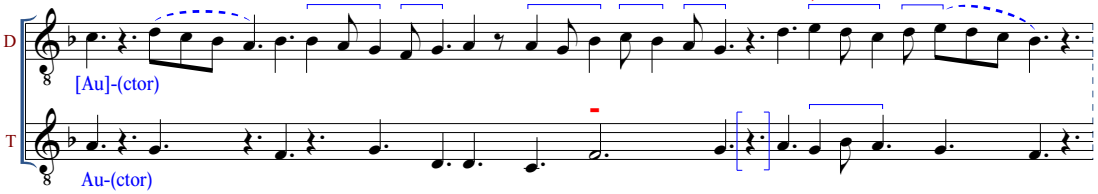

ut vi - va - mus mo - ri-tur. ce -
ut vi - va - mus mo - ri-tur. ce -
[ce] - li
[ce] - li
pan - - dens a - di - - tum.
pan - - dens a - di - - tum.
con - pen - se - - mus i - gi - tur ut quod no-bis cre - di-tur
con - pen - se - - mus i - gi - tur ut quod no-bis cre - di-tur
per - sol - va-mus de - bi -
per - sol - va-mus de - bi -
| phrase pairs increase incrementally in length

*** TD: slight differences among sources for the rest of the cauda: see alternative readings at the end
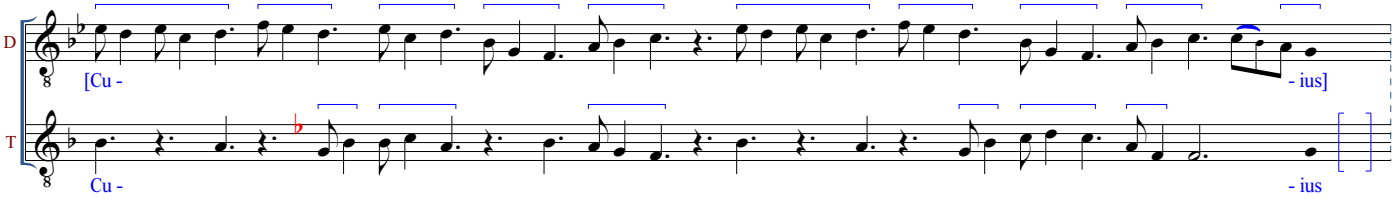


ALTERNATIVE READINGS

*Opening cauda with first section in extended rhythms: *Ma,* f. 38v, IV

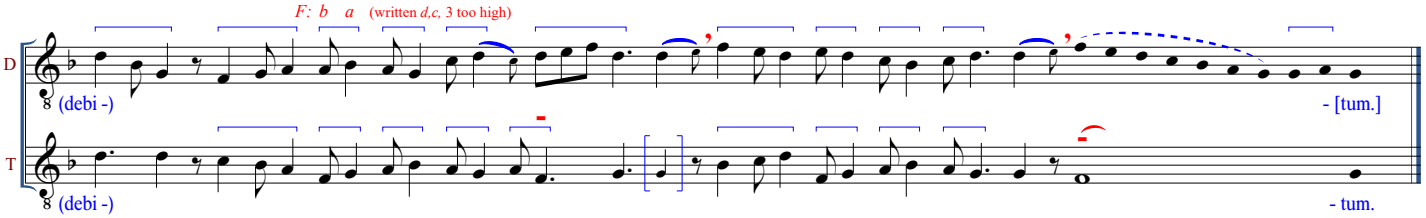


**Cauda on line 5,1 (opening Strophe II) read in iambic modes 2 and 3: *F,* f. 261r, I

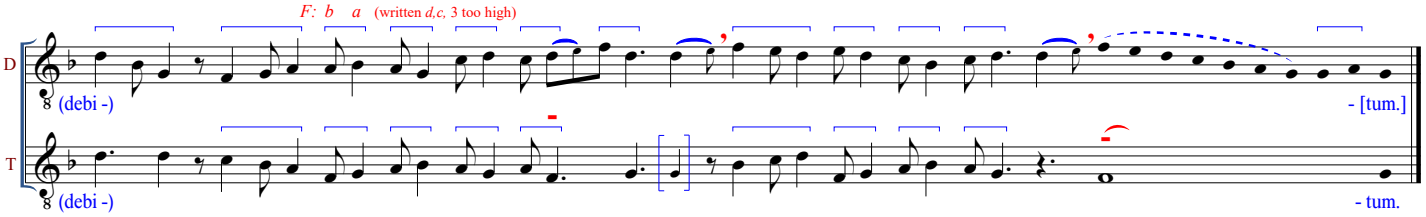


***Cauda on line 14,2 (closing Strophe III), final portion at L33, with D showing slight variants from *F* (signaled above staff); *F* written 3 higher for 7L in error

a. *W1,* f. 135r (126r), IV



b. *Ma,* f. 135r (40r), III (end); like *F,* the first 7L of this portion of the D are transposed 3 too high



AUCTOR VITE VIRGINE (I)

Conductus (H13/23)

F, f. 270v (7,6)

I Auctor vite, virgine
natus, mori voluit
sub sacci velamine
quem pro reis induit.

The author of life, born
from a virgin, wanted to die
beneath the cover of the sackcloth
he assumed on behalf of the guilty.

II Cuius vita lectio
nobis et instructio.
Nos, pro vite precio,
mundo mori docuit.

His life is a lesson
and a teaching for us.
He instructed us, for the price
of a life, to die for the world.

III Ut surgamus oritur;
ut vivamus moritur,
celi pandens aditum.
Conpensemus igitur
ut, quod nobis creditur,
persolvamus debitum.

He is born so that we may ascend;
he dies so that we may live,
throwing open the entrance of heaven.
Therefore, let us recompense him,
so that, because we believe,
we may pay the debt in full.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no.6, f. 270v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with subsequent strophes indicated by capitals. This and the previous work in *F* are in reverse order in *W1*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 51, f. 134r (125r): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with painted initials. This and the following work in *W1* are in reverse order in *F*.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 7, f. 38v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete; no initials or guide letters entered for Strophes II-III, but with an ornamented large initial for I. The final system to contain the piece has the last two notes of the T, along with the final text syllable, flush with the right margin of the writing block and thus out of alignment with the closing *punctus organi* passage in the D, which is not separated from what precedes it.

Oxf-Sol[1] no. 15 (=*Sol,* no. 2), f. Av: a2; fragmentary: a small vertical strip of the right-hand portion of the folio remains, preserving five partial systems (out of the six on the leaf) with music and text (often faded or illegible) for portions of lines 1-2, 3-4, 5, 7, and the end of the final cauda of Strophe II.[2]

Text only:

---

[1] This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[2] Specifically, the remains of the five systems preserve: **1)** starting with the second accolade preserved on the leaf: music and text from the second syllable of line 1,1 ("[vi]te") through the first syllable of 2,1 ("na[tus]"); **2)** from the fourth syllable of 3,3 ("[velami]ne") through the second syllable of 4,4 ("indu[it]"); **3)** from L3 to the end of the cauda on line 5,1 (beginning Strophe II); **4)** from line 7,1 ("nos [pro vite]") through the end of the short cauda after 7,4 ("precio"), perhaps not including the final two notational figures of the melisma; **5)** from approximately L23 in the D and L25 in the T to the end of the cauda and *punctus organi* on line 8,3 ("[do]cuit" – closing Strophe II).

The two items given below are not, strictly speaking, actual sources for the above text. They contain different poems that recall short passages from the conductus poem. Images of these items are not presently available to me; the details come from the CPI website (http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/) via the hand-annotated version of Anderson's conductus catalog.[3]

A-Iu 457 (Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457), f. 107r: a2, with one part serving as an untexted tenor; a motet-like setting of a two-strophe text with different music than the other sources. Strophe I presents major deviations from the version in the sources given above, including some phrases seen in Strophe II, while Strophe II in *A-Iu 457* is essentially new. Incipit: "Auctor vite, virgine / natus absque crimine" (listed as *Auctor vite virgine (II)* on the CPI website).

D-WÜu M. ch. f. 121 (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f.121), written on the inner front cover; text only of a differently constructed poem (isosyllabic 10pp lines throughout) of four, four-line stanzas whose first strophe shares a few phrases with the Parisian conductus.[4] Incipit: "Auctor vite nos mori voluit / et pro nobis mortem sustinuit."

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-4:** God, as Christ, took on human form and sacrificed his life to save sinners; cf. Acts, 3:15: "auctorem vero vitae interfecistis, quem Deus suscitavit a mortuis, cujus nos testes sumus" ("But the author of life you killed, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses"). **3,2:** see Psalm 29:12: "Convertisti planctum meum in gaudium mihi; conscidisti saccum meum, et circumdedisti me laetitia" ("You have turned for me my mourning into joy: you have cut my sackcloth, and have compassed me with gladness."). The word "saccus"("sackcloth") is used here as a metaphor for suffering; in certain theological contexts, which appear to include this conductus text, it more specifically signifies Christ's human nature.[5]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4:** F,W1,Ma: no concluding period for Strophe I; added editorially. **8,3:** W1,Ma: "voluit" from line 2,3 is repeated for "docuit"; *F* reading preferred **11,2:** F,W1: second syllable of "pandens" aligned under the following T figure (4li=*agab*), reading clarified by *Ma* (which gives "patens") and prior syllable strokes in *F.* **MUSIC: Cauda on line 1,1 (opening Strophe I):** *Ma* casts the rhythms of the first 7L of this melisma into modes 1 and 5 (see the alternative reading given at the end of the transcription). **Cauda on 4,1 (closing Strophe I):** D: F: preceding *e-flat* sig in *d* space on staff; T: F: an erased stroke before last note *(f)* of third cauda phrase is not restored here. **Cauda on line 5,1 (opening Strophe II):** a reading with the iambic rhythms of modes 2 and 3 is also possible; see the alternative reading at the end. **Cauda on line 13, 4:** T: F: an absent repeated note at the end of each phrase supplied from *W1,Ma.* **Cauda on line 14,2 (closing**

---

[3]The un-annotated publication is: Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," Miscellanea musicologica: *Adelaide Studies in Musicology,* 6 (1972): 152-229; 7 (1973): 1-81.

[4]For a general description of the entire MS, see http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0083_b107_jpg.htm, from the library's online manuscript catalog. This reproduces Hans Thurn, *Die Handschriften aus benediktinischen Provenienzen: Hälfte 1: Amorbach, Kitzingen, Münsterschwarzach ...* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), pp. 107-108.

[5]For such a definition, drawn from Alain de Lille's *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, as given in *PL,* 210, col. 929B, see Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis: Summa de Bono,* 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985), 2:835, in the note to line 63: "Saccus, proprie. Dicitur humana Christi natura, quae sacco comparatur propter asperitatem poenae quam assumpsit" ("Sack, specifically, is said to be the human nature of Christ, which is likened to sackcloth due to the harshness of the torment he undertook.").

Strophe III): TD: F,W1,Ma: beginning at L16 of this melisma, the second member of the following three repetitious phrase pairs increases incrementally in length, from 6L (L18-L23), to 7L (L26-L32), to 8L (L35-L42); TD: F,W1,Ma: beginning at L33 of the final cauda of the piece, some minor variants in detail; see the alternative readings at the end; D: F,Ma: also beginning at L33, both these sources (!) mistakenly write the pitches 3 higher for the next 7L; the correct level is clarified by the minimally divergent D reading of *W1* (see the following for the differences); D: F: for the first 2li=*ab* at L36,2-37 in the cauda, *F* has *ba* (written as *dc,* 3 too high), corrected according to *W1,* and signaled in the alternative versions given at the end of the transcription. T: F,W1,Ma: the repeated *g* that concludes the antepenultimate phrase of the piece appears in no source, but seems called for by the motivic consistency of all previous T phrases of this cauda.

IN ROSA VERNAT LILIUM

Conductus (H9/184)

F, f. 271v (7,7)

I

D [In ro - sa

T In ro - sa

ver - - nat li - li-um. flos in flo - re flo - re-

ver - - nat li - li-um. flos in flo - re flo - re-

- scit. dum na - ta pa - rit fi - li - um in te - ne - bris
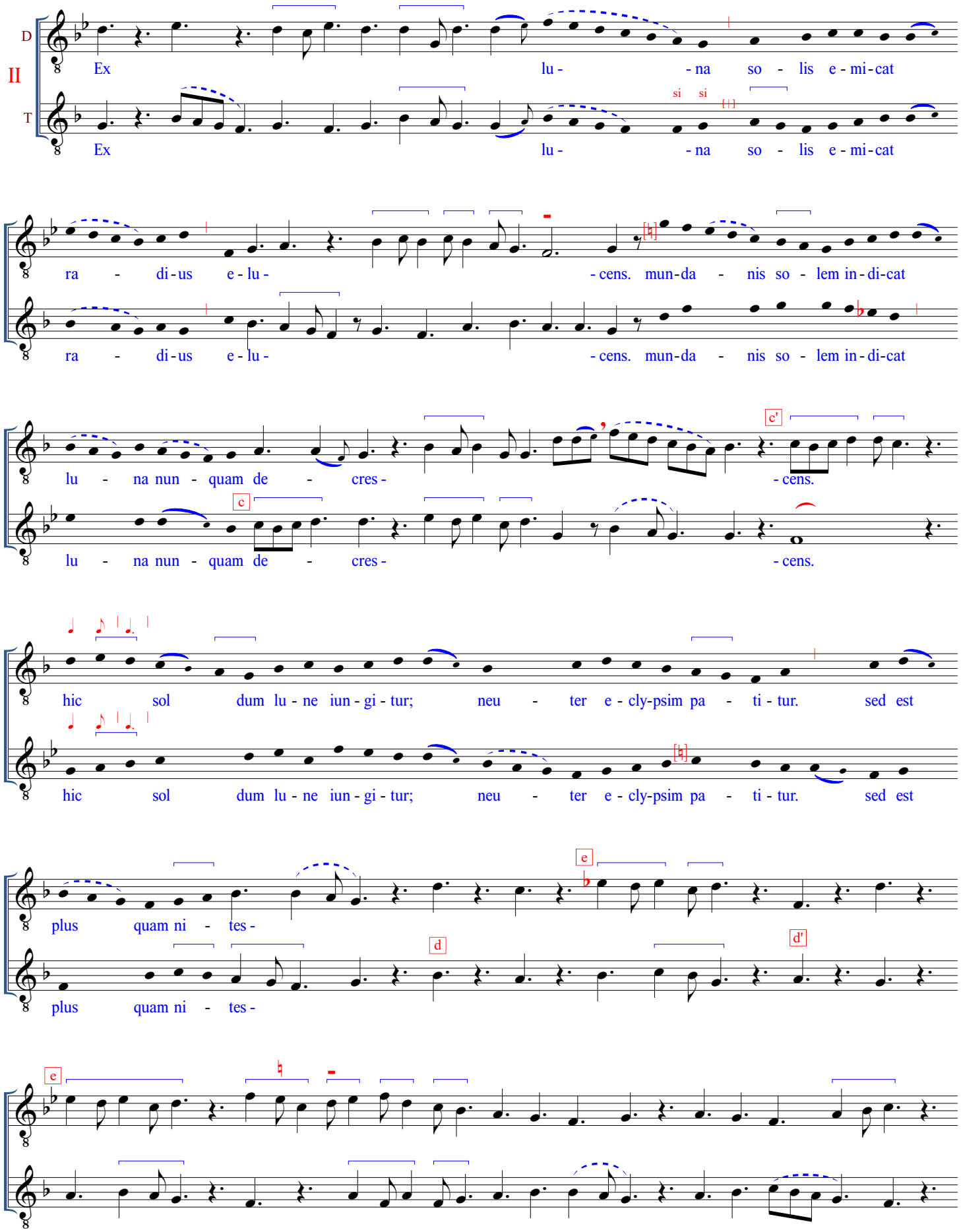
- scit. dum na - ta pa - rit fi - li - um in te - ne - bris

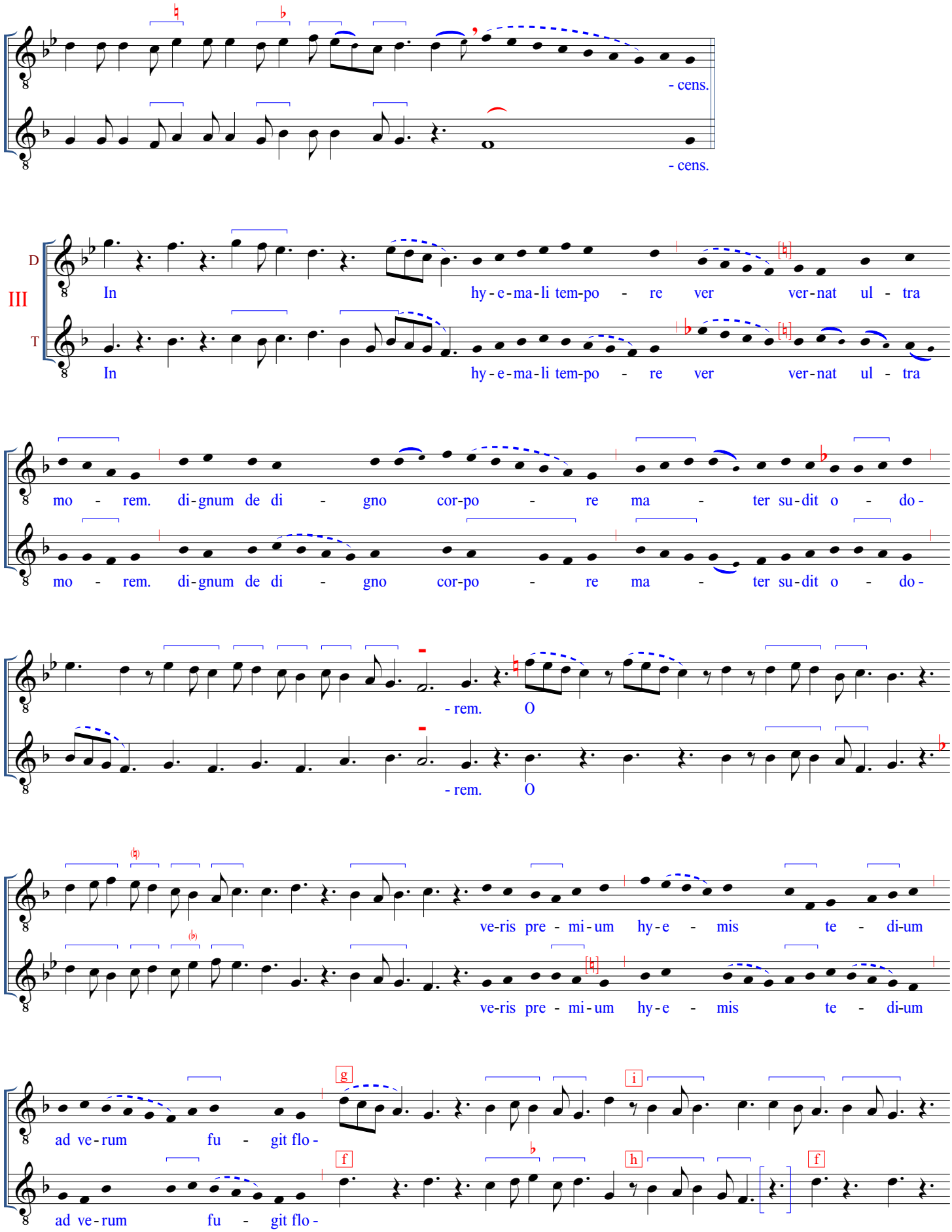
lu - ce-scit lux si - ne te - ne-bris. in car - nis la - te-bris ve - ra di - es di - e-

lu - ce-scit lux si - ne te - ne-bris. in car - nis la - te-bris ve - ra di - es di - e-

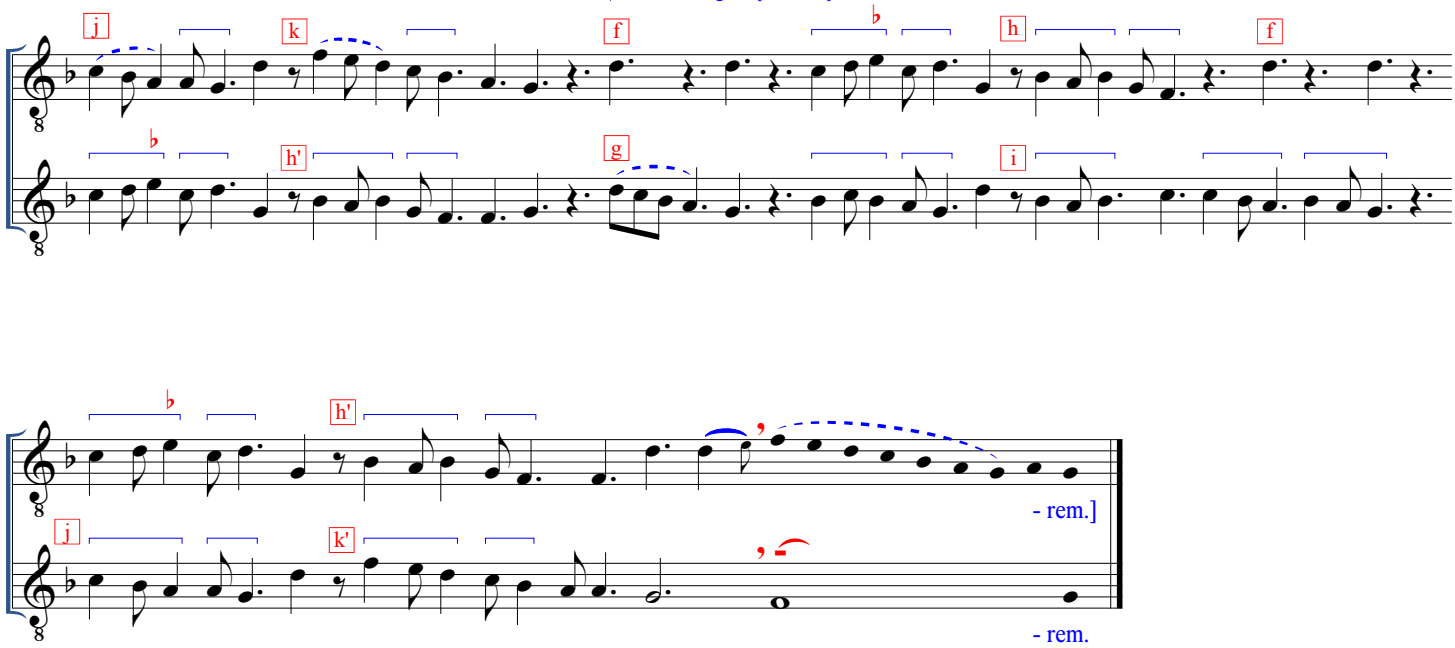
- scit.

- scit.


II
D
T
Ex lu - na so - lis e - mi - cat
Ex lu - na so - lis e - mi - cat
si si
ra - di - us e - lu - cens. mun - da - nis so - lem in - di - cat
ra - di - us e - lu - cens. mun - da - nis so - lem in - di - cat
lu - na nun - quam de - cres - cens.
lu - na nun - quam de - cres - cens.
c'
c
hic sol dum lu - ne iun - gi - tur; neu - ter e - cly - psim pa - ti - tur. sed est
hic sol dum lu - ne iun - gi - tur; neu - ter e - cly - psim pa - ti - tur. sed est
plus quam ni - tes -
plus quam ni - tes -
e
d
d'
e


- cens.
- cens.
III
D
T
In hy - e - ma - li tem-po - re ver ver-nat ul - tra
In hy - e - ma - li tem-po - re ver ver-nat ul - tra
mo - rem. di-gnum de di - gno cor-po - re ma - ter su-dit o - do-
mo - rem. di-gnum de di - gno cor-po - re ma - ter su-dit o - do-
- rem. O
- rem. O
ve-ris pre - mi-um hy-e - mis te - di-um
ve-ris pre - mi-um hy-e - mis te - di-um
ad ve-rum fu - git flo -
ad ve-rum fu - git flo -

| voice exchange of previous portion of cauda



IN ROSA VERNAT LILIUM

Conductus (H9/184)

F, f. 271v (7,7)

I	In rosa vernat lilium.	Within a rose a lily blooms.
	Flos in flore florescit	A flower flourishes within a flower
	dum nata parit filium.	when a daughter bears a son.
	In tenebris lucescit	In the darkness a light begins to
	lux sine tenebris;	shine without darkness;
	in carnis latebris	within the recesses of the flesh
	vera dies diescit.	the true day dawns.
II	Ex luna solis emicat	A glittering sunbeam
	radius elucens.	shines forth from the moon.
	Mundanis solem indicat	The moon, never waning, reveals
	luna nunquam decrescens.	the sun to the world's inhabitants.
	Hic sol dum lune iungitur,	As this sun is joined to moon,
	neuter eclypsim patitur,	neither suffers eclipse,
	sed est plus quam nitescens.	but each is all the more dazzling.
III	In hyemali tempore	In wintertime
	ver vernat ultra morem;	spring flourishes contrary to custom;
	dignum de digno corpore	the mother exudes a worthy fragrance
	mater sudit odorem.	from a worthy body.
	O veris premium!	O, the reward of spring!
	Hyemis tedium	The dreariness of winter
	ad verum fugit florem.	flees before the true flower.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 7, f. 271v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with capitals indicating I and III, as well as starting line 19 (as in *Oxf-Sol, OxAdd,* [and *W1*?]), signaled by the added space above. This and the following piece also succeed each other in *Oxf-Sol (OxAuct).*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 44, f. 125r (116r): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with each headed by painted initials, and possibly with a relatively larger letter "o" for line 19,1.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 15, f. 52v (with the recto of the leaf mistakenly foliated as "53" following f. 51, but with the correct folio number entered further down the page opposite the second system): a2, Strophes I-III, complete; no initials or guide letters for any of the strophes were entered, and no spatial accommodation provided for the start of Strophe II; no special treatment for line 19,1.

Oxf-Sol[1] no. 1 (=*OxAuct* no. 1), on the leaf given as f. 1r (= pag. 1) on the CPI website and in the general

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter formerly *Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

DIAMM inventories:[2] a2, fragmentary; the remains begin about 13L through the final cauda of Strophe II (over line 14,5) and include the rest of the piece, although due to the damage at the bottom of the leaf, the D of the closing cauda is mostly faint and nearly illegible in some portions, while the T and the final word of the verbal text are impossible to make out, except for portions of the last two or three musical phrases. Of the extant poem, capitals head Strophe III and line 19, as in *F* and *OxAdd.* This and the following piece in *OxAuct* also succeed each other in *F.*

Text only:

OxAdd. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A.44), no. 89 (with "lxxxvii" written in right margin), f. 130r: Strophes I-III, complete, written successively as if in prose, and with II, III, and line 19 (as in *F* and *Oxf-Sol*) opening with capitals; rubric: "Iterum de miris contingentibus in partu virginis." ("Once again about the wonders pertaining to the Virgin giving birth")

The opening line of *In rosa vernat lilium* also appears as line 17 in 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*: Poetic structure and stanzaic division:** The rhythmical scheme of Strophe II differs from the identically fashioned I and III, although all have the same line count and sequence of rhymes; 6pp lines occur as the antepenultimate and penultimate lines of these outer stanzas, as opposed to the 8pp couplet in the same place in Strophe II. *F, Oxf-Sol,* and *OxAdd* additionally have a capital letter that cuts Strophe III into two portions at the exclamation "O" at line 19,1; *W1* may also have a slightly larger "O" here, but *Ma* shows no such indication, although its "o" is aligned later than the other sources with respect to the music, and is in darker ink, which might conceivably suggest it was a later addition. **Textual notes: 1:** in this poem, the rose is Mary, the lily Christ; cf. also Song of Solomon, 2:1-2: "Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium" ("I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys") – often otherwise used as a figure for the Virgin – and Isaiah, 11:1,[3] with the root and flower here typically construed as figures of the virgin and Christ, respectively. Cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16): "Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son"). **3:** a commonly expressed ironic conundrum: Mary is jointly daughter and mother both to her son and her heavenly father. **4-5:** perhaps intended in the sense of John, 1:5: "Et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt" ("And the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it"); see also the related expressions in 2 Peter, 1:19; Luke, 1:79; and Isaiah, 60:3. **7:** see John, 12:46; John, 9:5; John, 8:12, in which Jesus describes himself as the light of the world ("lux mundi"). On God and Christ as "true sun" or "true day" see the various conductus *Veri*

[2]In the accompanying descriptions of the images as they are viewed at *DIAMM,* however, the larger leaf that shows the start of the piece is described as "back endpaper verso + stub (pag. 1 & 9)" with "pag. 1" (the right side of the image) corresponding to the item in question here – while "fol. ii v" appears on the identifying text printed as a label at the bottom of the image.

[3]Isaiah, 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.").

vitis germine (H14/372), lines 3-4; *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), lines 23-25; and *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256), line 3. **8-9:** Jesus is the beam emitted from God, the sun; Mary is the moon; cf., e.g., the conductus *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), and *Exultemus socii* (J17/115), line 4, both of which have a related, but slightly different arrangement, where Mary is represented as the star from which Christ, the sun, sprang. **10-11:** Mary (the moon) in bearing Jesus, and thus presenting God (the sun) to the world in human form (Christ), retained her virginity, and thus her chastity did not "wane" in a manner comparable to the actual moon. **12-14:** the figure of an eclipse presents a common conceit: God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ (see, for example, the textual notes on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* [I16/334], Strophe I and *passim,* and *Parit preter morem* [E12/261], as well as the references included therein). In a similar fashion, Mary's virginity was not compromised in giving birth. **15-21:** as Anderson relates (*NDRC,* 2:xviii), the winter signifies sin (*frigus iniquitatis* – "the chill of sinfulness");[4] the birth of Christ, then, is likened in the conductus poem to the fragrant flowering of spring; Christ's birth during winter is therefore both exceptional and fitting. See also *Ortu regis evanescit – Veris hyemps* (G3/256), lines 15-21 (Strophe III), for an example of this conceit elsewhere in the conductus repertory. **20-21:** see the conductus *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369) which addresses throughout the symbol of Christ as the true flower; also cf. Song of Solomon, 2:11, included above in the note on the remarks to lines 15-21.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **11,3:** syllable division as in MS. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** the high level of dissonance during the first 10L of this melisma is witnessed by all the musical sources; the clashes here of *a* against *g* and *b-flat* against *a* also appear elsewhere in the piece (notably at the approach to a number of cadences); see in addition the remarks for the final cauda, which features a prominent *b-flat* against *c.* **Line 2,4:** T: F,W1: 2liP=*aga*P for the second syllable of "[flo]re[scit]"; the adopted 3li=*aga* comes from *Ma.* **8,2:** T: F,W1: om stroke following "luna" taken from *Ma,* although this source has no corresponding stroke in the D at this point. **Cauda at line 14,5 (closing Strophe II):** D: at L21, the *e-natural* sign placed as ficta here and later on in this cauda are specifically indicated in *Oxf-Sol;* T: F: at L23 the 3li=*agf* is written *aga* in *W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol.* **Line 20,1:** D: F: 2 of the 2li=*cf* on the third syllable of "[hye]mis" looks like *e;* the adopted *f* appears in all other sources *(W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol).* **Final cauda:** the unusual dissonances seen first at L5 of this cauda, and additionally when these components repeat in voice exchange about halfway through, are found in all other manuscripts and are comparable with the higher incidence of dissonance that occurs sporadically throughout this piece. *E-flats* are provided for the cauda's opening T passage in both *W1* and *Oxf-Sol* and have been suggested here above the staff, yet the figure with the *e*'s in question appears simultaneously with both *b-flats* and with *a* pitches in the other parts; the inflection of the *e* is therefore negotiable. The interlocking repeated motives, later exchanged between voices, have been signaled by letters in the transcription, as well as a few other prominent repeated motives, beginning with the opening cauda.

[4]Here, Anderson quotes from Honorius of Autun's *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (from the text presented in *PL,* 172, col. 527D) in reference to Song of Solomon, 2:11: "jam enim hiems transiit; imber abiit, et recessit" ("For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone.").

IAM VETUS LITTERA
Conductus (H24/167)

F, f. 272v (7,8)*

I
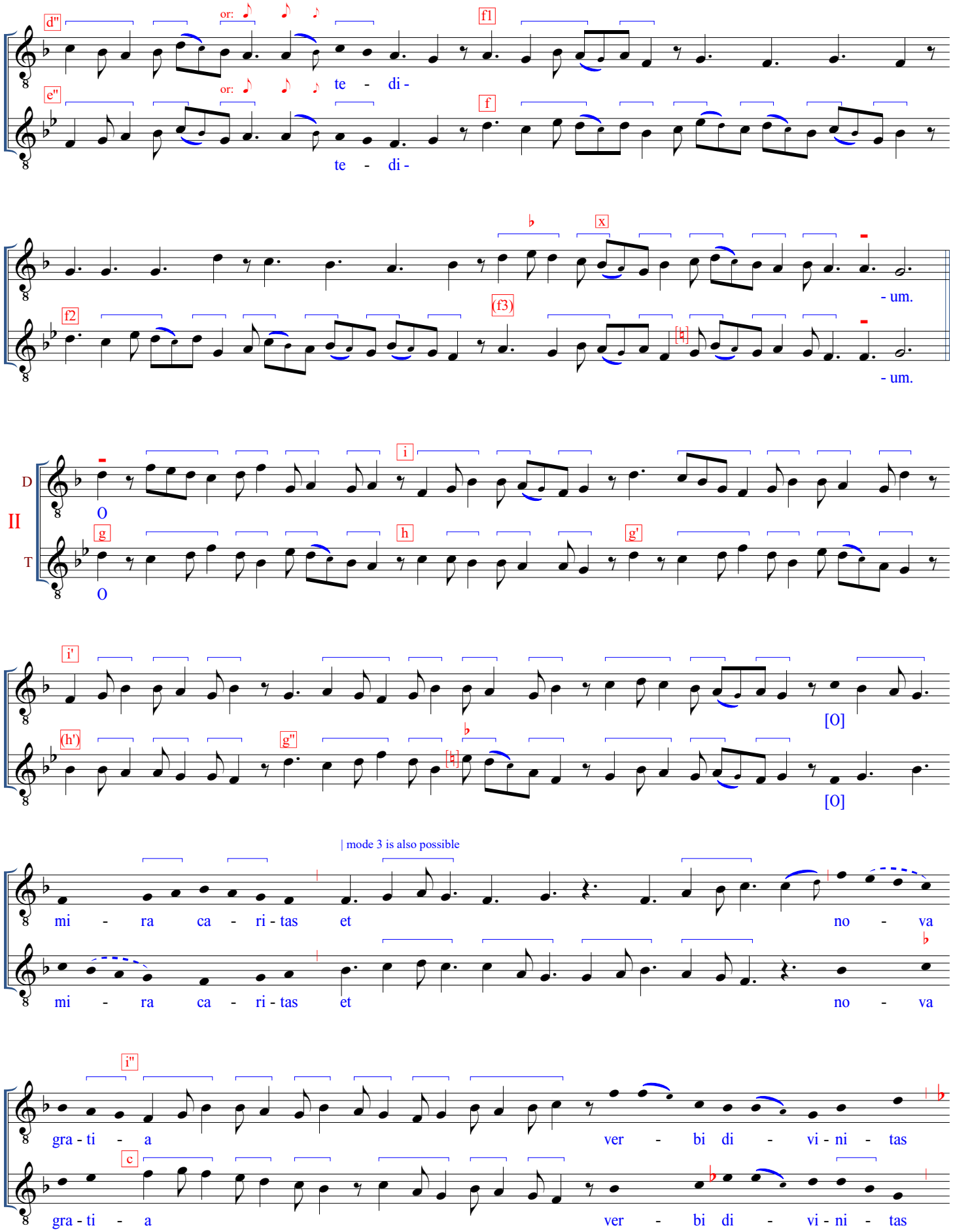
D [Iam ve-tus lit - te-ra iam le - gis scri - ni-um. que clau - - sa fe - de-ra

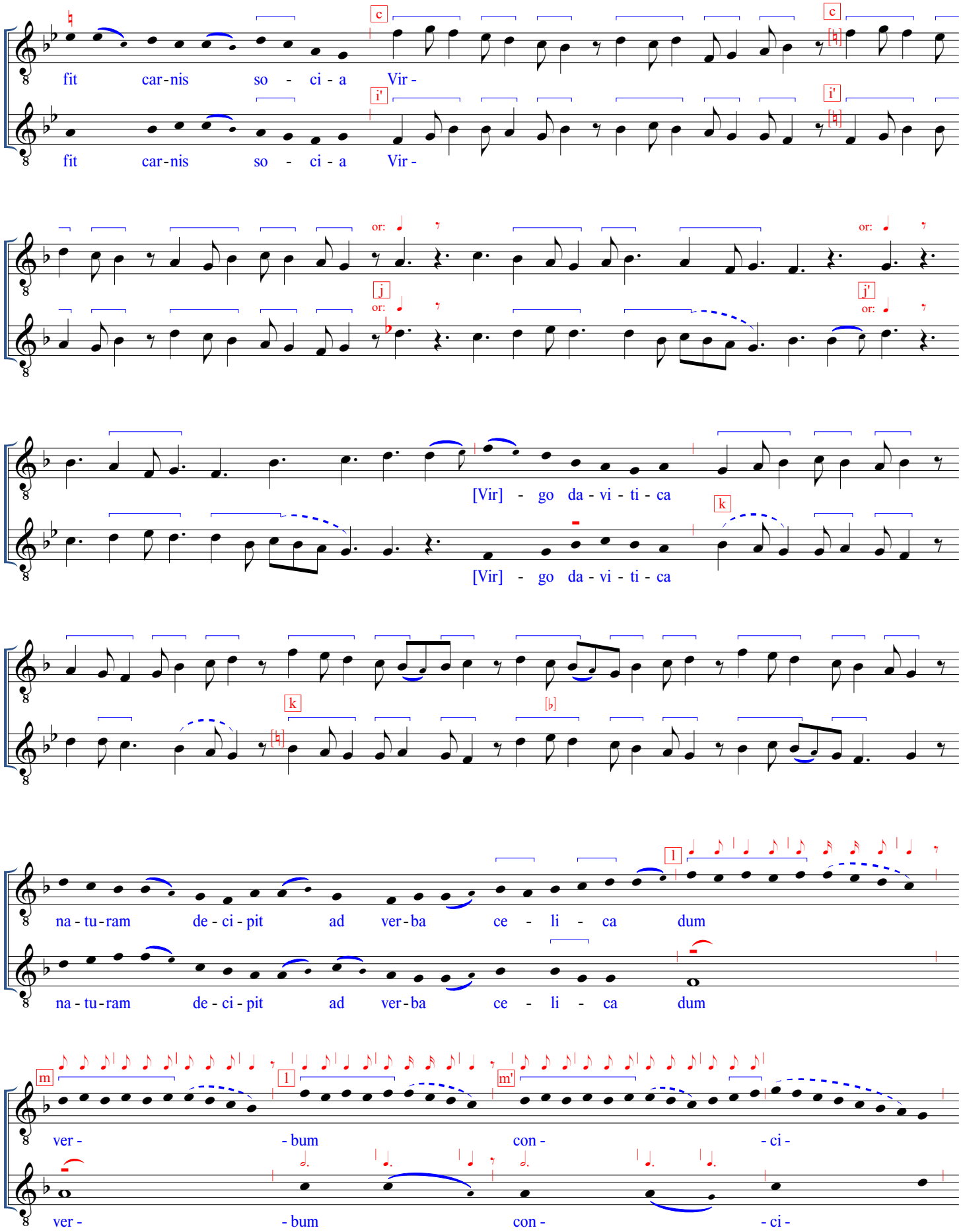
T Iam ve-tus lit - te-ra iam le - gis scri - ni-um. que clau - - sa fe - de-ra

ser - va - - bant gen - ti - - um; pa - [pa] - -tent fi - de - li - bus per de - i fi - li - um. et lex se - qua - -ci - bus quid con - fert
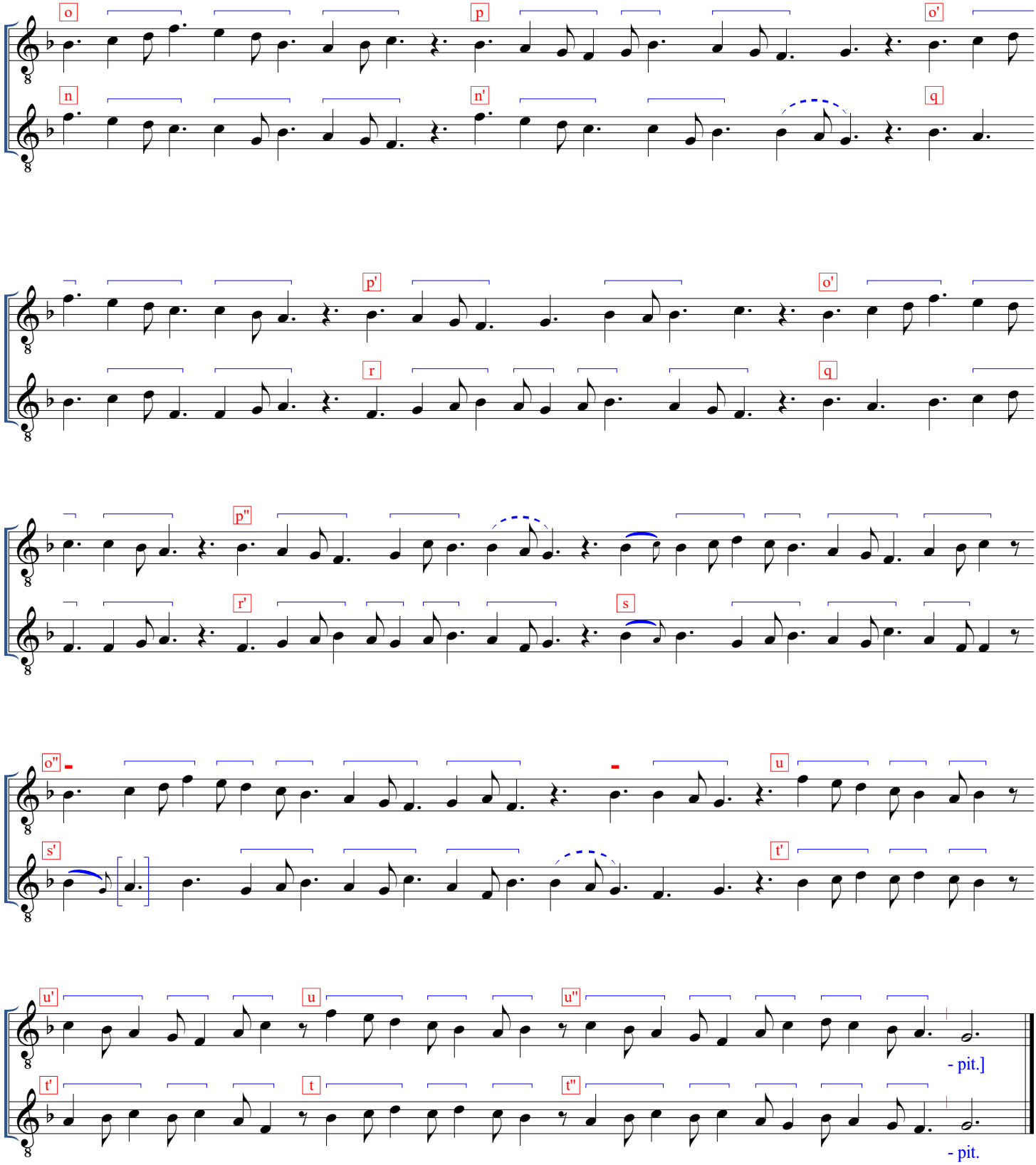
ser - va - - bant gen - ti - - um; pa - [pa] - -tent fi - de - li - bus per de - i fi - li - um. et lex se - qua - -ci - bus quid con - fert

*mode 3 equally likely for the entire opening cauda


d"
or:
f1
te - di -
e"
or:
f
te - di -
x
- um.
f2
(f3)
- um.
II
D
T
i
O
g
h
g'
O
i'
[O]
(h')
g"
[O]
| mode 3 is also possible
mi - ra ca - ri - tas et
no - va
mi - ra ca - ri - tas et
no - va
i"
gra - ti - a
ver - bi di - vi - ni - tas
c
gra - ti - a
ver - bi di - vi - ni - tas


fit car-nis so - ci - a Vir -
fit car-nis so - ci - a Vir -
[Vir] - go da - vi - ti - ca
[Vir] - go da - vi - ti - ca
na - tu - ram de - ci - pit ad ver - ba ce - li - ca dum
na - tu - ram de - ci - pit ad ver - ba ce - li - ca dum
ver - - bum con - - ci -
ver - - bum con - - ci -

| A reading of the final cauda in mode 3 is also possible up to the last four phrases



IAM VETUS LITTERA
Conductus (H24/167)

F, f. 272v (7,8)

I	Iam vetus littera,		Now that the ancient scripture,
	iam legis scrinium,		now that the writings of the law,
	que clausa federa		which once preserved covenants
	servabant gentium,		closed off to the Gentiles,
	patent fidelibus	5	lie open to the faithful
	per dei filium		and the law to the followers
	et lex sequacibus,		through God's son,
	quid confert tedium?		what need is there for vexation?
II	O mira caritas		What wondrous charity
	et nova gratia!	10	and new grace!
	Verbi divinitas		The divinity of the Word
	fit carnis socia.		becomes the partner of the flesh.
	Virgo davitica		A virgin from the line of David
	naturam decipit		deceives nature
	ad verba celica	15	when she conceives the Word
	dum verbum concipit.		in accordance with heavenly words.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 8, f. 272v: a2; Strophes I-II, complete; a capital heads Strophe II and another divides it in half at line 13,1, as does *W1;* this piece and the previous work in this source, *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184), occur in the same order in *Oxf-Sol*.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 68, f. 151r (142r): a2; Strophes I-II, complete, opening with a filigreed initial; painted capitals head Strophe II and divide it in half at line 13,1, as does *F.*

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 11, f. 47r: a2; Strophes I-II, essentially complete, although the final cauda has been significantly abridged to its first 32L, with a *punctus organi* added to effect a conclusion; the final text syllable is located 11L before the closing *punctus organi;* the opening initial is omitted, and a regular, lower case text syllable ("o") appears to start the second stanza.

Cssc 117 (GB-Cssc 117*; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117*),*[1] no. 1, f. 1r: a2; fragmentary, with Tt and T voice extant from lines 15,2 through the first 25L of the final cauda, and with both voices and text continuing afterwards through the end of the piece; the final text syllable is inscribed 14L before the last note

[1]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS originally possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included *GB-Csss 117*, D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115, D-MÜu 382,* and *D-MÜu 378.* For information, 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of the two leaves of this MS, as well as others mentioned above; see her: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

of the piece, where it again appears redundantly. As Eva Maschke has shown,[2] some of the material from the first staff on this leaf has been transferred via mirror-image offset to the bottom staff of f. 2v, which contains the conductus *Dei sapientia* (J6/86).[3] This transfer occurred when these portions of the two leaves were pasted together in the nineteenth century to form a outer parchment wrapper for a cardboard cover that earlier surrounded the host MS, *Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117.*

Oxf-Sol,[4] no.2 (= *OxAuct* no. 2), opening the piece on the leaf given as f. 1r (= pag. 1) on the CPI website and in the DIAMM inventory,[5] and continuing on to f. 1v (= pag. 2, starting with line 3,1 – "que [clausa]") and then on to 2r (= pag.3, starting with line 13,2 – "davitica"): a2; mostly complete, but with the beginning of the piece now almost impossible to construe. Matters are not necessarily improved by consulting reversed images of f. 1r that have been transferred via mirror-image offset to the back binding board that the folio was originally pasted to as a flyleaf.[6] Remnants of a red opening initial are visible at the bottom right segment of f. 1r (= "pag. 1"), and some of the music can also be made out. It is uncertain, however, just how much is truly missing before the turn to the next folio, since the bottom system has been completely cut away. Correspondingly, on the other side of the folio, the text of lines 10-11 at the bottom left of f. 1v (= "pag. 2"), along with a few of its overlaid notes, is also very difficult to read due to mutilation, while the music and text for lines 12-13,1 is completely missing. This piece and the previous work in this source, *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184), occur in the same order in *F.*

Text only:

The opening line of *Iam vetus littera* appears within line 12 ("quem iam vetus littera") 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.

---

[2]Maschke, "Notre Dame Manuscripts," 104 (cited above). For images of the pertinent leaves of *Cssc 117** and the description relied upon here, see the appendices at the end of the dissertation, plates 3.1.7, 3.1.7.1, and 3.1.7.2; along with 3.6.1, 3.6.2, 3.7.1, and 3.7.2.

[3]The offset contains the reversed T melody of *Iam vetus littera* (without D or verbal text) of line 15,3 through the first 25 L of the closing cauda of the piece.

[4]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[5]In the accompanying descriptions of the images as they are viewed on DIAMM, however, the larger leaf that contains the start of the piece (f. 1r) is described as "back endpaper verso + stub (pag. 1 & 9) – with "pag. 1" (the right half of the larger folio) containing the start of the work in question here – while "fol. ii v" appears on the identifying label printed upon the image itself. Similarly, the continuation (f. 1v) is described as "back endpaper recto (pag. 2 & 8)" and as "f. iir" on the image label; and the remainder (f. 2r) is described as "front endpaper recto + stub (pag. 6 & 3)" and labeled as "ir." Folios 1r, 1v, and 2r in the description above thus contain the portions labeled as "pag. 1," "pag. 2," and "pag. 3," respectively, in the images section of this source in DIAMM.

[6]Described in the images of this source in DIAMM as "folio back board offset." The material on f. 2r (=pag. 6 & 3, f. ir) also has reversed offset images preserved on what is now described as "front board offset."

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Poetic structure:** The strophic division of this piece is somewhat ambiguous, as *F* has a capital initial for lines 9 and 13, and *W1* gives painted ones in these same places; *Ma* lacks both an opening illuminated letter to start the piece and omits any capitals during the course of the poem, but may indicate a possible guide letter for line 9,1; *Oxf-Sol* features an opening illuminated initial and a capital for line 9, but a conceivable additional capital starting line 13 cannot be verified due to loss, whereas *Cssc 117** preserves only the ending portion of the piece. Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 3:xxix) construes the text as four strophes of four lines, prompted by the divisions at lines 9 and 13; this interpretation, though, appears belied somewhat by the lack of a significant break in thought for Strophe I before line 5. In this transcription the text is offered as two eight-line stanzas. **Textual notes: 1-7:** the ancient writings and laws invoked here refer to the old law of the Mosaic covenant propounded through the Ten Commandments (see Exodus, 20:1-17), a code that was exclusive to Jews. This ancient law is now replaced by a new covenant executed through the birth of Christ, which is now open to all peoples, Jew and Gentile; see, e.g., Romans, 7:4-6.[7] The topic of the turnover from the Old to the New Law is fairly common among the Parisian conductus repertory; for a list of such works, as well as my article on the topic, see the notes to the text of *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192). Note also the story of Peter's conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius, one of the first Gentiles to be christianized, in Acts, 10; this event is also commemorated in the organum a2 *Cornelius. Cum orasset* (O14), and its associated clausulae, which in Parisian use sets a responsory chant for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June). **13-14:** for 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. **15-16:** this language evokes the opening verse of the gospel of John,[8] as well as the annunciation to Mary by the angel Gabriel; see especially Luke, 1:38.[9]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Rhythmic modes of the caudae:** Several of the caudae in *Iam vetus littera* allow for readings in either rhythmic modes 1 or 3; these include the entire opening segment of the piece, the melisma over "et [nova]" in line 10, and the final cauda up to its last four phrases. In the first two of these instances there is no discernable preference for one mode over the other, since they are completely or nearly entirely regular in their series of ligatures. The relevant portions of the closing cauda that feature different ligations among the sources, or which show divisions within the mode-3 ligature chains, are equally ambiguous as to which of the modes may be preferred. Both *F* and *Ma,* for example, show several series of 2li figures which might be rendered either way, while *Oxf-Sol* and *W1* appear to require mode 1, the latter especially so. Given the prominence of the first mode throughout the remainder of the piece, mode-1 readings have been chosen for all of the caudae in this transcription and alternative possibilities are signaled by notices above the staff system. **Phrase repetition:** *Iam vetus littera* also features a significant amount of recall throughout its various caudae in terms of repeated, sequential, alternating, and antecedent-consequent phrase pairings; this conceit is even evident in the organal portion that precedes the last cauda in the piece. The most

---

[7] Romans, 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, passiones 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.").

[8] John, 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.").

[9] Luke, 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 your word.' And the angel departed from her.").

obvious repeated phrases have been signaled in the transcription by letters placed above the staves. There are undoubtedly further examples of motivic recollection that could be signaled throughout this piece; one of the more notable ones is the similar cadence that closes lines 4 and 8, indicated here by the letter "x" above the system. **Cauda at line 10,3:** D: F: the final 4li figure on "[grati]a" has its second note slightly smudged or possible erased; its reading is clarified by the other extant sources. **Line 11,1:** D: F: si=*c* on second syllable of "[ver]bi"; the adopted *d* is from all other extant sources *(W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol).* **12,1:** D: F: although an *e-flat* sig immediately precedes "fit carnis," no flat appears in *W1* or *Ma,* and this portion is either lost or illegible in *Oxf-Sol* and *Csss 117*;* the coincident *a* in the T here at the start of the phrase has prompted the *e-natural* adopted in the edition. **Cauda at line 13,1:** TD: F: the *b-flat* simultaneity with *c* beginning the closing phrase of the cauda on "Vir[go]" is vouched for by all extant sources. **Final cauda (at line 16,2):** T: F: at L55 of the cauda, this voice gives 3li=*gac;* the adopted 2li,si=*af,f* is found in all other MSS *(W1,Oxf-Sol,Csss 117*);* at L58, the om si=*a* is from *Oxf-Sol,Csss 117*; W1* has the slightly different siP',siP,si,2li,2li=*b*P',*b*P,*a,ba,gc* opening this phrase.

LENE SPIRAT SPIRITUS
Conductus (H16/194)

F, f. 273v (7,9)

I

D [Le -

T Le -

*this passage different in all MSS, see alternatives at end

[Le] - ne spi - rat spi - ri - tus mis - [mis] - sus

[Le] - ne spi - rat spi - ri - tus mis - [mis] - sus

et
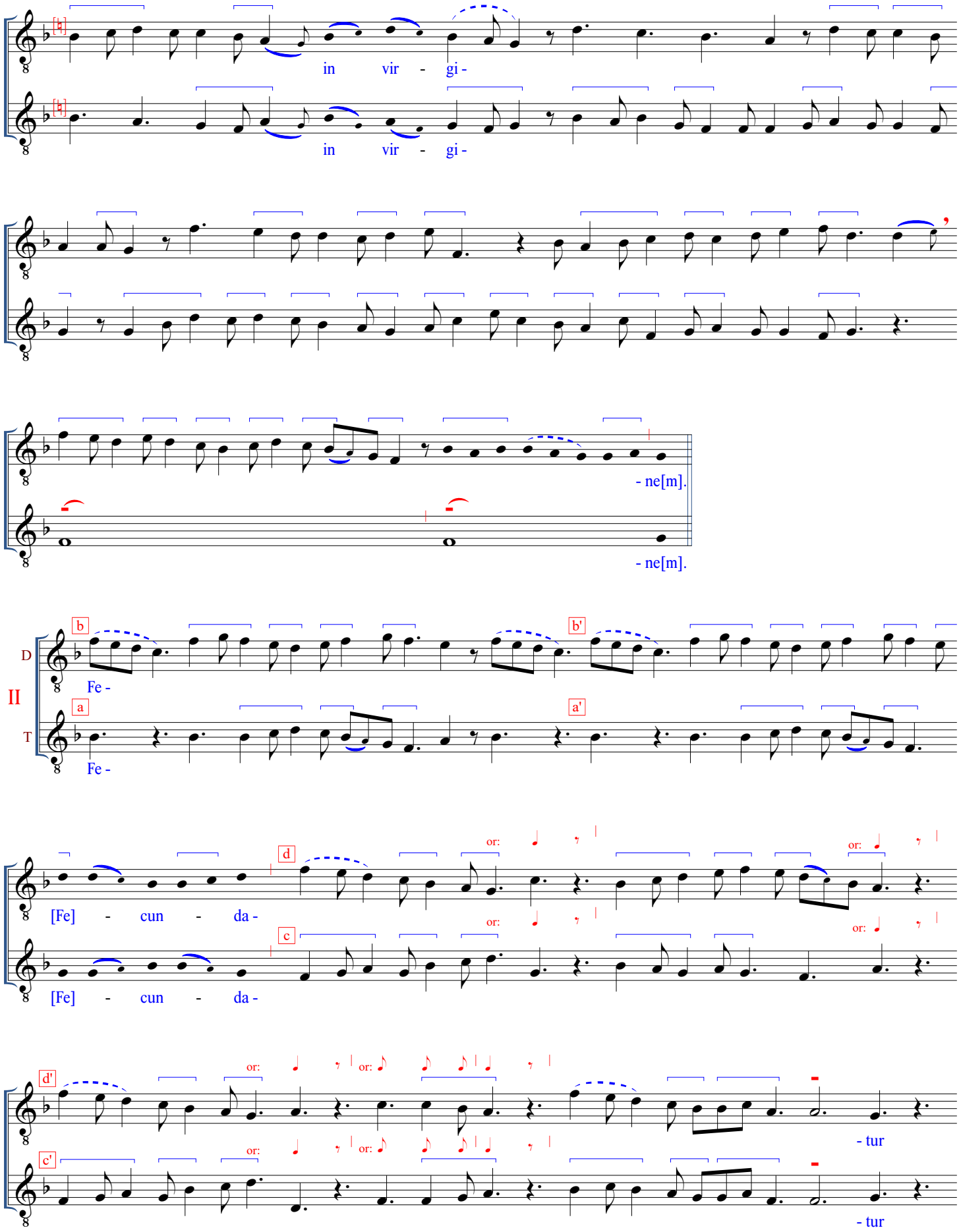
et
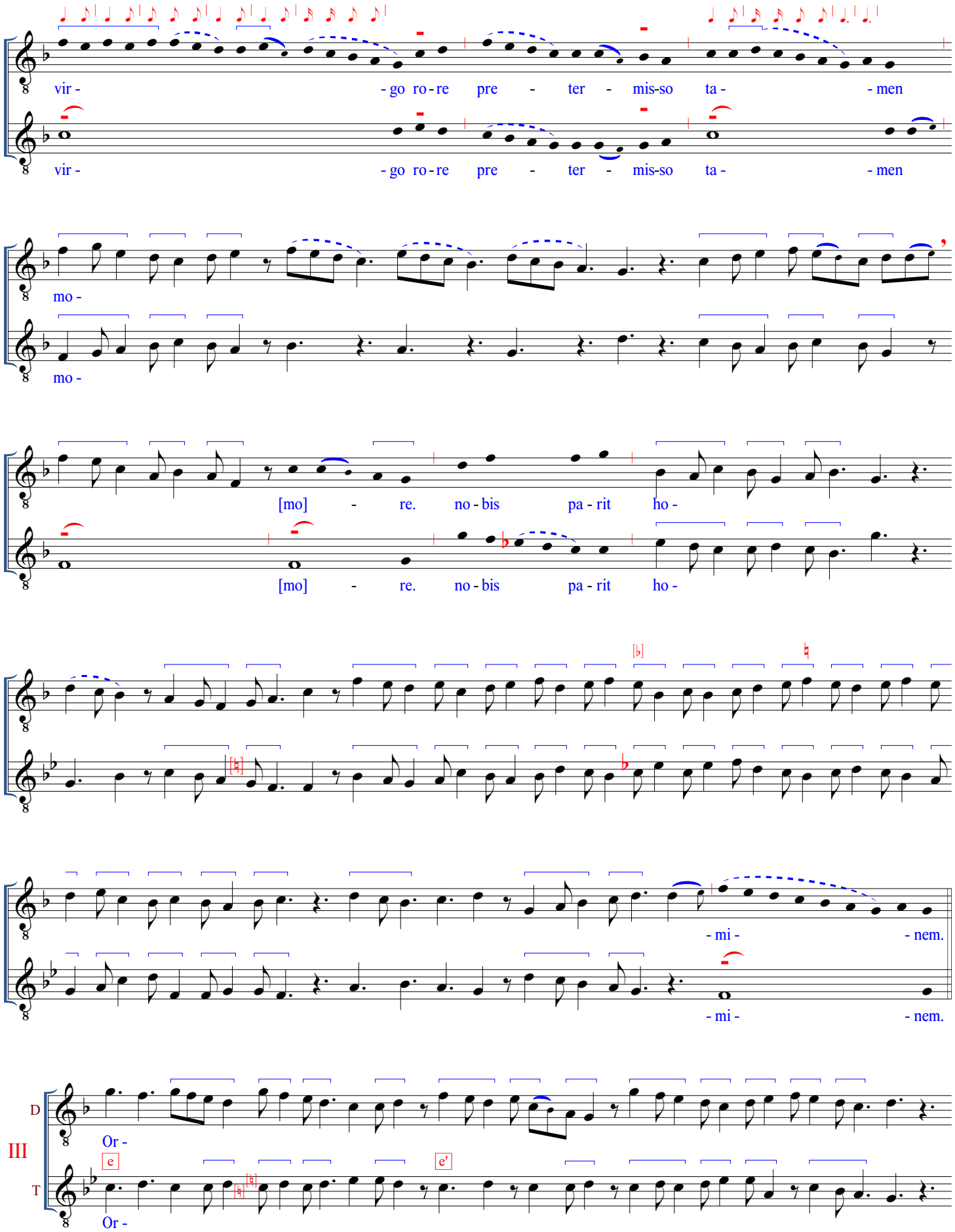
di - vi - ni - - tus. plu -
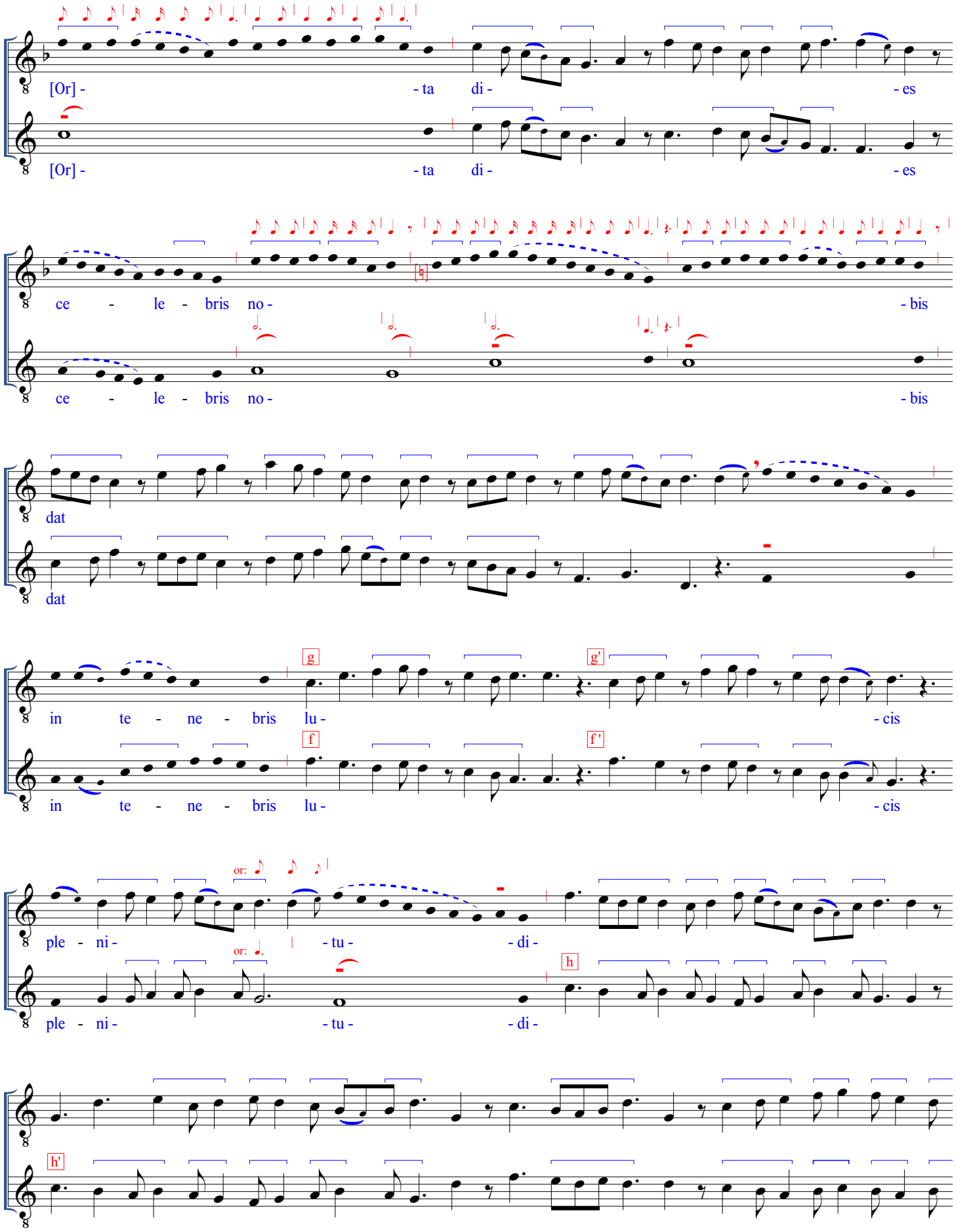
di - vi - ni - - tus. plu -

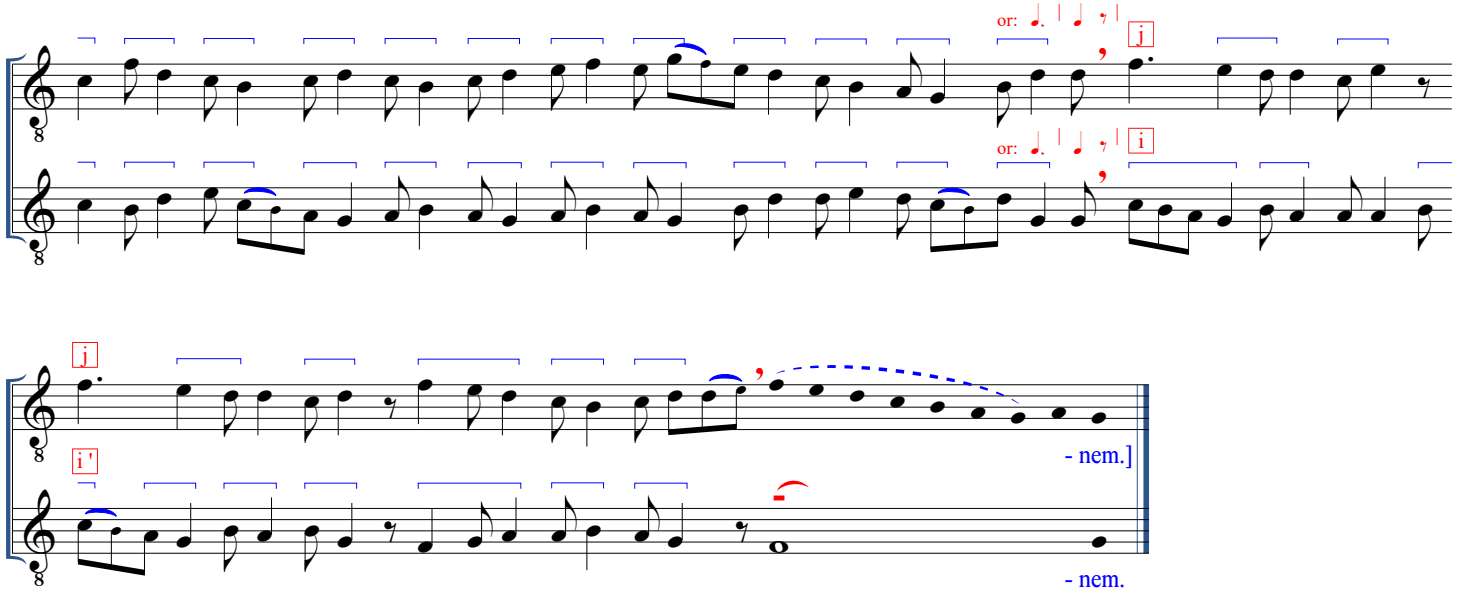
- it ros

- it ros


in vir - gi -
in vir - gi -
- ne[m].
- ne[m].
II
D
T
b
b'
a
a'
Fe -
Fe -
d
c
[Fe] - cun - da -
[Fe] - cun - da -
or:
d'
c'
- tur
- tur


vir - go ro - re pre - ter - mis-so ta - men
vir - go ro - re pre - ter - mis-so ta - men
mo -
mo -
[mo] - re. no - bis pa - rit ho -
[mo] - re. no - bis pa - rit ho -
- mi - nem.
- mi - nem.
III
D
T
Or -
Or -
e
e'

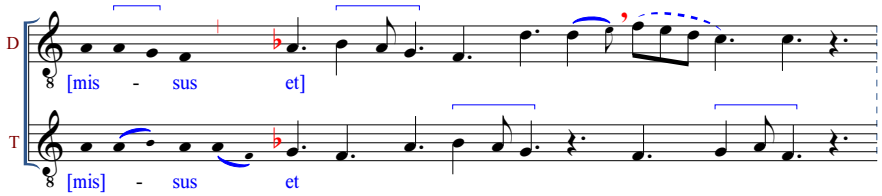

[Or] - - ta di - - es
[Or] - - ta di - - es
ce - le - bris no - - bis
ce - le - bris no - - bis
dat
dat
g
g'
in te - ne - bris lu - - cis
f
f'
in te - ne - bris lu - - cis
or:
ple - ni - - tu - - di -
or:
ple - ni - - tu - - di -
h
h'



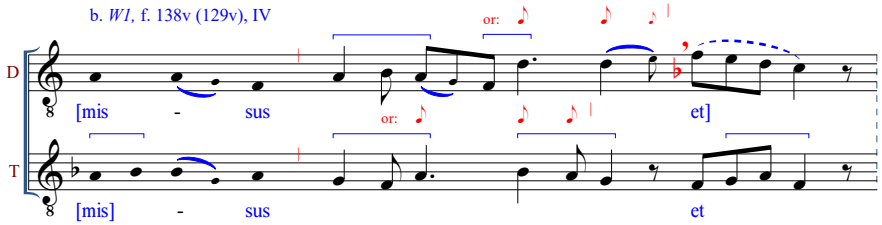
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*setting of line 2,1-2 and following cauda phrases in all three sources:

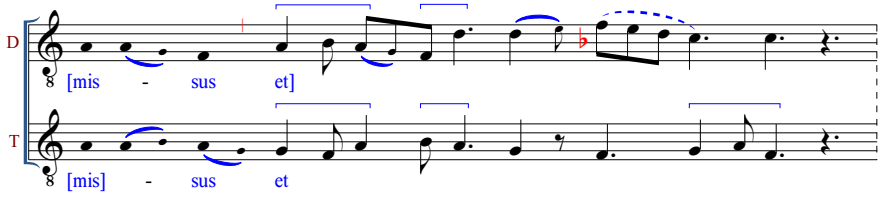
a. *F,* f. 274v, IV



b. *WI,* f. 138v (129v), IV



c. *Ma,* f. 49v, IV



LENE SPIRAT SPIRITUS

Conductus (H16/194)

F, f. 273v (7,9)

I Lene spirat spiritus,
missus et divinitus,
pluit ros in virgine[m].

Gently breathes the Spirit,
and, sent from heaven above,
dew rains down into a virgin.

II Fecundatur virgo rore,
pretermisso tamen more,
nobis parit hominem.

The virgin conceives from the dew,
and, custom being overlooked,
bears for us a man.

III Orta dies celebris;
nobis dat in tenebris
lucis plenitudinem.

A day of renown has dawned;
it confers on us the fullness
of light within the shadows.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 9, f. 273v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with this manuscript's standard array of a large painted filigreed initial for I and black-ink capitals for subsequent stanzas.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 55, f. 138v (129v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with a large painted initial for Strophe I that looks rather like an "I," a large decorated initial for III (as if it were the start of a work), and a guide letter, but nothing else, for II.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 13, f. 49v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; no initials or guide letters whatsoever.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Verse structure:** The strophic division proposed here is prompted, as usual, by the capital initials in *F* for Strophes II and III, supported by indications in the other sources. It is also conceivable that this poem was considered a single, nine-line stanza; the poetic structure of II (2[8p]+7pp) contrasts with the 3(7pp) isosyllabism of I and III. **Textual notes: 3-4:** for the figure of the grace of God coming to mankind in the form of dew, 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; 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 this see also the conductus/sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75/28), line 69, the works *Fulget in propatulo* (H17/134), lines 9-12, *O Maria virginei flos honoris* (E14/239), line 16, *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), line 9, and the openings of *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149) and *Gedeonis area* (F15/143). **5:** the breaking of the boundaries of custom is a frequent conceit that expresses the astounding event of Mary's bearing of Jesus. For just a few more specimens of this commonly encountered paradox among the Parisian musical repertory, see the motets *Stupeat natura / Latus* (vdW 232/M14), lines 1-3; *Homo quam sit pura / Latus*, (vdW 231/M14, a contrafact of the previous piece), lines 13-14; the conductus *O felix Bitura* (E8/232), lines 24-26; *Sonet vox ecclesie sonet* (I28/337), line 4; and the opening lines of *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80); *Parit preter morem* (E12/261); and *Nove geniture* (I13/224). **7:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xxiv), suggests this line refers to the feast of the Immaculate

Conception of the Virgin; but as the poem refers clearly to the incarnation of Jesus, an association with the Annunciation seems more apropos, whether or not this piece suggests a particular liturgical focus. **8-9:** this figure of light within shadow in connection with the birth of Jesus most directly suggests John, 1:5: "Et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt" ("And the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it"); see also the related expressions in 2 Peter, 1:19; Luke, 1:79; and Isaiah, 60:3.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 3,1:** F: pluens; adopted reading from *W1,Ma.* **3,4:** F,W1,Ma: "virgine" appears in all three sources, the editorial emendation adopted here (grammatically appropriate whether with the accusative case or the ablative, which may explain the extant MS readings) proposes the same end-rhyme for all three stanzas, which seems defensible, especially considering the possibility of an omitted abbreviation stroke over the final "e." On the other hand, *Ma* offers "plenitudine" for 9,2, which seems to imply identical last-line rhyme for Strophes I and III, thus setting them apart from II in rhyme scheme as well as poetic organization. Nevertheless, despite such congruity in *Ma,* the adoption of its reading for Strophe III would result in a rather awkward grammatical rendering without a direct object for the verb. **MUSIC: Line 2,1-2:** the setting of "missus et" and the two cauda phrases immediately following are rendered slightly differently in each of the three sources; see the alternatives given at the end of the transcription. **Cauda on line 6,3:** T: F: beginning with the second note of the second phrase (at L8), four notes are 3 higher (=*d'edc*) before the change of folio; corrected via *W1,Ma.*

ISTA DIES CELEBRARI
Conductus (H30/189)

F, f. 274v (7,10)

I

D: [I - sta di - es ce-le-bra - ri pro-me-re - tur et a - ma -

T: I - sta di - es ce-le-bra - ri pro-me-re - tur et a - ma -

- ri fe-sta su - per o - mni - a.

- ri fe-sta su - per o - mni - a.

II

D: To - tus mun - dus e-la-bo - ret ut ex-tol - lat et ho - no -

T: To - tus mun - dus e-la-bo - ret ut ex-tol - lat et ho - no -

- ret chri-sti na - ta - li - ci - a.

- ret chri-sti na - ta - li - ci - a.

III
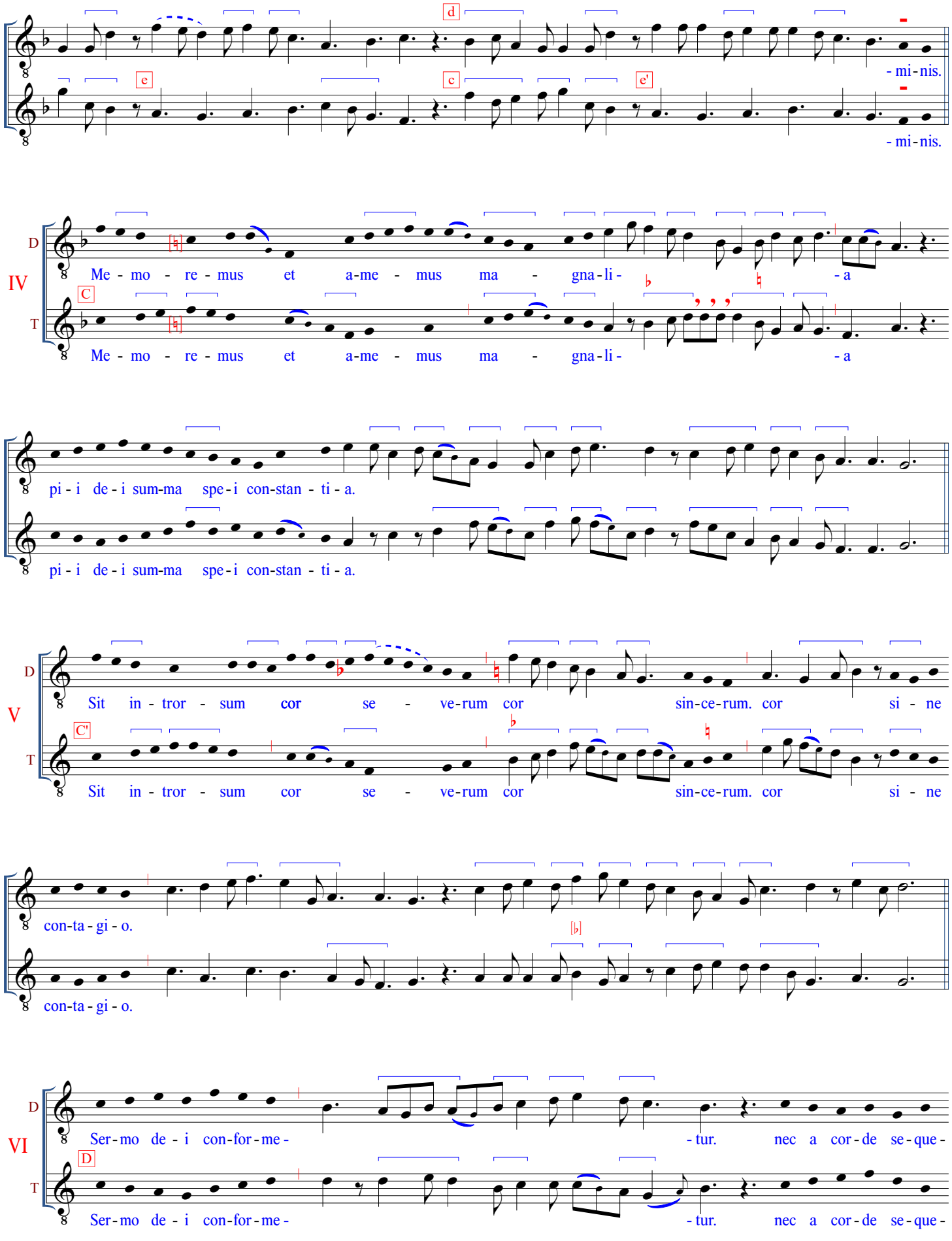
D: Pu-er nat-us de vir - gi - ne vir-tu - te san - cti flam-mi - nis sa - cri fon-tis
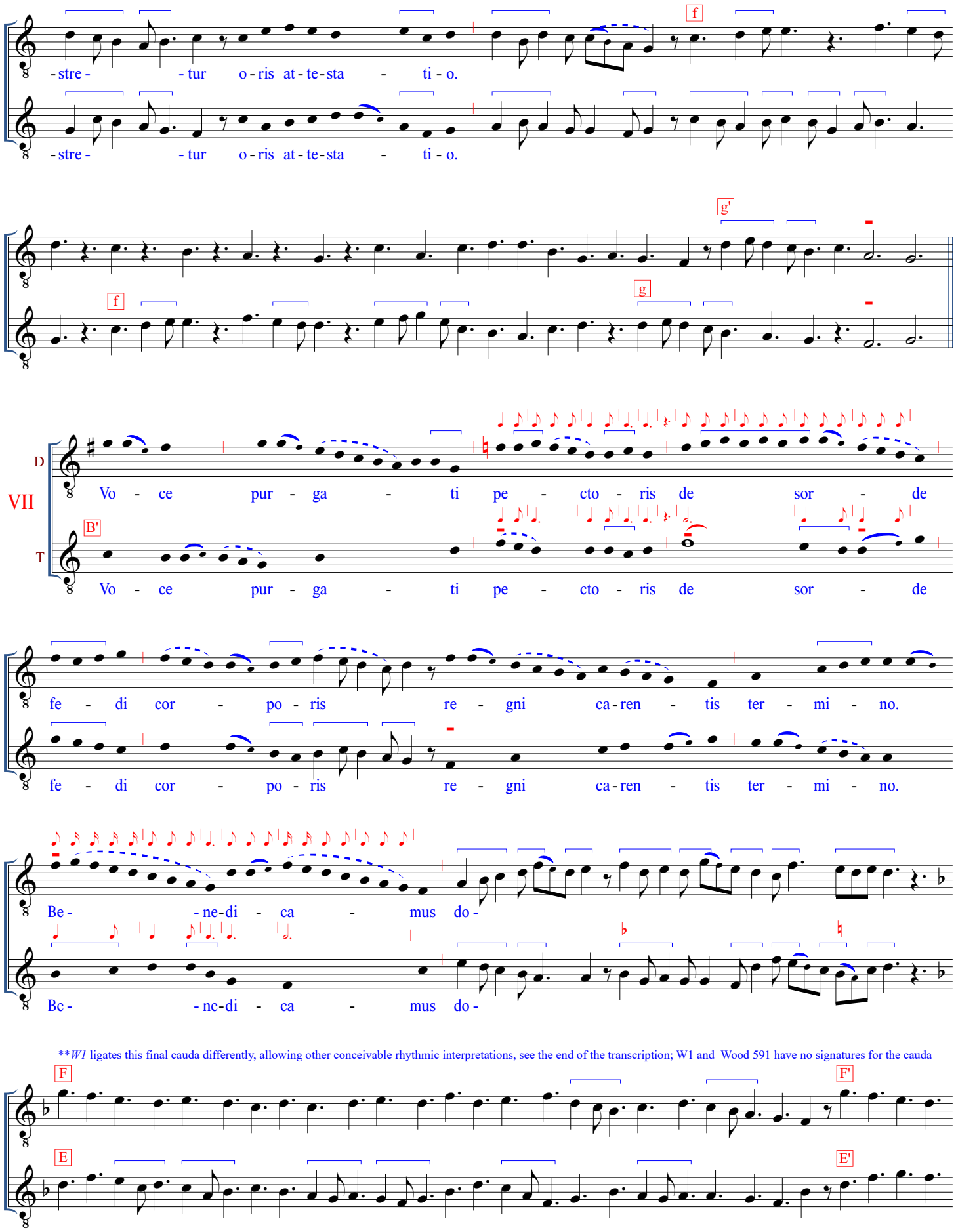
T: Pu-er nat-us de vir - gi - ne vir-tu - te san - cti flam-mi - nis sa - cri fon-tis

**W1,Wood 591* supply alternative readings; see at end

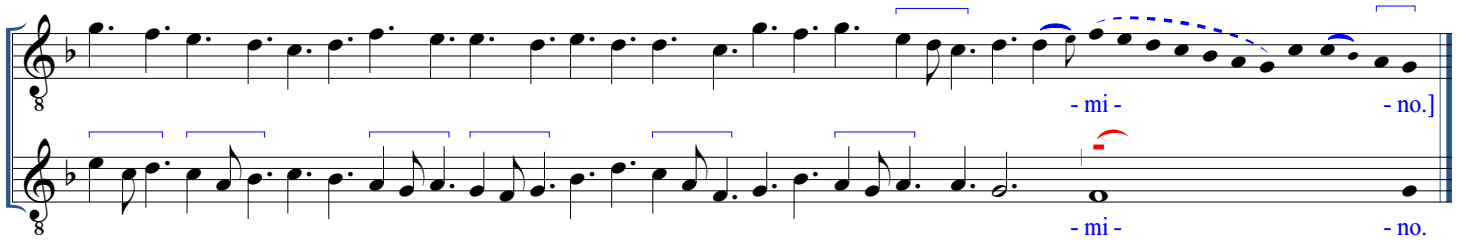
a - sper - gi - ne pur - ga - [♭] - vit cul - pam ho -

a - sper - gi - ne pur - ga - - vit cul - pam ho -


d
e
c
e'
- mi - nis.
- mi - nis.
IV
D
T
C
Me - mo - re - mus et a-me - mus ma - gna-li - - a
Me - mo - re - mus et a-me - mus ma - gna-li - - a
pi - i de - i sum-ma spe-i con-stan - ti - a.
pi - i de - i sum-ma spe-i con-stan - ti - a.
V
D
T
C'
Sit in - tror - sum cor se - ve-rum cor sin-ce-rum. cor si - ne
Sit in - tror - sum cor se - ve-rum cor sin-ce-rum. cor si - ne
con-ta - gi - o.
con-ta - gi - o.
VI
D
T
D
Ser-mo de - i con-for-me - - tur. nec a cor-de se-que-
Ser-mo de - i con-for-me - - tur. nec a cor-de se-que-



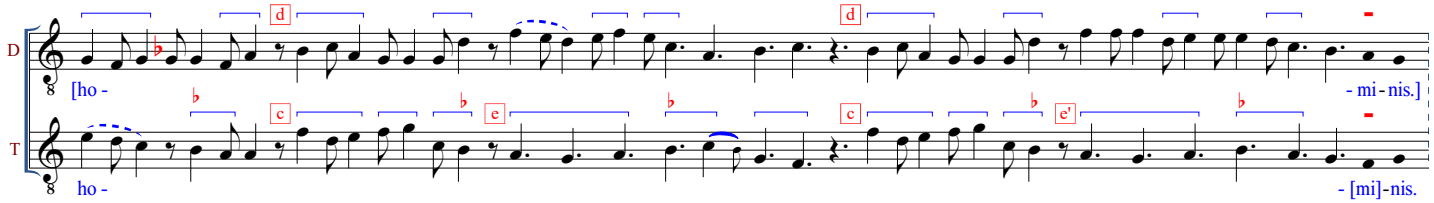
****W1* ligates this final cauda differently, allowing other conceivable rhythmic interpretations, see the end of the transcription; W1 and Wood 591 have no signatures for the cauda*



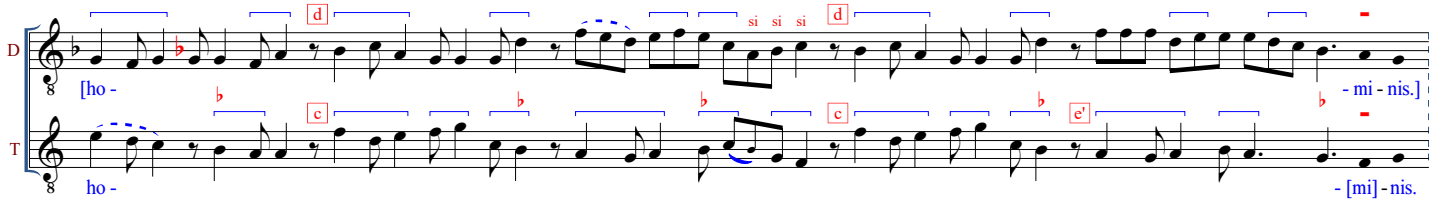
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda on line 10,3 ("ho[minis]"), closing Strophe III

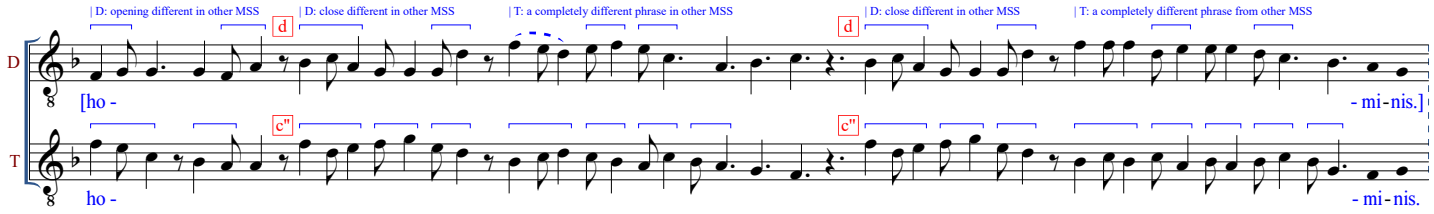
a. *W1,* f. 169r (160r), III – with the D read strictly in mode 1, T with occasional irregularities (gives same results as in *F,Ma – Wood 591* different)



b. *W1,* f. 169r (160r), III – with the T read strictly in mode 1, D in faster values (with irregular reading for end of third D phrase)

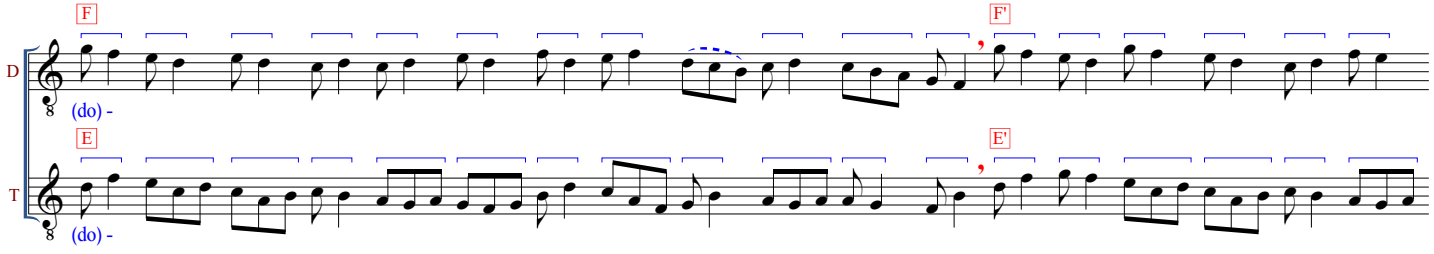


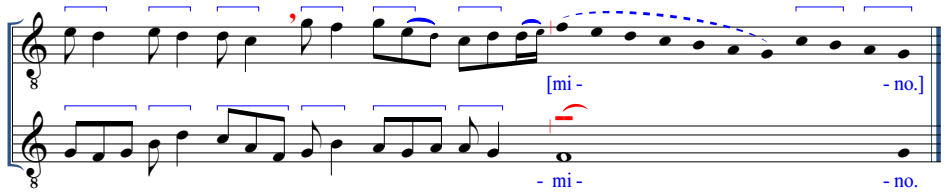
c. *Wood 591,* f. 3v, III – with differing, more consonant readings in both parts



**Closing section of final cauda, line 25,2 ("[do]mino"), concluding Strophe VII: *W1,* f. 169v (160v), V

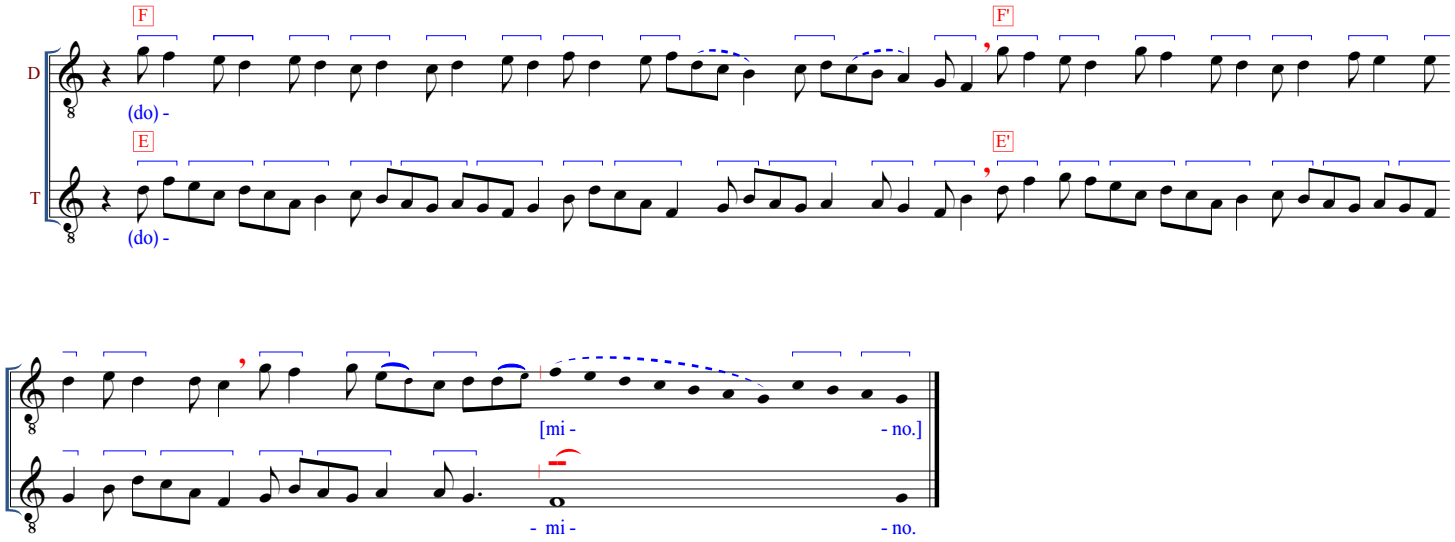
a. reading in mode 2





(continued)

b. reading in “upbeat” mode 1



ISTA DIES CELEBRARI
Conductus (H30/189)

F, f. 274v (7,10)

I	Ista dies celebrari promeretur et amari festa super omnia.		This day deserves to be celebrated and beloved as a feast beyond all others.
II	Totus mundus elaboret, ut extollat et honoret Christi natalicia.	5	Let the whole world endeavor to extol and honor Christ's day of birth.
III	Puer, natus de virgine virtute sancti flamminis, sacri fontis aspergine purgavit culpam hominis.	10	A child, born of a virgin through the power of the Holy Spirit, has purged the fault of mankind through the sprinkling of a sacred spring.
IV	Memoremus et amemus magnalia pii dei summa spei constantia.		Let us remember and love the mighty works of merciful God, with the utmost steadfastness of hope.
V	Sit introrsum cor severum, cor sincerum, cor sine contagio.	15	Let there be within an austere heart, a sincere heart, a heart without blemish.
VI	Sermo dei conformetur, nec a corde sequestretur oris attestatio.	20	Let the word of God be skillfully fashioned, and let not the testimony of the mouth be separated from the heart.
VII	Voce purgati pectoris de sorde fedi corporis, regni carentis termino		With the voice of a breast cleansed from the filth of a foul body, *Let us bless the Lord*
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*	25	of the kingdom that has no end.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 10, f. 274v: a2, Strophes I-VII and BD, complete, with subsequent stanzas and BD indicated by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 83, f. 168v (159v): a2, Strophes I-VII and BD, complete; the second and fifth stanzas show no special demarcations, beginning with regularly formed letters, and the one for Strophe V appears slightly worn or faded; the others are painted, except for only an apparent guide letter opening VII and the capital at the start of the BD at line 25.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 17, f. 56r: a2, Strophes I-VII and BD, complete; no opening initial or guide letters supplied for Strophes II-III, VI-VII; IV has a large painted and filigreed capital, V an uppercase initial; the text of the closing BD shows no special treatment whatsoever.

Wood 591 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Wood 591; OxWood), no. 6, f. 4r:[1] a2, Strophes I-VII and BD, essentially complete despite the trimming of the margins, with no special treatment of the opening letters of Strophe II or the Benedicamus, but with painted initials for all other stanzas, except VII, which begins with a capital. Perhaps because this source first came to light as a set of flyleaves bound into a sixteenth-century printed book, the modern numbering of its folios (as given in DIAMM) is reversed from the original sequence, so *Ista dies* runs through folios 4r, 3v, and 3r in turn. The trimming of the right margin of f. 4r comes close to cutting off the T ligature over "ho[noret]" at line 5,3, but the entire figure can be construed; similarly, on the final page (f. 3r), the last text syllable of the poem at line 25,2 and any notational figures above it have been trimmed away. Folios 3v and 4r (as well as other leaves in this source) have marginal jottings in English in a hand (or hands) from the late sixteenth century. Folio 3v, for example, contains the names of Edward Fferrers and Richard Lane written several times, along with short phrases such as "so be it," "amen," and others. Folio 3r has at the bottom: "on sunday the xxxth of July in the yeare of oure Lord one thousand five hundred foure score and xii the xxxiiiith of quene elisabeth."[2]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-3:** as clarified by line 6, the occasion of the feast is Christmas. **7:** cf. 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 ..."); and Isaiah, 7:14: "... ecce virgo cocipiet, et pariet filium ..." ("... Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son ..."). **8:** cf. Luke, 1:35.[3] **9-10:** this image has several possible areas of significance: it may refer to baptism, to the blood of Christ shed to redeem mankind (cf. Hebrews, 9:13-14),[4] or to Christ himself (see Revelation, 21:6).[5] For images of Christ and the Holy Spirit as water *(fons, rivulus, flumen)* drawn from the *Allegoriae* of

---

[1]Images available here. Pieces are numbered according to the description in RISM. The folio numbering in RISM (as explained further in the description of this source) is not indicative of the original MS order; as it states on the DIAMM site: "f. 1-2v is really f. 2v-1, since these pages are upside down in the source. Moreover, rectos are really versos and vice versa." The MS preserves 7 conductus, nos. 5-7 belonging to the Notre Dame repertory. Nos. 1-4 are English pieces. For an alternative presentation of the materials in this source that features high-quality images, a catalog, and description, but which employs a revised foliation system, 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), p. 29, plates 143-150.

[2]Despite some difficulty in making out the exact day of the month here – and assuming the writer is not mistaken – 30 July 1592 does correspond to a Sunday at the end of July in the 34th year of the reign of Elizabeth I in the old Julian calendar (which England followed until 1752) and thus gives the most satisfactory result.

[3]Luke, 1:35: "Et respondens angelus dixit ei: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei" ("And the angel answering, said to her: The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the most High shall overshadow you. And therefore also the holy one which shall be born of you shall be called the Son of God.").

[4]Hebrews, 9:13-14: "Si enim sanguis hircorum et taurorum, et cinis vitulae aspersus inquinatos sanctificat ad emundationem carnis: quanto magis sanguis Christi, qui per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo, emundabit conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis, ad serviendum Deo viventi?" ("For if the blood of goats and of oxen, and the ashes of a heifer being sprinkled, may sanctify such as are defiled, to the cleansing of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Spirit offered himself unspotted unto God, cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?")

[5]Revelation, 21:6: "Et dixit mihi: Factum est: ego sum alpha et omega, initium et finis. Ego sitienti dabo de fonte aquae vitae, gratis" ("And he said to me: 'It is done. I am Alpha and Omega; the beginning and the end. To him that thirsts, I will give from the fountain of the water of life, freely.' ").

Rabanus Maurus, see David A. Traill,"Biblical Exegesis," 334.[6] **19:** possibly a reference to the execution of readings during liturgical celebrations, urging that they be performed with aplomb; cf. 1 Peter, 4:11.[7]
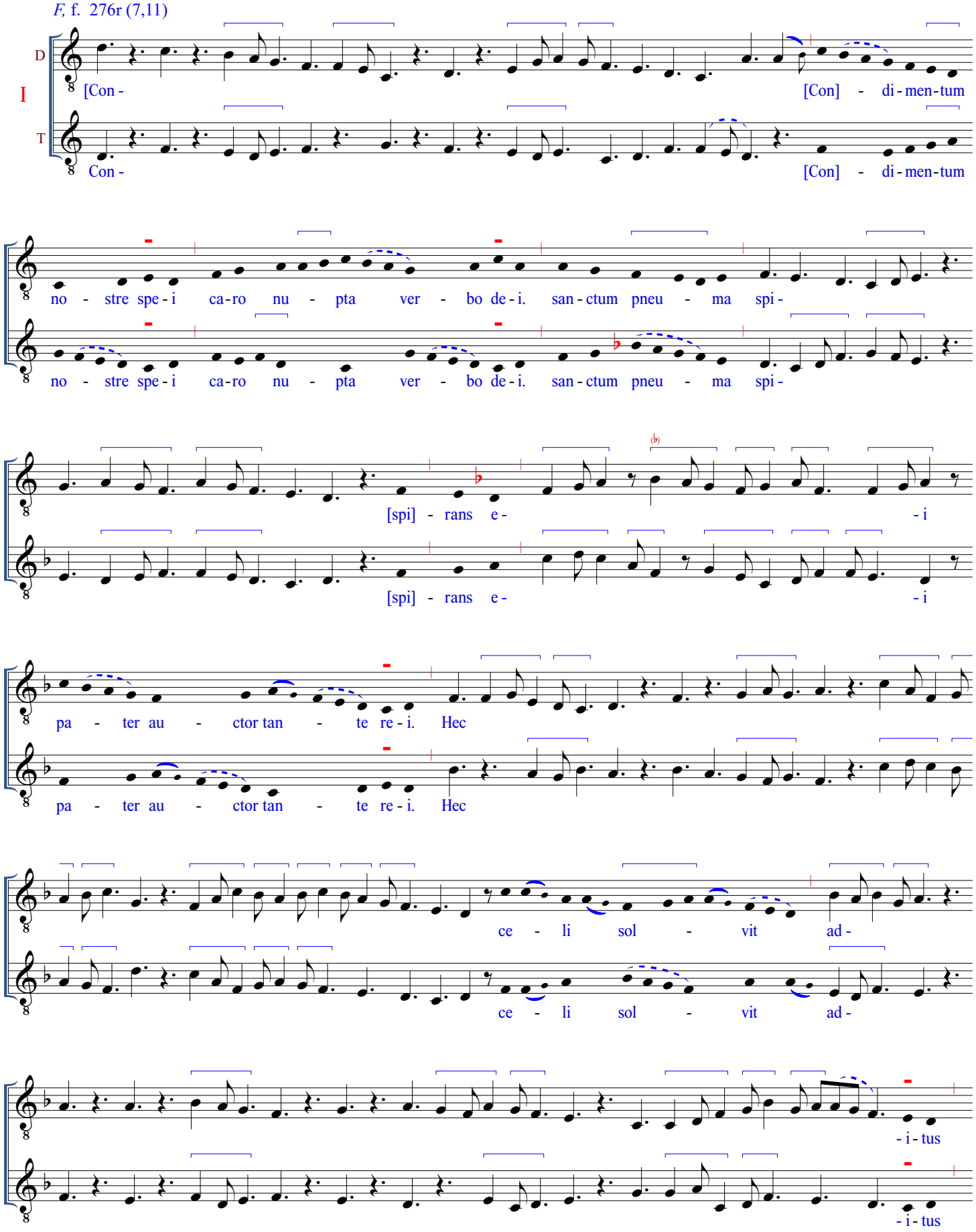
Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Reflecting somewhat the form of the music (q.v. below), the poetic schemes of Strophe I=II=VI and III=VII; and although they begin with similar music, the schemes of Strophes IV and V are notably divergent from all other stanzas and from themselves. **15,2:** F: introsum; adopted reading from *W1,Wood 591; Ma* has introssum. **MUSIC: Motivic sharing with other works:** The opening T phrase 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. **Musical repetition:** There is much larger-scale internal repetition in this piece, marked in this instance by upper-case letters above the respective staves. The T of Strophe I=II, and III is quite close to VII, while the opening phrases of IV=V, resulting in AABCC'DB'. Additionally, the two-voice double cursus of the closing cauda furnishes EE' (with FF' in the D). This leaves VI (D) as something of a musical stand-alone, despite its structural connections to the poetry of I and II. Occasionally smaller-scale repeated segments may arise in the D as well as the T voice; these also have been signaled above the staves, but in lower case letters. **Cauda on Line 10,1:** T: F: the different length of the longer rest at L2 in this short melisma on "[pur]ga[vit]" is actually distinguished in *Ma* by a double stroke, the only time this type of indication appears in this piece within this source, although other ternary-long rests are required elsewhere (such as in the closing cauda). **Cauda on line 10,3 (closing Strophe III):** T: W1: the third and fifth phrases of the passage on "ho[minis]"(L9-L16 and L21-L26 in the transcription) are ligated as if to be read in rhythmic mode 1; this will not fit with the D material if it is read in a consistent manner. In contrast to all other sources, *Wood 591* has different material altogether for these two T passages, which happens to improve the harmony; see the alternative renditions given at the end of the transcription. **Cauda on line 12:** T: F: for the four repeated *d*'s separated by strokes in the first phrase of this short cauda on "[magna]li[a]," all other sources have only three (=L,B,L), and only *W1* also includes intervening strokes. **Final cauda (on line 25,2, closing Strophe VII):** the *Benedicamus* conclusion, not based on any other known source, is found in all MSS, and fits the poetry. TD: W1: here the ligation is different from all other sources; each pair of si appears as 2li, while the 3li or 3C figures remain as is. This may not, on the face of it, suggest an alternative rhythmic mode, as the 2li may be read here as LL; nonetheless, different interpretations are conceivable, and two have been supplied at the end of the transcription. Neither *W1* nor *Wood 591* displays *b-flat* signatures throughout this cauda.
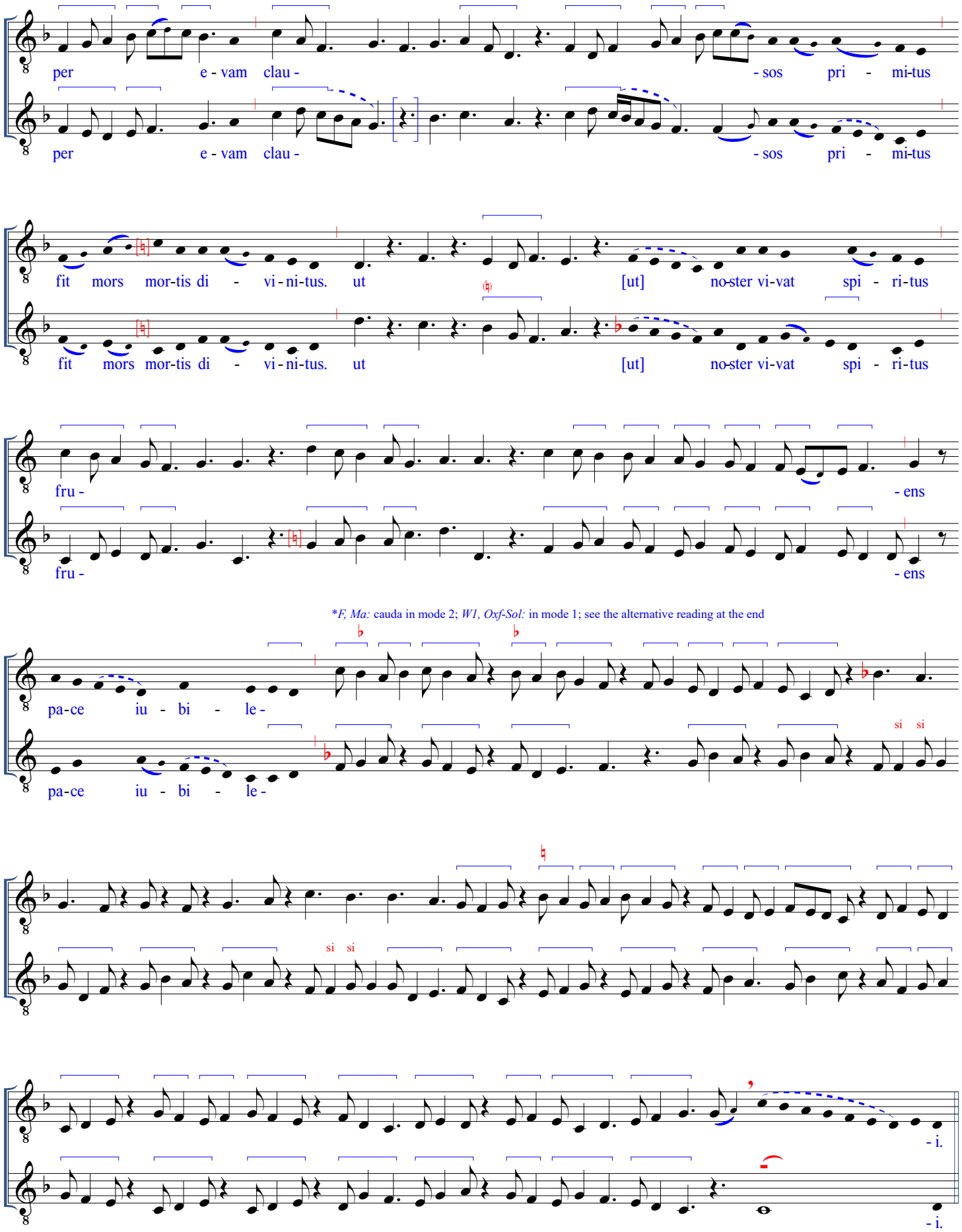
[6] David A. Traill,"Biblical Exegesis and Medieval Latin Lyric: Interpretational Problems in *Nutante mundi cardine, Relegentur ab area* and *Vite perdite,*" *The Journal of Medieval Latin,* 17 (2007): 329-341.

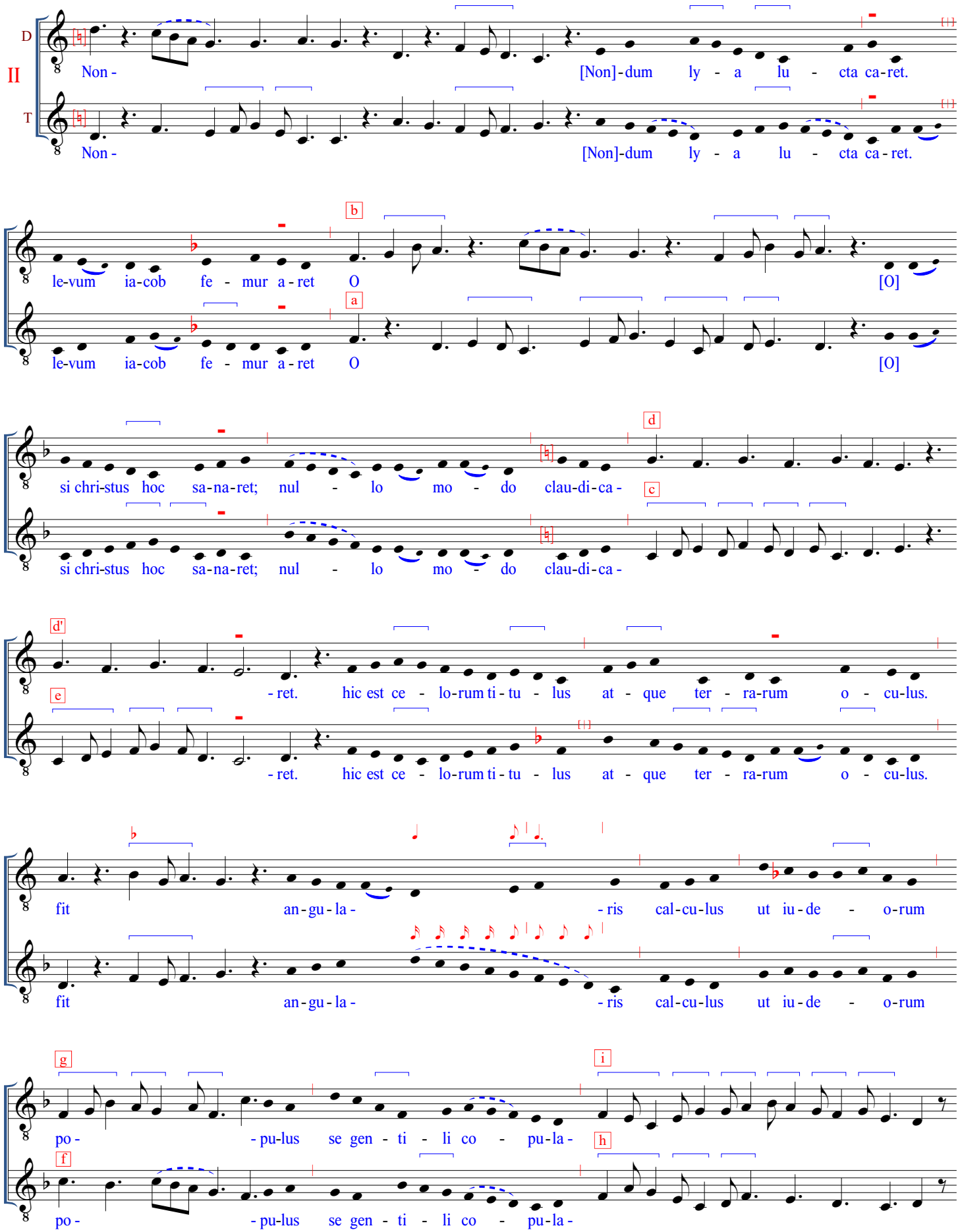
[7] 1 Peter, 4:11: "Si quis loquitur, quasi sermones Dei: si quis ministrat, tamquam ex virtute, quam administrat Deus: ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus per Jesum Christum: cui est gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen" ("If any man speak, let him speak, as the words of God. If any man minister, let him do it, as of the power, which God administers: that in all things God may be honored through Jesus Christ: to whom is glory and empire for ever and ever. Amen.").

CONDIMENTUM NOSTRE SPEI
Conductus (H8/67)

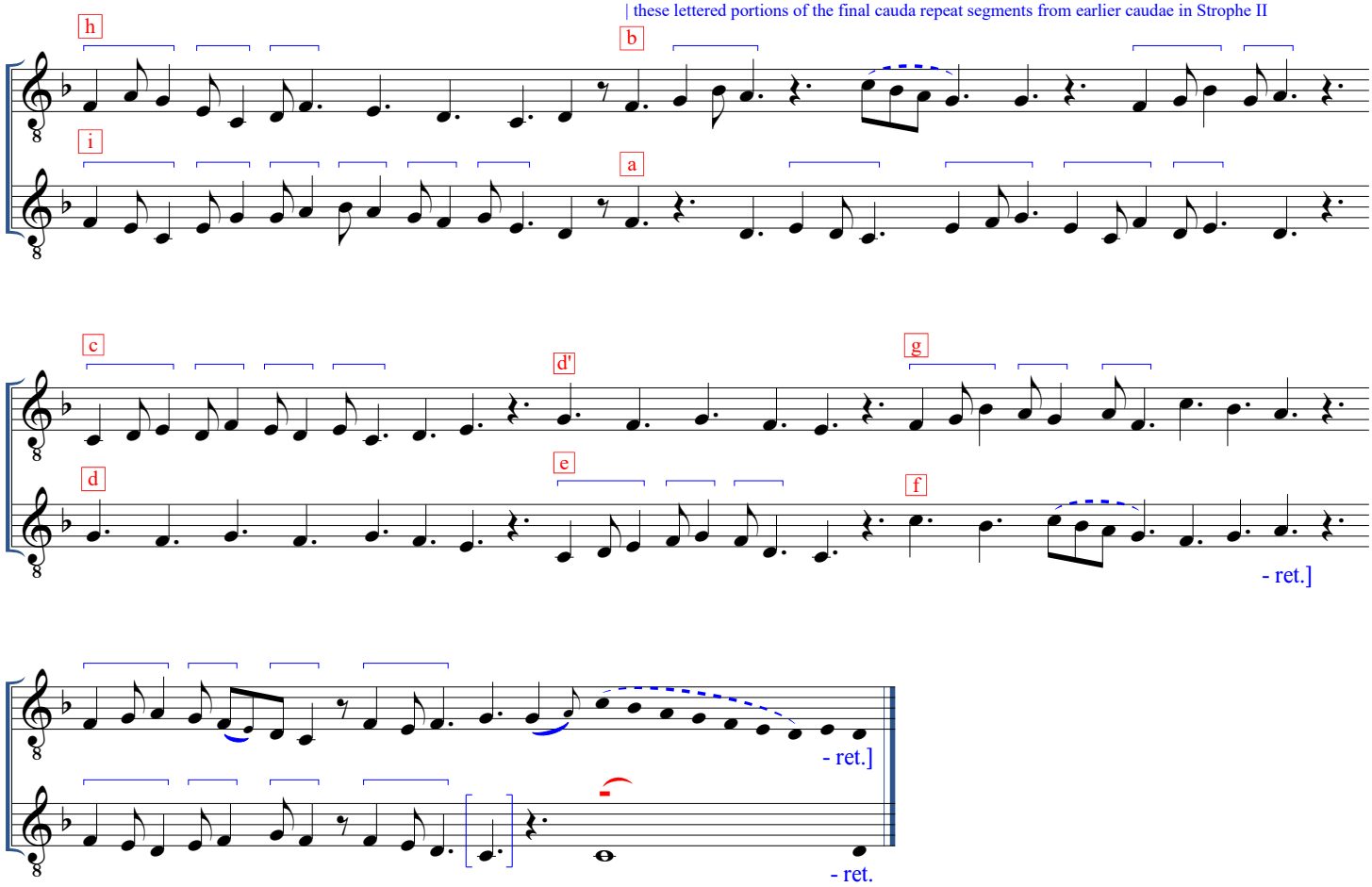
F, f. 276r (7,11)




per e - vam clau - - sos pri - mi-tus
per e - vam clau - - sos pri - mi-tus
fit mors mor-tis di - vi - ni-tus. ut [ut] no-ster vi-vat spi - ri-tus
fit mors mor-tis di - vi - ni-tus. ut [ut] no-ster vi-vat spi - ri-tus
fru - - ens
fru - - ens
F, Ma: cauda in mode 2; *W1, Oxf-Sol:* in mode 1; see the alternative reading at the end
pa-ce iu - bi - le -
pa-ce iu - bi - le -
si si
si si
- i.
- i.
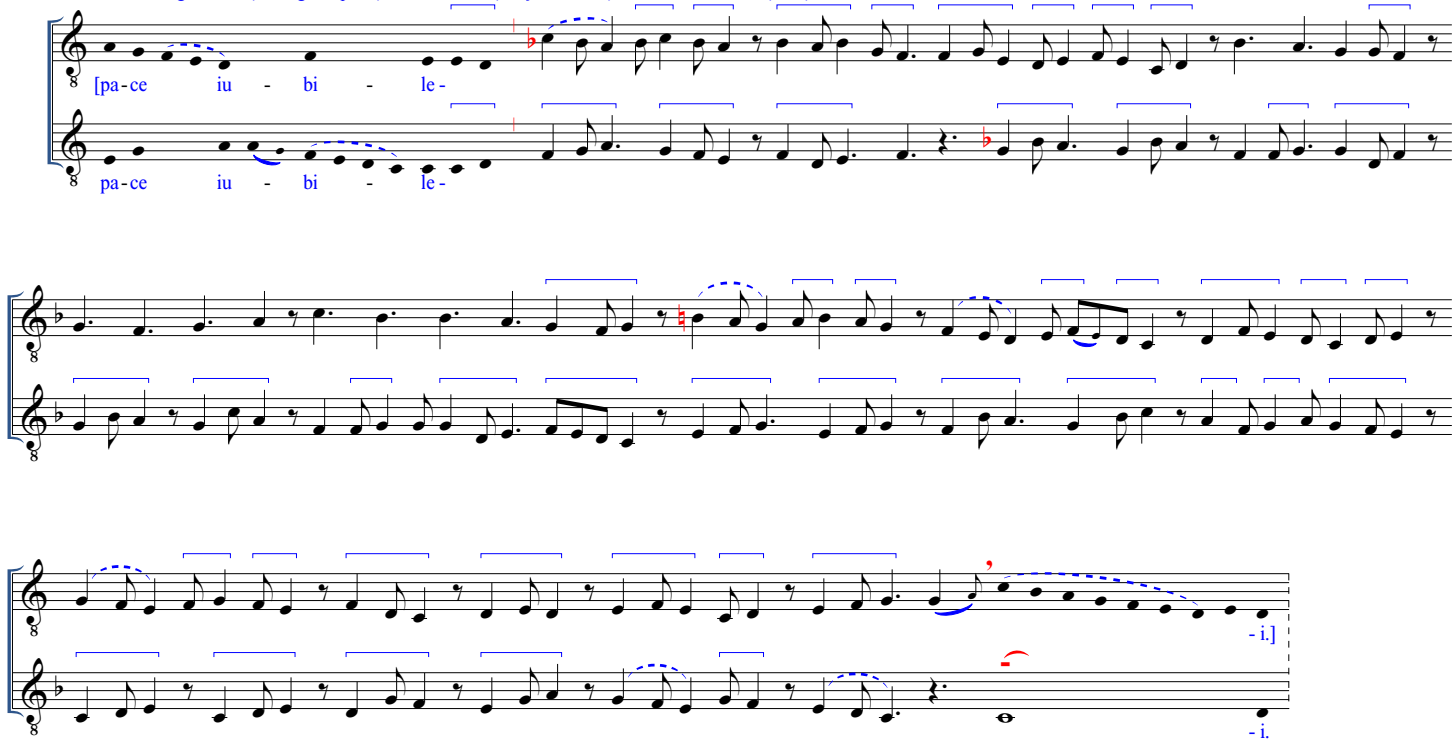

II
D
T
Non - [Non]-dum ly - a lu - cta ca-ret.
Non - [Non]-dum ly - a lu - cta ca - ret.
b
a
le-vum ia-cob fe - mur a - ret O [O]
le-vum ia-cob fe - mur a - ret O [O]
d
c
si chri-stus hoc sa-na-ret; nul - lo mo - do clau-di-ca -
si chri-stus hoc sa-na-ret; nul - lo mo - do clau-di-ca -
d'
e
- ret. hic est ce - lo-rum ti - tu - lus at - que ter - ra-rum o - cu-lus.
- ret. hic est ce - lo-rum ti - tu - lus at - que ter - ra-rum o - cu-lus.
fit an-gu-la- - ris cal-cu-lus ut iu-de - o-rum
fit an-gu-la- - ris cal-cu-lus ut iu-de - o-rum
g
i
h
f
po - - pu-lus se gen - ti - li co - pu-la -
po - - pu-lus se gen - ti - li co - pu-la -

| these lettered portions of the final cauda repeat segments from earlier caudae in Strophe II



ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda ending line 9,3 (closing Strophe I): *OxAuct,* f. 2v (=*Oxf-Sol,* no. 3) – version in mode 1 (=*W1*):



CONDIMENTUM NOSTRE SPEI

Conductus (H8/67)

F, f. 276r (7,11)

I Condimentum nostre spei
caro nupta verbo dei,
sanctum pneuma spirans ei,
pater auctor tante rei.

Hec celi solvit aditus,
per Evam clausos primitus.
Fit mors mortis divinitus,
ut noster vivat spiritus,
fruens pace iubilei.

II Nondum Lya lucta caret;
levum Iacob femur aret.

O, si Christus hoc sanaret,
nullo modo claudicaret!
Hic est celorum titulus
atque terrarum oculus.
Fit angularis calculus
ut Iudeorum populus
se Gentili copularet.

The seasoning of our hope is
the flesh married to God's Word,
the Holy Spirit inspiring it,
and the Father as author of so great an event.

It unbars heaven's gates,
closed since time gone by because of Eve.
Death's own death divinely comes to pass,
so that our spirit may live,
enjoying a jubilee's peace.

Not yet is Leah free from the wrestling match,
and Jacob's left thigh is withered.

Oh, if Christ would only heal it,
never would he limp again!
He is the pillar of the heavens
and the eye of the earth.
He becomes the cornerstone
so that the Jewish people
might join themselves to the Gentiles.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 11, f. 276r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with capital letters beginning lines 5 and 12 as well as 10 (the start of Strophe II), reflected in the text above by additional line breaks.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 42, f. 123r (114r): a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with a larger painted initial beginning lines 1 and 14, with a smaller one opening 10 (Strophe II).

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 10, f. 45r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete; opening initial never accomplished, but a filigreed one is supplied for line 10 to signal Strophe II.

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 3 (=*OxAuct* no. 3), opening the piece on the leaf given as f. 2r (= pag. 3) on the CPI website and in the DIAMM inventory, and continuing on to f. 2v (= pag. 4), starting with line 5,4 ("aditus");[2] further material

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[2]In the accompanying descriptions of the images as viewed here at DIAMM, however, the larger leaf that contains the start of the piece (f. 2r) is described as "front endpaper recto + stub (pag. 6 & 3)" – with "pag. 3" (the right half of the larger folio) containing the start of the work in question here – while "fol. i r" appears on the identifying label printed upon the image itself. Similarly, the continuation (f. 2v) is described as "front endpaper verso (pag. 4 & 5)" and as "fol. i v" on the image label – with "pag. 4" (the left side of the larger folio) containing the residuum of *Condimentum*. Folios 2r and 2v in the description above thus include the portions labeled as "pag. 3" and "pag. 4" in the images section of this source in DIAMM.

from f. 2r has been transferred via mirror-image offset to the front binding board[3] that it was originally pasted to as a flyleaf: a2; fragmentary; text and music mostly preserved from the beginning of the piece up through the figure immediately following the melisma over line 12,1 ("O [si christus]" of Strophe II), although the remains of the text and music of lines 4-5,3 (at the bottom of the opening leaf) are heavily damaged and very difficult to make out. Within the remains of the verbal text, the final letter/syllable of Strophe I is written overly large, and a large capital opens Strophe II.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-4:** each member of the Trinity surfaces in this opening stanza. **5-6:** although the "hec" of line 5,1 might conceivably refer to the Virgin (especially in view of the fact that a contrasting mention of Eve immediately follows) and could be rendered as "she," it seems to me more likely that the antecedent is the "great event" ("tante rei") in line 4. The subsequent reference to Eve in line 6 relates to the inculcation of original sin as described in Genesis, 3. **7:** for the frequently encountered conceit of death being overcome by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55. **9:** see Leviticus, 25:10-17, which describes the fifty-year jubilee cycle and how it is celebrated. For further references to the year of jubilee in the Parisian conductus repertory, see the notes to the text of *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), line 27, and *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16), lines 1-2. Additional mention of jubilees appears in the conductus *Adest annus iubileus* (J56/8), line 1, *Sol de sole progrediens* (Q03/-), lines 46-47; and *Nunc angelorum gloria* (L98/-), in the final lines of either Strophe II or IV, depending on the specific version of the text. **10-13:** symbolic of the Jews' refusal to embrace Christ. Leah was a wife of Jacob (see Genesis, 29:5-30:35). She was deceitfully married to him after he had labored for seven years in the fields of her father Laban in an attempt to marry her younger sister Rachel, which Jacob eventually accomplished after another seven years of toil under Laban. Jacob's first children were with Leah; he then had offspring with Rachel's as well as Leah's servants, before Rachel gave birth to her first child, Joseph, Jacob's favorite (Genesis, 37:3). Leah and Rachel are frequently described in medieval exegesis as figures of Synagogue and Church, or of Jews and Gentiles, respectively (see Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:xvii, note 4; and my remarks on the text of the conductus *Excitatur caritas in Yericho* [F30/111], lines 3-6, which rely on Anderson's source). For the wrestling match invoked in line 10, see Genesis, 32:24-32, where Jacob tussles with a being often described as an angel (cf. the cross-reference to the event in Hosea, 12:4), but identified as a man in Genesis with implications that he may be God himself (see Genesis, 32:28 and 30). This opponent wounds a tendon in Jacob's thigh, withering it and rendering him lame. Nonetheless, Jacob ends up successful in the competition; he thereupon compels his antagonist to bless him, which he does, and furthermore changes Jacob's name to Israel. The biblical citation, though, unlike the conductus, does not specify which of Jacob's legs was wounded, and the fact that the injury here affects his left thigh ("levum ... femur") appears significant given the common negative associations of left versus right. The same biblical passage concerning the wrestling match also contains an explanation of a Jewish dietary restriction, mentioned in Genesis, 32:32, which says that, as a result of the struggle with the angel, the children of Israel do not eat the corresponding tendons of other animals, thus making even more clear the association of the poem's image with the Jews. Based on the references to Isidore of Seville's *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum,* given in Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:xvii, note 5,[4] which elaborates upon this theme, the allusions to the struggle in lines 10-12 of the conductus suggest that Leah, representing the Jews, has not

[3]Described in the images of this source in DIAMM as "front board offset."

[4]Anderson's reference to the column number of *PL* 83 should read "col. 266," not "206."

prevailed fully in (or has not completed) the contest with the angel; furthermore, the fact that Jacob/Israel still limps after the match indicates that he still requires acceptance of grace from Christ to be fully mended. **14:** The use of the word "titulus" conveys a number of meanings; perhaps in the immediate context of the conductus poem, placed as it is before the image of the cornerstone that appears in line 16, the particular connotation here might suggest a type of pillar or monument such as the one erected by Jacob as the result of the vision of the heavenly ladder he experienced in Genesis, 28:10-22; see especially in this regard Genesis, 28:18 and 28:22, which refer specifically to the erection of the pillar ("titulus") of stone.[5] Medieval exegetes saw this stone, along with a similar one erected by Samuel in 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 7:10-13, as a figure for Christ. For supporting statements and additional explanations that likely relate to the image of the "celorum titulus," see the remarks for line 16, below, and in particular the notes on the text for the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 15-20. **16:** for Christ as a cornerstone, see 1 Peter, 2:6-8,[6] which assembles additional images of stones seen to prefigure Christ and the new covenant: the cornerstone of the foundation (Isaiah, 28:16; 1 Corinthians, 3:11; Ephesians, 2:20), and the stone initially rejected by builders which ends up being the cornerstone (Psalm, 117:22; Matthew, 21:42,44; Mark, 12:10; Luke, 20:17; Acts, 4:11). For further images along these lines in the conductus repertory, cf. lines 5-8 of *De monte lapis scinditur* (D2/79), which describes the cornerstone of Solomon's temple, and the treatment of different biblical figures involving stones and rocks in *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 15-20.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Syllabic/Melismatic identity:** The first three T notes *(c,d,e)* over "claudica[ret]" (line 13,3) follow immediately as the opening motives of the first two phrases of the following cauda; they also (with a different rhythmic profile and with identity of the D as well) close the first phrase. This same music then appears again halfway through the closing cauda of the piece on line 18,3, with voice exchange and re-exchange. The identity is indeed very short and possibly coincidental, but it does seem to lead strikingly into the cauda that begins with the same gesture. Structurally, the identical passages appear just before the change to a new rhyme sound within the strophe, and recur at the end of the last strophe when the same prior rhyme returns after an absence of four lines. These and other correspondences are signaled in the transcription. For further information on the music contained in these passages, see the remarks below on line 13,3 and on the final cauda of the piece. **Line 4,2-3:** D: W1,Ma: 2li, si=*ga,g* for "[au]ctor tan[te]]," giving a slightly more consonant reading without the sixth on the second of these two syllables. The applicable portion of *Oxf-Sol* is nearly illegible. **Cauda on line 6,3:** T: F,Ma,Oxf-Sol: rest stroke after the first phrase of "clau[sos]" om; from *W1*. A reading as it stands in the other MSS could be accomplished by leaving out the first rest and doubling the value of the second; this tactic may even be implied by the palpably longer existing rest stroke in *Oxf-Sol*. **Cauda ending line 9,3 (closing Strophe I):** this melisma on "[iubi]le[i]" features modal transmutation between the two pairs of sources *W1* and *Oxf-Sol* (in mode 1), and *F* and *Ma* (in mode 2); the alternative reading appears at the end of the transcription. D: F: *b-flat* signatures in this voice appear throughout the cauda in *W1; Ma* omits a sig at the system change starting at L38 of the cauda, after the applicable appearances of *b'*s in this D passage; *Oxf-Sol* has a *b-natural* sign at L27 in the melisma, valid up to

---

[5]Genesis, 28:18: "Surgens ergo Jacob mane, tulit lapidem quem supposuerat capiti suo, et erexit in titulum, fundens oleum desuper." ("And Jacob, arising in the morning, took the stone, which he had laid under his head, and set it up for a title, pouring oil upon the top of it."); Genesis 28:22: " ... et lapis iste, quem erexi in titulum, vocabitur Domus Dei: cunctorumque quae dederis mihi, decimas offeram tibi." ("... And this stone, which I have set up for a title, shall be called the house of God: and of all things that you shall give to me, I will offer tithes (i.e., a tenth-part) to you.").

[6]1 Peter, 2:6-8: "Propter quod continet Scriptura: 'Ecce pono in Sion lapidem summum angularem, electum, pretiosum: et qui crediderit in eum, non confundetur.' Vobis igitur honor credentibus: non credentibus autem 'lapis, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes: hic factus est in caput anguli,' et 'lapis offensionis, et petra scandali,' his qui offendunt verbo, nec credunt in quo et positi sunt. " ("Wherefore it is said in the scripture: 'Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious. And he that shall believe in him, shall not be confounded.' To you therefore that believe, he is honour: but to them that believe not, 'the stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner:' And 'a stone of stumbling, and a rock of scandal,' to them who stumble at the word, neither do believe, whereunto also they are set.").

the cauda at line 12,1. **Line 13,3:** in the cauda on "claudicaret," also mentioned above in connection with syllabic/melismatic identity, the prominent dissonances on L2 and L3 of this melisma lead one to wonder whether some form of word painting may be at play here. The effect is heightened by the correspondence at the start of the subsequent phrase (L9-L16). Even further interest is generated by having this entire cauda re-emerge in the closing melisma of the piece (q.v.), along with a number of recollections from other caudae that have appeared in this work. **Final cauda ending line 18,3 (closing Strophe II):** the melisma on "[copu]la[ret]" opens with a phrase that immediately exchange its voices; it then extensively recycles cauda material presented earlier within Strophe II: **1)** the next 12L exactly recall the shorter cauda on line 12,1 ("O [si christus]," **2)** then two phrases follow that replicate the prior cauda on "[claudi]ca[ret]" from line 13,3, along with its varied voice exchange; the spate of recollected material then concludes with **3)** an exact repeat of the short cauda on line 17,3 ("populus"), including its final two syllables that were earlier set *cum littera.* The last two phrases of the final cauda, along with the concluding *punctus organi,* are not found elsewhere in the piece. As a result only the opening and closing phrases of the cauda are not derived from elsewhere in Strophe II; the correspondences have been marked in the score.

RELEGATA VETUSTATE
Conductus (H23/303)

F, f. 277r (7,12)*

D
I
T

[Re -
Re -

*T: rhythm for this phrase after *Ma,* see alternatives at end

a' a

[Re]-le - ga - ta ve - tu - sta - te ve - tus ho - mo re - no - ve - tur.
[Re]-le - ga - ta ve - tu - sta - te ve - tus ho - mo re - no - ve - tur.

ut in san - cta no - vi - ta -
ut in san - cta no - vi - ta -

**TD: W1 and *Oxf-Sol* have a different rendering of this phrase; see at end
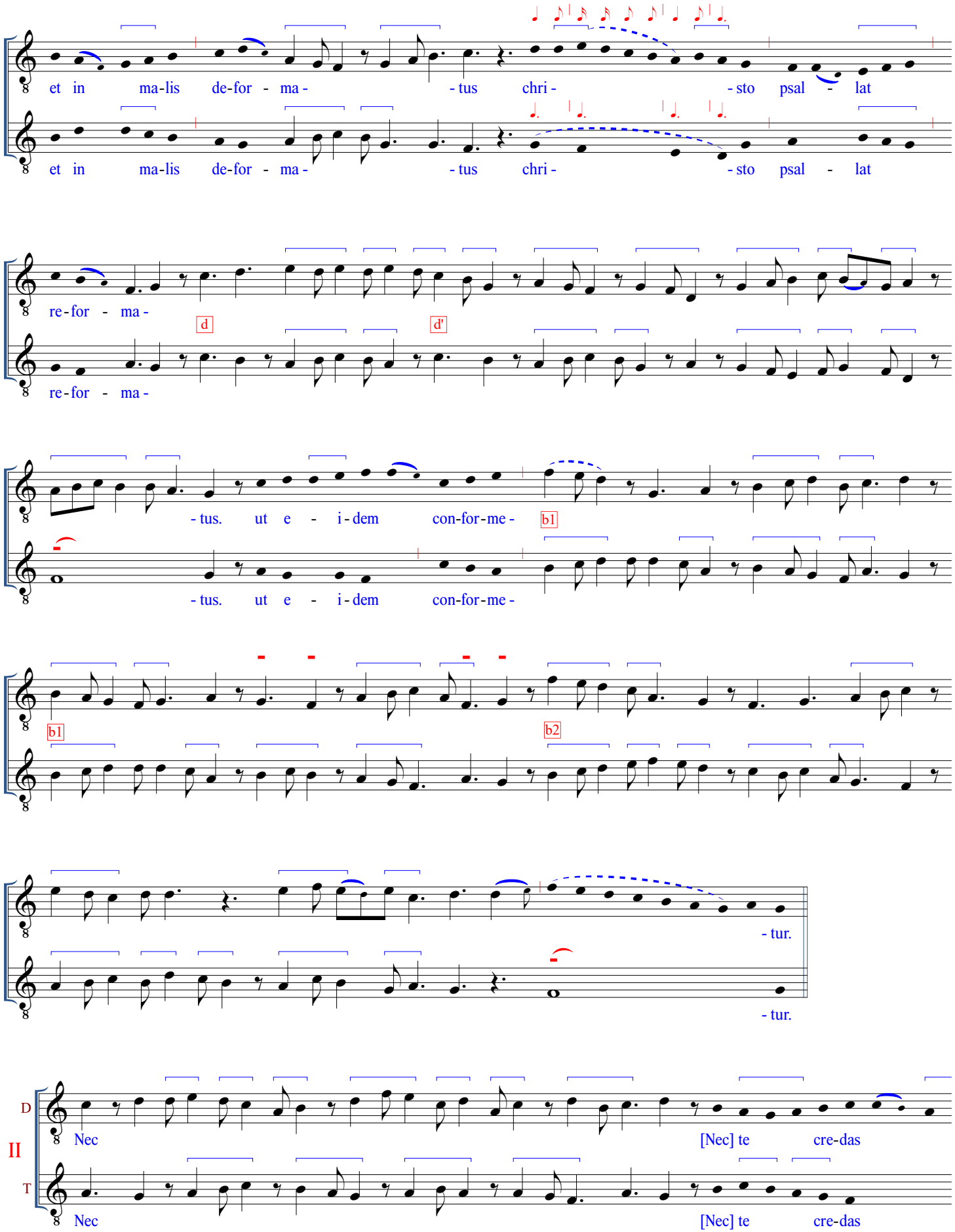
Ma:
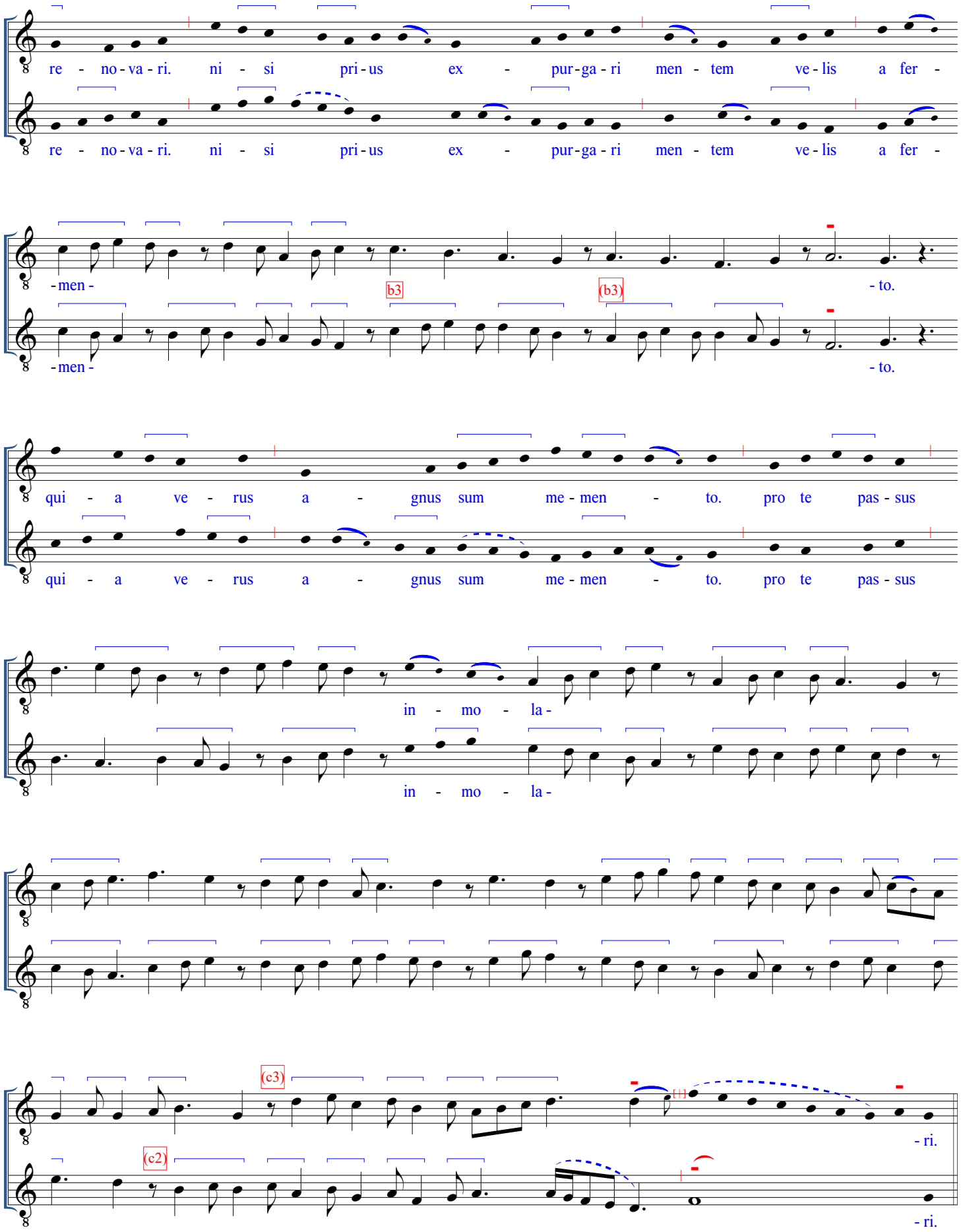
- te san - ctum pa-scha b
- te san - ctum pa-scha
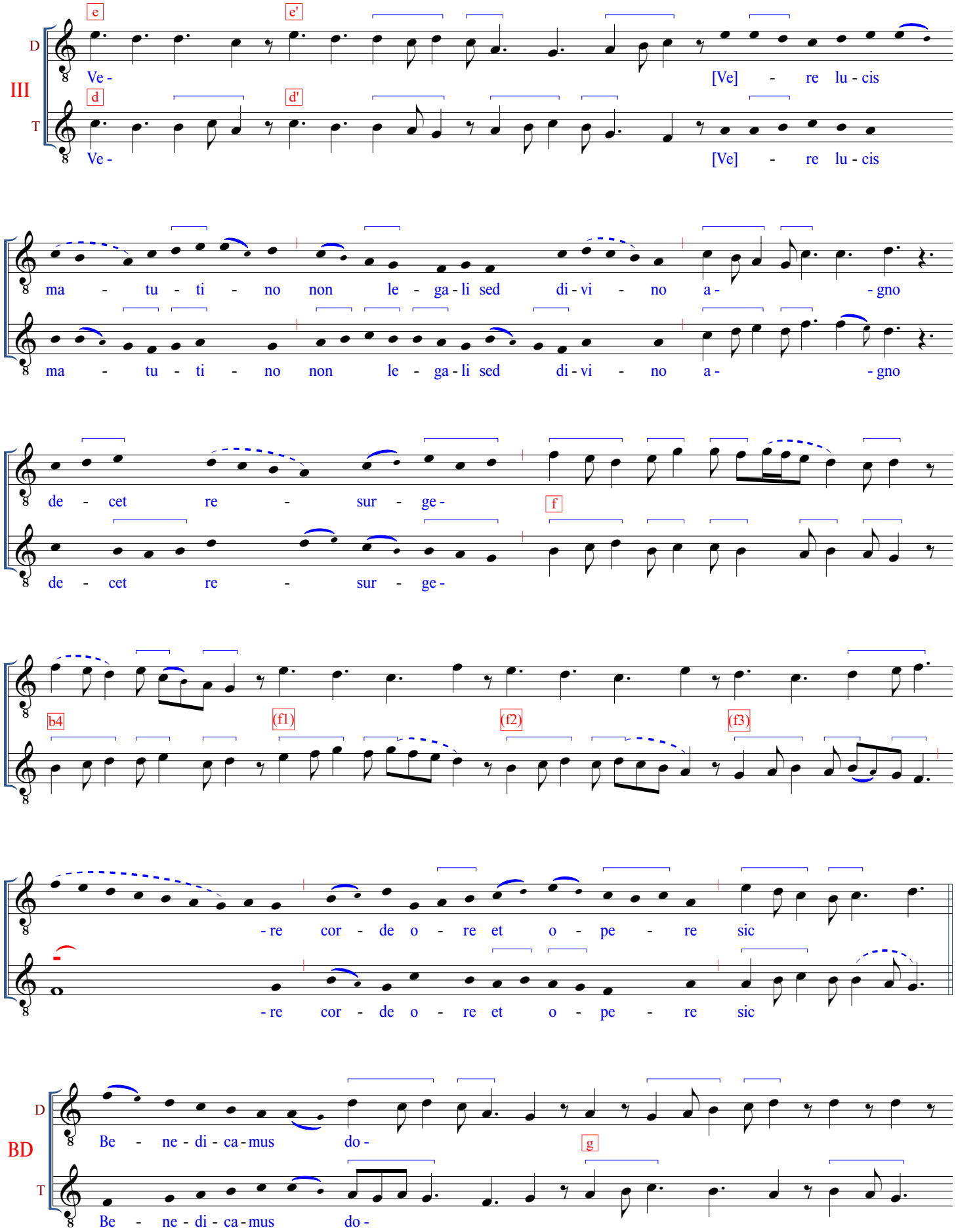
c (c1)

ce - le - bre - tur.
ce - le - bre - tur.

*Alternative readings for the opening cauda, or portions within it, are possible; see the end of the transcription


et in ma-lis de-for - ma - - tus chri - - sto psal - lat
et in ma-lis de-for - ma - - tus chri - - sto psal - lat
re-for - ma -
d
d'
re-for - ma -
- tus. ut e - i-dem con-for-me -
b1
- tus. ut e - i-dem con-for-me -
b1
b2
- tur.
- tur.
II
D
T
Nec [Nec] te cre-das
Nec [Nec] te cre-das


re - no - va - ri. ni - si pri - us ex - pur - ga - ri men - tem ve - lis a fer -
re - no - va - ri. ni - si pri - us ex - pur - ga - ri men - tem ve - lis a fer -
- men -
b3
(b3)
- to.
- men -
- to.
qui - a ve - rus a - gnus sum me - men - to. pro te pas - sus
qui - a ve - rus a - gnus sum me - men - to. pro te pas - sus
in - mo - la -
in - mo - la -
(c3)
(c2)
- ri.
- ri.


III
D
T
e
e'
d
d'
Ve -
[Ve] - re lu - cis
ma - tu - ti - no non le - ga - li sed di - vi - no a - gno
de - cet re - sur - ge -
f
b4
(f1)
(f2)
(f3)
- re cor - de o - re et o - pe - re sic
BD
Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -
g

g

h

h'

i

i'

- mi -

- no.]

- mi -

- no.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*First phrase of opening cauda: *Ma,* f. 2v (in mode 1) – 3si begin T

D

[Re(legata)]

T

Re(legata)

*Opening cauda in mode 3, *F,* f. 277r

| D: W1,Ma: no stroke

D [Re(legata)]

T Re(legata)

| T: rhythm for this phrase after *Ma,* see alternatives below

a' a

*Closing phrases of opening cauda with ligations differing from *F* and *Ma;* after *W1,* f. 150r (141r)

a. in mode 1

b. in mode 3

D [Re(legata)]

T (Re(legata)

c. with faster values in mode 1

a' a

si si

[Re(legata)]

(Re(legata)

**Cauda at line 3,4, different ligations for last phrase, after *W1,Oxf-Sol,* from *W1,* f 150r (141r)

| TD: *W1,Oxf-Sol:* differs here from *F,Ma*

or:

D [no - vi - ta - - te]

or:

T no - vi - ta - - te

RELEGATA VETUSTATE

Conductus (H23/303)

F, f. 277r (7,12)

I Relegata vetustate,
vetus homo renovetur,
ut in sancta novitate
sanctum pascha celebretur;
et in malis deformatus
Christo psallat, reformatus,
ut eidem conformetur.

Now that the Old Law is banished,
let the old self be renewed,
so that, in holy newness,
the holy Passover may be celebrated;
and one who was deformed through evil things,
may now, being reformed, sing to Christ,
in order to conform to him.

II Nec te credas renovari
nisi prius expurgari
mentem velis a fermento.
Quia verus agnus sum memento,
pro te passus inmolari.

And do not trust that you are renewed
unless you are already willing that your mind
be purged of the old leaven.
For remember, I am the true lamb
that suffered to be sacrificed for your sake.

III Vere lucis matutino,
non legali sed divino,
agno decet resurgere;
corde, ore, et opere,
sic *Benedicamus domino.*

Early in the morning of the true light,
not of the law, but of the divine,
it is seemly for the lamb to rise again;
and so, with heart, with mouth, and with labor,
"Let us bless the Lord."

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 12, f. 277r: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with capitals heading II and III; the BD conclusion signaled by a relatively larger lower-case "b."

W1, fasc. 9, no. 67, f. 150r (141r): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, headed by painted initials; BD conclusion begins with an upper-case "B."

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 3, f. 30v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete; opening initial never entered, initial for Strophe II is a large, staff-high capital; that of Strophe III is a lower-case "v" with a flourish arising from the left element of this letter; the BD conclusion begins with a noticeably larger capital "B."

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 16 (= *Sol,* no. 3), f. Ir (f. 1r on the CPI website): a2, fragmentary; the opening of the piece is lost, with the extant portions showing occasional worn or illegible patches. The remains begin in both voices with the second phrase (beginning at L5) of the cauda on the penultimate syllable of line 3,4 ("[novi]ta[te]") and continue onto f. Iv (beginning with the last syllable of line 11,5 – "[memen]to"), before concluding at the end of the final system of the leaf.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1:** the Mosaic Law of the Old Testament has been superceded by the covenant of the New Testament; see 2 Corinthians, 5:17: "Si qua ergo in Christo nova creatura, vetera transierunt: ecce facta sunt omnia nova" ("If then any be in Christ a new creature, the old things are passed away: behold all things are made new."). For the connotation used here of "vetustas" as signifying the old covenant of Mosaic Law, see the DLMBS section of the page at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/vetustas, 3,e. **2:** on renewing one's old self ("vetus homo") to become a "new man" ("novus homo") see Romans, 6:6,[2] and Colossians, 3:9-10;[3] cf. also Ephesians, 4:24, given in the remarks to line 8. **3:** cf. Romans, 7:6.[4] **4:** the old Passover is now celebrated anew as Easter; cf. the remarks for line 10. **5-6:** Note the similar juxtaposition of deformation and reformation here in the conductus *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/276), lines 13-14. Also cf. Colossians, 1:21.[5] **7:** cf. Romans, 8:29.[6] **8:** cf. Ephesians, 4:23-24.[7] **10:** see 1 Corinthians 5:7-8.[8] **11:** Christ speaks directly in this poem; cf. John, 1:29, and John, 1:36.[9] **12:** see again 1 Corinthians, 5:7, given in the remarks for line 10. **13-15:** see Luke, 24, which relates the events of the morning of the Resurrection. For Christ as the true light, see John. 1:9.[10] **16:** on the collaboration of heart and mouth, cf. Romans, 10:8, 10:10;[11] Deuteronomy, 30:14;[12] Psalm 18:15;[13] and

---

[2]Romans, 6:6: "Hoc scientes, quia vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruatur corpus peccati, et ultra non serviamus peccato" ("Knowing this, that our old self is crucified with him, that the body of sin may be destroyed, to the end that we may serve sin no longer.").

[3]Colossians, 3:9-10: "Nolite mentiri invicem, expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induentes novum eum, qui renovatur in agnitionem secundum imaginem ejus qui creavit illum" (" Lie not one to another: stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new, him who is renewed unto knowledge, according to the image of him that created him.")

[4]Romans, 7:6: "Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae" ("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.").

[5]Colossians, 1:21: "Et vos cum essetis aliquando alienati, et inimici sensu in operibus malis ... " ("And you, whereas you were some time alienated and enemies in mind in evil works ... ").

[6]Romans, 8:29: "Nam quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui ..." ("For those he foreknew, he also predestined to be made conformable to the image of his Son ...").

[7]Ephesians, 4:23-24: "Renovamini autem spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia, et sanctitate veritatis." ("And be renewed in the spirit of your mind: and put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth.").

[8]1 Corinthians 5:7-8: "Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Itaque epulemur: non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae: sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis. " ("Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new paste, as you are unleavened. For Christ our Passover lamb is sacrificed. Therefore let us feast, not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.").

[9]John, 1:29: "Altera die vidit Joannes Jesum venientem ad se, et ait: Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi" ("The next day, John saw Jesus coming to him, and he said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.'"). John, 1:36: "Et respiciens Jesum ambulantem, dicit: Ecce agnus Dei" ("And beholding Jesus walking, he said: 'Behold the Lamb of God.'").

[10]John. 1:9: "Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum" ("He [Christ] was the true light, which enlightens every man that comes into this world").

[11]Romans, 10:8: "Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo: hoc est verbum fidei, quod praedicamus." ("But what says the scripture? The word is close to you, even in your mouth, and in your heart. This is the word of faith, which we preach."). Romans, 10:10: "Corde enim creditur ad justitiam: ore autem confessio fit ad salutem." ("For with the heart we believe in

Psalm 48:4.[14] Note also the comparable expression in the conductus *Resurgente domino* (H18/306), line 10, which appears just two pieces later in *F*-7.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** Although there are a significant number of simultaneously sounding *f* and *b* pitches, there are relatively few consistent signals among the sources that call for the softening of this interval through the use of *b-flat.* *F* has no signatures at all until just before the third phrase from the end of the closing BD cauda (preceding L73), at which point it shows a *b-flat* in both T and D; all the other sources *(W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol)* show the flat here only in the D. *W1* also calls for a *b-flat* at the beginning of line 4 ("sanctum") in the D only; this is then canceled by means of a new clef soon after the start of the cauda (within L4) on "[cele]bre[tur]" at the line's end; it has a further *b-flat* in the D before line 13,3 ("matutino"), which then disappears before "[resur]ge" in line 15. *Ma,* which tends otherwise to reflect *F,* presents a flat in the D before line15,1 ("agno") that is gone at line 16, 2 ("ore"). The remains of *Oxf-Sol* tend to have a similar disposition as *W1,* with a possible flat first noticeable at the start of line 4 ("sanctum") in the D; but it also shows an additional flat in the cauda at "[cele]bre[tur]" (line 4,3) in the D exactly where *W1* cancels the one it has (in L4); it also agrees with *W1* with a *b-flat* at line 13,3 ("matutino") in the D. **Opening cauda:** T: Ma: the first three notes of the first phrase are given as 3si (=3L), while *W1* and *F* present the gesture as si,2li; the D, composed of repeated si *d* notes, is ambiguous, and *Oxf-Sol* does not transmit this portion. Additionally, mode 3 may serve just as well for realizing the cauda; see the various alternative readings given at the end of the transcription; TD: the dissonant *b-c* dyad at L4 is in all applicable MSS; TD: the dissonance of *a-b* at L17 between these two voices is in *F* and *Ma;* for L14-21, D: *W1* has si,3li,3li,2li+siP=*f,ecd,cac,cd*+P*d,* which only gives rise to different discords; *Oxf-Sol* does not transmit this portion; D: F: the *f* that ends the penultimate cauda phrase looks like *e;* reading confirmed by *W1,Ma.* **L27-34:** T: the rhythm for the penultimate phrase of the cauda is taken from *Ma,* which consists entirely of si figures; *W1* has both voices in a diminished rhythmic pattern in mode 1 or possibly 3, while *F* gives the D ligation of *Ma,* but the T ligation of *W1;* for attempts to render the *W1* version as it stands, see the alternative readings at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 3,4:** TD: W1,Oxf-Sol: the cauda on "[novi]ta[te]" is rendered with notably different ligations in these two sources from those in *F* and *Ma;* see the alternative transcription at the end. **Final cauda (BD):** the Benedicamus conclusion, not based on a known preexisting source, is found in all sources and fits with the poetry.

---

justice; but with the mouth confession is made for salvation.").
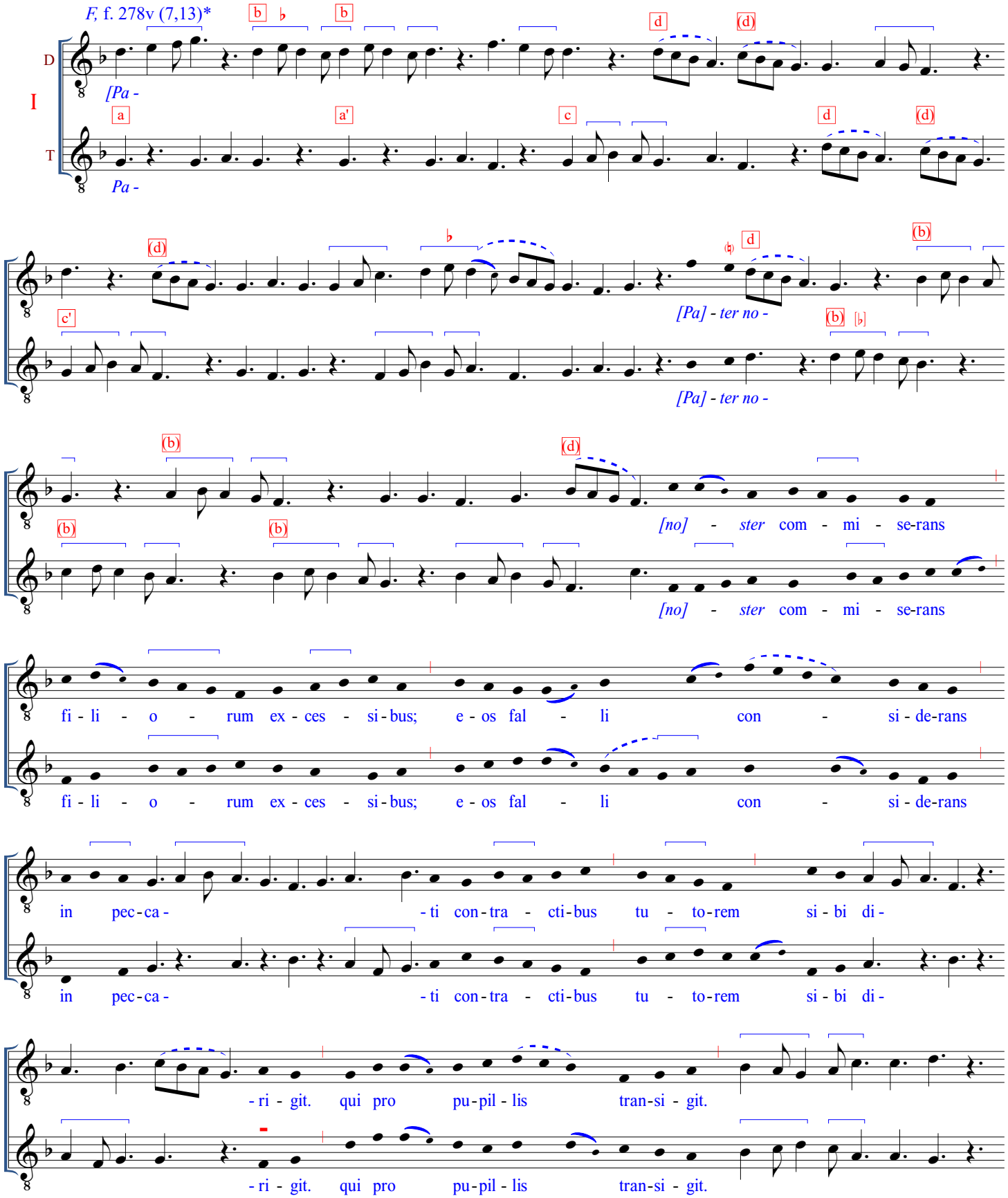
[12]Deuteronomy, 30:14: "Sed juxta te est sermo valde, in ore tuo, et in corde tuo, ut facias illum" ("But the word is very close to you, in your mouth and in your heart, that you may do it").

[13]Psalm 18:15: " Et erunt ut complaceant eloquia oris mei, et meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper. Domine, adjutor meus, et redemptor meus" ("And the words of my mouth shall be such as may please,: and the meditation of my heart always in your sight. O Lord, my helper, and my redeemer.").
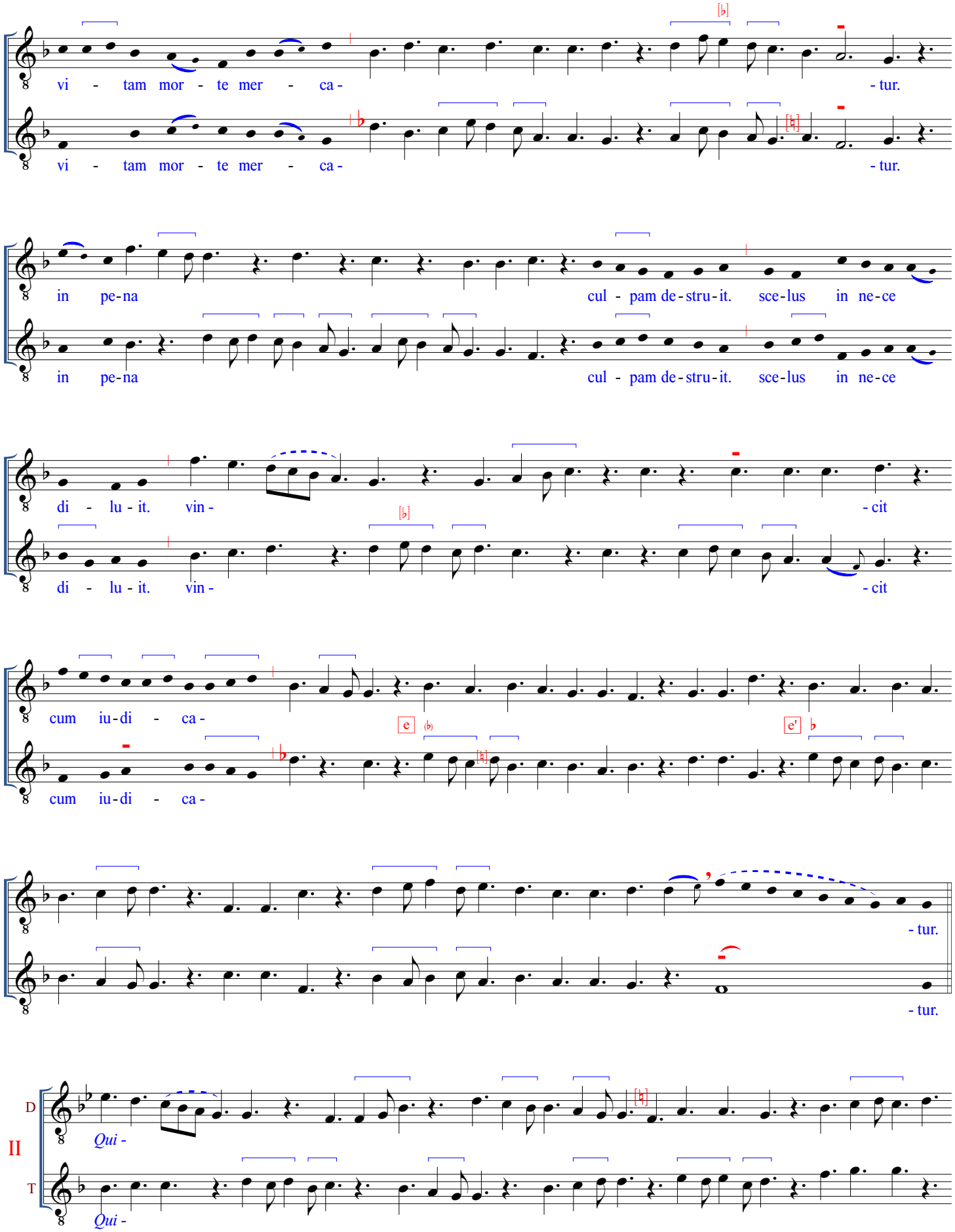
[14]Psalm 48:4: "Os meum loquetur sapientiam, et meditatio cordis mei prudentiam" ("My mouth shall speak wisdom: and the meditation of my heart understanding.").
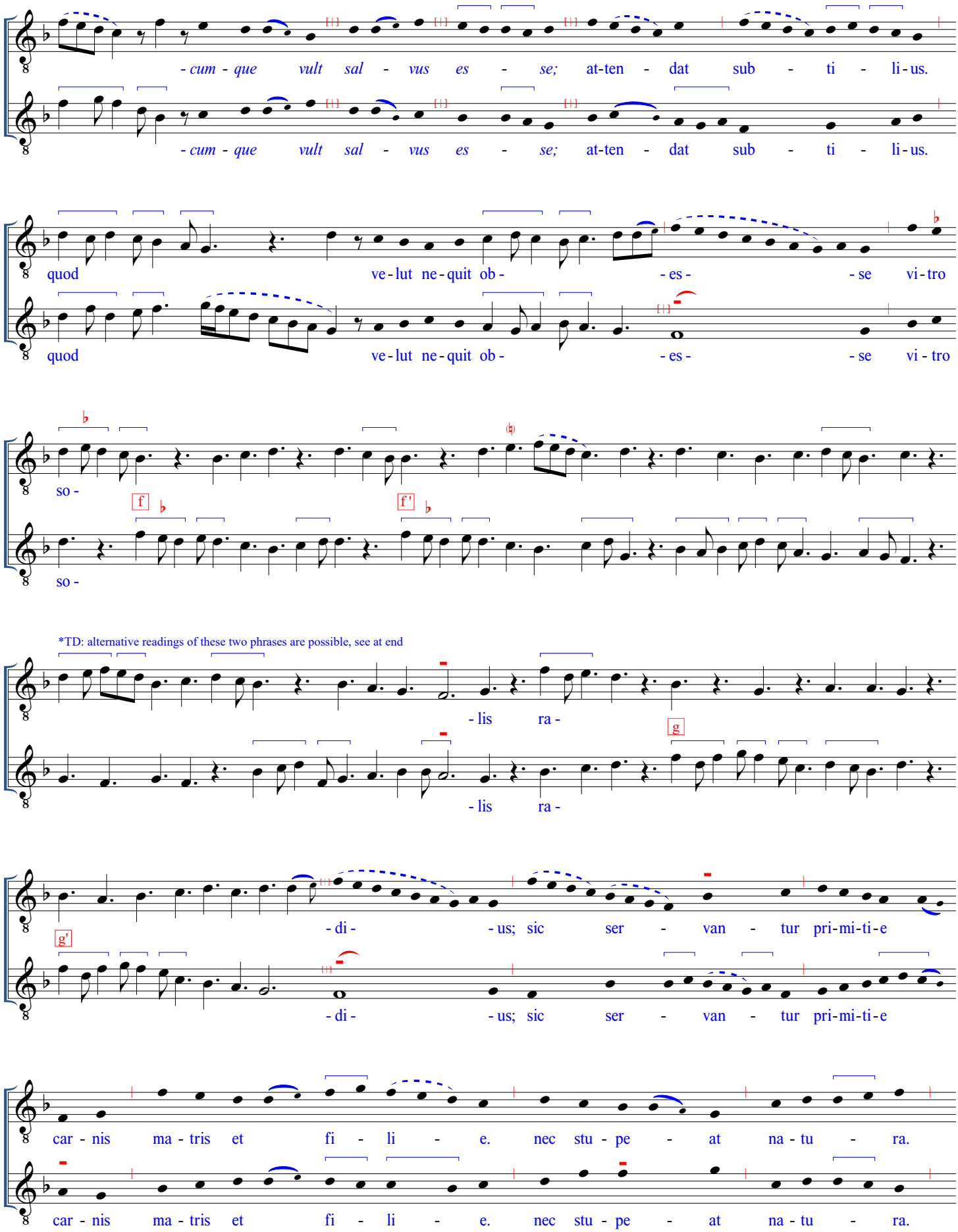
PATER NOSTER COMMISERANS
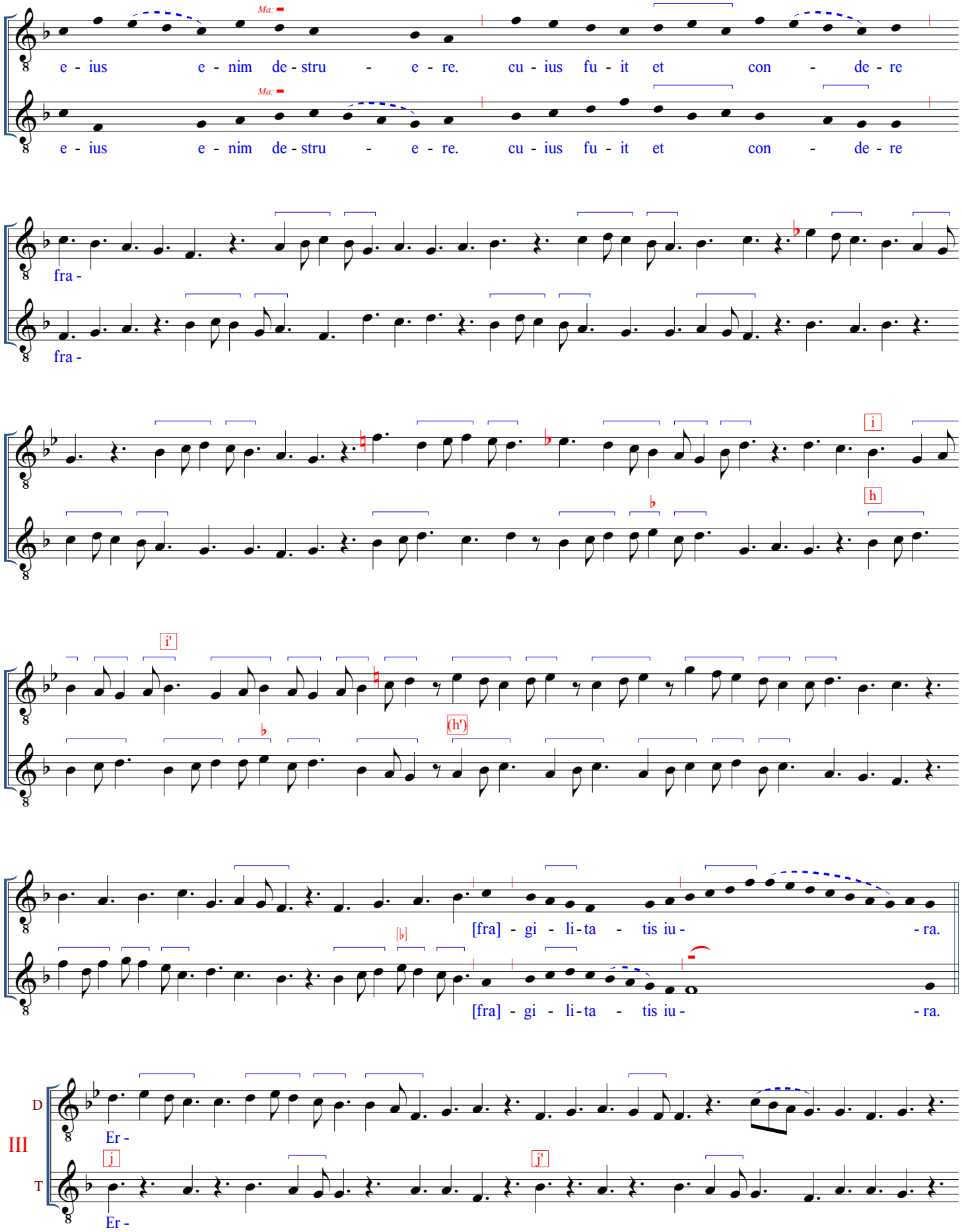
Conductus (H19/266)
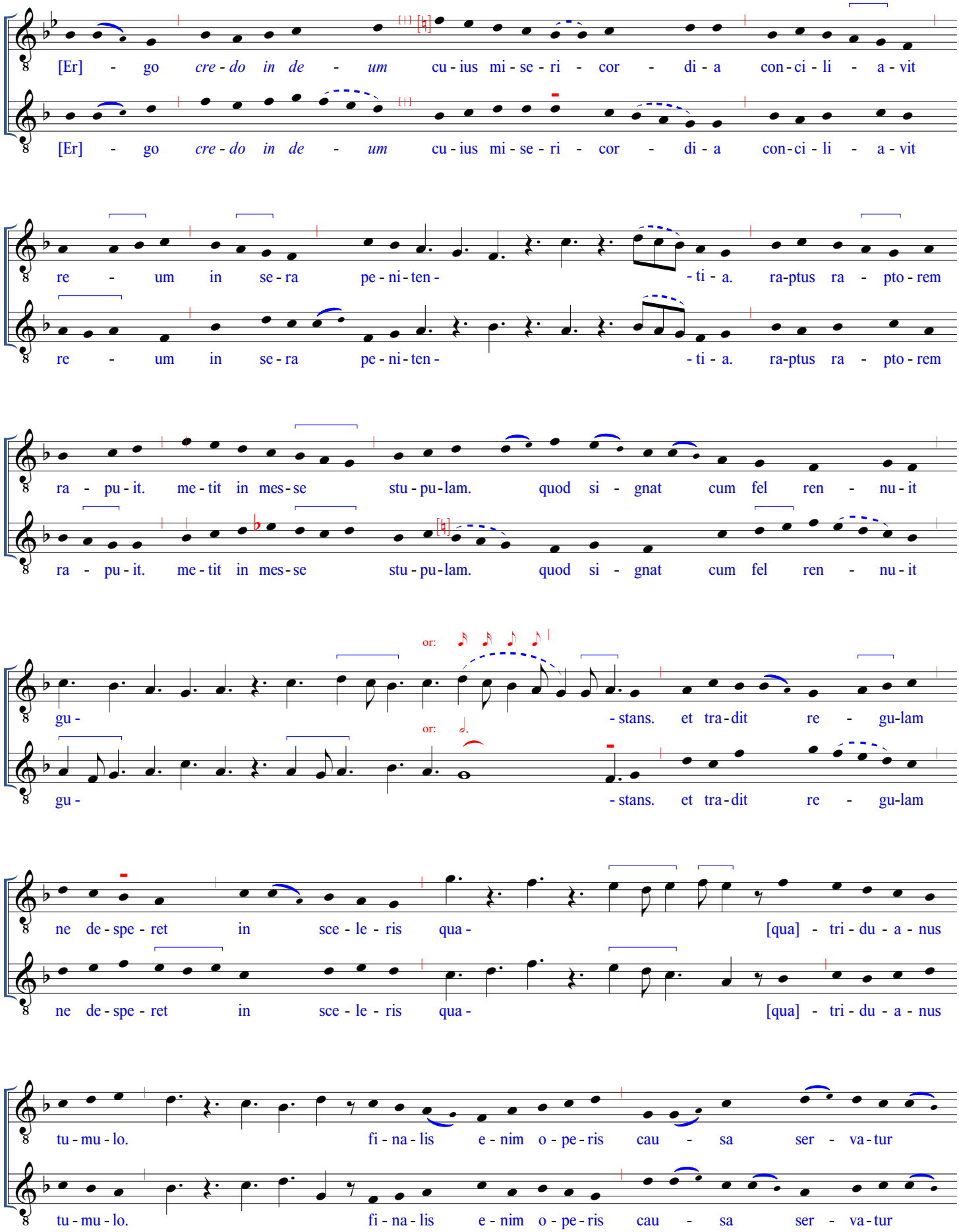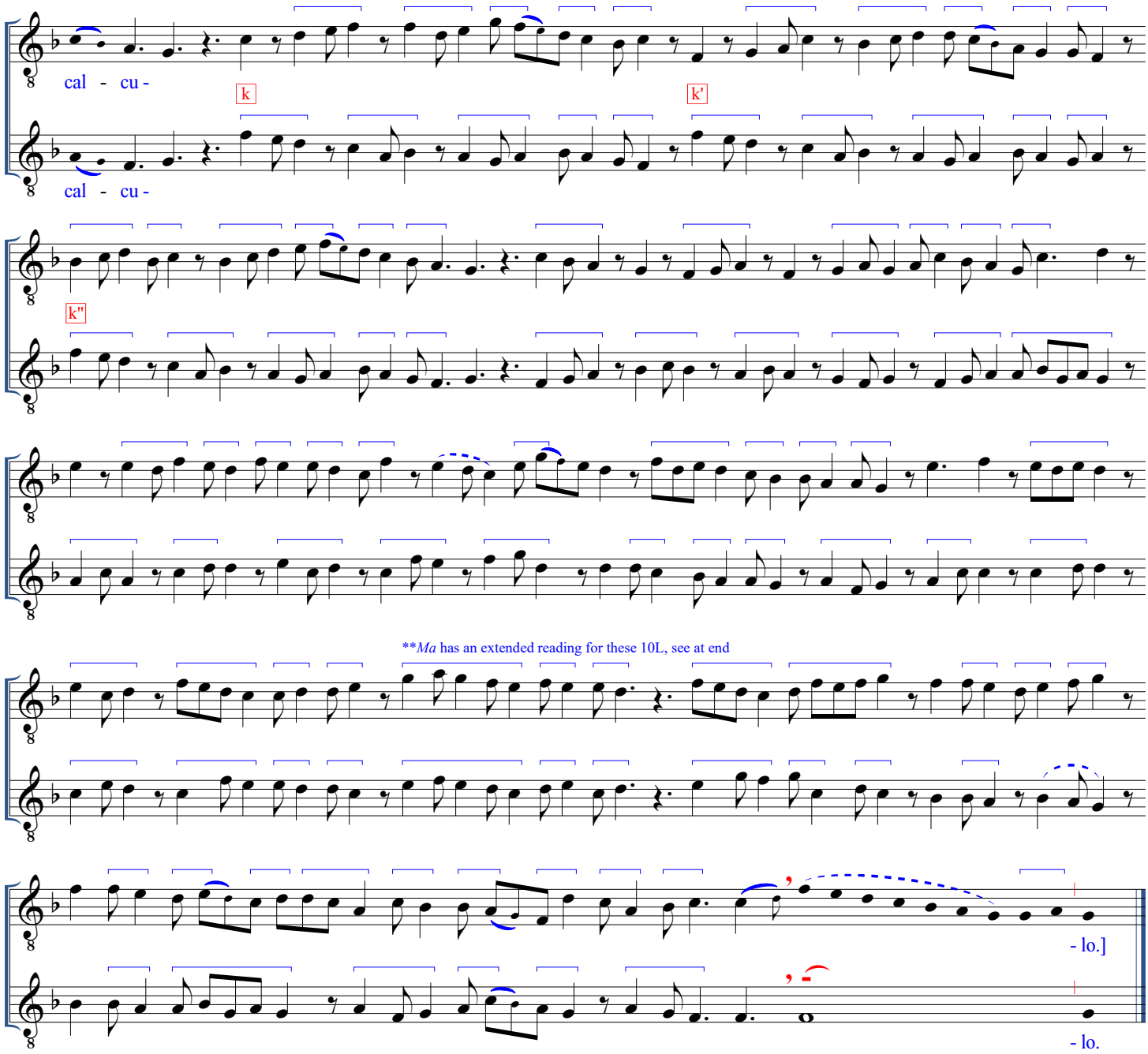


*The high degree of small-scale motivic repetition that is apparent throughout this piece is provisionally demonstrated by the formal reference letters placed above the staves in the opening segment of this work. Analysis on this level is not carried out further in this transcription, except on a few occasions that show some notable instances of repetition on a larger scale.


vi - tam mor - te mer - ca - - tur.
vi - tam mor - te mer - ca - - tur.
in pe-na cul - pam de-stru-it. sce-lus in ne-ce
in pe-na cul - pam de-stru-it. sce-lus in ne-ce
di - lu - it. vin - - cit
di - lu - it. vin - - cit
cum iu-di - ca -
cum iu-di - ca -
- tur.
- tur.
II
D
T
Qui -
Qui -


- cum - que vult sal - vus es - se; at-ten - dat sub - ti - li-us.
- cum - que vult sal - vus es - se; at-ten - dat sub - ti - li-us.
quod ve-lut ne-quit ob- - es- - se vi-tro
quod ve-lut ne-quit ob- - es- - se vi - tro
so -
so -
f
f'
*TD: alternative readings of these two phrases are possible, see at end
- lis ra -
- lis ra -
g
g'
- di- - us; sic ser - van - tur pri-mi-ti-e
- di- - us; sic ser - van - tur pri-mi-ti-e
car - nis ma - tris et fi - li - e. nec stu - pe - at na - tu - ra.
car - nis ma - tris et fi - li - e. nec stu - pe - at na - tu - ra.

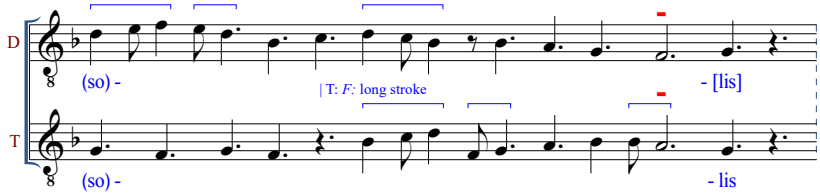

Ma:
e - ius e - nim de - stru - e - re. cu - ius fu - it et con - de - re
fra -
i
h
i'
(h')
[fra] - gi - li - ta - tis iu - - ra.
III
D
T
Er -
j
j'


[Er] - go cre - do in de - um cu - ius mi - se - ri - cor - di - a con - ci - li - a - vit
[Er] - go cre - do in de - um cu - ius mi - se - ri - cor - di - a con - ci - li - a - vit
re - um in se - ra pe - ni - ten - - ti - a. ra-ptus ra - pto - rem
re - um in se - ra pe - ni - ten - - ti - a. ra-ptus ra - pto - rem
ra - pu - it. me - tit in mes - se stu - pu - lam. quod si - gnat cum fel ren - nu - it
ra - pu - it. me - tit in mes - se stu - pu - lam. quod si - gnat cum fel ren - nu - it
or:
gu - - stans. et tra - dit re - gu-lam
or:
gu - - stans. et tra - dit re - gu-lam
ne de - spe - ret in sce - le - ris qua - [qua] - tri - du - a - nus
ne de - spe - ret in sce - le - ris qua - [qua] - tri - du - a - nus
tu - mu - lo. fi - na - lis e - nim o - pe - ris cau - sa ser - va - tur
tu - mu - lo. fi - na - lis e - nim o - pe - ris cau - sa ser - va - tur

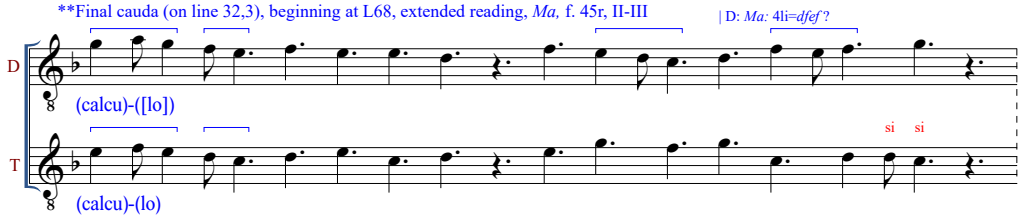


ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda on line 14,2, another rhythmic reading for the final two phrases of "solis" as suggested by *F, Ma, Oxf-Sol;* after *F,* f. 279r, VI



**Final cauda (on line 32,3), beginning at L68, extended reading, *Ma,* f. 45r, II-III



PATER NOSTER COMMISERANS

Conductus (H19/266)

F, f. 278v (7,13)

I *Pater noster,* commiserans
filiorum excessibus,
eos falli considerans
in peccati contractibus,
tutorem sibi dirigit,
qui pro pupillis transigit.
Vitam morte mercatur,
in pena culpam destruit,
scelus in nece diluit,
vincit cum iudicatur.

Our father, having pity
on the excesses of his children,
seeing them duped
by the transactions of sin,
arranges for them a defender,
who comes to a settlement on behalf of his charges.
He purchases life with death,
in suffering he destroys error,
sin he washes away in bloodshed,
and when he judges, he prevails.

II *Quicumque vult salvus esse,*
attendat subtilius
quod, velut nequit obesse
vitro solis radius,
sic servantur primitie
carnis matris et filie.
Nec stupeat natura;
eius enim destruere,
cuius fuit et condere
fragilitatis iura.

Whoever wishes to be saved,
let him consider very keenly
that, just as a sunbeam
can do no injury to glass,
in the same way are preserved the first fruits
of the mother's and daughter's flesh.
And let nature not be astonished;
for he whose laws of frailty
it was to establish,
were his to demolish.

III Ergo *credo in deum,*
cuius misericordia
conciliavit reum
in sera penitentia.
Raptus raptorem rapuit;
metit in messe stupulam.
Quod signat cum fel rennuit
gustans, et tradit regulam,
ne desperet in sceleris
quatriduanus tumulo;
finalis enim operis
causa servatur calculo.

Therefore *I believe in God,*
whose mercy
reconciled a sinner
in late repentance.
The plundered has plundered the plunderer;
he mows down the stubble at harvest time.
This indicates that, when tasting bitterness,
he refused it, and offers an example,
lest one despair in the
four-day tomb of sin;
for on the occasion of the final enterprise,
one is protected with a counter stone.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 13, f. 278v: a2, Strophes I-III complete, with II-III indicated by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 63, f. 145v (136v): a2, Strophes I-III complete, all headed by painted initials, with a slight bit of filigree decoration for that of II; the piece is preceded by the conductus *Ave Maria gratia plena* (II) (G7/29) showing two ceremonially related texts in succession.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 9, f. 42r: a2, Strophes I-III complete; no initials or guide letters entered for any of the stanzas.

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 5 (=*OxAuct,* no. 5), f. 3r (= pag. 5):[2] a2; fragmentary, various portions of text and music lost or illegible; a large painted initial with some faded filigree opens the piece, a capital heads Strophe II, and the upper corner of an expected capital for III may be visible at the bottom of the so-called "pag. 8" below. The remains of each of the four pages to contain the work are as follows: **1:** the first folio to contain the piece, "pag. 5" (=the right half of f. i v according to the label on the DIAMM image), gives the text and music of the opening of the work through line 3,1 ("eos"), with the remainder of the leaf cut away. This excision originally must have transmitted the material over line 3,2 ("falli") up through the first 4L of the short cauda on line 5,3 ("di[rigit]"). **2:** This is then followed by what is termed "pag. 6" in DIAMM (= the left half of f. i r), which begins with L5 of the cauda on "di[rigit]" and proceeds up through line 13,1 ("quod") at the end of the fifth system on the folio. Some high-lying portions of the D voice are visible on the following system at the bottom of the leaf, which is otherwise mutilated and appears to have contained the material from lines 13,2 ("velut") up through the first syllable of line 14,2 ("so[lis]"). In addition, further material from this larger folio has been transferred via mirror-image offset to the front binding board.[3] **3:** Next, "pag. 8" in DIAMM's image description (= the right half of f. ii r, but which is confusingly marked with the numeral "7" in pencil at its top right corner)[4] continues the piece, with the music largely visible from the second syllable of 14,2 ("[so]lis") up through the first syllable of line 22,2 ("mi[sericordia]"). Most of the verbal text, though, of the leaf's present final system (beginning with line 21,1 ["Ergo"], opening Strophe III) is now obscured, and a further system containing the remainder of line 22,2 through the first two syllables of 25,2 ("rapto[rem]") appears originally to have concluded this leaf, but is now gone. Finally, **4:** "pag. 9" in the image description (= the left half of f. f. ii v, but which is labeled in pencil with "8" as a page number) transmits the material from the last syllable of line 25,2 ("[rapto]rem") to the end of the piece, with the last several phrases of the T very faded or illegible and with no apparent remains of the concluding syllable of text. As with f. i r, f. ii v also has transferred material via offset to the back binding board included with this source's images.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Liturgical citations:** the opening of each strophe (lines 1, 11, 21) quotes directly from liturgical items that present basic tenets of Christian dogma: the Lord's Prayer (see Matthew, 6:9-13; Luke, 11:2-4), and the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds, respectively; these passages are signaled by italics in the text,

---

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[2]Folio 3r is the number of the first leaf of this piece as given on the CPI website; unusually, though, neither CPI nor the DIAMM inventory for this source includes folio numbers for the three further leaves that transmit the rest of the piece. Additionally, the larger leaf that contains the start of *Pater noster commiserans* is indicated as "front endpaper," in the DIAMM inventory for this source (available here), while the text description accompanying the image appears as "front endpaper verso (pag. 4 and 5)," with "pag. 5," – the right half of this larger leaf – containing the beginning of the piece in question. Furthermore this same larger folio is identified as "f. i v" in the identifying label included at the bottom of the image itself. For the remaining items reported here, the various page and folio labels from the images provided by DIAMM are included to aid consultation of this source.

[3]Described in the image section of this source in DIAMM as " front board offset."

[4]There is actually no "pag. 7" included among the descriptions in the images section of this source in DIAMM, so the descriptors of "pag. 8" and "pag. 9" given with the images actually correspond to the pencil pagination for pages 7 and 8, respectively.

transcription, and translation. The first and last of these quoted items occur in the liturgy of the Mass, the second is typically used during the service of Prime. **1-4:** cf. lines 1-3 of the conductus *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92) for the similar figure of God pitying his human creation. **5,1:** the defender appointed for God's children is Christ. **9:** see the remarks for lines 1-4 of the conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315) for the symbol of the elect being washed in the blood of Christ, the sacrificial lamb. **10:** see Psalm 50:6.[5] **13-14:** a common symbol of the virgin birth is the image of a sunbeam passing through glass: just as glass remains intact when admitting the sun's rays, in the same way Mary's virginity is not compromised by her conception and birthing of Jesus. For a treatment of a wide variety of sources that offer this conceit, see Andrew C. Breeze, "The Blessed Virgin and the Sunbeam through Glass," *Celtica,* 23 (1999): 19-29; see also line 12 of the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330). **15-16:** the oft-cited paradox that Mary is both daughter and mother to a coequal God and Christ; see, for example, the conductus *Mater patris et filia* (F34/207), a contrafact of *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), and *Parens patris natique filia* (F31/260). **17,2-3:** on the common figure of nature's astonishment at the virgin birth of Christ, cf. Philip the Chancellor's motet *Homo quam sit pura* (231), lines 13-14, the beginning of the motet *Stupeat natura* (232, possibly his work as well), and the opening lines of the two anonymous conductus *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80) and *Nove geniture* (I13/224). **18-20:** since it was God who established natural laws, he is likewise able to contravene them; for further echoes of this conceit, see the remarks for the opening stanza (lines 1-13) of the conductus *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214) and *O felix Bituria* (E8/232), lines 23-24. **25:** Christ (the plundered) has robbed (plundered) death (the plunderer) of his power through his own death; cf. the analogous expressions in 1 Corinthians, 15:26 and 15:54-55. **26:** God portrayed as a harvester or thresher, separating wheat from chaff (the elect versus the damned) is a frequent metaphor for the Last Judgment; cf. Matthew, 3:12,[6] and the nearly identical language of Luke, 3:17. Additionally, Malachi, 4:1 portrays the wicked as stubble to be burned;[7] as do the similar expressions in Obadiah, 1:18, Nahum, 1:10, and Isaiah, 47:14. **27-28:** cf. Matthew, 27:34,[8] along with the similar expressions in Mark, 15:23, and Psalm 68:22. See also the bitter drink of the sponge soaked in vinegar, given to Christ during the Crucifixion, from Matthew, 27:48; Mark, 15:36; John, 19:29-30. As Anderson (*NDRC,* 2:xxvi, note 3) suggests in a passage drawn from Bede's *In Matthei evangelium expositio,* book 4 (cited from *PL* 92, col. 123C), both of these figures may stand here for Christ tasting death's bitterness yet not subjecting himself to it. **29-30:** a nod to Christ's raising of Lazarus, who had been dead for four days before he was restored to life; cf. John, 11:1-45, especially verses 17 and 39.[9] The apparent significance of the figure is that, although humanity may suffer a temporary death, they should not lose hope in the promise of resurrection and eternal life, which Jesus has prefigured by his own example. **31-32:** a somewhat obscure passage, although since lines 26 and 31 seem to recall the Last Judgment, the figure of the stone ("calculus") in line 32 appears to connect most closely

---

[5]Psalm 50:6: "Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci; ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum judicaris" ("To you only have I sinned, and I have done evil before you: that you may be justified in your words and may conquer when you judge.").

[6]Matthew, 3:12: "Cujus ventilabrum in manu sua: et permundabit aream suam: et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili ("Whose fan [i.e., his winnowing fork] 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.").

[7]Malachi, 4:1: "Ecce enim dies veniet succensa quasi caminus: et erunt omnes superbi et omnes facientes impietatem stipula: et inflammabit eos dies veniens, dicit Dominus exercituum, quae non derelinquet eis radicem et germen" ("For behold the day shall come kindled as a furnace: and all the proud, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall set them on fire, saith the Lord of hosts, it shall not leave them root, nor branch.").

[8]Matthew, 27:34: "Et dederunt ei vinum bibere cum felle mistum. Et cum gustasset, noluit bibere" ("And they gave him wine to drink mingled with gall. And when he had tasted, he would not drink.").

[9]John, 11:17: "Venit itaque Jesus: et invenit eum quatuor dies jam in monumento habentem" ("Jesus therefore came, and found that he [Lazarus] had been four days already in the grave."). John, 11:39: "Ait Jesus: 'Tollite lapidem.' Dicit ei Martha, soror ejus qui mortuus fuerat: 'Domine, jam foetet, quatriduanus est enim' " ("Jesus said: 'Take away the stone.' Martha, the sister of him that was dead, said to him: 'Lord, by this time he stinks, for he is now of four days.' ").

with Revelation, 2:17, suggesting it is a figure for the eternal life to come after the final reckoning.[10] Additional connotation for this view comes from the use of the term "calculus" since at least Roman times to signify the stones used to render verdicts in judicial proceedings. White stones signified a vote for innocence; black ones, guilt (hence the term "blackball").[11] In contrast, though, Anderson offers a translation and interpretation of this figure in *NDRC,* 3:xxvi, which is based on Bede's *In Sancti Iohannis evangelio expositio,* (cited from *PL,* 92, col. 781) with reference to John, 11:38-45, even though the key word "calculus" does not appear in the biblical passage. Here the object is seen in a negative sense as the tombstone that covered Lazarus, which is figuratively equated with the old law that was written upon the stone tablets given to Moses on Mount Sinai ("and for the sake of the final work, he was saved from the tomb," in Anderson's rendering). This interpretation, somehow, seems to me less convincing than the association of this passage with the one in Revelation.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 26,4:** stipulam, this word's more usual spelling, is the reading given in *W1, Ma,* and *Oxf-Sol;* it is also preferred by Anderson in *NDRC,* 3:xxvi (although the variant reading of *F* is not reported in his commentary on p. 216); in either form the word means much the same thing, so the *F* reading is preserved here. **MUSIC: General remarks:** Like the pieces that immediately precede it, the setting of *Pater noster commiserans* is extremely ornate. Its caudae in particular are especially elegant; they are motivically unified in a number of cases, and frequently feature overlapping phrases; the melodic features of a number of the melismas, furthermore, often evoke comparison to similar phrases in the Perotinian quadrupla, as they sometimes feature imitation and canon. The high degree of small-scale motivic repetition that is apparent throughout this piece is provisionally demonstrated by the formal reference letters placed above the staves in the opening segment of this work. Further analysis on this level is not carried out in this transcription, except on a few occasions that show some notable instances of repetition on a larger scale. Throughout the piece there are some appreciably dissonant simultaneities. Usually (but not always) these occur as the penultimate or antepenultimate sonority before a cadence (see for example, the close of the cauda at line 7,3 – "mercatur"). Each of these instances has been checked against the other MS sources for verification, and each time the relevant sources bear out any markedly dissonant readings. **Accidentals and musica ficta:** the presence of *e-flat* sigs among the various sources has informed the inclusion of editorial ficta in the transcription; as usual, those inserted on editorial initiative alone are bracketed above the staff. **Opening cauda (line 1,1):** D: F: the rhythmic reading of the plicated ligature and subsequent *conjuncturae* that close the final phrase of the cauda has been influenced by *Ma,* which gives 3li,2li+1C,4si =*ded,cb+a,g,g,f,g.* **Line 9,1:** T: F: the 2li=*cd* of "[sce]lus" is aligned with its first note against the si *f* in the D, since *W1* (and possibly *Oxf-Sol* as well) presents this as a siP; much of the other alignment decisions in the *cum littera* sections of this piece favor the coordination of the concluding elements of ligatures with their corresponding syllables. **11,3-4:** TD: F: the editorially supplied strokes surrounding each word of "salvus esse" appear in all other sources *(W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol);* D: F,W1: 2 lower for the figure on the first syllable of "[sal]vus"; the adopted reading is supported by *Ma,Oxf-Sol.* **Cauda on line 14,2:** D: F: in the sixth phrase of the melisma on "solis" (at L27), *W1* opens with 3li+2C=*def+ed,* hence the quicker reading adopted here for the 2li=*ed* of *F* in the transcription. All other sources *(F,Ma,Oxf-Sol)* allow for the possibility of a rhythmic alternative, which I find slightly less preferable to the one adopted here; for this, see the end of the transcription. **Line 20,2 (closing Strophe II):** Tt: the placement of the second syllable of "iura" earlier on the penultimate T *f* is conceivable; *F* puts the syllable midway between the final two pitches of the T phrase, *Oxf-Sol* gives "iurara" with the second syllable underdotted to show the error, but which is similarly ambiguously paced as in *F;* both *W1* and *Ma* favor

[10]Revelation, 2:17: "Vincenti dabo manna absconditum, et dabo illi calculum candidum: et in calculo nomen novum scriptum, quod nemo scit, nisi qui accipit" ("To him that overcomes, I will give the hidden manna, and will give him a white counter [stone], and in the counter [stone], a new name written, which no man knows, but he that receives it.").

[11]See, for example, the definition given at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/calculus, under the "LewisShort" heading, II,D.

coordination of the last syllable with the final *g* of the strophe, as given here. **21,4:** TD: F: the adopted strokes following "deum" appear in all other sources *(W1,Ma,Oxf-Sol)*. **22,2:** D: F: the 2 *b-flat* si pitches topped by a dashed tie in the transcription are closely grouped in *F; W1,Ma* present a single DL here, while *Oxf-Sol* does not preserve this portion. **27,1-2:** TtTD: W1: music and text for "quod signat" om following a stroke only in the T; *Ma* gives strokes before and after these two words. **28,1:** T: F: the antepenultimate *g* that occurs before the cadence on "[gu]stans" is not el, but is transcribed with a longer value here to accommodate the multiple notes in the D; a quicker option also appears above the staves. *Ma* and *Oxf-Sol* as well as *F* show elongation of the following penultimate *f* pitch, while *W1* gives 2si=*ff* in place of the penultimate in *F*. **Final cauda (on line 32,3):** TD: Ma: for the 10L segment beginning at L68 of this melisma, *Ma* offers a partially extended reading; see the end of the transcription.

RESURGENTE DOMINO
Conductus (H18/306)

F, f. 280v (7,14)

I

D [Re - gen - te do - mi - no; e - i con - re - sur - ga-mus.

T Re - [Re] - sur - gen - te do - mi - no; e - i con - re - sur - ga-mus.

qui re - a - tu pri - sti - no de - tru - si

a (a') qui re - a - tu pri - sti - no de - tru - si

fu - e - ra - mus sub in - fer - ni la - te - bris;
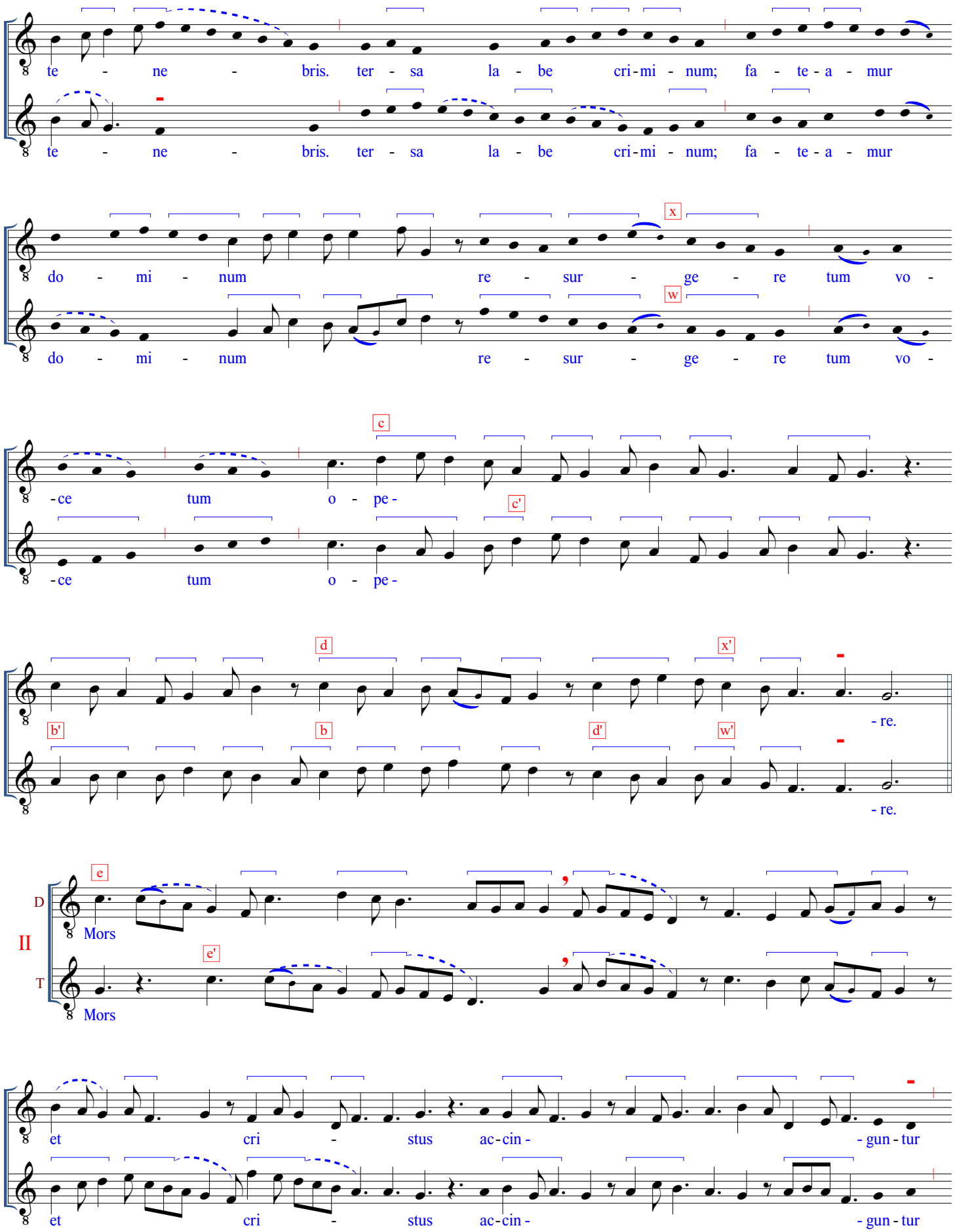
a" fu - e - ra - mus sub in - fer - ni la - te - bris;
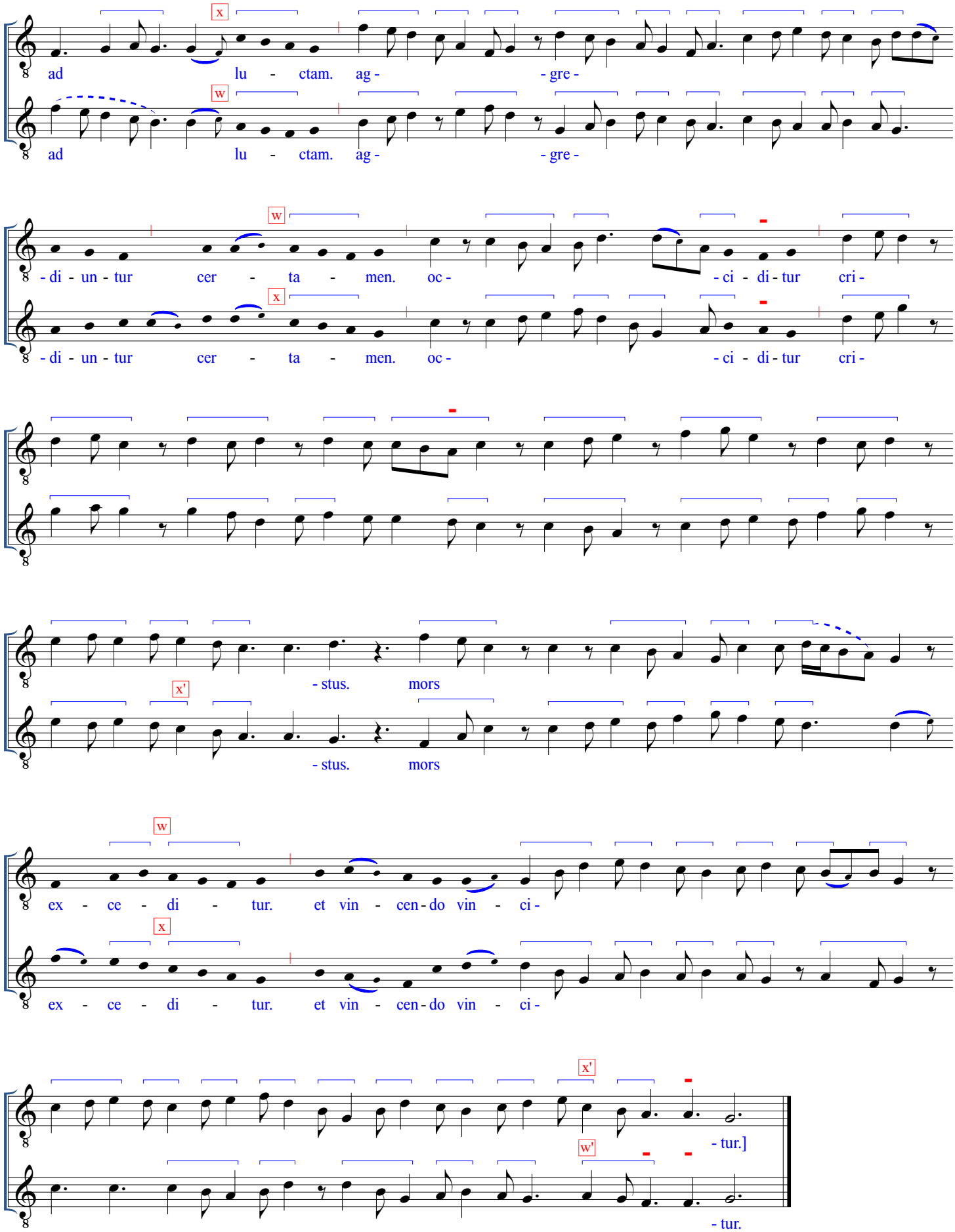
ex - ur - ga -

ex - ur - ga - b

b - mus

- mus


te - ne - bris. ter - sa la - be cri - mi - num; fa - te - a - mur
te - ne - bris. ter - sa la - be cri - mi - num; fa - te - a - mur
x
do - mi - num re - sur - ge - re tum vo -
w
do - mi - num re - sur - ge - re tum vo -
c
-ce tum o - pe -
c'
-ce tum o - pe -
d
x'
b'
b
d'
w'
- re.
- re.
e
II
D
Mors
e'
T
Mors
et cri - stus ac - cin - - gun - tur
et cri - stus ac - cin - - gun - tur


x
ad lu - ctam. ag - - gre -
w
ad lu - ctam. ag - - gre -
w
- di - un - tur cer - ta - men. oc - - ci - di - tur cri -
x
- di - un - tur cer - ta - men. oc - - ci - di - tur cri -
x'
- stus. mors
- stus. mors
w
ex - ce - di - tur. et vin - cen - do vin - ci -
x
ex - ce - di - tur. et vin - cen - do vin - ci -
x'
- tur.]
w'
- tur.

RESURGENTE DOMINO

Conductus (H18/306)

F, f. 280v (7,14)

I Resurgente domino,
ei conresurgamus,
qui, reatu pristino,
detrusi fueramus
sub inferni latebris.
Exurgamus tenebris,
tersa labe criminum.
Fateamur dominum
resurgere,
tum voce, tum opere.

With the rising of the Lord,
let us rise along with him,
we, who by that very first offence,
had been thrust down
into the hidden recesses of hell.
Let us arise from the shadows,
with the blemish of sin wiped clean.
Let us acknowledge that the Lord
is risen,
both with voice and with action.

II Mors et Christus accinguntur
ad luctam; aggrediuntur
certamen. Occiditur
Christus; mors exceditur,
et vincendo vincitur.

Death and Christ are girded
for the contest; they undertake the
battle. Christ
perishes; death departs,
and by conquering is conquered.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 14, f. 280v: a2, Strophes I-II, complete; a capital heads II.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 60, f. 143v (134v): a2, Strophes I-II, complete, with painted initials for I-II and additional filigree decoration for I. The text entered down the entire left margin of the first folio, perpendicular to the rest of the content on this page, is the second strophe of the previous work in *W1, A deserto veniens* (J3,I29/1), whose final cauda concludes at the top of the leaf. In the right margin of the following folio, 144r (135r), is the addition of an informal, light-brown ink drawing of a person with their hands clasped together, as if in prayer. In his facsimile edition of *W1,* Staehelin identifies the figure as a monk, but I am not sure whether the style of clothing might better indicate a woman.[1]

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 12, f. 48v: a2, Strophes I-II, complete; neither initials nor guide letters were ever entered for any of the stanzas.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** the season is evidently Easter. **3-4:** the "first offense" is the original sin incurred by Adam and Eve; see Genesis, 3. **10:** see Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), 3:9: "In opere, et sermone, et omni patientia, honora patrem tuum" ("Honour thy father, in work and word, and all patience."). Compare the remarks on the analogous collaboration of voice and heart in the conductus *Relegata vetustate* (H23/303), line 16, which

[1]Martin 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), 21, 44.

appears just two pieces prior in *F*-7. **11-15:** for the frequent conceit of death being overcome by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; the commonly noted irony in the final line results from death being conquered by suffering its own death through the death of Christ. Note also the battle and victory of God over the beast in Revelations, 19:11-21.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: Versification:** each of the three sources agrees in dividing the text into two respective components of ten and five lines, signaled by initials, or spaces for intended initials in the case of *Ma;* these divisions are rendered here as two different strophes, despite their independence in length and rhythmical structure, yet the poem could well be considered a single stanza. **Textual observations: 6,1:** F: the alignment of the final syllable of "exurgamus" is with the following *d* pitches in the T; and this is also possibly intended in *Ma; W1* suggests placement under the preceding *c,* as adopted here. **11,3; 14,1:** F: both occurrences of this word in these two lines is spelled "cristus," not in the more typical manner beginning χρ (chi-ro); *Ma* also uses the "cristus" spelling for both appearances, while *W1* has a variant reading of line 11 that omits the first instance ("mors extinguitur" as it presently stands) and uses the χρ beginning for the second. **12,3:** F: the second syllable of "aggrediuntur"appears 4L later, corrected from *Ma; W1* does not aid in the decision, since it gives the four-syllable variant "aggreditur," with its last three syllables underlaid to the three notes of the following *cum littera* segment (= "-diuntur" in *F*). **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** TD of cauda on "qui [reatu]" (line 3,1) = **1a.** similar, transposed T of "rea[tu]" (line 3,2) immediately following; = **1b.** T(D) of "fuera[mus]" (line 4,2). A second instance of identity, signaled by the letters "w" and "x" and their variables in the transcription, describes a very common formulaic cadential figure, but here it is uncharacteristically frequent in appearance and is notably concentrated towards the end of this piece, appearing in five of the final six lines of the poem: **2.** TD of figure on "[resur]gere" (line 9,1) = **2a.** TD at end of cauda on "[o]pe[re]" (line 10,4, closing cauda of Strophe I); **2b.** TD on "[ad] luctam" (line 12,2); **2c.** TD on "[cer]tamen" (line 13,1); **2d.** TD on "[exce]ditur" (line 14, 3); **2e.** TD at end of last phrase of cauda on "cristus" (line 14,1, penultimate line of poem). **2f.** TD on "[vin]citur" (line 15,3, last line of poem) at the end of the closing cauda. **Musical observations: Line 5,3:** T: F: the antepenultimate note *f* (the 2 of the 2li) in the short cauda on "[la]tebris" is placed rather low, so that it looks like an *e;* the correct pitch verified by *W1,Ma.* **11-14:** the ornate setting of these verses allows the syntactic divisions of their texts to be readily communicated at the expense of their poetic structure, since a thoroughgoing use of enjambment pervades these lines. **11,4:** D: F: the *d* prior to the final pitch of the phrase on "accinguntur" is written as if to suggest *c;* the adopted reading is supplied from *W1,Ma.* **13,2:** TD: F: in the setting of "occiditur" the voice parts are exchanged in comparison to *W1* and *Ma.*

REX ETERNE GLORIE MUNDO – *Ma* version

Conductus (H21/309)

Ma, f. 58r (3,18) (= *F,* 7,15)*

I

D [Rex

T [R]ex

[Rex] e - ter - ne glo - ri - e

[Rex] e - ter - ne glo - ri - e

*W1: modal transmutation, see at end

mun - do na - tus ho -

mun - do na - tus ho -

- di - - e nos re - na - sci vo - lu - it quos a - dam

- di - - e nos re - na - sci vo - lu - it quos a - dam

**W1: modal transmutation, see at end

con - sti - tu -

con - sti - tu -

*The T voice of the opening cauda presents a rhythmically varied version of the T melisma that begins Strophe II, with phrase 2 and the first part of phrase 4 identical, or nearly so, in both instances.

†*W1:* modal transmutation, see at end

a'

- it mor -

- it mor -

| *W1:* modal transmutation apparently ends

| T: W1: 3li=*gag*: partial conversion?

- ti tri - bu - ta - ri -

- ti tri - bu - ta - ri -

| TD: imitation for 7L

b

b'

d

c

| D: *W1:* 3li+3C: partial modal conversion?

| D: *W1:* 3li,2li: partial modal conversion?

d'

c'

[V]

- os.

- os.

| T = varied version of opening cauda of Strophe I: phrase 2 and beginning of phrase 4 identical in both

II
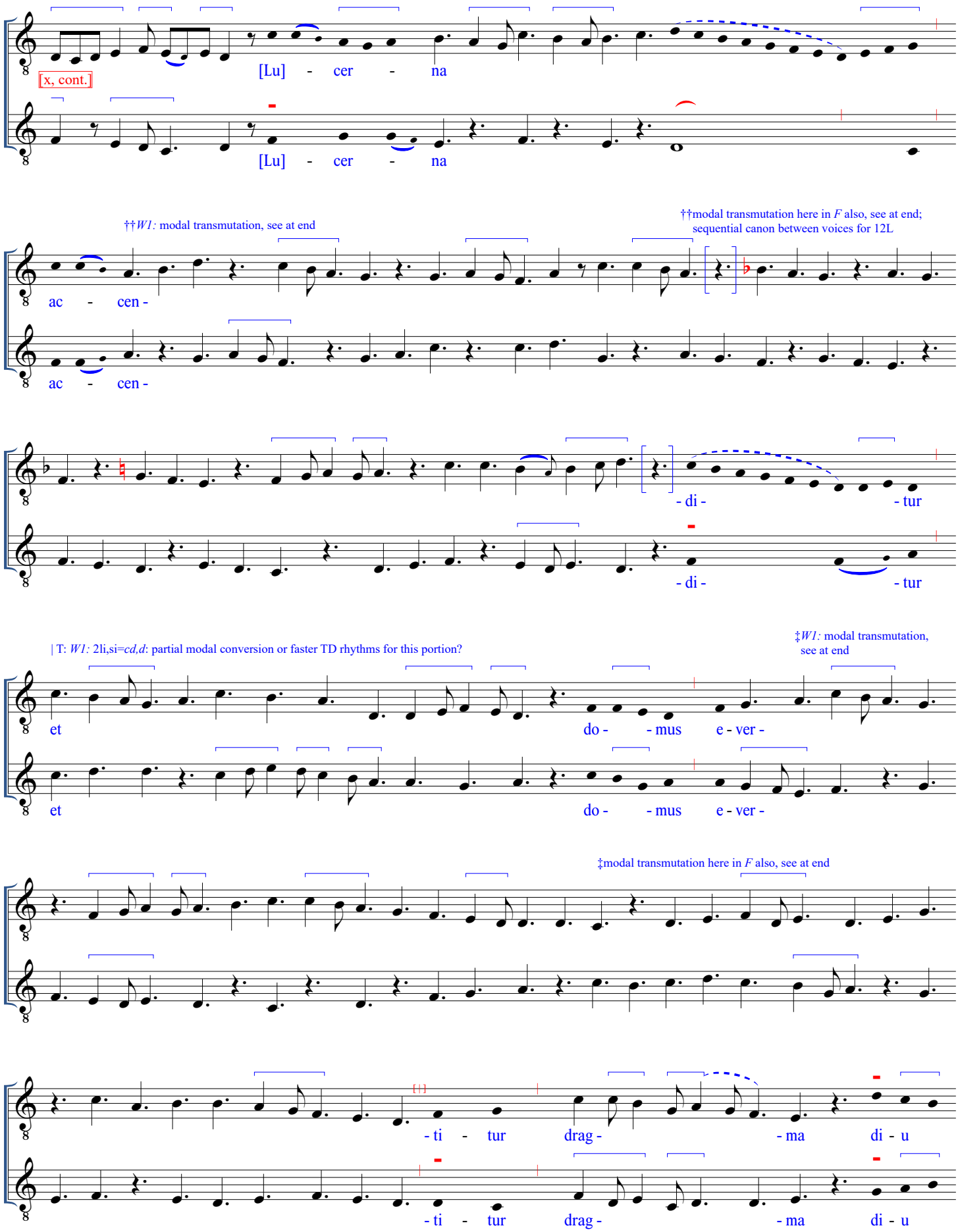
D

T

[L]u -

[L]u -

x


[x, cont.]
[Lu] - cer - na
[Lu] - cer - na
††*W1:* modal transmutation, see at end
††modal transmutation here in *F* also, see at end; sequential canon between voices for 12L
ac - cen -
ac - cen -
- di - - tur
- di - - tur
| T: *W1:* 2li,si=*cd,d*: partial modal conversion or faster TD rhythms for this portion?
‡*W1:* modal transmutation, see at end
et do - - mus e - ver -
et do - - mus e - ver -
‡modal transmutation here in *F* also, see at end
- ti - tur drag - - ma di - u
- ti - tur drag - - ma di - u

per - di - ta in - ve - ni -

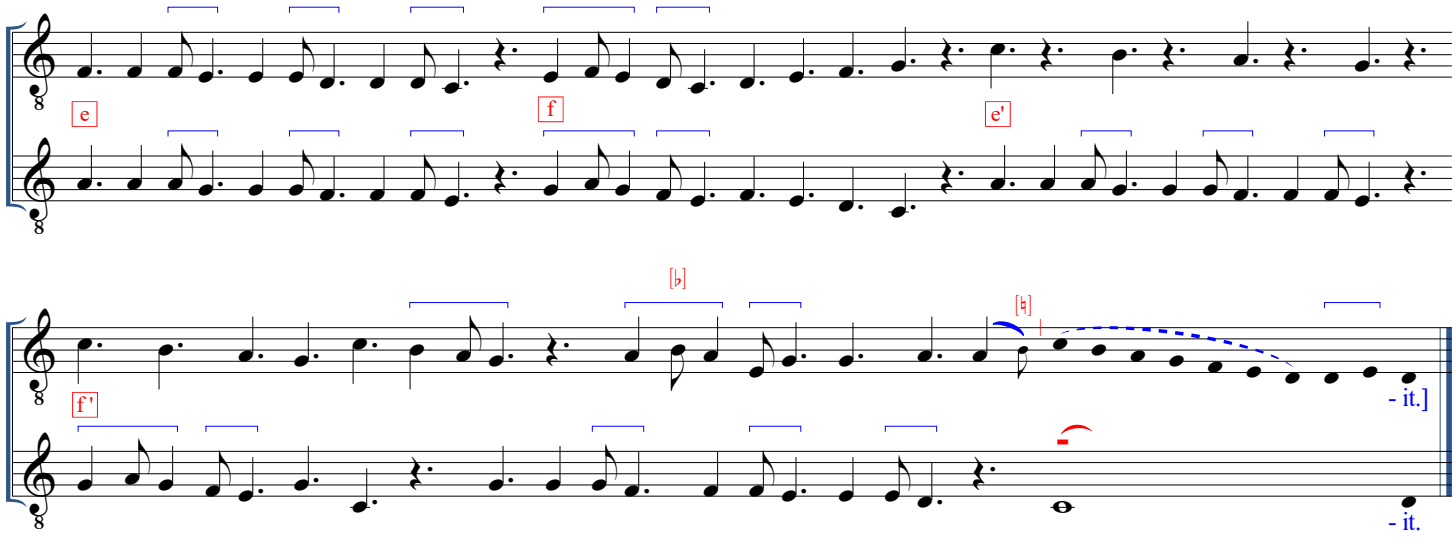
per - di - ta in - ve - ni -

- tur. et i - - ta ver - bum car - nem in - du -

- tur. et i - - ta ver - bum car - nem in - du -
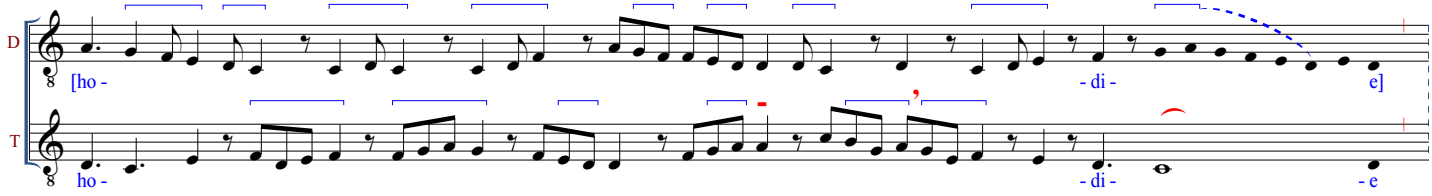
§*W1:* modal transmutation, see at end; imitation, sequence, and near canon between voices here

§§*W1:* modal transmutation ends; *F*, *W1:* shortened versions of 1st, 3rd, 5th phrases (from 8L to 4L in length); see end



ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

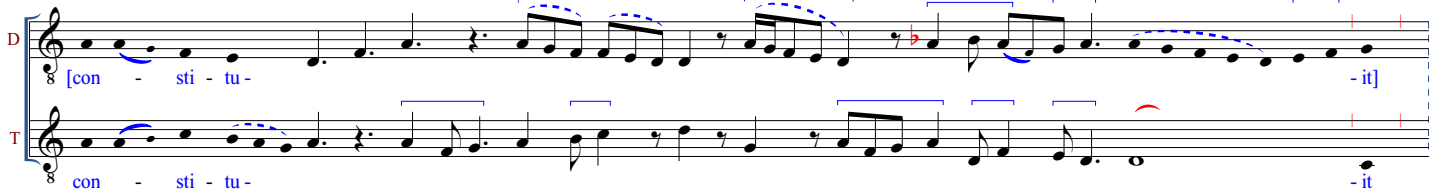
*Cauda at line 2,3: modally transmuted reading from *W1,* f. 148v (139v), V



**Cauda at line 4,3: modally transmuted reading from *W1,* f. 148v (139v), VI

| *W1:* transmutation starts

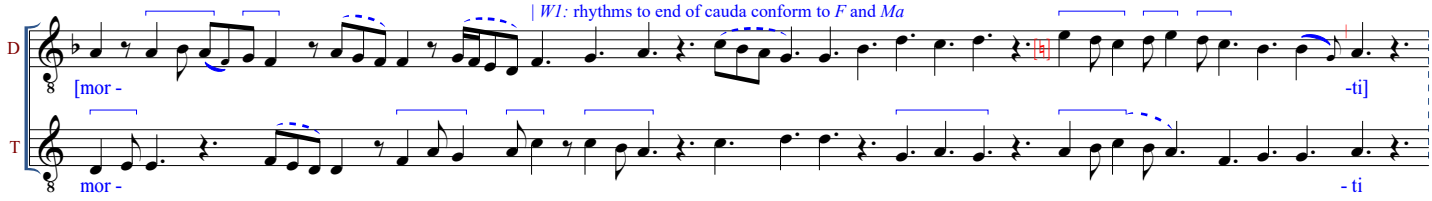
| D: *Ma,F:* 4C,si=*dcba,a:* preferable reading



†Cauda at line 5,1: modally transmuted reading (with elements of partial conversion?) from *W1,* f. 149r (140r), I

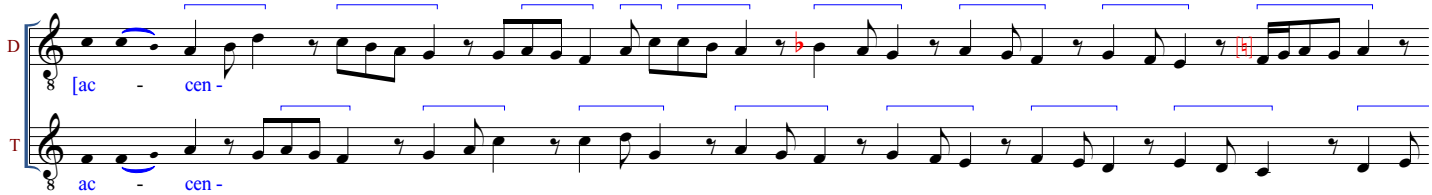
| T: *W1:* 3li under 3si in D; partial conversion?

| *W1:* rhythms to end of cauda conform to *F* and *Ma*

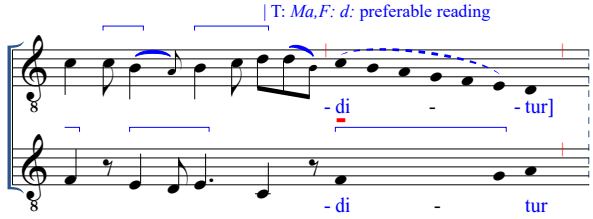


††Cauda at line 6,2

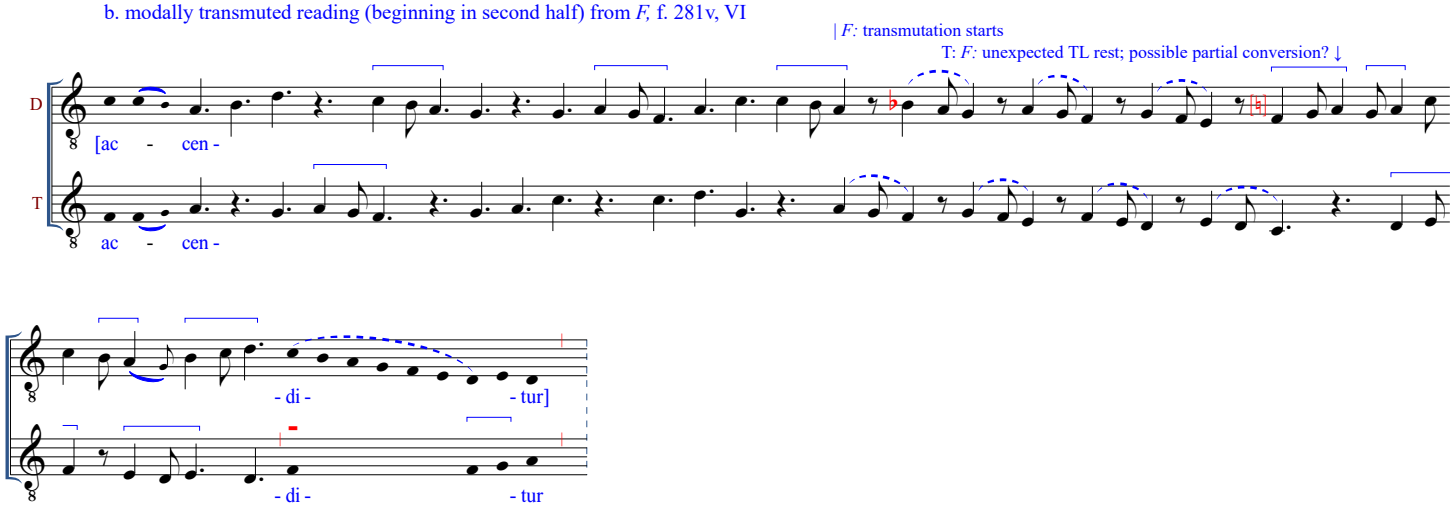
a. modally transmuted reading from *W1,* f. 149r (140r), III



| T: *Ma,F: d:* preferable reading

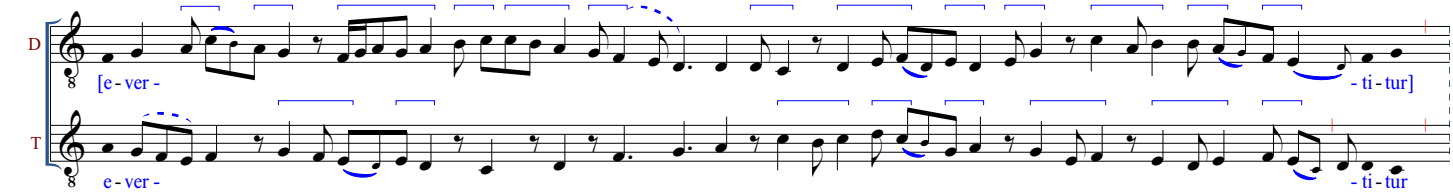


b. modally transmuted reading (beginning in second half) from *F,* f. 281v, VI
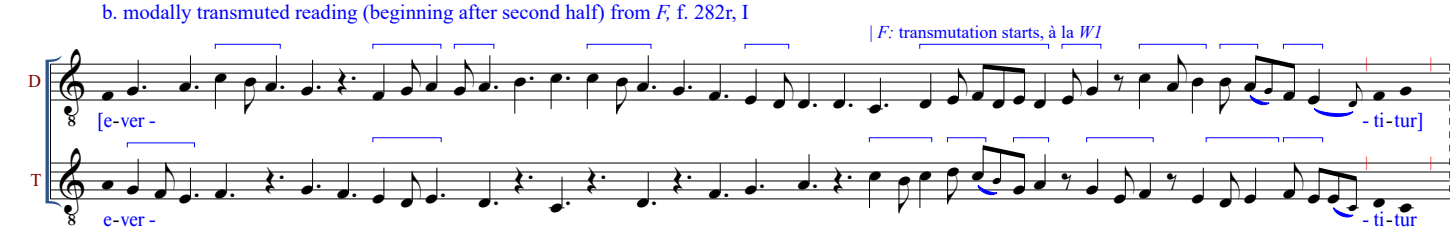


‡Cauda at line 7,3

a. modally transmuted reading from *W1,* f. 149r (140r), IV

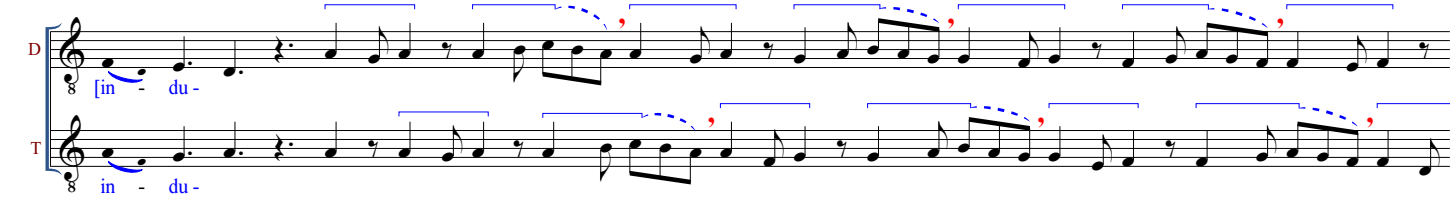


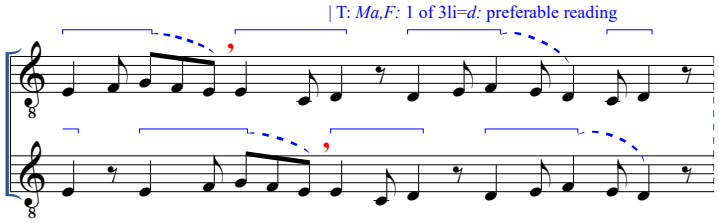
b. modally transmuted reading (beginning after second half) from *F,* f. 282r, I



§Cauda at line 10,3 (first portion): modally transmuted reading from *W1,* f. 149v (140v), I

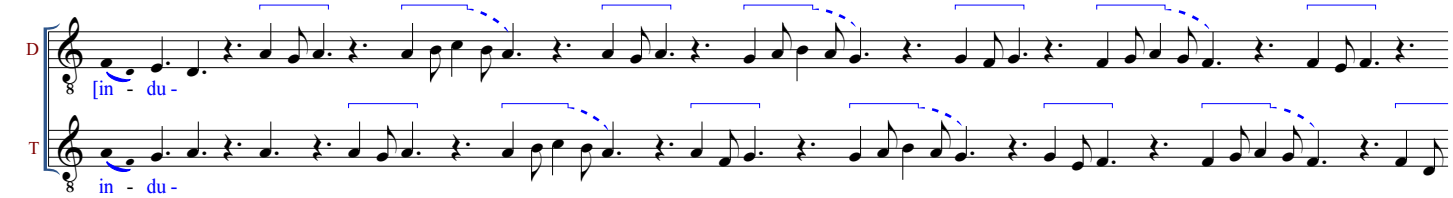
a. first rendering, with alternate strokes rendered as *suspiria**



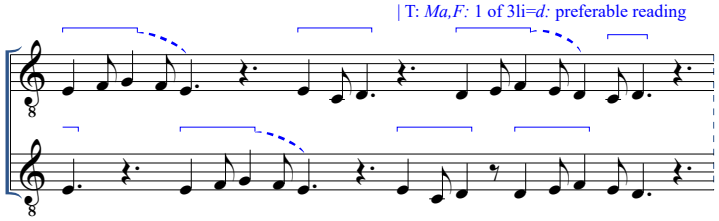


*Note the inconsistent treatment of the strokes in the T and D here as rests of different durations (B rests or *suspiria*). This could suggest the primacy and superiority of the *Ma* interpretation offered in the main transcription, as its rendering presents the most regular of the offered readings.

b. second rendering, with strokes rendered as TL*

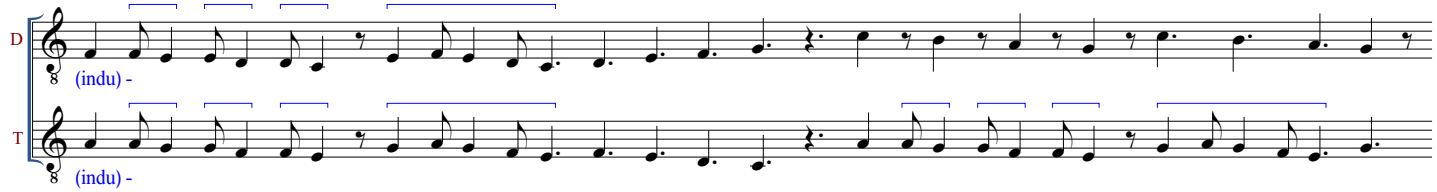


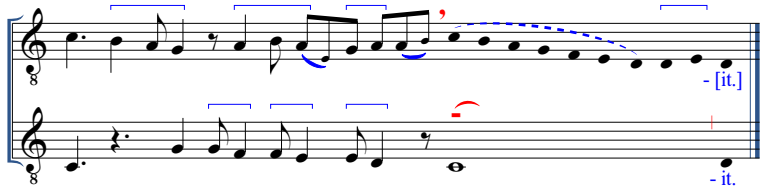
| T: *Ma,F:* 1 of 3li=*d:* preferable reading
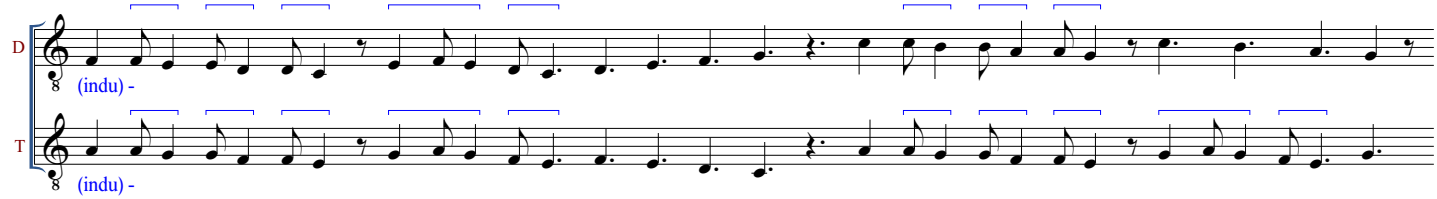


*Note the inconsistent treatment of the penultimate stroke in the T as a B rest instead of the TL duration used elsewhere. This could suggest the primacy and superiority of the *Ma* interpretation offered in the main transcription, as its rendering presents the most regular of the offered readings.

§§Cauda at line 10,3 (second portion)
a. shortened versions of 1st, 3rd, 5th phrases (from 8L to 4L in length), from *W1,* f. 149v (140v), I

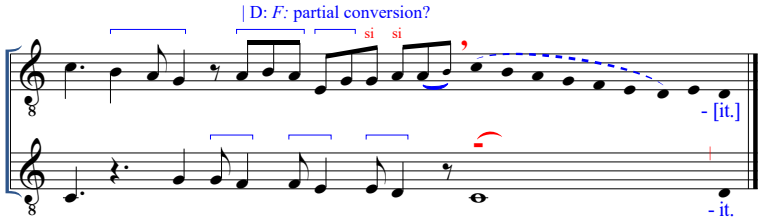




b. shortened versions of 1st, 3rd, 5th phrases (from 8L to 4L in length), from *F,* f. 282r, VI



| D: *F:* partial conversion?



REX ETERNE GLORIE MUNDO

Conductus (H21/309)

Ma f. 58r (3,18) (= *F,* 7,15)

I Rex eterne glorie,
mundo natus hodie,
nos renasci voluit,
quos Adam constituit
morti tributarios.

The king of eternal glory,
born today to the world,
wished us, whom Adam
established as susceptible to
death, to be reborn.

II Lucerna accenditur
et domus evertitur;
dragma, diu perdita,
invenitur, et ita
verbum carnem induit.

The lamp is lighted
and the house scoured;
the coin, long since lost,
is found, and so
the word assumes flesh.

SOURCES:

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 18, f. 58r: a2, Strophes I-II, complete, with no initials or guide letters entered for either stanza; several caudae in this source display extended rhythms (in mode 1 or mode 5) in comparison to *F* and *W1* (in mode 6 or mode 1). Due to its greater consistency, *Ma* serves here as the base source for the transcription in preference to *F*. For further justifications for this decision, see the observations on the music below.

F, fasc. 7, no. 15, f. 281r: a2, Strophes I-II, complete, with a capital beginning II; several caudae in *F* feature portions transmuted into faster rhythms (mode 1 or mode 6) when compared to the same passages in *Ma; W1* tends also to have these same faster passages, along with additional ones not so rendered in *F.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 65, f. 148v (139v): a2, Strophes I-II, complete, with painted letters in the same blue color beginning both I and II (rather than alternating with red); several caudae feature transmutation to quicker rhythms in comparison with the same passages in *F* and *Ma.* A partially effaced text entry running up the left margin of the opening folio at a ninety-degree angle to the rest of the content on this page reads: "Officialis curie glasguensis propter s ... es ec ..." (Official of the court of Glasgow, on behalf of ... [?]).[1] Further erased marginalia appear on f. 149v (140v); the one to the left of the final system to contain *Rex eterne* reads (according to Staehelin, *ibid.*): "si capias hastam [?]" ("if you should grasp a spear [?]").

Oxf-Sol,[2] no. ? (see further on for explanation), offset backboard.[3] *Rex eterne glorie* is transmitted as a mirror-image offset on one of the pieces of parchment folded over from the other side of the backboard, so that it appears both reversed and upside down at the bottom right of the DIAMM image: a2; fragmentary, and much of what survives is either illegible or very difficult to make out. Portions of the opening blue initial "R" and

---

[1]This transcription of the marginal entry relies on the one given on pp. 21 and 44 of Martin 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. Here the ellipses refer to illegible portions of the last two words.

[2]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17 ; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[3]This is how the location is identified in the label printed at the bottom of the relevant image from *OxAuct* available at DIAMM here; the descriptive text that accompanies the DIAMM image reads "back board offset."

second letter "e" of the first word of text, along with the music of the T voice of the beginning cauda up to just before the *cum littera* setting of line 1 begins, are visible. A few notes of the third and fourth phrases of the cauda in the D can also be seen. However, this particular part of the source is also overlaid with what looks like upside-down music from another piece that appears to have become imprinted by offset upon and between the surviving T and D staves of *Rex eterne.* As a result, further segments of the piece on this single surviving system are extremely difficult to construe, assuming they actually are extant. The inclusion of *OxAuct* in the list of sources for *Rex eterne glorie* appears on the CPI website and in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 3:218). The latter gives its number within the sequence of pieces in *OxAuct* as no. 6, whereas Everist, ("A Reconstructed Source," *passim*), as well as RISM and DIAMM, do not include *Rex eterne* in this source (perhaps due to the exclusion of the binding board material in their assessments); these publications catalog number 6 of *Oxf-Sol* as *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133). For additional information on this situation, see the discussion of the sources for *Fraude ceca* at *F*-7,1.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Note: This conductus should not be confused with the Agnus trope *Rex eterne glorie qui das locum venie* (uncataloged by either Falck or Anderson), preserved uniquely in *GB-Cgc 803/807, Fragm. 32,* f. 1v: a2.[4]

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** a clear reference to Christmas day. **3:** see John, 3:3-5, where the first of these verses relates: "Respondit Jesus, et dixit ei: 'Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit denuo, non potest videre regnum Dei'" ("Jesus answered, and said to him [Nicodemus]: 'Amen, amen I say to you, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.'"). **4-5:** The fall of Adam and Eve (Genesis, 3) that led to original sin (see Romans, 5:12-21; 1 Corinthians, 15:22). **6-9:** see Luke, 15:8-10, which relates Jesus's parable of a woman who originally possessed ten drachma coins; upon losing one, she lighted a lamp and swept her house until she found the lost money. The Gospel text offers the interpretation that her rejoicing over her recovery is comparable to the joy of God's angels when a single sinner repents. See the invocation of this same parable in the text of the conductus *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133), lines 9-16 (Strophe II), where the lamp is interpreted as the Virgin Mary, the light within it as Christ, and (similar to *Rex eterne*) the coin as God incarnate in man and a symbol of salvation that overrides original sin.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,1; 6,1:** *Ma:* the initials "R" and "L" that begin the respective strophes were never executed; they are supplied from *F,W1.* **5,2; 10,3:** *Ma:* the closing period om at the ends of both strophes, supplied here from *F,W1.* **MUSIC: General remarks:** the caudae in this piece are notable not only for their frequency and length, but for their elegant construction, often featuring extensive dovetailing of phrases, and in some cases prominent use of sequence, imitation, and canon or approximate canon; see, for instance the caudae at lines 6,2 and 10,3. Additionally, the T melodies of the caudae that open each strophe (at lines 1,1 and 6,1) feature significant melodic correspondences, but with different rhythms in some portions; see the discussion of these specific passages below. Bukofzer ("Interrelations," 101)[5] notes that the rhythmic

[4]For information on this source and images of its contents, 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), p. 14 and plate 8. Note that for this item f. 1r is given in the CPI database, whereas RISM presents it as f. 32v following the shelfmark numbers.

[5]Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques,* 1 (1953): 65-103.

variation observed in the caudae of this piece echoes procedures also seen in the conductus *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89), the version of *A deserto veniens* in both *W1* and *CaJ* (J31/1), and *Veri vitis germine* (H14/372); see the remarks on these other pieces for additional information. Note that repetition of a portion of one cauda in another within the same piece also appears in the work that directly follows *Rex eterne* in *F, Gaude virgo virginum* (G5/139), although in this case both the melodic and rhythmic profiles are retained, and both voices participate in the recall. Besides the features noted here, there are numerous other instances of phrase repetition and motivic interaction in *Rex eterne;* some, but certainly not all of these instances have been labeled in the transcription. **Modal transmutation:** Several of the caudae – specifically the ones at lines 2,3; 4,3; 5,1; 6,2; 7,3; and 10,3 – are transmuted into faster rhythmic values in *W1*. Certain portions of some of these particular caudae are similarly transmuted in *F;* see the remarks on the specific passages below. The most extensive of such readings are marked in the transcription and supplied as alternatives at its end. Outside of several rest strokes omitted in *Ma* (which are vouched for in every relevant case but one by both the extant concordant sources – and for the sole exception, see the remarks on the cauda at line 6,2), the slower, more deliberate rhythms favored by *Ma* present the most straightforward realizations. I would therefore conjecture they may represent the initial rhythmic conception of the caudae in this piece, which is why *Ma* is chosen here as the base source for this transcription. This appraisal is supported by several occasions where *F* and *W1* present unusual ligations in their transmuted contexts that may perhaps show evidence of partial transmutation (these are signaled above the staff in the transcription from *Ma* and in the alternative readings from *W1* and *F* that follow). For the most telling of these divergences, see the remarks on the final cauda (at line 10,3). **Syllabic/Melismatic Identity: 1.** The last six notes of the T of "Rex" in the opening cauda (line 1,1) = **1a.** similar to the first seven notes of the T in the following *cum littera* segment "[Rex] eterne glo[rie]"; and **1b.** similar to the last six notes of the final T phrase of the cauda on "Lu[cerna]" (line 6,1, opening Strophe II). This specific set of correspondences has been marked in the score with "x" and "x' " above the staff. See also the remarks on the identities between the two caudae that open Strophes I and II. **2.** The T of "volu[it]" (line 3,3) = **2a.** the T of the following cauda on "[volu]it"; as well as **2b.** two non-consecutive phrases in the T of the preceding cauda on "ho[die]" (line 2,3) at L9-L12 and L17-L20; these are, however, very short, extremely minor correspondences involving the identity of only the three or four pitches *f, g, a (g).* These instances are marked in the transcription as "y" and "y'." **Opening cauda (at line 1,1):** the T part of this melisma is repeated in a varied version in the cauda opening Strophe II (at line 6,1). The pitches are the same in both instances except for the addition of the second *d* note in the fourth T phrase in the first cauda (at L12,2), while the rhythms of the second phrase (L5-L8) and the first part of the fourth phrase (starting at L12) are also identical; the first and third T phrases (three notes each at L1-L4 and L9-L11) are essentially transmuted to mode 1 in Strophe II from mode 5 in Strophe I. TD: W1,F: the penultimate pitches (T: *c,* D: *e*) of the cauda are repeated as si in both voices, implying an extended cadence and perhaps a longer succeeding rest than the one given in the transcription. **Cauda at line 2,3:** beginning with L3, the melisma on "hodie" is transmuted into the faster modes 1 and 6 in *W1* (from modes 5 and 1, respectively, given in *Ma* and *F*); see the alternative reading at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 4,3:** the *b-flats* proposed for the D in this passage on "constituit" appear only in *W1*. Beginning with L5, the melisma is transmuted into faster rhythms in *W1,* see the above remarks on modal transmutation and the alternative provided at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 5,1:** TD: Ma: the rests omitted at L20 and L24 in the passage over "morti" are found both in *W1* and *F;* the *b-flat* in the D occurs in *W1* only. This melisma starts out transmuted into faster modes in *W1;* see the above remarks on modal transmutation. In this case, the rhythms appear to revert to those in both *F* and *Ma* after L12, but the penultimate T phrase *(gag)* in *W1* is presented as 3li (marked in the *Ma* transcription), possibly indicating a partial attempt at conversion at this point, but an effort that is not supported by the simultaneous 3si *(d,c,d)* in the D in all extant sources. **Cauda at 5,2:** the fifth and seventh D phrases (from L18-L23 and L26-L31) of this melisma on "tributarios" (*g,f,gfed,d*' and *g,f,g,a,g*') are ligated as 3li+3C,si and 3li,2li, respectively, in *W1* (marked in the *Ma* transcription). This feature may indicate a partial attempt at modal conversion in *W1,* similar to the results in the cauda at line 5,1. D: Ma: the rest stroke omitted at L25 appears both in *W1* and *F.* **Cauda at line 6,1 (opens Strophe II):** T: the melisma on "Lu[cerna]" is a varied presentation of the initial

music of this piece; see the remarks on the opening cauda for details. The rest stroke omitted from *Ma* that closes the second D phrase (at L14) appears both in *W1* and *F.* **Cauda at line 6,2:** Ma: the first omitted rest of "[ac]cen[ditur]" (at L16) appears in both *W1* and *F;* the second (just prior to the *punctus organi,* and thus not rhythmically significant for the interpretation of the overlapping phrases in this cauda) occurs only in *W1. W1* presents this melisma in faster rhythms throughout; see the above remarks on modal transmutation and the reading supplied at the end of the transcription. Beginning with L15 of the *Ma* version, *F* reflects the same level of rhythmic transmutation seen in *W1.* This change in *F* happens to coincide with an extensive sequential canonic passage that begins at this point (cf. the similar features in the cauda at line 10,3). As the alternative reading given at the end of the transcription shows, after the sequential fall, the 3li,2li D ligation in *F* (=*fga,ga*) prompts an accompanying TL rest in the lower voice. This feature disrupts the musical flow of the T line and makes one wonder if this is an additional example of partial rhythmic conversion on the part of the *F* scribe. The disruption is avoided (but not completely obviated) in the alternative reading of *W1* by the use of a 5li D figure at the point in question, rendered SSBBL here, although it may also be interpreted using the LBLBL values of *Ma* and *F.* **Cauda at line 7,1:** the T of the first phrase of "et [domus]" *(c,d,d)* is ligated 2li,si in *W1* (marked in the *Ma* transcription) which may either reflect partial modal conversion or imply a faster (LB,L) reading for *W1* of the rhythms in both parts for this opening gesture (the si,3li of the D would therefore be rendered B,BBL). **Cauda at line 7,3:** *W1* presents this melisma on "evertitur" in faster rhythms throughout, and *F* partially so; see the above remarks on modal transmutation and the alternatives at the end of the transcription. Beginning with L19 of the *Ma* version, *F* is also transmuted to the rhythmic level of *W1.* The dissonances at the beginning of the second and third D phrases are supported by all extant sources. In *Ma,* the opening *c* of the final D phrase of the cauda is somewhat obscured by the verbal text above it. For the final cadence, the T of *Ma* has an extra *c* preceding the penultimate *d;* the D of this source, though, offers *g,a* as the last two notes; these apparently erroneous readings (compounded by the lack of clear alignment of parts at this point in *Ma*) have been corrected after *F* and *W1.* **Cauda at line 9,1:** TD: Ma: the rest stroke omitted at L25 in the cauda on "[inve]ni[tur]" appears in both *W1* and *F.* **Final cauda (at line 10,3):** this cauda on "[in]du[it]" features an extensive opening section – 42L in length in *Ma* – of a descending melodic sequence, combined with imitation and near canon between the voices (cf. the similar features in the cauda at line 6,2). This initial segment appears in faster rhythms in *W1,* but in extended form in both *F* and *Ma;* see the above remarks on modal transmutation. In the alternative readings given at the end of the transcription, two different realizations of the passage in *W1* are provided, allowing for different treatments of the strokes as either rests or breath marks. The second section of the cauda then essentially ends the modal transmutation in *W1,* but both *W1* and *F* now condense the music of only the first, third, and fifth T phrases from 8L to 4L, while preserving the overall melodic contour of the three sequentially descending gestures; the even-numbered phrases are left as they stand. The more balanced phrase structure and consistent treatment of the strokes as TL rests throughout the *Ma* version prompts me to regard it as the initial conception (see the notes supplied to these alternative readings within the main transcription from *Ma*). In support of this point, the D phrase in *F* just prior to the *punctus organi* that closes the piece retains the same ligation as *Ma* and is thus not (in contrast to *W1*) readily accommodated to the shorter phrase length of the T phrase below it (this feature is signaled in the alternative *F* reading given at the end of the transcription). Such an appearance in *F* suggests to me that its scribe may have worked from an exemplar similar in appearance to *Ma,* and was attempting to arrange this passage to conform to a version like that in *W1,* perhaps based on an aural memory of a faster performance reflecting the type of transmission in that source.

GAUDE VIRGO VIRGINUM

Conductus (G5/139)

F, f. 282v (7,16)

I

D [Gau -

T Gau -

[Gau] - de vir - go vir - gi-num. ex qua lu - men

[Gau] - de vir - go vir - gi-num. ex qua lu - men

lu - - mi-num or - - tum;
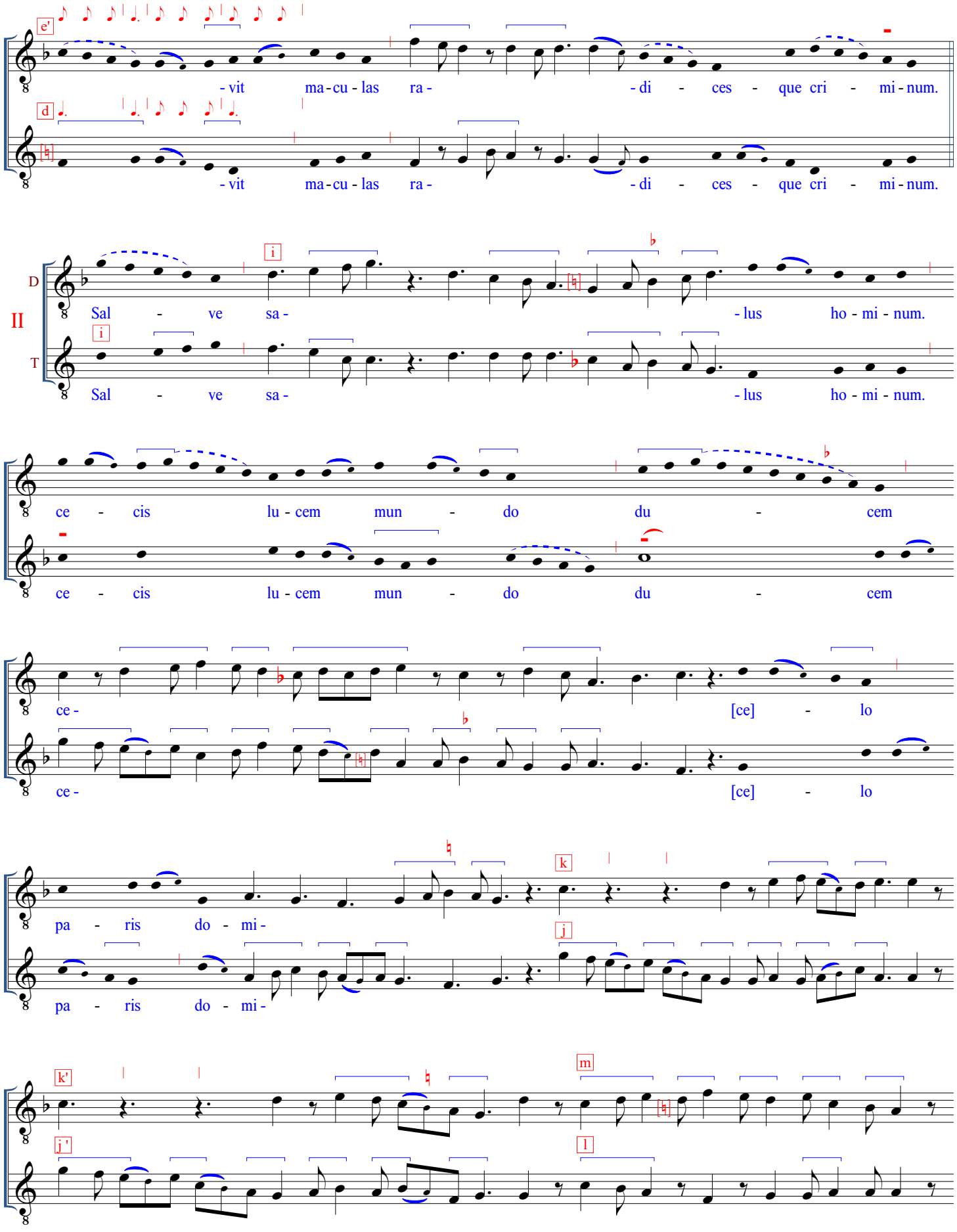
lu - - mi-num or - - tum;
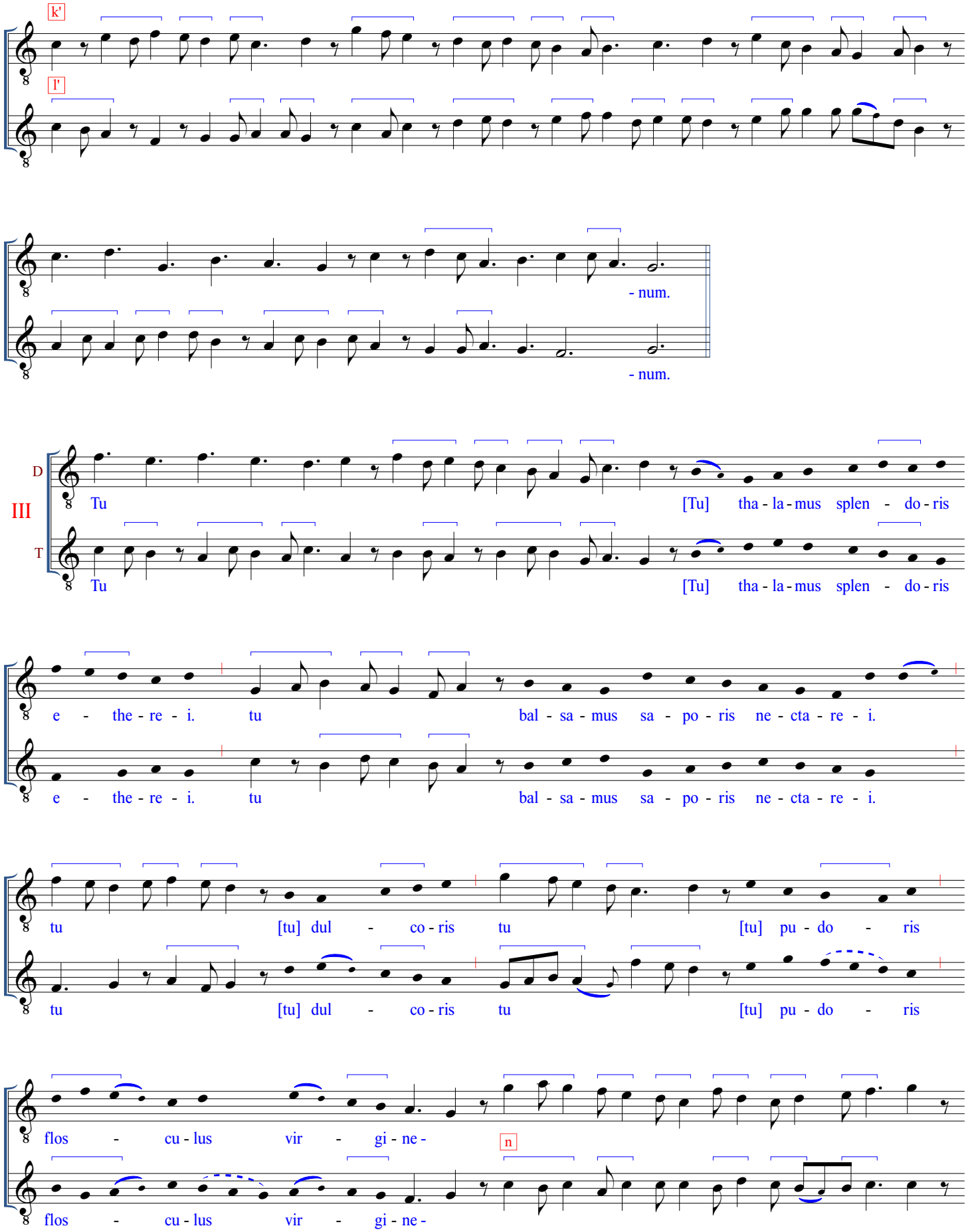
ter-ris splen - du - it. et di - lu - it nu - bis mor - ta - lis ne - bu - las.
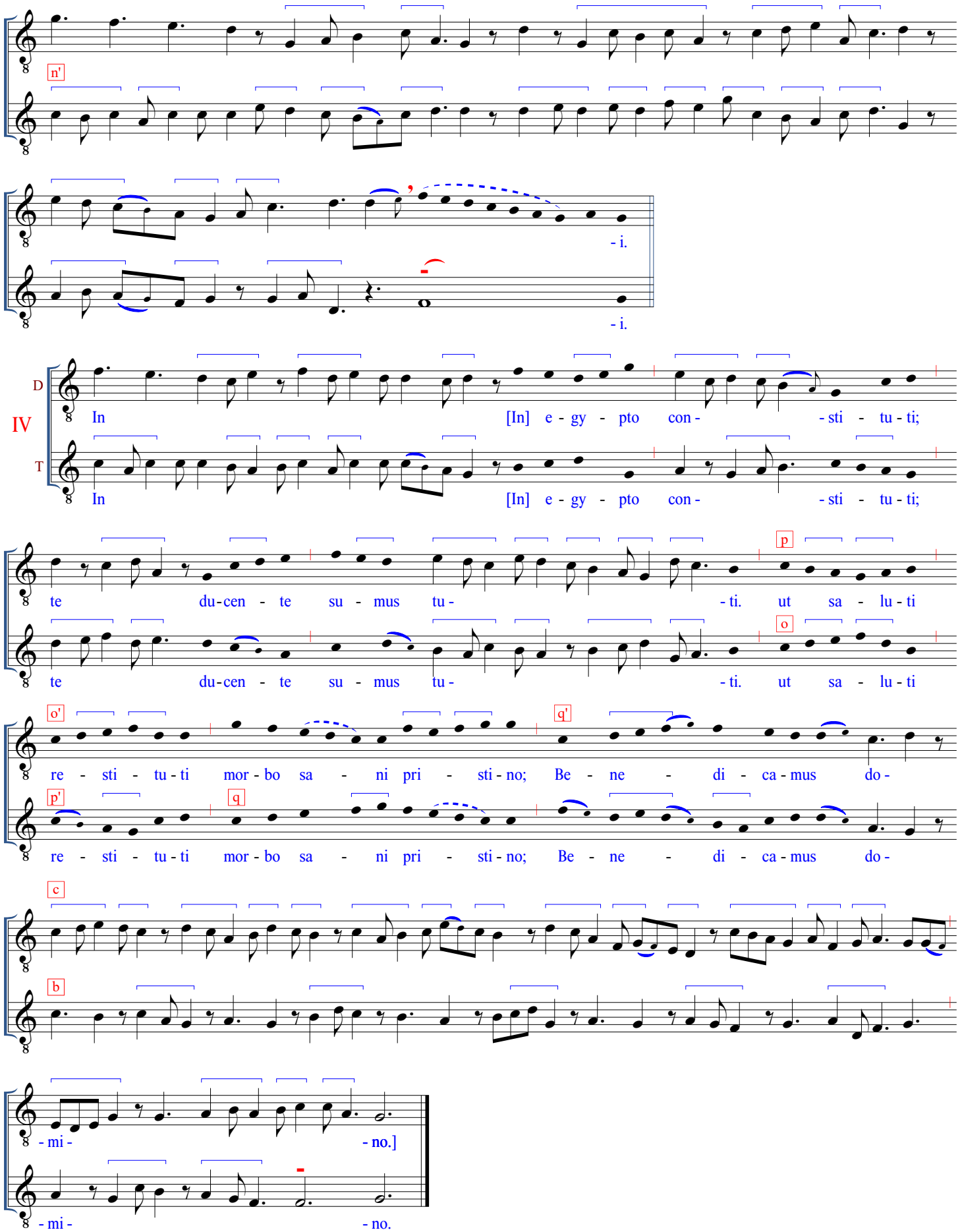
ter-ris splen - du - it. et di - lu - it nu - bis mor - ta - lis ne - bu - las.

et de - sic - ca -

et de - sic - ca -


e'
-vit ma-cu-las ra- -di - ces - que cri - mi-num.
d
-vit ma-cu-las ra- -di - ces - que cri - mi-num.
II
D
i
Sal - ve sa- -lus ho - mi - num.
T
i
Sal - ve sa- -lus ho - mi - num.
ce - cis lu - cem mun - do du - cem
ce - cis lu - cem mun - do du - cem
ce- [ce] - lo
ce- [ce] - lo
k
pa - ris do - mi-
j
pa - ris do - mi-
k'
m
j'
l


k'
l'
- num.
- num.
III
D
T
Tu
[Tu] tha - la - mus splen - do - ris
Tu
[Tu] tha - la - mus splen - do - ris
e - the - re - i. tu bal - sa - mus sa - po - ris ne - cta - re - i.
e - the - re - i. tu bal - sa - mus sa - po - ris ne - cta - re - i.
tu [tu] dul - co - ris tu [tu] pu - do - ris
tu [tu] dul - co - ris tu [tu] pu - do - ris
flos - cu - lus vir - gi - ne -
n
flos - cu - lus vir - gi - ne -


n'
- i.
- i.
D
IV
T
In
[In] e - gy - pto con -
- sti - tu - ti;
In
[In] e - gy - pto con -
- sti - tu - ti;
p
te du - cen - te su - mus tu -
- ti. ut sa - lu - ti
o
te du - cen - te su - mus tu -
- ti. ut sa - lu - ti
o'
q'
re - sti - tu - ti mor - bo sa - ni pri - sti - no; Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -
p'
q
re - sti - tu - ti mor - bo sa - ni pri - sti - no; Be - ne - di - ca - mus do -
c
b
- mi -
- no.]
- mi -
- no.

GAUDE VIRGO VIRGINUM (A)

Conductus (G5/139)

F, f. 282v (7,16)

I	Gaude, virgo virginum,	Rejoice, virgin of virgins,
	ex qua lumen luminum	from whom the light of lights
	ortum. Terris splenduit	was born. He shone over the earth
	et diluit	and both dissolved
	nubis mortalis nebulas	the mists of the deadly cloud
	et desiccavit maculas	and dried up the stains
	radicesque criminum.	and roots of sins.
II	Salve, salus hominum,	Hail, salvation of mankind,
	cecis lucem, mundo ducem,	you give birth to the Lord from heaven,
	celo paris dominum.	a light to the blind, a leader for the world.
III	Tu thalamus splendoris	You are the chamber of
	etherei;	ethereal splendor;
	tu balsamus saporis	you are the balm tree with the taste
	nectarei;	of nectar;
	tu dulcoris, tu pudoris	you are the little flower
	flosculus virginei.	of virginal sweetness and modesty.
IV	In Egypto constituti,	Though consigned to Egypt,
	te ducente sumus tuti,	with you as our leader we are secure,
	ut saluti restituti,	so that restored to salvation,
	morbo sani pristino,	cured of our original illness,
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*	"we may bless the Lord."

F, fasc. 7, no. 16, f. 282v: a2, Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV signaled by large capitals, the BD conclusion by a smaller one. The next piece (*Beate virginis* [H15/43]) also follows this work in *W1.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 53, f. 136v (127v): a2, Strophes I-IV, complete: I and III begin with painted initials, II is signaled by a small capital, IV by a smaller painted initial; the BD is not distinguished by the size of its opening letter. The next piece (*Beate virginis* [H15/43]) also follows this work in *F.*

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 6, f. 37r: a2, Strophes I-IV, complete: I begins with an historiated initial (possibly containing the figure of an angel) sketched in grayish ink and unpainted, II is not signaled at all by the size of its opening letter, III has space for an omitted staff-high initial, IV is headed by a system-high filigreed initial opening a new leaf, as though it begins a completely new piece; the BD is undistinguished.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 4, f. 99r: a2, Strophes I-IV, complete: I begins with its regular type of filigreed initial; II is signaled by a small capital; III, IV, and the BD conclusion by slightly larger ones.

Text only:

LoD (GB-Lbl Add. 27630), no. 6, f. 6v: a2 with the text entered under each of the two voices, in an unrelated musical setting, not distinguished with a different entry in Anderson's catalog and not included in Falck's. The version in this source is differentiated as *Gaude virgo virginum (B)* on the CPI website. Concordances in this transmission extend only to the texts of lines 1-4 and 6,3 (here as 5,2 of a variant line rendered as

"peccatorum maculas"), all within a ten-line poem divided into three strophes of 5, 3, and 2 lines each, headed by large capitals; rubric in left margin: "Item alii versi sexti vel quinti toni" ("other verses of the sixth or fifth tone").

The opening line of *Gaude virgo virginum* also appears as line 14 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:** although this poem opens with praise to the Virgin, which returns in Strophes II and III, both I (at the end) and IV (throughout) turn towards glorifying Christ, suggested in the last strophe by the reappearance of the term "leader" ("ducente," in line 18,2, recalling "ducem,"in line 9,4), before concluding with the BD tag. **Versification:** the irregular lengths of the strophes, their inconsistent delineation in the manuscripts (see the notes about initials under the reports on "Sources," above), and the frequent use of interlinear rhyme (indicated in the disposition of the above text by extra spacing within applicable lines) allow a wide range of interpretations of the stanzaic and line divisions in this poem. The presentation given here (prompted by the presence of the initials in *F*) is therefore only one of a number of ways that the structure of the verse may be interpreted. **Textual notes: 2-5:** a common image of Christ as the sun, or a great light that here dispels the clouds of sin; for some further instances of this figure in the conductus repertory, see the notes to the text of *Veri vitis germine* (H14/372), lines 3-4. **11-12:** the metaphor of Mary as the bridal chamber that housed Christ; see Psalm 18:6,[1] and the notes to the motet *Serena virginum* (A1/232 – vdW 69/M5), lines 4-5, as well as the discussion of the conductus *Excitatur caritas in Yerico* (F30/111), lines 19-20. **13-15:** this passage is redolent of imagery from the Song of Songs, cf., for example, 4:10-16; see also Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 24:20-21;[2] and the notes to the motet *Serena virginum* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5), lines 35-37. **17:** a metaphor for the sinful world, comparing it to the land that enslaved the Israelites, see Exodus, 1:7-14; and also cf. Exodus, 6:6.[3]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 13,2:** "balsamus," the form required by the rhyming constraints of the stanza, specifies the balsam tree, rather than the balm it exudes (see the entry from the *DMLBS* presented in http://logeion.uchicago.edu/balsamus); therefore it is so rendered here. **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity:**

---

[1]Psalm 18:6: "In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo. Exsultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam" ("He has set his tabernacle in the sun: and he, as a bridegroom coming out of his bride chamber, has rejoiced as a giant to run the course").

[2]Ecclesiasticus (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 odor 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 odor is as the purest balm.").

[3]Exodus, 6:6: "Ideo dic filiis Israhel: '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.'")

proposed by E. Fred Flindell, by way of reference to Gröninger:[4] **1.** T of "Salve," line 8,1 (beginning Strophe II) = **1a.** D of line 8,2 "sa[lus]," immediately following. This is extremely minor, involving four notes in a voice exchange passage and the presence of a single extra syllable in the T. **Opening cauda (on line 1,1):** TD: the music (pitches and rhythm) from the fifth phrase of the T to the end of the cauda (L15-L34,) is equivalent to both voices of the opening portion of the final cauda for this piece on "do[mino]," from its second phrase (at L3) up through the cadence immediately before the change to the syllable "-mi-" at L21. Both instances are signaled in the score by the boxed letters "b" and "c" above the staves. Cf. also the conductus immediately prior in *F* (*Rex eterne glorie* [H21/309]), where a portion of a cauda is also quoted, but in this case it is rhythmically altered and the repetition is confined to a single voice. **Line 21 (BD):** the *Benedicamus* conclusion, not based on any known external musical source, appears in all MSS, and fits the poetry; furthermore, the relationship between the D line that opens the BD section and the prior T phrase over line 20 ("morbo sane pristino"), as well as the correspondence between the BD and opening cauda (see the following and prior remarks), serve to connect the BD conclusion to the rest of the poem musically. **Closing cauda (on line 21,1):** the portion of the cauda on "do[mino]," beginning with L3 of the melisma, recalls exactly the music in both parts of the concluding portion of the opening cauda; see the above remarks.

[4]E. Fred Flindell, "The Achievements of the Notre Dame School," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1959), 303; Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame-Conductus,* Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, no. 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939), 31.

BEATE VIRGINIS
Conductus: (H15/43)

F, f. 283v (7,17)

I

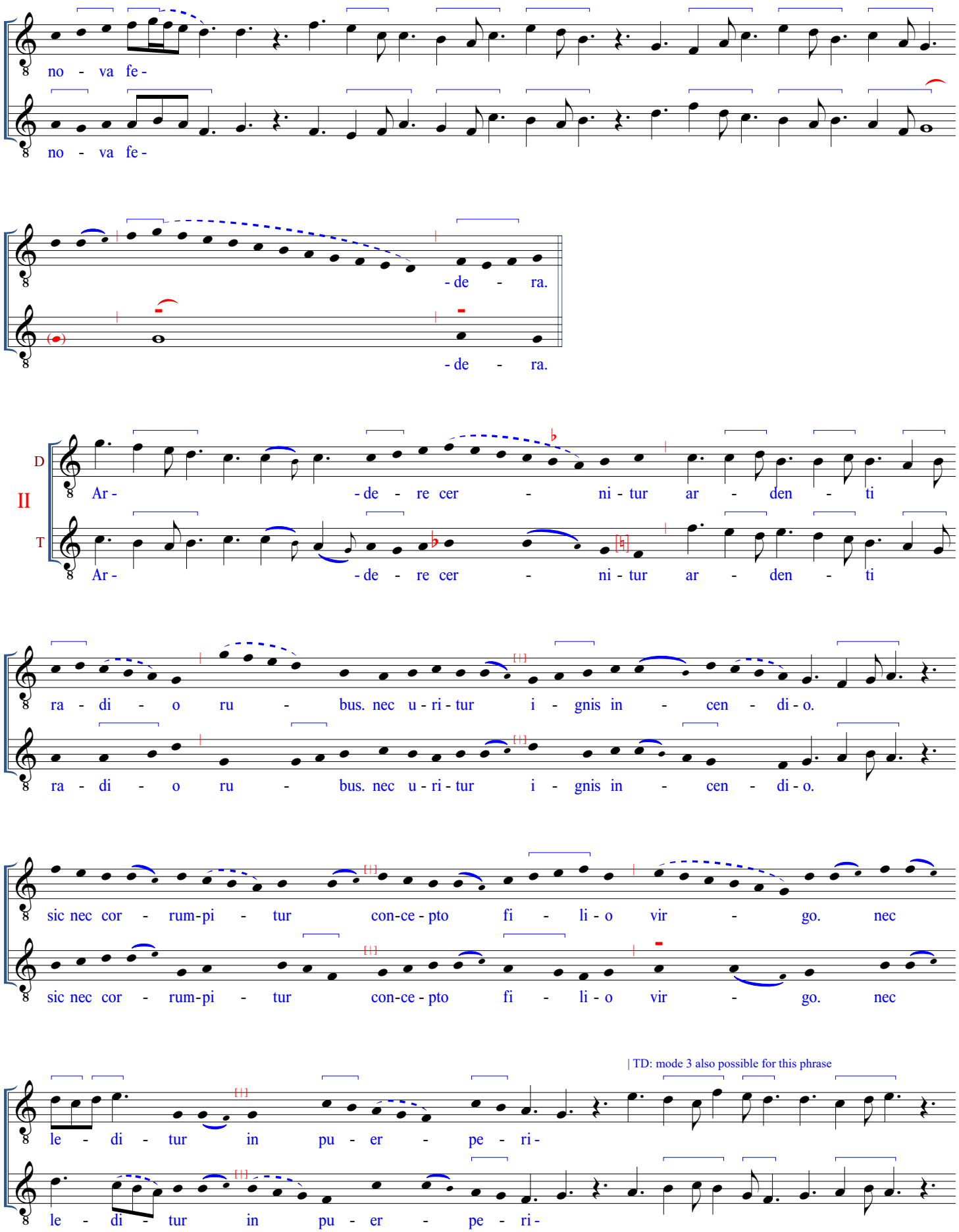
D [Be - a - te vir - gi - nis fe - cun - dat vi - sce-ra vis san-cti flam - mi - nis non car - nis o - pe - ra. ca - rens o - ri - gi-nis la - be pu-er - pe-ra. de - i et ho - mi-nis dat
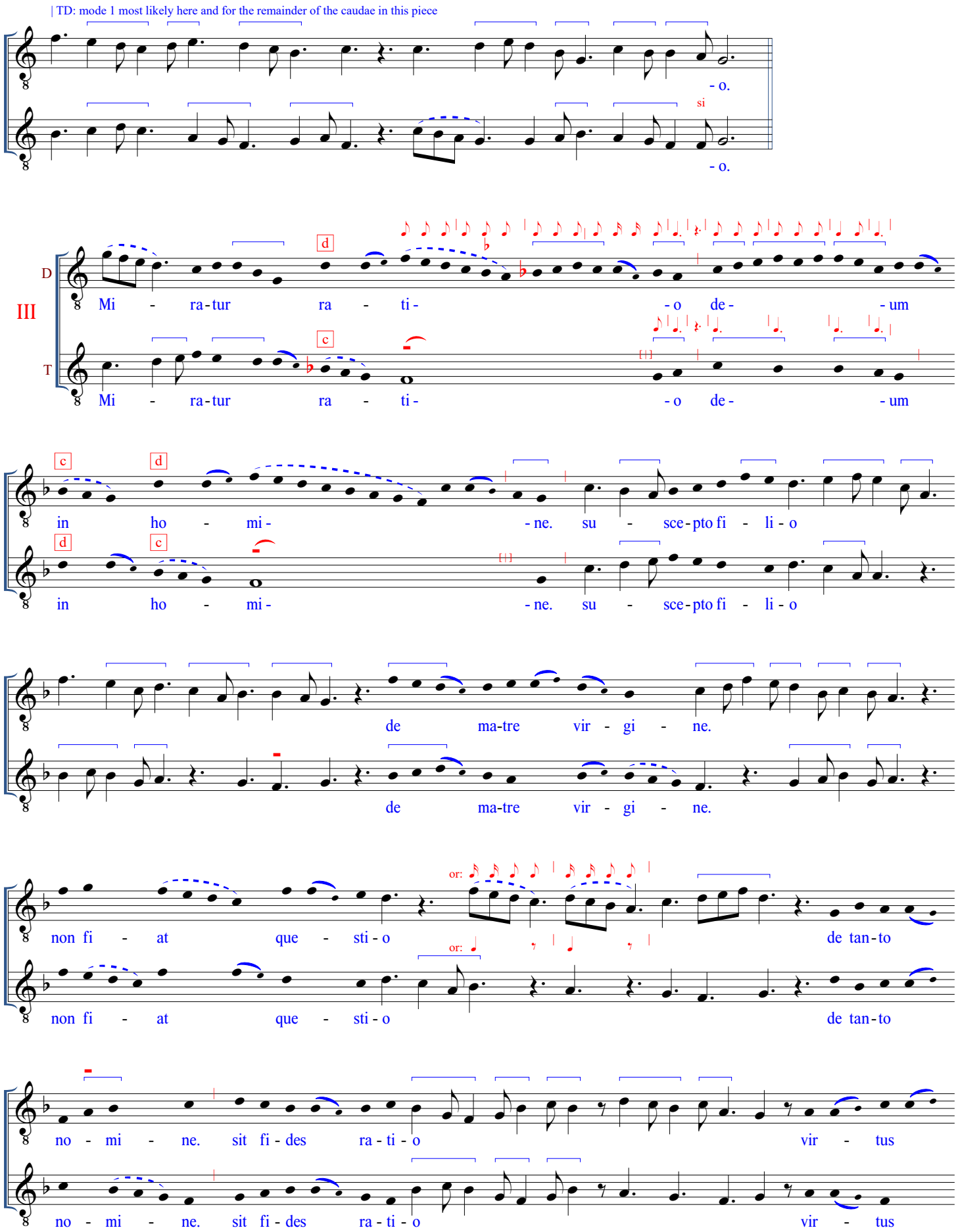
T [Be - a - te vir - gi - nis fe - cun - dat vi - sce-ra vis san-cti flam - mi - nis non car - nis o - pe - ra. ca - rens o - ri - gi-nis la - be pu-er - pe-ra. de - i et ho - mi-nis dat
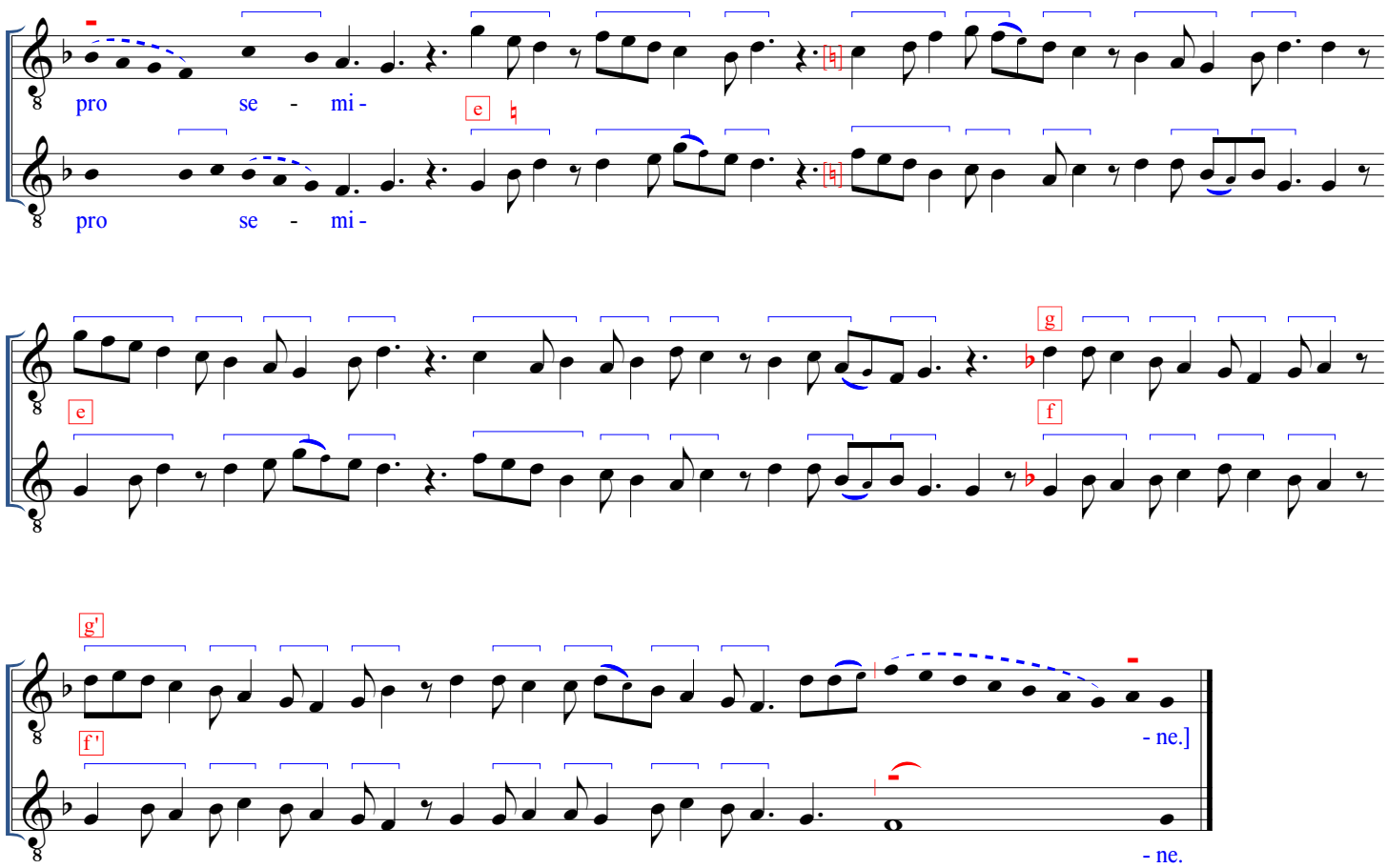
or:

or:

| TD: Mode 3 equally likely, here and for all caudae up to the end of Strophe II


no - va fe-
no - va fe-
- de - ra.
- de - ra.
II
D
T
Ar - de - re cer - ni - tur ar - den - ti
Ar - de - re cer - ni - tur ar - den - ti
ra - di - o ru - bus. nec u - ri - tur i - gnis in - cen - di - o.
ra - di - o ru - bus. nec u - ri - tur i - gnis in - cen - di - o.
sic nec cor - rum-pi - tur con-ce - pto fi - li - o vir - go. nec
sic nec cor - rum-pi - tur con-ce - pto fi - li - o vir - go. nec
| TD: mode 3 also possible for this phrase
le - di - tur in pu - er - pe - ri-
le - di - tur in pu - er - pe - ri-


| TD: mode 1 most likely here and for the remainder of the caudae in this piece
- o.
si
- o.
III
D
T
d
c
Mi - ra-tur ra - ti - - o de - - um
Mi - ra-tur ra - ti - - o de - - um
in ho - mi - - ne. su - sce-pto fi - li - o
in ho - mi - - ne. su - sce-pto fi - li - o
de ma-tre vir - gi - ne.
de ma-tre vir - gi - ne.
or:
non fi - at que - sti - o de tan-to
non fi - at que - sti - o de tan-to
no - mi - ne. sit fi - des ra - ti - o vir - tus
no - mi - ne. sit fi - des ra - ti - o vir - tus


pro se - mi -
e
pro se - mi -
e
g
f
g'
f'
- ne.]
- ne.

BEATE VIRGINIS
Conductus (H15/43)

F, f. 283v (7,17)

I	Beate virginis	The power of the Holy Spirit,
	fecundat viscera	not the exertions of the flesh,
	vis sancti flamminis,	impregnates the womb
	non carnis opera.	of the blessed virgin.
	Carens originis	Lacking the blemish of our
	labe, puerpera	ancestor, a new mother
	dei et hominis	presents a new covenant
	dat nova federa.	between God and mankind.
II	Ardere cernitur	A bush is seen
	ardenti radio	to burn with a fiery
	rubus, nec uritur	glow, but is not consumed
	ignis incendio;	by the heat of the flames;
	sic nec corrumpitur	and so the Virgin is neither
	concepto filio	marred by conceiving
	virgo, nec leditur	her son, nor is she sullied
	in puerperio.	in childbirth.
III	Miratur ratio	Reason is astonished
	deum in homine,	at God within man,
	suscepto filio	as a son is begotten
	de matre virgine.	from a virgin mother.
	Non fiat questio	Let there be no debate
	de tanto nomine;	about so great a designation;
	sit fides, ratio,	let faith, reason, and
	virtus pro semine.	virtue support this child.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 17, f. 283v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with the subsequent stanzas headed by capitals; the same piece (*Gaude virgo virginum* [G5/139]) also precedes this work in *W1*, whereas the conductus *Ave Maria gratia plena (II)* (G7/29), which follows this piece in *F,* precedes it in *Heid.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 54, f. 137v (128v): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with filigreed initials for each stanza (but smaller ones for II-III); the same piece (*Gaude virgo virginum* [G5/139]) also precedes this work in *F.*

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 16, f. 54v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete; none of the initials intended to open the strophes was ever executed.

Wood 591 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Wood 591; OxWood), no. 5, f. 4v-4r (i.e., foliation reversed):[1] a2, Strophes I-III,

[1]Images available here via DIAMM. Pieces are identified, numbered, and foliated according to the description in RISM. The folio numbering in RISM is not indicative of the original MS order; as it states on the DIAMM site: "f. 1-2v is really f. 2v-1, since these pages are upside down in the source. Rectos are really versos and vice versa." The MS preserves seven conductus, nos. 5-7 belonging to the Notre Dame repertory. Nos. 1-4 are English pieces. For an alternative presentation of the materials in this source that features high-quality images, a catalog, and description, but which employs a revised foliation system, see William J. Summers and Peter M.

with II and III beginning with painted initials, and that of I cut out. The piece is mostly complete, except for the removal of the opening initial "B" (apparently with no additional missing music or text) and a corresponding small loss of material on the overleaf. The omissions comprise the final T note and text syllable for line 18,3 ("homine") and pitches missing from the D voice at this same point, starting with the *b-flat* in the descending octave series of *conjuncturae* from *f-f* on its second syllable up through the material overlaid to the third.

Heid (D-HEu 2588; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 2588), no. 3, f. 2r:[2] a2; fragmentary; most of the music for the T voice survives from the start of the piece (opening with a filigreed, painted initial) through the first syllable of line 2,2 ("[viscera]"), although the verbal text is lost beginning with the last two letters of line 2,1 ("fecund[at]"). Portions of the D (with most of the first three phrases worn away) are preserved from the opening up through the si=*b-flat* at L5 of the cauda after line 2;[3] the piece does not continue onto the folio presently designated as 2v. Although the notation in this source is commonly described as mensural, the ligatures in the cauda segments are not obviously mensurally distinguished, since only *cum proprietate* and *cum perfectione* ligation appears throughout; rest strokes, though, seem to show distinctions in length. The extant *cum littera* segments show declamation mostly in L or L+siP values, along with a single possible indication of a 3li cop over the (now mostly missing) third syllable of line 2,1 ("fecund[at]") in the T. The conductus *Ave Maria gratia plena (II)* (G7/29), which follows this piece in *F,* precedes it in *Heid.*

Text only:

Mo, no. 326 (fasc. 8, no. 24), f. 376v (374v): a3, Strophes I-III, complete, with no indications to signal the beginnings of the stanzas as given above. The text here corresponds to the conductus, but serves with different music as the motetus voice of the Latin double motet *Benedicta Marie virginis* / *Beate virginis* / *Benedicta* (VdW 409/410/M32). Anderson claims (*NDRC,* 3:213) that the motet setting preceded the conductus chronologically. The regular scheme of the poem, however, in addition to the relative age of the eighth fascicle of *Mo* against the other central MSS *(F,W1,Ma),* argues against this conjecture.

Note: All the remaining sources given below contain the variant incipit "Marie virginis" and, if supplied, the same or a similar monophonic musical setting that differs from both the Parisian conductus and the *Mo* motet versions. The opening phrase of this alternative melody is modeled on that of the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater,* and several of the sources below treat it as a trope to this or another antiphon proper to the Virgin. Unless the information below indicates otherwise, images of these sources are not yet available to me and the descriptions derive either from Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:213, or the CPI website.

The following sources transmit "Marie virginis" with music:

Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition,* Early English Church Music, no. 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), p. 29, plates 143-150.

[2]The piece is numbered according to the sequence given in RISM and DIAMM; number 5 in this source *(Procedentem sponsum)* is not found in Parisian sources (it occurs in MSS in Engelberg, Erfurt, and other places) and is entered in a hand, ink, and notational dialect different from the other pieces; it is not included in Anderson's catalog or on the CPI website. The 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 at https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs2588/0001. 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.

[3]As given in *Heid,* the mostly missing music on the rightmost portion of the first system to contain *Beate virginis,* which is prefaced by a red vertical line extending through both staves, actually corresponds to the concluding snippet of the previous piece, *Ave Maria gratia plena (II)* (G7/29).

Graz 756 (A-Gu 756; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756, no. 29, f. 189v: a1, Strophes I-III, complete, each stanza indicated by the same type of red painted capital; incipit "Marie virginis" with rubric "super antiphona speciosa";[4] different music from the conductus, given in unheightened neumes that appear to correspond with the alternative setting in the concordant sources below.[5]

CH-SGs 388 (SG 388; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 388), p. 472: a1; Strophes I-III, complete, with each stanza signaled by pilcrows and decorated capitals; incipit "Marie virginis," with a marginal rubric at the left, "Item alii versus" ("other verses"), placed under a now struck-through indication ("versus super Nigra [sum]"), with a heading at the top center of the page in red ink that reads "Versus super Alma redemptoris," and with a smaller but similar header at the top right giving "Versus super Alma"; different music from the conductus, given in partially heightened neumes agreeing with the alternative setting of the concordant sources below, with text-only cues for insertion of passages from *Alma redemptoris* at the end of each respective strophe ("Et stella maris," "Tu que genuisti," "Virgo prius").[6]

Eng 314 (CH-EN 314; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 314), f. 83r: a1, Strophes I-III, complete; incipit "Marie virginis," different music from the conductus, with textual/musical cues for insertion of passages from the preceding *Alma redemptoris* at the end of each strophe ("Et stella," "Tu que," "Virgo"), comparable to *CH-SGs 388.*

Lbl Add. 22604 (GB-Lbl Add. 22604), f. 17v: a1, Strophes I-III, complete, marked "primus," "secundus," "tercius"; incipit "Marie virginis" with rubric "Alma redemptoris mater versus"; different music from the conductus, plus an added continuation, *Alle resonet domus ecclesie* (possibly intended for use during paschal time), not preserved in the other sources for this song.

A-Iu 457 (Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457), f. 105r: a1, Strophes I-III, complete; incipit "Marie virginis," different music from the conductus; only Strophe I is underlaid to the melody, with Strophes II-III entered below the setting.

D-B Mus. ms. 40580 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. mus. 40580), lost since 1945; copy at the Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität, Erlangen, f. 48v: a1, Strophes I-III, complete; incipit "Marie virginis"; different music from the conductus.

NL- ZUa 6 (Netherlands, Zutphen, Stadsarchief, Ms. 6), fol. 115r: Strophes I-III, complete, each headed by filigreed initials and prefaced with the rubric "versus"; incipit "Marie virginis," with a further rubric placed before the *Alma redemptoris* antiphon that precedes the conductus poem: "In commemoratione Sancte Marie vigiliae antiphona" ("Antiphon in commemoration of the vigil of Holy Mary"); different music from the conductus, with the repeated textual/musical cue of "Sumens" at the end of each strophe for the insertion of the closing phrases from the preceding *Alma redemptoris.*[7]

---

[4]Perhaps referring to one of the several antiphons beginning *Speciosa facta es et suavis;* see, e.g., the *Cantus Index* (cantusindex.org), ID nos. 00498, 204721, 206102, and 206209.

[5] Images of *Graz 756* are available at https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/content/titleinfo/3856669

[6]This source does not appear in either *NDRC* or on the CPI website. For an image of this page, see https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0388/472.

[7]This source does not appear in either Anderson's conductus edition or on the CPI website. For an image of the pertinent folios and a discussion of this MS, see Ike De Loos, "Liturgy and Chant in the Northern Low Countries," *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis,* 53 (2003): 9-47, at 34-35.

NL-Hs 184 C 6 (Netherlands, Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 184 C 6), ca. f. 98v: a1; Strophes I-III, complete, incipit "Marie virginis" with rubric "In sollempnibus festis antiphona finalis" ("final antiphon on solemn feasts"); has textual/musical cues for insertion of passages from the *Alma redemptoris* at the end of each strophe ("Tu que," "Virgo," "Sumens").[8]

The following sources transmit the "Marie virginis" text without a musical setting:

F-Pn lat. 18571, f. 89v: text only, Strophes I-III, complete, with each pair of lines laid out as a single verse and headed with ornate capitals alternately indented as if to suggest organization into 6 couplets; incipit "Marie virginis"; concludes with "Deo gracias."[9]

F-Boul 107 (Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 107 (olim 98)), f. 66v: text only, Strophes I-III, complete; incipit "Marie virginis."

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 3:** literally "the power of the holy breeze/wind/gust," a common idiom for the Holy Spirit; *flamen/flammen* does not refer to flame; for that, see *flamma.* **5-6,1:** most likely a reference to Mary rather than Christ; the Virgin is also free from original sin, according to the doctrine of her immaculate conception. **9-12:** the burning bush that appeared to Moses on Mt. Sinai (see Exodus, 3:2-7; Acts, 7:30-32), a frequent figure associated with the Virgin retaining her chastity upon giving birth to Christ, as the explication in lines 13-16 demonstrates. **17-24 (Strophe III):** i.e., despite the irrationality attendant upon Christ's incarnation and birth by a virgin (which is another frequent rhetorical trope; see, e.g., the comments to lines 23-24 of the conductus *O felix Bituria* [E8/232] for some other instances), the actual certainty of these miracles now allows an earlier opposed faith and reason to join together with virtue (Mary's maidenly purity retained in the face of giving birth) to support and defend the truth of this astonishing event.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** There are more conflicting indications than usual among the sources in the deployment of *b-flat* signatures throughout the piece; the presentation here generally follows the indications in *F;* some further instances are explained below. **Opening cauda:** T: F,Ma: the rest strokes absent in these MSS at L11 and L14 are supplied from *W1,Wood 591,Heid.* The rhythmic reading admits an alternative (supplied above the staves), but the one chosen corresponds to the similar melodic figures repeated in the following cauda after line 1. An alternative argument, though, may be made with equal weight that the final two T phrases of the melisma should correspond with its two opening gestures. Such a claim would favor the above-staff option. In addition, notice in both voices the common cadential figure in thirds that closes this cauda; this also appears frequently thereafter, as in ends of the caudae after lines 1 and 6, and at the close of line 4 (just to signal some of its uses in Strophe I alone); these appearances have not been marked in the score. **Cauda after line 1:** mode 3 is equally likely for this and each of the other caudae up to the final phrases of Strophe II, after which mode 1 prevails; mode 1 is preferred in this instance due to the melodic correspondences with the opening cauda. **Line 2:** TD: F: the inclusion of ficta *b-flats* here is prompted by the similar contour of the T melodies of lines 2 and 4, the latter instance of which prescribes flats in all extant sources but *Wood 591,* plus the presence of sigs in the T before line 2 in *W1,Ma;* sigs are om in the T of

[8]This source does not appear in either Anderson's conductus edition or on the CPI website. For a catalog of this MS, which furnishes the details given above, see http://hlub.dyndns.org/pub/webplek/ike/ike/manuscripts/NL-Hs_184C6_ms.htm.
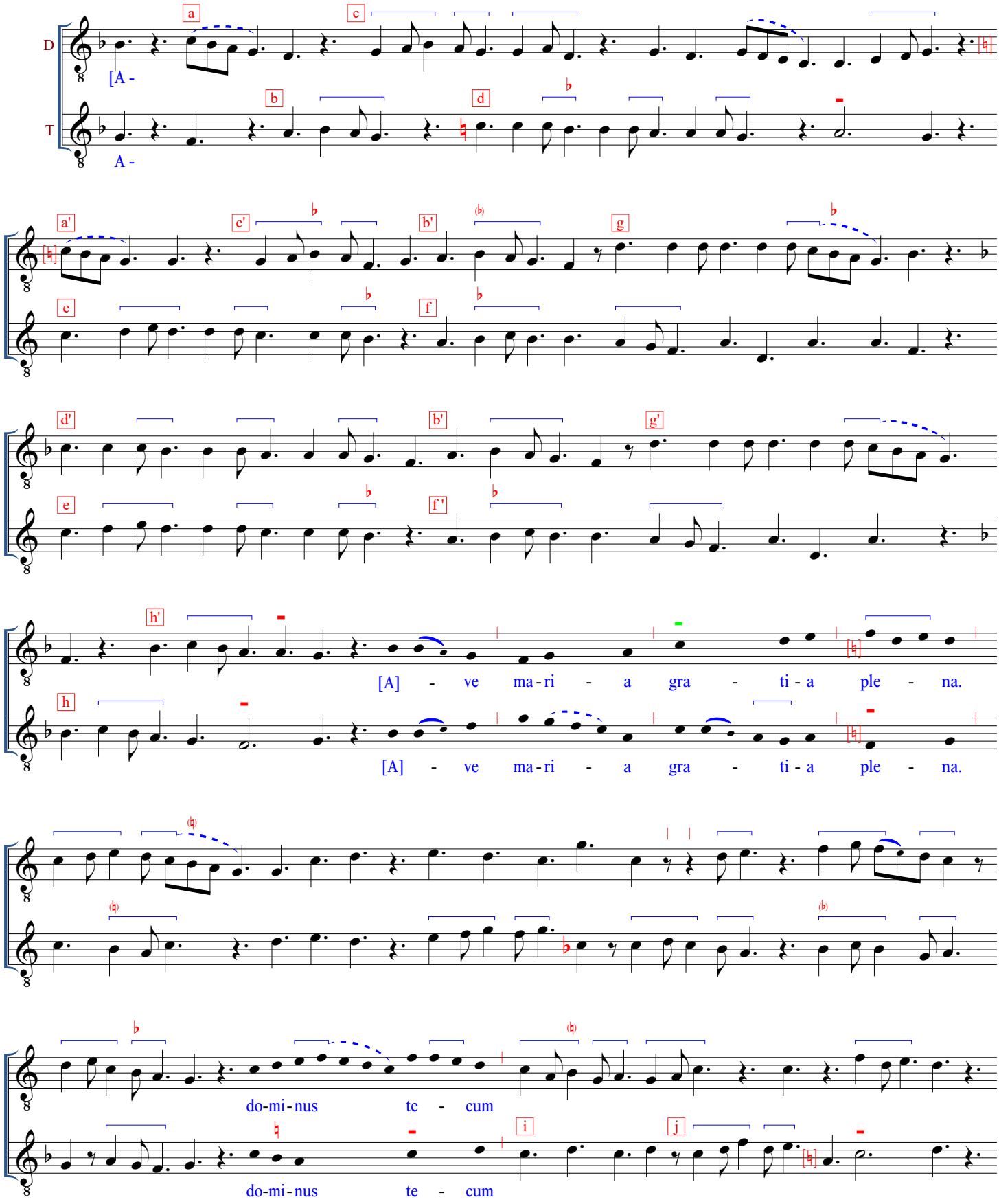
[9]Images of the applicable folios are available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721250c/f95.item.r=latin%2018571.

F,Heid,Wood 591, and none occurs in the D in any MSS. They seem needed here throughout the phrase, though, to avoid cross relations. **Cauda after line 4:** TD: F: the very beginning of the second phrase in this melisma (L9-L16) is similar to the opening of the cauda after line 6 in both parts; the brief correspondence is indicated in the score with boxed "x"and "y" figures. **Cauda at line 16 (closing Strophe II):** although ficta *b-flats* may seem called for here due to several *b-f* simultaneities, no source provides any and thus none has been offered for the transcription. **Cauda at line 24 (closing Strophe III):** the choice of *b-natural* pitches for the first section of the cauda and the contrasting *b-flat* sigs for its second half is born out by the agreement of the sources; only *F,W1* suggest via an earlier active sig that the opening phrases may show flats, but both start the cauda's third phrase with a new system with no sigs. Similarly all extant sources show the subsequent *b-flat* sigs in both parts at the same place that *F* assigns them, the only exception is *Wood 591,* which has a *b-flat* sig in the T alone.
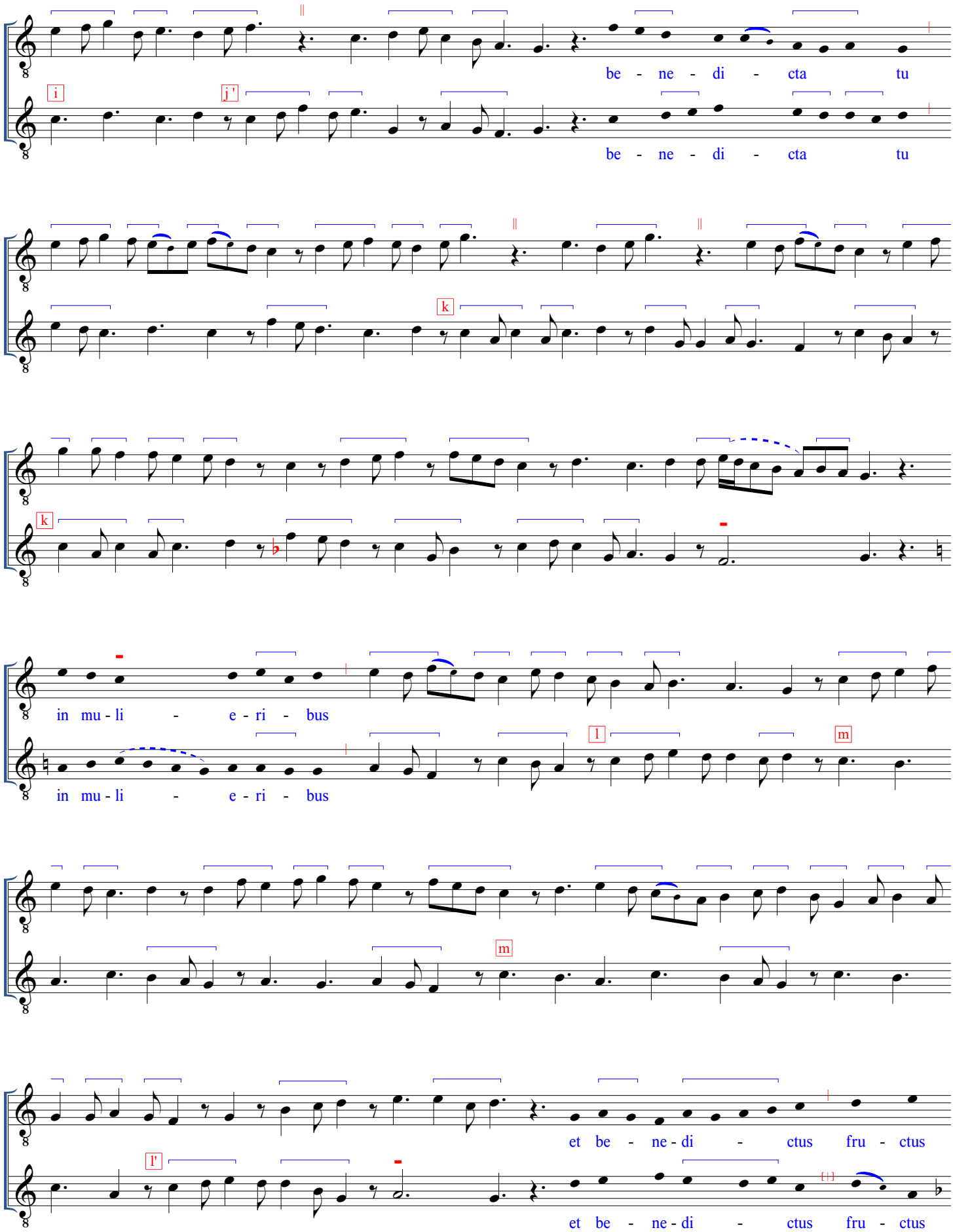
AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA (II)
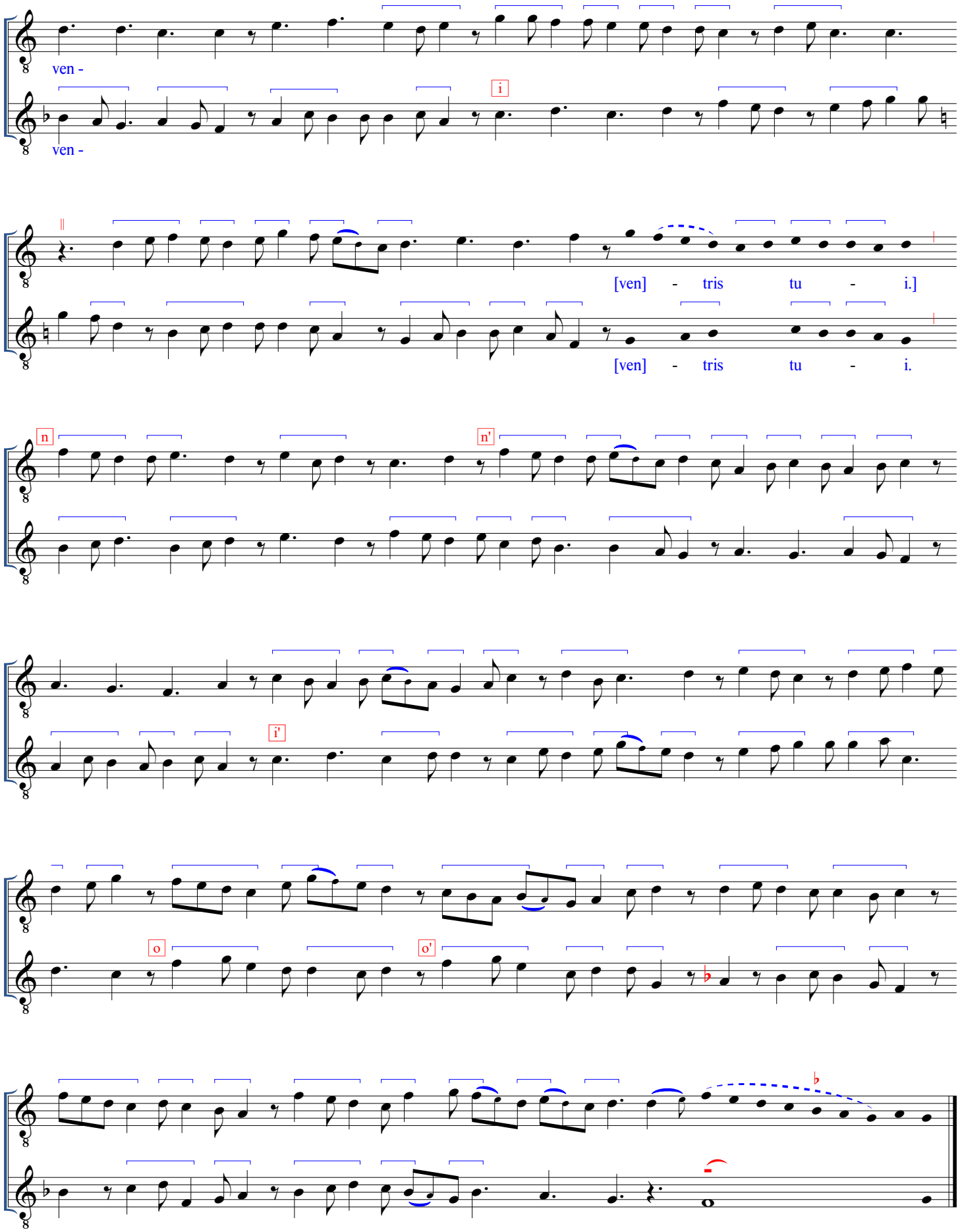
Conductus (G7/29)

F, f. 284v (7,18)*



*The conflicting indications of signatures in this piece allow much leeway in the choice of accidentals, especially in the opening cauda; see the commentary for more information. As usual, editorial accidentals are intended to apply up through the end of the phrase.


be - ne - di - cta tu
i
j'
be - ne - di - cta tu
k
k
in mu - li - e - ri - bus
l
m
in mu - li - e - ri - bus
m
et be - ne - di - ctus fru - ctus
l'
et be - ne - di - ctus fru - ctus


ven -
ven -
i
[ven] - tris tu - i.]
[ven] - tris tu - i.
n
n'
i'
o
o'

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA (II)[1]

Conductus (G7/29)

F, f. 284v (7,18)

Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.	Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you. Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 18, f. 284v: a2; complete; although a period occurs after the fourth word, none of this prose text is otherwise distinguished by any other punctuation, capitalization, or other means of signification; the conductus *Beate virginis* (H15/43), which precedes this piece in F, follows it in *Heid* (see this source below).

W1, fasc. 9, no. 62, f. 145r (136r): a2; complete; the extensively filigreed large opening initial, painted in the left margin, is placed slightly low, with the top of the letter level with the top line of the T staff and its bottom aligned with the baseline of the verbal text in the next system below, so that it looks almost as if the piece might begin with the second system on the leaf, rather than the first. Uppercase letters occur at "Benedicta" and "Et [benedictus]," the ink of the final three syllables is somewhat smudged, and the piece is preceded in *W1* by the conductus *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9), thus presenting two prose and possibly ceremonial texts in quick succession; it is also followed by the conductus *Pater noster commiserans* (H19/266), a textual sibling to the conductus *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265 – see the source report on *W2,* below), which, like *Ave Maria,* is another ceremonial prose text used for several conductus.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 19, f. 59v: a2; complete; no opening initial was ever entered, although sufficient space is provided for it; furthermore, the text as it stands opens with a small letter "a," placed under the first stroke in the T staff and not apparently intended as a guide letter for the illuminator. No further demarcations arise in the text.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 10, f. 114v: a2; complete, with no distinctions within the text; immediately follows the conductus *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265), showing two closely related liturgical texts in quick succession.

Oxf-Sol,[2] no. 14 (=*Sol,* no. 1), f. Ar-Av: a2; fragmentary; the remains of this piece comprise a single vertical strip making up the rightmost portion (f. Ar) and leftmost segment (f. Av) of a page now mostly shorn away from a surviving bifolio.[3] The extant written portions of this work are equivalent in width to about one-third of the original leaf; the surviving segments are therefore rather disparate, preserving various small, non-

---

[1]There are four different musical settings of this text catalogued in the CPI database and in Anderson's conductus catalog; the numbering of this item (II) corresponds to that of the CPI listing; in Anderson's enumeration it is distinguished as "Ave Maria gratia plena (I)" in the alphabetical listings at the end of his catalog (see p. 57).

[2]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[3]The left half of the double leaf, designated as f. Ir (1r on the CPI website), presents the remains of the conductus *Relegata vetustate* (H23/303), whose opening is lost but which concludes on the opposite side of the leaf (f. Iv). For more on this source, see Jurg Stenzl, "Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente," *Die Musikforschung*, 26 (1973): 311-321.

contiguous portions of the piece from its opening to its close.[4]

Heid (D-HEu 2588; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 2588), no. 2, f. 2v-2r (i.e., foliation reversed):[5] a2; the two folios, as presently recorded, are reversed from their original disposition, so the present recto was originally the verso; fragmentary, with a rather large portion of the bottom corner of the leaf missing and several passages very faded, some to near invisibility;[6] the extant text finishes, unlike all other extant sources of this particular conductus setting, with a possible indication of an "Amen" conclusion, suggested by an uppercase "A," whose final syllable, if so intended, does not survive. Although the notation in this source is commonly described as mensural, the ligatures in the cauda segments are not obviously mensurally distinguished; only *cum proprietate* and *cum perfectione* ligation appears throughout; rest strokes, though, seem to show some distinctions in length. In the extant *cum littera* segments, declamation is in L or L+siP values and when ligatures appear they are also *cum-cum* in disposition; the conductus *Beate virginis* (H15/43), which precedes this piece in F, follows it in *Heid.*

Text only: since this passage is closely related to two biblical verses (see the notes on the text) and is likewise implemented in whole or in part in a number of liturgical items, as well as in conductus and other musical and textual settings, further text sources are widespread, if not innumerable.

---

[4]The following elements of this piece are what remain on the seven partial systems that contain it in *Oxf-Sol;* the first six are preserved on f. Ar, the last on f. Av: **1)** the first 12L of the T (and 11L of the D) of the opening cauda, with the filigree decoration preserved of the opening initial "A"(but curiously no indications of the actual letter, which seems intended to have been added later by the illuminator); **2)** the last 14L of the D and final 12L of the T of the opening cauda, along with the notational figures and second syllable of the first word ("[A]ve"), and missing the following strokes; **3)** the last 8L of the cauda prior to word 5 ("dominus"), along with the T and D figures over that following word, and the first notational elements over the next syllable ("te[cum]"] with its text; **4)** the verbal, T, and D material over the final two syllables of word 7 through word 8 ("[bene]dicta tu"), followed by the first 10L from the subsequent cauda in the T, 13L in the D; **5)** the first 20L (T and D) of the cauda following word 10 ("mulieribus"); **6)** TtTD of word 13 ("fructus") and the first syllable of 14 ("ven[tris]"), as well as 12L of the subsequent cauda; **7)** (on f. Av) the final phrase of the concluding cauda of the piece (7L in length and prefaced by the rest strokes of the previous phrase), along with the concluding *punctus organi* in both TD and with no verbal text.

[5]The 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/heidhs2588/0001. 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.

[6]The remains of this piece in *Heid* are as follows, organized according to the nine systems that carry it (the first five systems are inscribed on f. 2v, the remainder on f. 2r, according to the foliation now used by the Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg): **1)** following the large red initial "A" that starts about halfway through the first system on f. 2v, the first 20L of the opening cauda appear, with the first 4L of D material heavily effaced, and only L9-11 of the T easily visible due to the same degree of wear; **2)** continuation of the opening cauda up through the second syllable of the first word ("[A]ve"), with the final 16L or so before the syllable change increasingly worn as the edge of the page is approached; **3)** the music continues from before, up through the setting of "dominus," but with only the text of "[g]ratia plena" still visible from wear, so that, beginning with the last 5L of the cauda preceding "dominus," the text and the music in the T is essentially gone; **4)** due to a large, irregularly shaped missing portion at the bottom left edge of the leaf, this system preserves 12L in the T (18L in the D) of the cauda preceding "benedicta tu," while the system concludes with music so increasingly faded that it is not clear what how much may follow the setting of "tu," since the start of system 5 is lost; **5)** thanks to the missing portion of the leaf, the last system on f. 2v presents only the last 4L of the T in the cauda that precedes "in mulieribus," but offers 12L of the D voice of the melisma; it then continues on with both parts and verbal text, closing with the first 8L of the melisma following "mulieribus"; **6)** beginning f. 2r, this system continues where f. 2v left off, including all material up through the first syllable of "ven[tris]," with the D voice rather blurry for the material over "fructus ven-"; **7)** picking up from there, with its first 3L or so faded from the T and ca. 8L from the D, this system finishes with the first 8L of the closing cauda; the start of this melisma is prefaced by an uppercase "A" (possibly for "Amen"), as reported in the source description above; **8)** this next system then continues from before, with the first 12L of the T very difficult to make out, and finishes in the T with the opening ligature of the last phrase of the cauda before the *punctus organi,* but with the D concluding with the final figure of its previous phrase; **9)** the final portions of the *Ave Maria (II)* conductus appear in a space allotted for it at the right margin of this system, since the following piece in *Heid, Beate virginis* (H15/43), is disposed to begin at the system's left edge; yet it preserves only two D ligatures and part of one T figure carrying over from the prior system, as the conclusion of the piece is lost with the now missing bottom right edge of the leaf.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** the words of this conductus are closely related to Luke, 1:28: "Et, ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: 'Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus'" ("and, coming in to her [Mary], the angel said 'Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you; blessed are you among women'"); and to Luke, 1:42, on the occasion of Mary meeting her cousin Elizabeth: "et exclamavit voce magna, et dixit: 'Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.' " ("And she [Elizabeth] cried out with a loud voice, and said: 'Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb.' "). The *Ave Maria* text also frequently serves, if only in part, for liturgical items of various stripes. It is one of the very few prose texts to appear in the Parisian conductus repertory. All told, these 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) – a piece with music only in *W1;* like the work under consideration, all of these have close ties to the texts of liturgical or ceremonial items. For a listing of conductus in the four primary "Parisian" sources *(F,W1,W2,Ma)* that relate to the liturgy through quotation, reference, paraphrase, or accommodation, see the general remarks in the notes on the text to the conductus *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/276).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F,Ma: no period at the close of the text, supplied from *W1,W2,Heid* (missing from *Oxf-Sol*). **MUSIC: Musical repetition:** the various caudae feature a notable amount of repetition in varying degrees; the technique is particularly concentrated in the opening melisma; a number of instances are marked throughout the score, although several cases of sequential repetition, or near-repetition have not been signaled. **Accidentals:** there are more irreconcilable indications than usual among the sources in the deployment of *b-flat* and *b-natural* signatures throughout the piece, especially in the opening cauda (see below), which also presents a rather high level of dissonance; the presentation here generally follows the indications in *F* with input from the other MSS. **Opening cauda:** the conflicting situation involving the use of accidentals is particularly vexing at the start of the piece, where, for example, a *b-natural* sig appears in the T before L9 in every source but *Oxf-Sol* (it is very difficult to be sure of what appears in *Heid* at this point, but I just think I can make one out),[7] but when the same phrase is repeated at L40 in the D (marked in the score as "d' ") a small *b-flat* sig is visible at the start of the second system in *F,* and the remains of an erased *b-flat* sig in *W2* occur at the start of its own second system, just 12L prior to that flat in *F;*[8] W1,Ma,Heid, in conformity, also show a *b-flat* sig in force for this latter passage (in *Oxf-Sol* the relevant portion is missing). As a result, although this transcription regards the *b-natural* sig at L9 in the T as a rather heavily entrenched mistake and favors the liberal deployment of *b-flats* throughout the opening cauda, there are reasons just as good to allow for the use of *b-natural* here and elsewhere. **Cauda after "tui":** T: no extant MS suggests a flat here to soften the *b-f* tritone that begins the melisma; note that 2L later this is followed by *b-e* sonority; note also the *b-f* simultaneities that appears in the previous cauda on "ven[tris]" at L6 and L19 of the melisma.

[7]Although it is not otherwise reported in the other editions of this piece that I have consulted, a sig quad on *b* (i.e., a natural sign) is clearly visible at this point in *Ma* as well, adopting the somewhat unusual shape for the sign that can also be seen right after the setting of "plena" in system II, and before that of "dominus tecum" soon after the start of the third system on this folio (59v); both of these signs in *Ma* correspond to similar ones also at these same points in *W1*).

[8]This flat signature is also under reported for *F,* and could be an afterthought, squeezed in later by the scribe; the evidence thus suggests that at some point the scribe of *W2* also thought that a flat sig needed to be included here.

FULGET IN PROPATULO

Conductus (H17/134)

F, f. 285r (7,19)*

I

D [Ful - [Ful] - get

T Ful - [Ful] - get

| mode 3 equally likely

in pro - pa - tu - lo lux e - ter - ne glo - ri - e.

in pro - pa - tu - lo lux e - ter - ne glo - ri - e.

| mode 3 also possible | mode 3 equally likely

a

or - tus est de ri - vu - lo

or - tus est de ri - vu - lo

| mode 1 also possible

fons mi - se - ri - cor - di - e vim du - cit a sur - cu - lo

a

fons mi - se - ri - cor - di - e vim du - cit a sur - cu - lo

b | mode 3 also possible | mode 1 also possible, as specified by *W1;* see alternative * at end

ra - dix ve - ni - e

ra - dix ve - ni - e

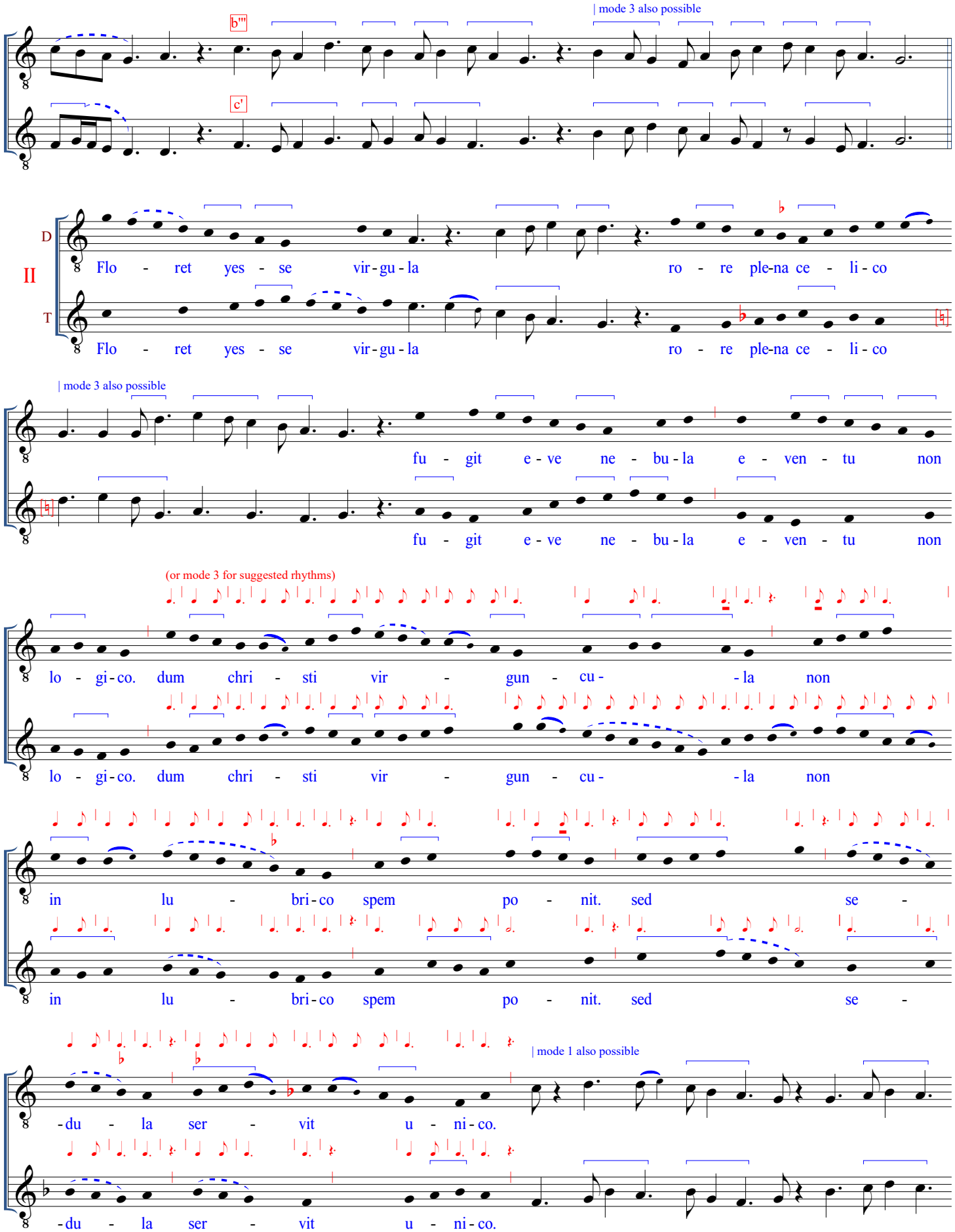
b' | mode 3 also possible b" | mode 1 equally possible

per quem tem - pus gra - ti - e da - tur se - cu - lo.

c

per quem tem - pus gra - ti - e da - tur se - cu - lo.

*A number of the caudae in this piece, particularly the internal and closing melismas of Strophes I and II are equally at home in mode 3 as in mode 1 (and conceivably mode 6 is not out of the question); some others (or sections of others) seem to suggest one mode in preference to the other. When this occurs the various possibilities have been signaled above the staves of the transcription.


| mode 3 also possible
b'''
c'
II
D
T
Flo - ret yes - se vir - gu - la ro - re ple-na ce - li - co
Flo - ret yes - se vir - gu - la ro - re ple-na ce - li - co
| mode 3 also possible
fu - git e - ve ne - bu - la e - ven - tu non
fu - git e - ve ne - bu - la e - ven - tu non
(or mode 3 for suggested rhythms)
lo - gi - co. dum chri - sti vir - gun - cu - la non
lo - gi - co. dum chri - sti vir - gun - cu - la non
in lu - bri - co spem po - nit. sed se -
in lu - bri - co spem po - nit. sed se -
| mode 1 also possible
-du - la ser - vit u - ni - co.
-du - la ser - vit u - ni - co.

| TD: all MSS differ in ligation of final phrase; see ** at end

III

D Ne - sci-us de - fi-ce-re de - fe - ctus in-gre - di-tur. an -

T Ne - sci-us de - fi-ce-re de - fe - ctus in-gre - di-tur. an -

-ge - li-cum vi - ve - re fa - mem si - tim pa-ti - tur.

-ge - li-cum vi - ve - re fa - mem si - tim pa-ti - tur.

tem-pta-tur sed te - me - re. mors
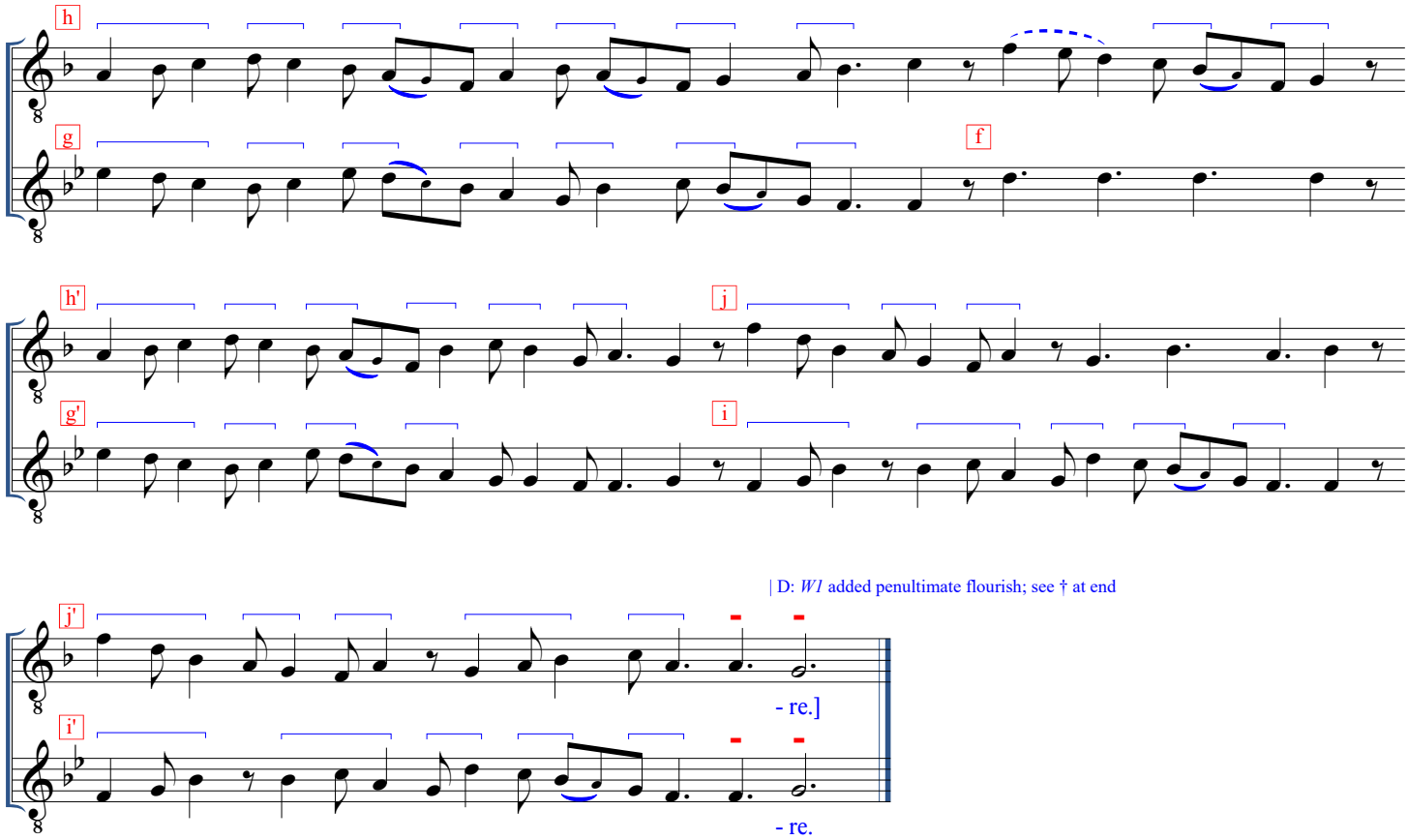
tem-pta-tur sed te - me - re. mors

in - cur-ri - tur. sed ta-men ex-tin - gui-tur or - to sy - de-

in - cur-ri - tur. sed ta-men ex-tin - gui-tur or - to sy - de-

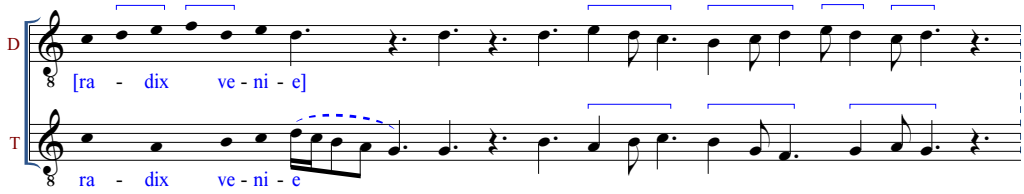
e d

d e f



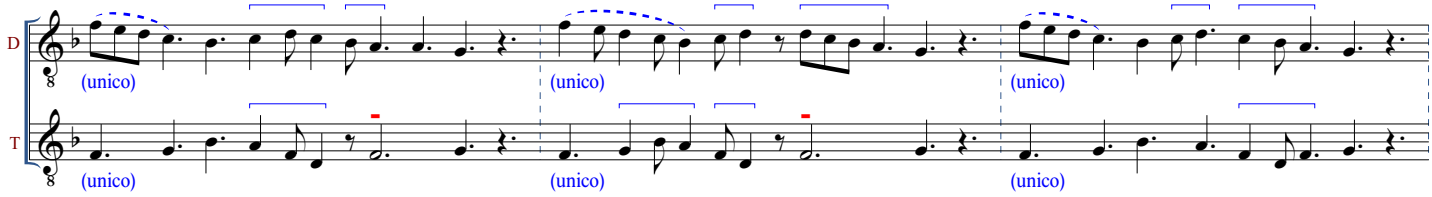
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda after line 6 ("radix venie"): reading in mode 1 from *W1,* f. 142r (133r), III-IV

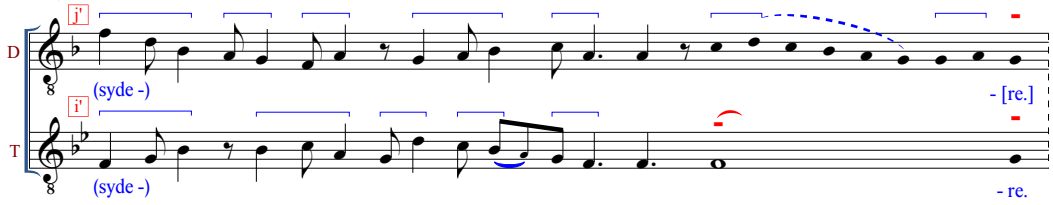


**Cauda following line 16 ("servit unico," closing Strophe II): final phrase showing readings varying from *F* (readings in mode 3 also possible):

a. *W1,* f. 142v (133v), III b. *Ma,* f. 53r, II c. *Cssc 117**, f. 1v, II



†End of final cauda at line 24 ("[syde]re"): added penultimate flourish from *W1,* f. 143r (134r), I



Beginning at the top of the next leaf after this piece (f. 286v) three successive two-voice continuations follow (*F*-7,20-22) from the five conductus in fascicle 6 that begin in three parts and conclude in two voices: *Hic per mundum* from *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214, starts at *F*-6,10), *Clausus in testa* from *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304, at *F*-6,2), and *Veritati stat obvia* from *Transgressus legem domini* (C8/349, at *F*-6,11); the remaining two continuations are found together later on in *F*-7, at nos. 37-38. Interestingly, the two-voice sections of these three conductus in *F* occur in the same order as their corresponding three-voice components in *Ma,* which does not transmit the continuations a2.

FULGET IN PROPATULO

Conductus (H17/134)

F, f. 285r (7,19)

I	Fulget in propatulo	The light of eternal glory
	lux eterne glorie.	shines out in the open.
	Ortus est de rivulo	A fountain of mercy
	fons misericordie.	has arisen from a rivulet.
	Vim ducit a surculo	The root of pardon
	radix venie,	draws strength from a branch,
	per quem tempus gratie	through which a period of grace
	datur seculo.	is given to the world.
II	Floret Yesse virgula,	The little rod of Jesse flourishes,
	rore plena celico.	filled with heavenly dew.
	Fugit Eve nebula	Eve's cloud vanishes
	eventu non logico	from an irrational event
	dum Christi virguncula	when Christ's diligent little maid
	non in lubrico	places hope not on
	spem ponit, sed, sedula,	what is fallible, but
	servit unico.	serves the only son.
III	Nescius deficere	Not knowing weakness
	defectus ingreditur.	he enters weakened.
	Angelicum vivere,	Living angelically,
	famem, sitim patitur.	he endures hunger and thirst.
	Temptatur, sed temere.	He is tempted, but in vain.
	Mors incurritur,	Death is assailed,
	sed tamen extinguitur	but yet is extinguished
	orto sydere.	by the rising of the star.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 19, f. 285r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III shown by capitals. Beginning at the top of the next leaf after this piece (f. 286v) three successive two-voice continuations follow (*F*-7,20-22) from the five conductus in fascicle 6 that begin in three parts and conclude in two voices: *Hic per mundum* from *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214, starts at *F*-6,10), *Clausus in testa* from *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304, at *F*-6,2), and *Veritati stat obvia* from *Transgressus legem domini* (C8/349, at *F*-6,11); the remaining two continuations are found together later on in fasc. 7, at nos. 37-38. Interestingly, the two-voice sections of these three conductus in *F* occur in the same order as their corresponding three-v oice components in *Ma,* which does not transmit the continuations a2.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 58, f. 142r (133r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete; painted initials begin each strophe, with the guide letter for II still visible.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 14, f. 51r:[1] a2; Strophes I-III, complete; the cauda following line 6 (on "venie") was apparently omitted at first, as it is supplied outside of the writing block in the bottom right margin of the leaf in the hand

[1]The number of the following folio in *Ma* (52r) appears farther down the page than usual, due to an imperfection that left the top left corner of the leaf missing.

of the main scribe, and has staff lines drawn with the brown ink of the rest of the notation and text, rather than the usual red; space was left for initials for each stanza, although only a red-painted, filigreed "N" of Strophe III was ever entered.

Cssc 117 (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*; GB-Cssc 117*),*[2] no. 2, f. 1r: a2; Strophes I-III, fragmentary; on f. 1r: opening of the piece, in both parts with text, up through the short cauda following line 7 (on "gratie"). On f. 1v: T and Tt only of lines 10,2-13,2 ("plena ... christi") as the D of this first system is completely cut away, then, beginning with the second system, TD and Tt of lines 13,3 ("virguncula") through the first 11L of the closing cauda following line 24 (on "syde[re]"). The extant portions show remnants of a large painted initial for the start of the piece and a smaller one for Strophe III, both in blue; the beginning portion of Strophe II is missing with the excised top of the leaf. The presently numbered f. 2r of this source is not contiguous with the original layout of the MS and begins in the midst of the conductus *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144).

Text only:

Line 1 of *Fulget in propatulo* appears as line 23,2-4 (in Strophe II) in the text of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), the poetry of which is made up nearly entirely from the incipits of other conductus. This piece is preserved in the following sources:

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

W1, fasc. 9, no. 82, f. 174v (165v): a2, Strophes I-II, complete.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-8:** the opening stanza of the poem is replete with symbols of the incarnation and the virgin birth of Jesus: the light *(lux),* fountain *(fons),* and branch *(surculus)* refer to Christ; the rivulet *(rivulus)* and root *(radix)* are most likely the Virgin Mary (see, e.g., the motets *Fons misericordie salve vas mundicie / Pro patribus* [VdW 399/M30] and *Radix venie / Latus* [VdW 229/M14]); alternatively, the latter pair of images (or either one of them) may also refer to God the Father. **9:** the second strophe is given over primarily to Marian imagery with the opening evocation of the tree or root of Jesse (Isaiah, 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."]). **10:** cf. Isaiah, 45:8: "rorate, caeli, desuper" ("rain down, dew, from heaven"), used as an Introit text for Marian masses during Advent. Dew is frequently symbolic of Christ and the power of God, such as the dew that collected on Gideon's fleece, recounted in Judges 6:36-40; the fleece itself in this instance is a figure of the Virgin Mary; see the remarks on the text for the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), line 3, and the references it offers. **11-12:** Mary's birthing of Christ cancels the offense committed by Eve from Genesis 3 that brought on original sin; the irrational event is the birth of Christ from a virgin (see Matthew, 1:18-25; Luke, 1:26-38). The comments to lines 23-24 of the conductus *O felix Bituria* (E8/232) provide some other instances of this rational conundrum in the conductus repertory. **13-16:**

[2]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included the now disparate *GB-Cssc 117*, D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115, D-MÜu 382,* and *D-MÜu 378.* For information, 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of the two leaves of this MS, as well as others mentioned above; see her: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

Eve's deception by the serpent (Genesis, 3:1-5) is contrasted with Mary's acceptance of God's command to bear Jesus (Luke, 1:34-38). **17-18:** these two verses and the following line are somewhat difficult to construe. If they are rendered correctly here, a possible meaning is that, although Christ contains God's full divinity, he is also human and therefore suffers the hunger and thirst he experiences during his wandering in the desert that is picked up in lines 19-21. For a similar idea, see the remarks on the text of the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16 /334), lines 40-44. **19-21:** references to the biblical account of the temptation of Christ by the devil (see Mark, 1:12-13;[3] Matthew, 4:1-11; Luke; 4:1-13; and cf. Hebrews, 2:18[4] and 4:15-16),[5] where Jesus journeys into the desert and fasts for forty days and nights before the devil tempts him to no avail. **19:** although in both Mark, 1:13 and Matthew, 4:11,[6] Jesus is mentioned as being administered to by angels after his temptation in the desert (which prompts Anderson's contrasting translation in *NDRC,* 3:xxv), I think it more likely that this may be a reference to the so-called "angelic life," typically associated with chastity and asceticism, which would accord with Jesus's fasting in the desert prior to his temptation; see Jerome, *Epistola IX ad Paulam et Eustochium*, chap. 5, as given in *PL,* 30, cols. 130D-131A: "Profecto praeter carnem vivere, non terrena vita est, sed coelestis. Unde in carne angelicam vitam acquirere, majus est meritum, quam habere" ("Indeed, living beyond the flesh is not an earthly life, but heavenly. Therefore it is the greater merit to acquire, rather than to possess an angelic life in the flesh"). Similar sayings often occur in various forms, such as: "In carne praeter carnem vivere, angelicum est" ("to live in the flesh beyond the flesh, that is angelic"), and are attributed variously to Tertullian, Ambrose, and Gregory of Nazianzus. **22-24:** for the frequent conceit of death being overcome by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137). **24:** The risen star is Christ; see the prophecy of Balaam in Numbers, 24:17.[7] Balaam and his prophecy also appear in the conductus *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), lines 21-24.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 8,2:** period omitted. **18,1:** deffectus. **MUSIC:** A number of the caudae in this piece, particularly the internal and closing melismas of Strophes I and II are equally at home in rhythmic mode 3 (or even 6) as in mode 1; some others (or their sections) seem to suggest one mode in preference to the other. When this occurs, the possibilities have been signaled above the staves of the transcription. **Opening cauda:** D: F: the 4C of the initial figure looks like *gfdc; gfed* is confirmed by all other MSS; T: F: the 3li=*afg* of the fifth phrase from L9-L12 is written as 3si in *W1, Ma; Cssc 117** appears as in *F;* D: F: the *e* of the final phrase appears as *f,* due to space constrictions; adopted reading confirmed by all other MSS. **Cauda following line 6:** D: W1: the final phrase of the melisma on "[veni]e" is given as si,3li,3li,2li,2li, which obviates a bit of

---

[3]Mark, I:13: "Et statim Spiritus expulit eum in desertum. Et erat in deserto quadraginta diebus, et quadraginta noctibus: et tentabatur a Satana: eratque cum bestiis, et angeli ministrabant illi" ("And immediately the Spirit drove him [Jesus] out into the desert. And he was in the desert forty days and forty nights, and was tempted by Satan; and he was with beasts, and the angels ministered to him.").

[4]Hebrews, 2:18: "In eo enim, in quo passus est ipse et tentatus, potens est et eis, qui tentantur, auxiliari" ("For in that, wherein he [Jesus] himself hath suffered and been tempted, he is able to succour them also that are tempted.").

[5]Hebrews, 4:15-16: "Non enim habemus pontificem qui non possit compati infirmitatibus nostris: tentatum autem per omnia pro similitudine absque peccato. Adeamus ergo cum fiducia ad thronum gratiae: ut misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno" ("For we have not a high priest, who can not have compassion on our infirmities: but one tempted in all things like as we are, without sin. Let us go therefore with confidence to the throne of grace: that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in seasonable aid.")

[6]Matthew, 4:11: "Tunc reliquit eum diabolus: et ecce angeli accesserunt, et ministrabant ei" ('Then the devil left him; and behold angels came and ministered to him.").

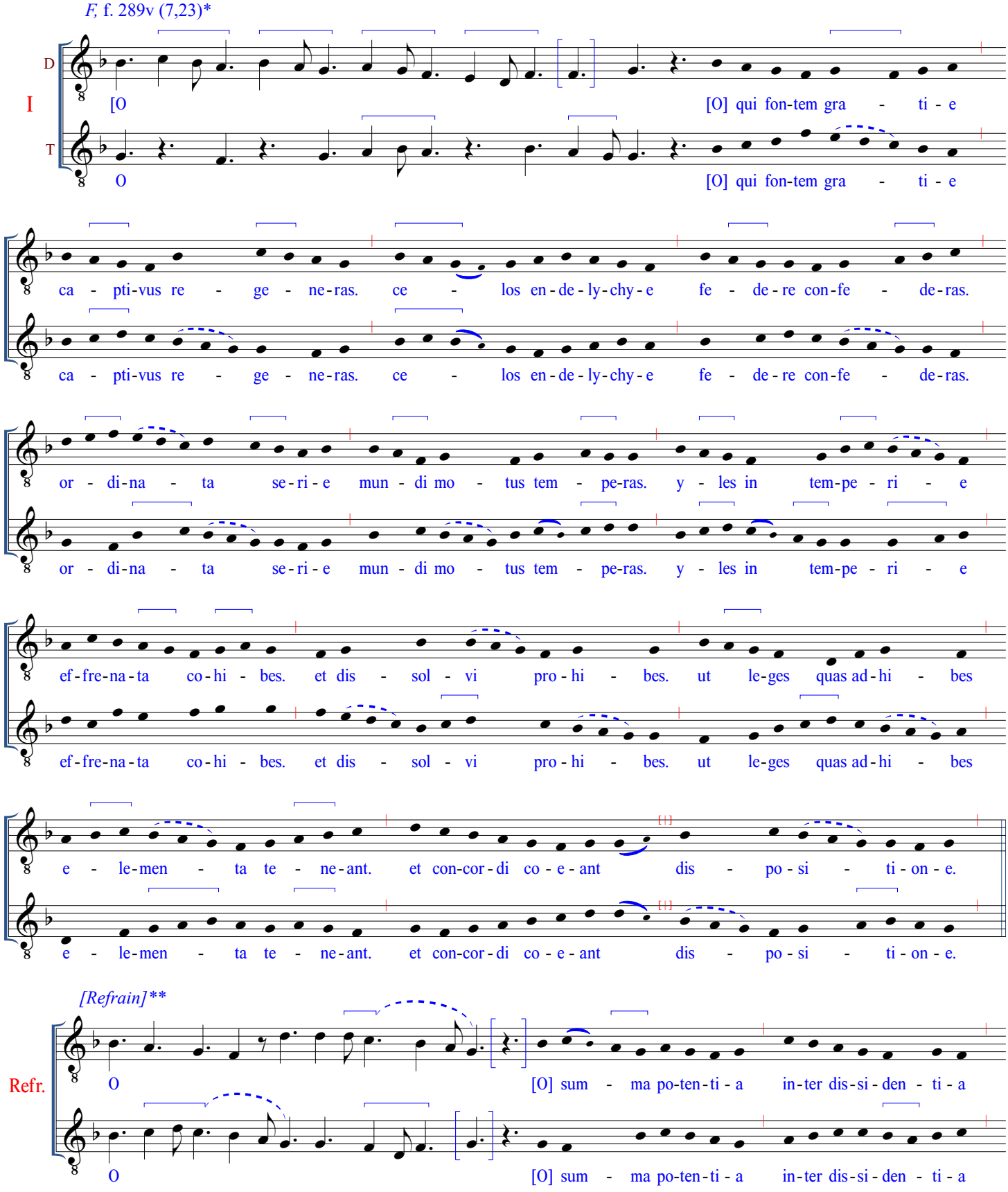
[7]Numbers, 24:17: "Videbo eum, sed non modo: intuebor illum, sed non prope. Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel ... " ("I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not near. A star shall rise out of Jacob and a scepter *[virga]* shall spring up from Israel ...").

the dissonance and suggests that *W1* at least is more likely rendered in mode 1; see the alternative rendering of this portion at the end of the transcription; all other MS ligations agree with F. **Cauda following line 16 (closing Strophe II):** TD: the ligations and some pitches of the final phrase of the melisma are rendered differently among the sources (given also in the alternatives provided at the end) – T: W1: *f,g,b,afd'f,g*'=3si,3li' 2si'; Ma: *f,gba, fd'f,g*=si,3li,2li,DL,si; Cssc 117*: *f,g,b,a,fdf,g*=4si,3li,si – D: W1: *fedc,b,cdc,ba, a,g*=4C, 3li,2li,2si; Ma: opening figure rendered: 5C; Cssc 117*: as in *F.* Of all the different readings, *Cssc 117** provides the only one that is thoroughly consonant. **Final cauda:** TD: before the concluding note in both parts, *W1* has an added D flourish over an additional penultimate si=*f* in the T: 2li+4C,2li= *cd+cbag,ga;* this alternative is given at the end of the transcription.

O QUI FONTEM GRATIE
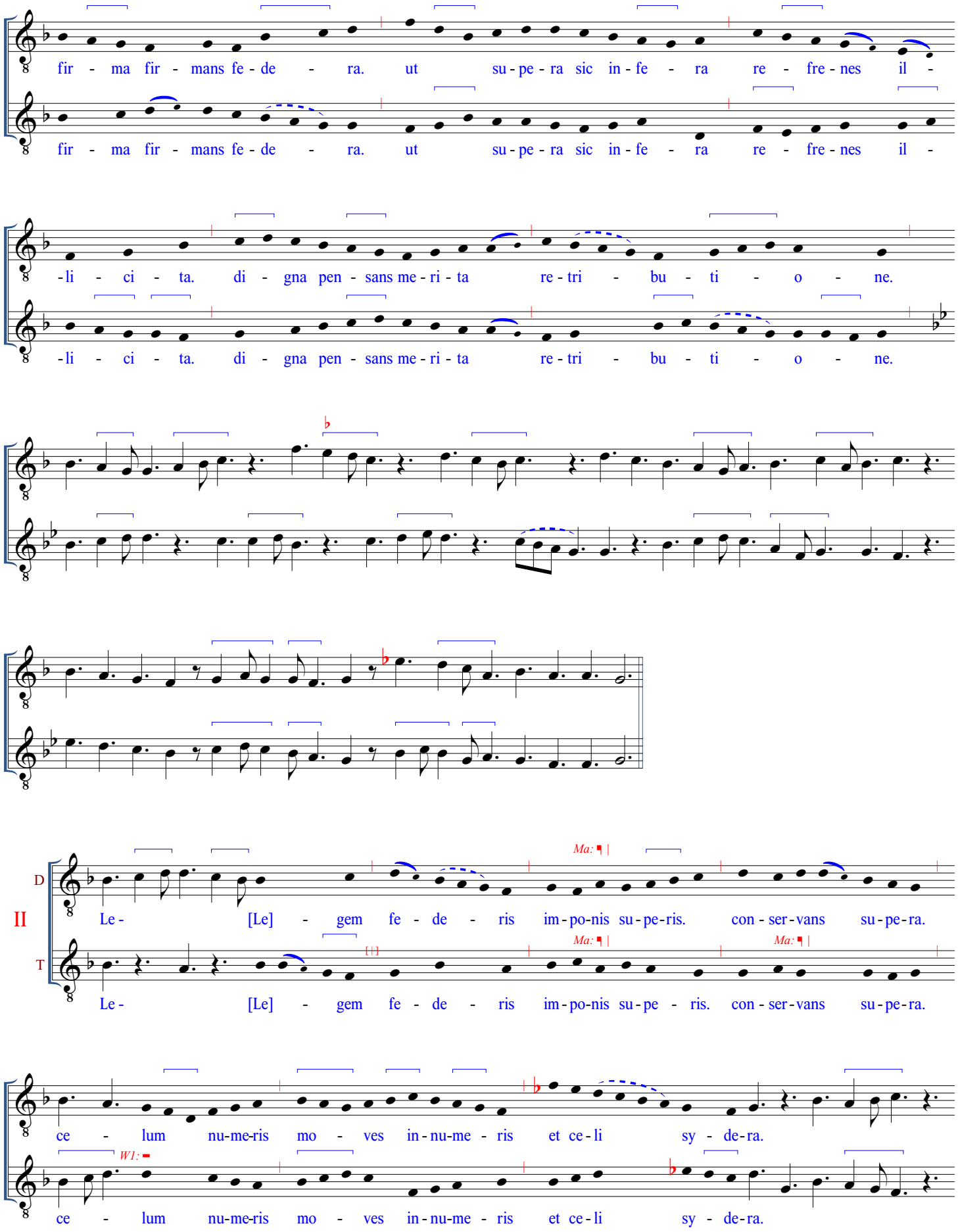
Conductus (H28/243)
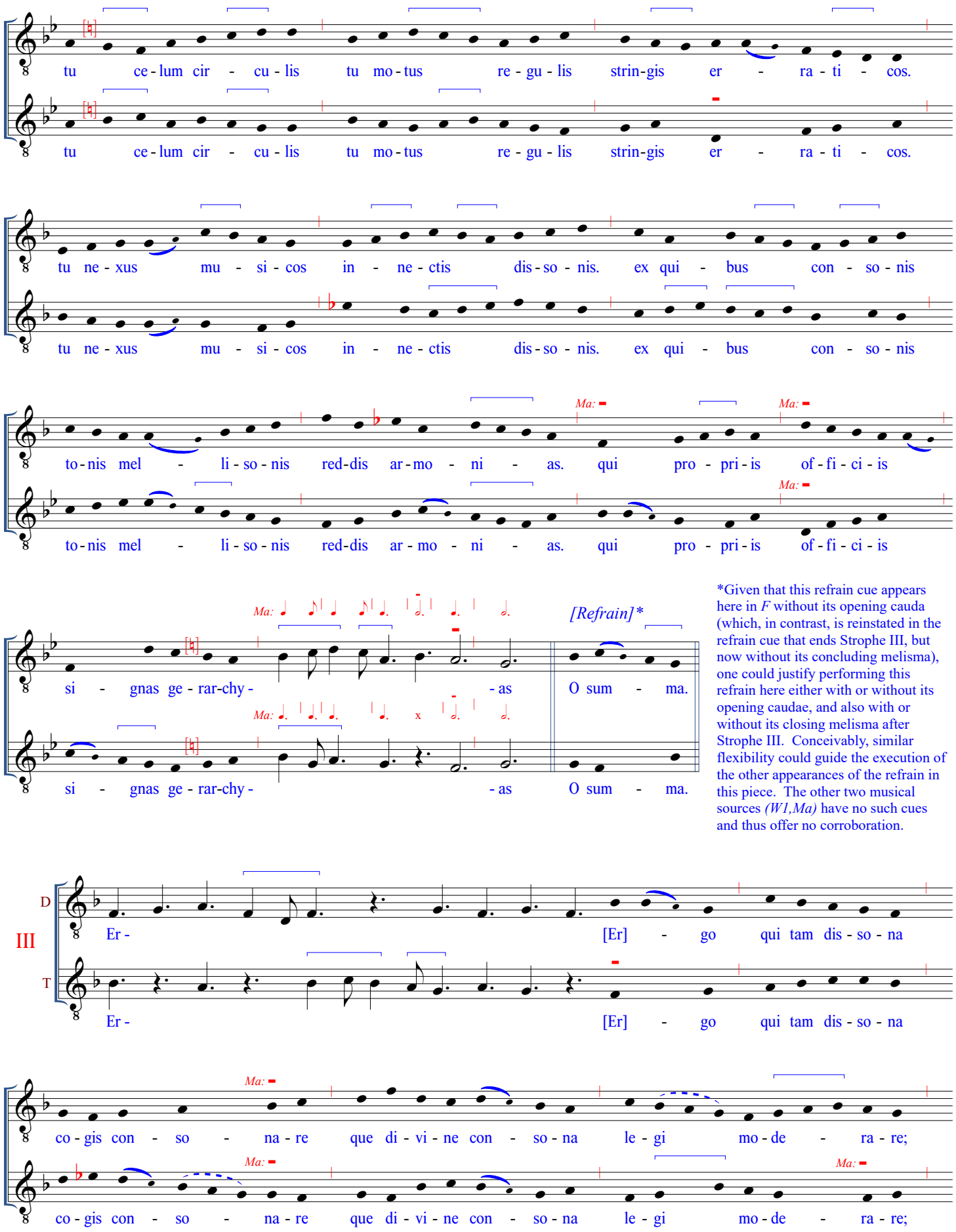
F, f. 289v (7,23)*



*Most of the caudae in this piece may be rendered in mode 3 (and sometimes mode 6) as well as mode 1. The main exceptions are the final two phrases of the melisma ending the refrain and the caudae that close Strophe II and open Strophe III, both in first mode. Mode 1 has been used here by default throughout.

**For a number of conceivable ways to perform the refrain in this piece, see the comments given with the refrain cue at the end of Strophe II.


fir - ma fir - mans fe - de - ra. ut su - pe - ra sic in - fe - ra re - fre - nes il -
-li - ci - ta. di - gna pen - sans me - ri - ta re - tri - bu - ti - o - ne.
II
D
T
Le - [Le] - gem fe - de - ris im - po - nis su - pe - ris. con - ser - vans su - pe - ra.
Ma: ¶ |
ce - lum nu - me - ris mo - ves in - nu - me - ris et ce - li sy - de - ra.
W1:



*Given that this refrain cue appears here in *F* without its opening cauda (which, in contrast, is reinstated in the refrain cue that ends Strophe III, but now without its concluding melisma), one could justify performing this refrain here either with or without its opening caudae, and also with or without its closing melisma after Strophe III. Conceivably, similar flexibility could guide the execution of the other appearances of the refrain in this piece. The other two musical sources *(W1,Ma)* have no such cues and thus offer no corroboration.

me - los quod di - vi - ni - tus tu - us spi - rat spi - ri - tus no - bis

me - los quod di - vi - ni - tus tu - us spi - rat spi - ri - tus no - bis

mis - sus ce - li - tus; ple - ni - us in - spi - ret. e - nor - mes re - i - ci - at.

mis - sus ce - li - tus; ple - ni - us in - spi - ret. e - nor - mes re - i - ci - at.

con - cor - des ef - fi - ci - at. quos ex - pi - at sic pu - ni - at.

con - cor - des ef - fi - ci - at. quos ex - pi - at sic pu - ni - at.

ut vi - ces quas va - ri - at al - ter - nis sic u - ni - at. ne li - ra

ut vi - ces quas va - ri - at al - ter - nis sic u - ni - at. ne li - ra

**W1:* see at end

*[Refrain]**

de - li - ret. O [O] sum - ma.]

de - li - ret. O [O] sum - ma.

*For a number of conceivable ways to perform the refrain in this piece, see the comments given with the refrain cue at the end of Strophe II.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Final line of Strophe III ("ne lira deliret"): concluding *punctus organi* from *W1,* f. 159v (151v), IV

D [ne li - ra de - li - ret.]

T ne li - ra de - li - ret.

O QUI FONTEM GRATIE

Conductus (H28/243)

F, f. 289v (7,23)

I O qui fontem gratie
captivus regeneras,
celos endelychye
federe confederas.
Ordinata serie
mundi motus temperas.
Yles in temperie
effrenata cohibes,
et dissolvi prohibes,
ut leges quas adhibes
elementa teneant,
et concordi coeant
dispositione.

You, who as a captive
regenerate the font of grace,
bring together the heavens
in a pact of actuality.
You temper the motion of the world
through orderly arrangement.
You restrain what is unbridled with
the proper mixture of substance,
and prevent it from dissolving,
so that the laws you apply
hold the elements in check,
and combine them
in harmonious balance.

Refr. O summa potentia,
inter dissidentia
firma firmans federa,
ut supera, sic infera,
refrenes illicita,
digna pensans merita
retributione.

O highest power,
fortifying firm alliances
among incompatible things,
so that you curb what is illicit
on high just as you do down below,
rewarding what is deserving
with suitable recompense.

II Legem federis
imponis superis,
conservans supera.
Celum numeris
moves innumeris
et celi sydera.
Tu celum circulis,
tu motus regulis
stringis erraticos.
Tu nexus musicos
innectis dissonis,
ex quibus consonis
tonis mellisonis
reddis armonias,
qui propriis officiis
signas gerarchyas

You impose a law of
agreement upon celestial things,
maintaining the heavenly bodies.
You set the heavens in motion
and move the stars of the sky
with numbers beyond number.
You constrain the heavens in
their circular courses, and tame
erratic motions with rules.
You fasten together
musical bonds from discords,
from which you render
harmonies with consonant,
mellifluous tones, you who
through your own workings
designate the ordering of things.

Refr. O summa [potentia,
inter dissidentia
firma firmans federa,
ut supera, sic infera,
refrenes illicita,
digna pensans merita
retributione.]

O highest power,
fortifying firm alliances
among incompatible things,
so that you curb what is illicit
down below just as you do on high,
rewarding what is deserving
with suitable recompense.

III Ergo, qui tam dissona
cogis consonare,
que divine consona
legi moderare,
melos, quod divinitus
tuus spirat spiritus,
nobis missus celitus,
plenius inspiret.
Enormes reiciat.
Concordes efficiat.
quos expiat sic puniat,
ut vices quas variat,
alternis, sic uniat,
ne lira deliret.

Therefore, you who compel what
is so dissonant to be consonant,
and what is concordant
to adjust to divine law,
let the melody that your
heaven-sent spirit exhales
from above breathe
more fully upon us.
Let it reject irregularities.
Let it produce concords.
It purifies the ones it so punishes,
so that, by turns, it may bring together
the changes it alters,
lest the lyre go out of tune.

Refr. O summa [potentia
inter dissidentia
firma firmans federa.
ut supera sic infera
refrenes illicita.
digna pensans merita
retributione.]

O highest power,
fortifying firm alliances
among incompatible things,
so that you curb what is illicit
down below just as you do on high,
rewarding what is deserving
with suitable recompense.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 23, f. 289v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with refrain (the first piece with this attribute in *F*-7, the next one not occurring until *Eclypsim patitur* [I7/105], at *F*-7,60), and with the refrain, subsequent stanzas, and refrain cues indicated by capitals. After the initial full presentation of the refrain after Strophe I, the music and text of only the first two refrain words follows both Strophes II (here without its introductory melisma) and III (now with the opening but not the closing melisma).

W1, fasc. 9, no. 74, f. 158r (149r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with refrain; painted initials supplied for each stanza and refrain, but with no indication of the refrain's recurrence beyond its first appearance after Strophe I. Strophe III concludes with a *punctus organi,* not seen in the other musical MSS and supplied at the end of the score as an alternative reading.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 20, f. 60v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with the refrain signaled in its appearance after Strophe I by a slightly elaborated capital "O," but with no cues supplied for successive stanzas. Painted initials are provided for Strophe II (larger) and III (smaller), but none was executed for the start of the piece, although space is allotted for it and a typical lower-case "o" appears under the first T note in the opening cauda. The text shows evidence of having been proofread, with two omitted words (10, 3 and 46,3) supplied in the margins, the first in what seems a different hand at the right edge of the system, the second (in the main hand) with its first three letters cut off from trimming the left edge of the leaf, and with its insertion point marked within the text; both omissions are cued in the music by extraneous stokes.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 25, f. 240r (11r); text only; Strophes I-III, complete, with refrain;

Strophes II, III, and the refrain following I are indicated by first letters that are slightly larger and decorated somewhat differently than the capitals that begin the other poetic lines in this poem. A three-word cue for the refrain, opening with a capital, appears after Strophe II, but not III; rubric: "Prosa de muneribus datis et dandis quid conferunt" ("a prosa about gifts that were given, and what they confer in the giving" – which seems to make little sense in this context). An extraneous letter "e" appears in the left margin opposite the entry of lines 46-47, presumably intended to correct the arguably erroneous "divina" in line 46,2, since a pair of two short parallel markings immediately follow this word (presumably calling attention to the error and specifying the insertion point).

Nero C IX (GB-Lbl Cotton MS Nero C IX), f. 226r; text only; Strophes I-III, complete, with refrain; rubric: "Incipit lira extollens virginem gloriosam" ("Here begins the *Lira*[1] extolling the glorious virgin" – a emphasis not readily apparent in the surviving text); explicit to the poem, with attribution: "Explicit lira magistri Iohannis hovedene" ("Here ends the *Lyra* of Master John of Hoveden [or Howden]"). Images of this source are not presently available to me; the information here derives from the CPI website and (for the explicit) the description of this part of the MS provided in Edmund Brock, "*Practica Chilindri:* or The Working of the Cylinder by John of Hoveden: Edited with a Translation," in *Essays on Chaucer* (N. Trübner and Co., 1874), second series, issue 9, part 2, no. 3, p. 61.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Authorship:** This text is attributed to John of Hoveden (or Howden) in *Nero C IX,* as reported above in the discussion of this source. Although there is some contention as to the identity of the individual, John (fl. late 1260s-ca. 1275) is usually described as a Franciscan friar who was a clerk and possibly chaplain to Queen Eleanor of Provence (ca. 1223-1291), wife of King Henry III of England (1207-1272) and mother of King Edward I (1239-1307). *O qui fontem gratie* is the only known musical setting of a text attributed to this author. **General remarks:** The title of this poem as given in *Nero C IX* is *Lira* ("The Lyre"), which, as the final line of Strophe III confirms, is a metaphor for the workings of the universe that God, as prime mover, creates, sets in motion, and regulates. As a result, the significance of the rubric given to this item in *Nero C IX,* which describes the poem as one in praise of the Virgin Mary, seems unclear, as does the analogously incongruous rubric of *OxRawl.* God's power over the laws that control natural phenomena, laws that he himself enacted, is a common theme within the Parisian musical repertory and elsewhere, often evoked in the context of Jesus's birth by Mary; for some examples, see the general remarks on the text of the conductus *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), and especially the content of its first stanza. What is particularly interesting in the case of *O qui fontem gratie* is the prominence given to musical content based on the ideas of *musica mundana* developed by Boethius in his *De institutione musica* (book 1, chapter 1). These conceits are noticeable in Strophe II, beginning with line 30, and they continue throughout the third stanza. In a related matter, the poem makes use of several words borrowed from Greek; see the notes to lines 3, 7, and 36. **Textual notes: 1,3-4:** the expression "fons gratie" has a wide spectrum of references, even when viewed only within the Parisian conductus repertory. Although it often may be easily construed as a symbol for God, Christ, or the Virgin, there are also less specific contexts for its appearance and significance, as in the conductus *Ver pacis aperit* (J32/366), line 18 (in Strophe III), associated with the coronation of King Philip Augustus of

[1]Conceivably also with the meaning of "lyric poem," although John of Hoveden is known to have written other poetic works with evocative, musically oriented titles such as *Cythara* and *Viola;* the word *lira* also appears prominently in the final line of Strophe III.

France (1179 – though possibly written in anticipation of the event in 1176);[2] in *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2/253), line 17 (from Strophe II), where it arises in a *planctus* on the death in 1181 of Henry I, count of Champagne; and in another *planctus, Sol eclypsim patitur* (K83/331), line 11 (Strophe II), on the death (most probably) of King Fernando III of Castile in 1252. For further associations, see the remarks on the phrase "fons aquae vivae" in the notes to line 2,1 that follow. **2,1:** the reference to what is apparently God or Christ portrayed as a captive or prisoner is not immediately clear. The most telling connection seems to be a reference to Ephesians, 4:7-10.[3] As Paul indicates, he is quoting from earlier scripture, in this case paraphrasing Psalm 67:19 and changing the address from third person to second.[4] The particular mention of captivity and captives here is related to what is often referred to as Christ's Harrowing of Hell, a non-scriptural account where, after his crucifixion, Jesus "descended into the lower regions of the earth" (Ephesians, 4:9) and led a number of people "imprisoned" there who were considered righteous to heaven and salvation, including, for example, Adam, Eve, and King Solomon. The Harrowing is typically commemorated in the liturgy of Holy Saturday, which includes the responsory *Recessit pastor.*[5] The text of the respond section of this chant reads: "Recessit pastor noster, fons aquae vivae, ad cujus transitum sol obscuratus est. Nam et ille captus est qui captivum tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter salvator noster dirupit" ("Our shepherd, the font of living water, has departed, at whose passing the sun was obscured. For even he who held the first man captive was made a captive. Today our Savior has equally shattered the doors and bars of death."). In this case, the reference to Christ as the "font of living water" recalls the "font of grace" from line 1,3-4 of *O qui fontem,* although in this case the one who becomes the captive is a figure for Death or the Devil ("he who held the first man captive"). Somewhat more telling, but also more obscure, is the text of an antiphon for the Irish-born, ninth-century monk and hermit Saint Fintan (Findan, Findanus) of Rheinau, Switzerland (d. 879), whose feast is celebrated on November 15: "Pro redimendis captivis, factus est ipse captivus, exemplo illius qui, ascendens in altum, captivitatem nostram duxit captivam" ("Instead of redeeming the captives, he himself [Fintan] was taken captive, in comparison to the one who, ascending on high, led our captivity captive").[6] This example, which again implements the words of Paul and the Psalms, is the only clear indication I have been able to find so far that Jesus might acceptably be designated as a captive in a manner similar to that of the text of *O qui fontem gratie.* Another instance, though, suggests that this same captive metaphor was sometimes regarded as extremely problematic when applied to Christ. The passage from Ephesians and the Psalm is one of the main contenders in a section of a treatise in four books written by Alcuin against the Toledan bishop Elipantus (Elipandus, Elipando, Elipand), accusing him of adopting a heretical stance similar to that of Adoptionism. This heresy held that Jesus was not the true or direct son of God at his birth, but became so at some point later

---

[2]For this assertion, see David Traill, ed. *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), lxiii.

[3]Ephesians, 4:7-10: "Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Propter quod dicit: 'Ascendens in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem: dedit dona hominibus.' Quod autem ascendit, quid est, nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terrae? Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos, ut impleret omnia." ("But to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the giving of Christ. Wherefore he says: 'Ascending on high, he led captivity captive; he gave gifts to men.' The fact that he ascended, what does that mean, except that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all the heavens, that he might fill all things'").

[4]Psalms, 67:19: "Ascendisti in altum, cepisti captivitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus; etenim non credentes inhabitare Dominum Deum" ("You have ascended on high, you have led captivity captive; you have received gifts in men; and indeed for those also that do not believe, the dwelling of the Lord God").

[5]See cantusindex.org, no. 007509.

[6]See cantusindex.org, no. 004386. At one point in his early life, Fintan's sister was captured by northern invaders, and he was dispatched with a ransom to attempt her recovery. Unfortunately, he himself was captured, and this is the likely event related by the antiphon text. For a helpful summary of Fintan's *vita,* see the contribution by J.F. Hogan at *Omnium Sanctorum Hiberniae*, http://omniumsanctorumhiberniae.blogspot.com/2015/11/saint-fintan-of-rheinau-november-15.html.

in his life, such as at his baptism, resurrection, or ascension (hence Jesus was, so to speak, "adopted" by God, not born from him).[7] Elipantus raises the question, again interrogating the text of Psalm 67:19: "Ecce captivus dicitur esse, et quare non dicatur carne adoptivus?" ("Behold, he [Christ] is said to be a captive, and [therefore] why might one not say he is adoptive in the flesh?" This causes Alcuin to rail against him with support from Augustine, Jerome, and Cassiodorus to refute this interpretation.[8] For another instance in the conductus repertory that invokes the conceit of "captivity captured," see *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145), line 20. **2,2:** note the use of the somewhat unusual verb "regeneras" also in Philip the Chancellor's conductus *O Maria virginei* (E14/239), lines 17-18 (Strophe IVa): "Tu generis proles degeneris, / regeneras genus in posteris" ("You, the offspring of an ignoble generation, regenerate that generation in the future"), where the expression describes the Virgin Mary. **3,2:** this word is one of the Hellenisms that pepper this text; more familiarly it is spelled *entelechia,* from ἐντελέχεια (*entelecheia* – "entelechy," "complete reality," "realized actuality"). **7,1:** a further Greek borrowing, also spelled *hyle* (the case used in the poem is genitive), from ὕλη (*hulé* – "wood," "timber," "matter," "material"). **30-34:** the forming of consonances out of dissonances may be explicable by the idea that most of the perfect intervals that form the traditional *symphoniae* of Boethian theory (fourths, fifths, and octaves – the unison would not apply here) are made up of concatenations of discordant intervals, such as tones and semitones. **36,2:** another Hellenism: more familiarly written *hierarchia,* or *ierarchia* (as in *OxRawl*) from ἱεραρχία (*hierarchía* – "hierarchy," "systematic classification").

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 7,1:** the form "hyles" is genitive; see the notes on the text to line 7,1. **18,1:** unlike Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 3:xxxii-iii) and the one in *AH,* 21:53, no. 74, I prefer the subjunctive form "refrenes" given here, which appears in all sources but *W1* (although *Nero C IX* is presently unavailable to me and not collated by Anderson). I construe it as a result clause governed by the "ut" in line 17,1. **36,2:** the MS orthography of *F* and all other musical sources is retained here; *OxRawl* gives "ierarchias," which helps clarify the meaning. **46,1:** F: qui (not reported in Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:226), in opposition to all other available sources, which supply the adopted reading. **46,2:** *OxRawl* has "divina," (possibly a recognized error – see the above source report for this MS). This reading would suffice, but less convincingly ("... force the divine concords to adjust to the law ..."); the adopted reading agrees with all the musical sources and I construe it in the dative case. **MUSIC: General remarks:** there are a number of closely related smaller musical motives running throughout this piece on the level of the sub-phrase, such as the *bcdcbag* ... T figure that begins lines 2, 4, and 7, and that lies within line 10; and the *bcbag* ... pitch series that occurs within the T phrases of lines 3, 5, and 6, and in the D at line 10. Many more motivic units could claim similar import, although there is no larger-scale repetition within the piece outside of the presence of the refrain, nor have these numerous motives been signaled here in the score. **Caudae:** Most of the caudae in this piece may be rendered in mode 3 (and sometimes mode 6) as well as mode 1. The main exceptions are the final two phrases of the melisma concluding the refrain, and the caudae that close Strophe II and open Strophe III. Mode 1 has been used here by default throughout. **Refrain presentation and performance:** the refrain cue in *F* at the end of Strophe II appears without its opening cauda (which, in contrast, is reinstated in the refrain cue that ends Strophe III, but now without its concluding melisma). Full performance of all segments of the refrain at the end of each stanza is, of course, not constrained by these features, but as a result of these discrepancies one could also justify performing the refrain that follows Strophe II either with or without its opening caudae, and also with or without its closing melisma after Strophe III. Conceivably, similar flexibility could guide the execution of the other appearances of the refrain in this piece; one might, for instance, hold off the inclusion of the refrain's

[7]For more treatments of issues related to Adoptionism and of Christ's consubstantiality with God the Father, see, in addition to *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), line 2, the opening lines of the conductus *Sine matre genitus (I27/330)*, *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), and line 16 of *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89).

[8]See, for example, the edition of Alcuin's works by Frobenius Forster, ed., *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini abbatis, Caroli Magni Regis ac Imperatoris, magistri Opera,* 2 vols. ([Regensburg]: J.M. Englerth, 1777), vol. 2, part 1, p. 871 for the relevant portion of Elipando's text and p. 887 for Alcuin's response. Alcuin's text is also available in *PL* 101, col. 259, A-B, for the segment in question.

closing cauda until its final appearance after Strophe III. The other two musical sources *(W1,Ma)* have no such cues for subsequent appearances of the refrain, and thus offer no corroboration for its performance. **Text declamation:** the numerous occasions where certain *cum littera* passages are set with 3li figures (or larger) over single syllables, as well as the presence of occasional elongated note shapes, doubled notes ending with a plica, or notes followed by a stroke within a poetic line – evident especially in *Ma* and *F* – offer useful guides to suggest when the relative lengthening of certain syllables might be appropriate in performance; any such figures not in *F,* but sanctioned by *Ma* or *W1* have been given above the staff in the transcription and their sources indicated. **Opening cauda:** D: F: the penultimate note si=*f* om; from *W1,Ma.* **Line 10,1-2:** D: F: 3si=*f,g,f* for "ut leges"; corrected after *W1,Ma.* **12,1-2:** D: F: "et [concordi]" 3 higher; from *W1,Ma.* **Cauda opening refrain (at lines 14 and 58):** each of the musical sources presents slightly different ligations and pitch patterns, making this cauda somewhat difficult to construe; the rhythms adopted here have been prompted by the readings in *W1* and *Ma,* which have also aided in considering possible omissions; T: F,Ma: final si=*g* om; taken from *W1* – D: F,Ma: final rest stroke om; supplied from *W1;* an additional stroke follows the succeeding note in *F* without a corresponding sign in the T. **Line 14,1-2 (begins refrain):** T: W1: 3si= *f,g,b* for the *cum littera* appearance of "O summa." **18,2 (within refrain):** T: for "[illi]cita": W1: si,2li=*a,gf;* Ma: 2li,si=*ag,f;* the latter especially suggestive of aligning the end syllable of the phrase in the T on the *f,* as adopted here. **20 (closes refrain):** T: F: 2 of the 2li=*gf* for "[retributi]o[ne]" looks like *e; f* verified by *W1,Ma.* **Cauda closing refrain (at line 20):** D: F: the editorially proposed *e-flat* above the staff in the second D phrase is implied by a prior *e-flat* sig seen only in *W1,* where it opens the D of the cauda. **Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 36,2):** TD: Ma presents a different, more consonant rhythmic reading, provided above the staff in the transcription; *W1* essentially reproduces *F.* **Refrain closing Strophe II (at line 37):** see the above observations about the refrain, including the discussions of its presence in the inventory of sources above. **Line 46,3:** TD: F: for "[conso]na," the si=*a* in both parts looks rather like *g; a* confirmed by *W1,Ma.* **55,1-2:** D: F: notes for "ut vices" 3 higher; from *W1,Ma.* **55,4:** T: the note over "va[riat]" is 3 lower; from *W1,Ma.* **Refrain closing Strophe III (at line 58):** see the above observations about the refrain and also its presentation following Strophe II (at line 37). **Alternative reading, *W1 punctus organi:*** D: W1: the penultimate ligature, 2li=*ba,* is written *sine proprietate* (sp), likely to imply its figurative connection to the last note of the previous 2li=*cb* shape.

GENITUS DIVINITUS
Conductus (I25/144)

F, f. 291r (7,24)

I

D [Ge - ni - tus di - vi - ni - tus i - dem quod in - ge - ni - tus

T Ge - ni - tus di - vi - ni - tus i - dem quod in - ge - ni - tus

e - di - tus hu - ma - ni - tus hac in val - le ge - mi - tus.

e - di - tus hu - ma - ni - tus hac in val - le ge - mi - tus.

mi - - ra pro - lis u - ni - tas ger - mi - nat na - ti - vi - tas.

mi - - ra pro - lis u - ni - tas ger - mi - nat na - ti - vi - tas.

or: (both voices) or: (both voices)

a1 b b'

a a2 a3
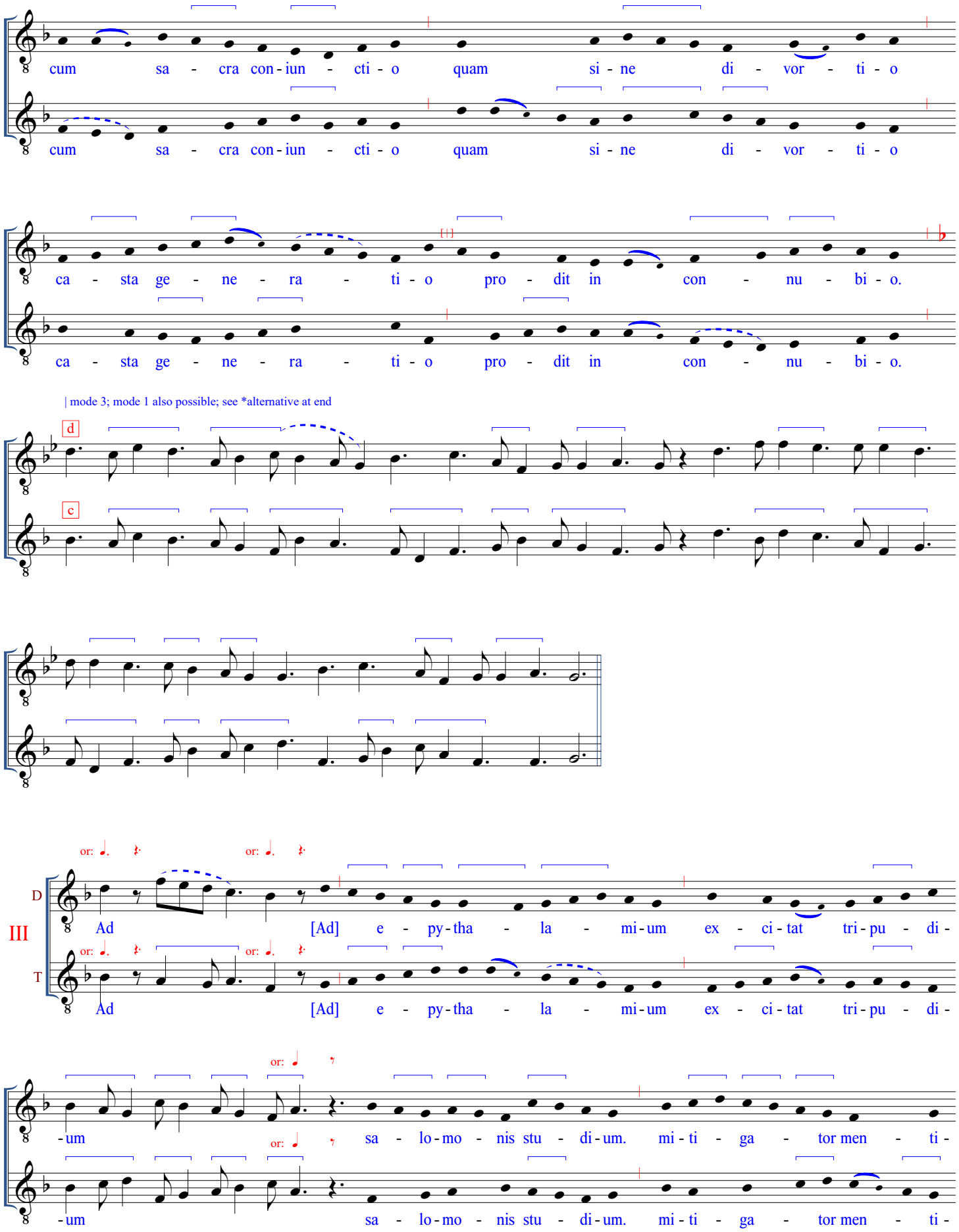
II
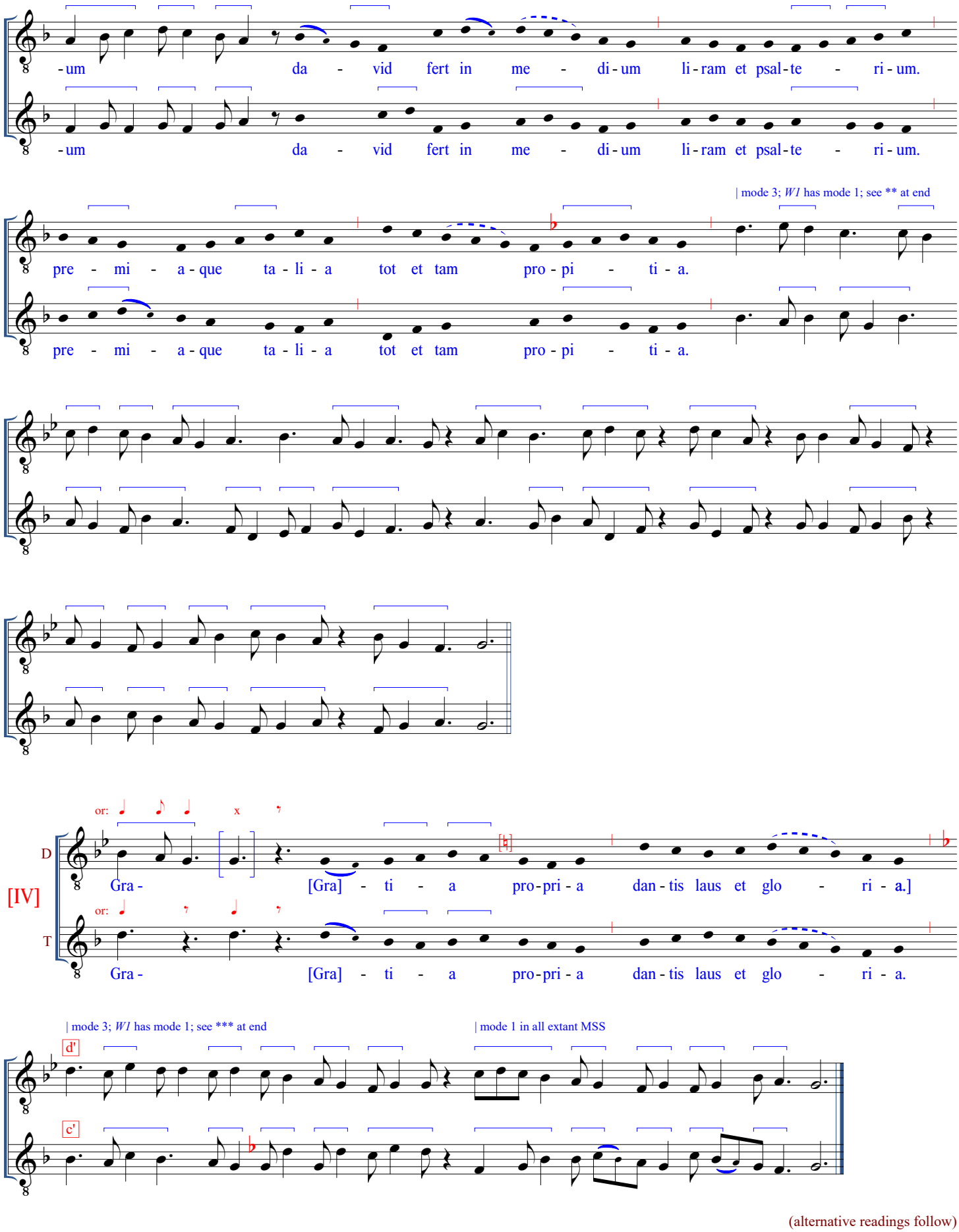
D Nec a de - si - de - ri - o de - frau - da - ta so - bri - o

T Nec a de - si - de - ri - o de - frau - da - ta so - bri - o

re - cre - a - tur ba - si - o vi - li te - cta pal - li - o.

re - cre - a - tur ba - si - o vi - li te - cta pal - li - o.


cum sa - cra con - iun - cti - o quam si - ne di - vor - ti - o
cum sa - cra con - iun - cti - o quam si - ne di - vor - ti - o
ca - sta ge - ne - ra - ti - o pro - dit in con - nu - bi - o.
ca - sta ge - ne - ra - ti - o pro - dit in con - nu - bi - o.
| mode 3; mode 1 also possible; see *alternative at end
d
c
III
D
T
or:
Ad [Ad] e - py - tha - la - mi - um ex - ci - tat tri - pu - di -
Ad [Ad] e - py - tha - la - mi - um ex - ci - tat tri - pu - di -
-um sa - lo - mo - nis stu - di - um. mi - ti - ga - tor men - ti -
-um sa - lo - mo - nis stu - di - um. mi - ti - ga - tor men - ti -
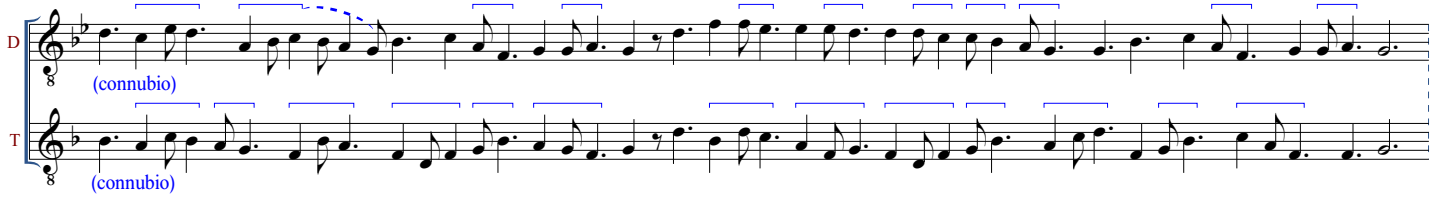


(alternative readings follow)

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

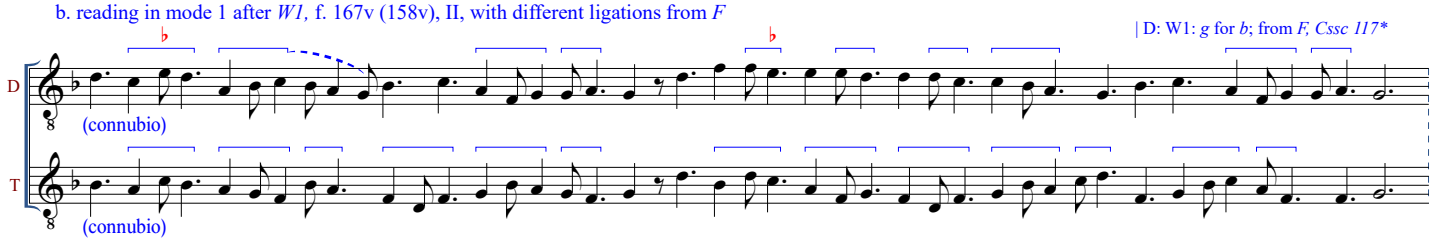
*Cauda closing Strophe II (after line 14,3)

a. reading in mode 1 after *F,* f. 291v, III
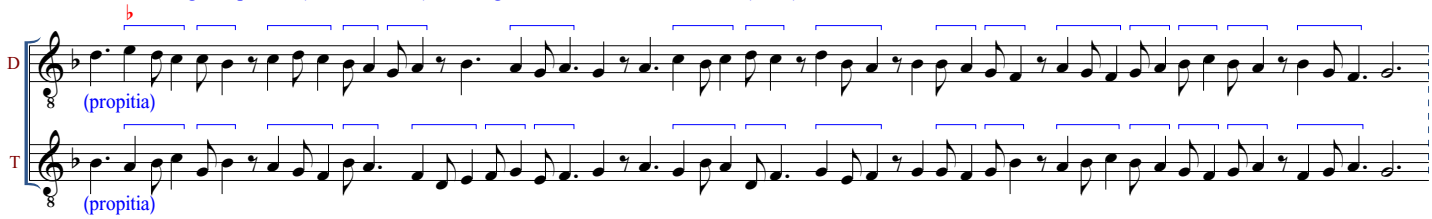


b. reading in mode 1 after *W1,* f. 167v (158v), II, with different ligations from *F*

| D: W1: *g* for *b*; from *F, Cssc 117**

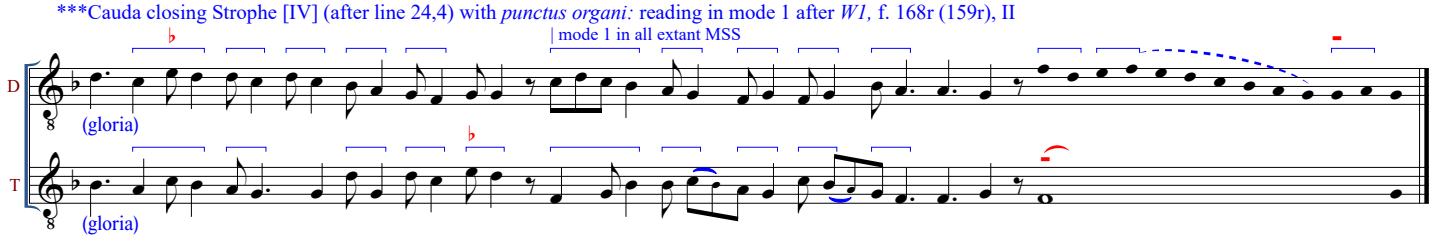


**Cauda closing Strophe III (after line 22,4): reading in mode 1 after *W1,* f. 167v (158v), VI



***Cauda closing Strophe [IV] (after line 24,4) with *punctus organi:* reading in mode 1 after *W1,* f. 168r (159r), II

| mode 1 in all extant MSS



GENITUS DIVINITUS
Conductus (I25/144)

F, f. 291r (7,24)

I Genitus divinitus,
idem quod ingenitus
editus humanitus
hac in valle gemitus.
Mira prolis unitas;
germinat nativitas.

II Nec, a desiderio
defraudata, sobrio
recreatur basio,
vili tecta pallio,
cum sacra coniunctio
quam sine divortio
casta generatio
prodit in connubio.

III Ad epythalamium,
excitat tripudium
Salomonis studium.
Mitigator mentium,
David, fert in medium
liram et psalterium,
premiaque talia
tot et tam propitia:

[IV] Gratia propria,
dantis laus et gloria.

Begotten in divine fashion,
the very same one that was unbegotten
was brought forth as a human
in this vale of sorrow.
Wondrous is the oneness of the Son;
his nativity sprouts forth.

And unbeguiled
by desire, he is created
anew from a chaste kiss,
and covered in a crude garment,
when the sacred union
arising from his spotless
conception springs forth in a
marriage without divorce.

At the sound of the wedding song,
Solomon's eagerness
provokes a dance.
That appeaser of minds,
David, brings a lyre and
psaltery to our midst,
and such are the rewards,
so many and so favorable:

the praise and glory of the giver
arises from his own grace.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 24, f. 291r: a2; Strophes I-[IV] complete, with capitals denoting II-[IV]; the *punctus organi* that concludes the redaction of this piece in *W1* is omitted here. From here through *F*-7,30 (*Rex et pater omnium* [I17/307]), the works are not as widely transmitted; concordances within the four central sources, when present, occur only in *W1*.[1]

W1, fasc. 9, no. 81, f. 167r (158r): a2; Strophes I-[IV] complete, with painted initials for each textual division (the blue opener for [IV] shows modest red-line decoration in opposition to the monochrome red and blue colors furnished for the other initials); this redaction of the piece contains a closing *punctus organi* not appearing in the remains of any of the other sources; this is included as an alternative reading at the end of the transcription.

[1] *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144 – *F*-7,24) and *Dei sapientia* (J6/86 – *F*-7,28) are the only other pieces that show concordances beyond *F* and *W1* (with three additional sources for the first item, and two for the second – although in both cases two of these concordances amount to the same thing, as they are different representations of the same object due to offset imprinting of a folio's contents upon a binding board housed elsewhere); the latter piece, furthermore, is absent from *W1,* while the subsequent work in *F-7, Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), is the first unique piece in *F*-7.

CaJ (GB-Cjec QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1), Fragment A, no. 12, f. Bv:[2] a2; a reconstituted leaf made up originally of the strips 15r, 16v, 14v, 35v (left-to right) according to the old foliation of the binding fragments;[3] fragmentary; the piece is extant from its opening up through the end of line 11,3 ("coniunctio"), with small losses occasioned by two now-missing thin vertical strips; Strophe II is signaled by an upper-case "N"; the piece does not continue on the obverse side of the leaf.[4]

Cssc 117 (GB-Cssc 117*; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*),*[5] no. 3, f, 2r-2v: a2; fragmentary; remains of various portions survive, with the first system on f. 2r showing the text of line 4 ("hac in valle") up through line 6,2 ("nativitas"), where the entire D and any T notes higher than the *g* below middle *c* have been cut away. The second system follows immediately thereafter with the Tt,T,D of the cauda after line 6 (with some patches faded, but a painted red initial for Strophe II visible) up through the first 5L of the cauda on "Ad [epithalamium]" (line 15,1) that begins Strophe III. The top of a painted initial "A" that begins line 15 is also still visible. The Tt on f. 2r is lost for the remainder of Strophe II after the first syllable of "cas[ta]" (line 13,1). This finishes the musical remains of f. 2r. With a loss of two systems of prior material, the top accolade of f. 2v begins with Tt and T (with a few of its higher-lying pitches cut off) of all but the first syllable of line 21,1 ("[pre]miaque"). This system then continues through all but the last two T notes of the cauda following 22,4 ("propitia"). Remnants of the first letter of "G[ratia]" from line 23,1 (beginning Strophe [IV]), showing a bit of a blue painted initial, close off what is left of this first system. The extant second accolade continues thereupon with Tt,T,D from the second syllable of 23,1 (here spelled [Gra]cia) up through the end of the final cauda on line 24,4 ("gloria"), featuring a doubled penultimate in both voices. A closing *punctus organi* was apparently never entered, if intended, as there is some empty space remaining at the end of this final system. All of the material cut away from f. 2v of *Cssc 117*,* however, is preserved in the offset image of the complete leaf imprinted via offset upon the binding board of *D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115* (see below).

D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115 (Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein Westfalen Abteilung Westfalen [formerly Staatsarchiv], Mscr VII Nr. 6115), front binding board (interior): a 2; fragmentary; this source is a mirror-image offset from an essentially complete parchment leaf that now survives trimmed down as f. 2v of *Cssc 117*,* described above; the folio was originally glued to the wooden binding board of this MS to serve as a pastedown; the offset contains an additional two systems of material that is now cut away from the top of the surviving parchment specimen, thereby preserving all material from line 15,2 ("epithalamium") through the

---

[2]Images available here. For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[3]The image of this folio as reconstructed in DIAMM is incomplete: the leftmost strip (15r) is omitted and another (13[r]) is in its place. Furthermore, strip 14v is reproduced a second time in DIAMM as part of the image indicated as "Folio 12_14v," while the omitted strip 15[r] can be found in the following image on DIAMM, labeled as "Folio 15_17r." Summers and Lefferts, Plate 20, have the strips correctly reconstituted.

[4]The foliation "Bv" is the location given in Anderson's catalog and edition, the CPI database, the DIAMM inventory, and Summers and Lefferts, but the leaf is indicated as "Reconstructed fol B" – implying Br – in the image description given in DIAMM, with the next image labeled "Reconstructed fol Bv." Because the previous piece, the conductus *A deserto veniens I* (J3/1), continues from the other side of the leaf onto the page that transmits *Genitus divinitus,* it is clear that the recto and verso indications of the above inventories reflect the original disposition of this folio.

[5]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included the now disparate *GB-Cssc 117*, D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115, D-MÜu 382,* and *D-MÜu 378.* For information, 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of this source, as well as others mentioned above; see her: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

end of the piece as it stands in *Cssc 117**. The material for the opening two syllables, however, is exceedingly worn and other spots are likewise patchy.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification and stanzaic division:** The layout of the text as given here departs from that of Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:xxxi) by considering lines 1, 3, and 23 not as discrete verses of 3pp or 4pp, but as single 8pp or 6pp lines with internal rhyme. This decision makes sense in the way that Strophes I-III are thereby composed wholly of 7pp verses, and the only outlier would be the 6pp penultimate line 23 of the poem in Strophe [IV]. The stanzaic division of this piece is also intriguing, since the final couplet of the poem, designated here as a conjectural fourth strophe [IV], is a rather curious appendage, similar in outward appearance to a refrain.[6] In this case, though, this two-line unit – whose special status is indicated by the larger letters that head it in each extant source – appears only at the end of the piece, with no indications for use within the prior two stanzas, as one might expect from a refrain.[7] Also compelling is the coincidence that these two ultimate lines provide exactly the number of verses necessary to bring the six-line first stanza into agreement with the eight-line Strophes II and III. One might even hypothesize that Strophe [IV] could initially have concluded Strophe I and was only later separated and placed after III; its rather independent syntax makes this conceivable. Therefore, in addition to executing the piece *ut stat,* performers might consider the various alternatives of pressing Strophe [IV] into service as a refrain after each of the other stanzas, or attaching it to the end of Strophe I as well as – or conceivably in place of – following Strophe III. **Textual notes:** See also the observations on the text below for some discussion of further details on the translation. **1-3:** central to the orthodox idea of the consubstantiality of Christ with God, is that Christ ("the Word") existed before his conception and incarnation on earth (see John, 1:1-3). Hence he was "begotten, not made" (Nicene Creed) by God the Father, with whom he existed consubstantially from eternity. As a result, these opening lines of *Genitus divinitus* demonstrate that Christ ("begotten divinely"), when given to the world in human form, was the same in substance as God the Father who had existed since eternity ("the very same one that was unbegotten"). This miraculous unity of the Father and Son is further emphasized in line 5. **4:** i.e., the temporal world; see the similar expression "vallis lacrimarum" ("vale of tears") from Psalm 83:7. **7-9:** i.e., Christ, already in existence by being one with God, is created anew via his incarnation. His conception was not brought about by sexual means (i.e., from the "desire" that can "beguile"), but through the "chaste kiss" of Mary's acceptance of Gabriel's charge (see the story of the Annunciation in Luke, 1:26-38). The reference to this kiss, as Anderson notes (*NDRC,* 4:xxxi, note 2), occurs in other conductus besides *Genitus divinitus,* such as Perotin's *Dum sigillum summi patris* (J24/100), Strophe II (lines 9-16), and possibly in Philip the Chancellor's *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), lines 23-24, from Strophe IIb, although here the comparison of the kiss with *Genitus divinitus* and *Dum sigillum* seems less apt. For further information on the interpretation of this passage, see the observations on the text of lines 7-10, supplied below . **10:** the "common garment" (*vilis pallium*) that covers Christ could be either the swaddling clothes that Mary wrapped Jesus in after his birth (see Luke, 2:7, 2:12), and may also refer to Christ's humbling himself by taking on human flesh; for the latter conceit see the remarks for the conductus *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 9-14 (especially 11-12), and *Sol*

[6]Cf. the somewhat analogous situations with the monostrophic conductus *Legis in volumine* [F13/193] and the probably spurious "refrain" of *Excitatur caritas in Yerico* [F30/111]).

[7]Yet note the wide variability in the ways that refrains may be indicated in sources of medieval Latin song; for this, see Mary Channen Caldwell, "Cueing Refrains in the Medieval Conductus," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* 143 (2018): 273-324.

sub nube latuit (I16/334), lines 17-20. In scriptural exegesis, these two biblical images are sometimes juxtaposed as related allegories (see, for example, the treatment in Strophes I-II of *Sol sub nube latuit*). **11-14:** this passage, rather loose in its grammatical construction, continues the idea of the chaste begetting of Jesus. The close proximity of the word for "divorce/separation" *(divortio)* with that for "marriage" *(connubio)* is striking, but the absence of separation/division/divorce referred to here in the poem seems more likely to connote the impossibility of the human Christ being separated from the Godhead, since they both are one in a figurative marriage. **15-20:** on King Solomon's association with dancing, see Song of Songs, 7:1 [6:13 in other versions]: "Quid videbis in Sulamite, nisi choros castrorum? Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calceamentis, filia principis!" ("What shall you see in the Shulamite woman but the companies [*choros* – other translations render this word as "dance"] of the camps? How beautiful are your steps in shoes, O prince's daughter!"); on David's frolicking, see his dancing naked before the Ark in the sight of the Lord from 2 Kings (2 Samuel), 6:14-22; in this passage David is criticized by Michal, his first wife and a daughter of Saul, who had observed him from a window; David chastises her, explaining that he was dancing before the Lord, and Michal, in consequence, suffers childlessness. **18:** *W1,* in contrast to the other extant sources, gives *gentium* for 18,2, which could also suffice ("appeaser of peoples"). It is additionally unclear whether the phrase of line 18 may refer to Solomon (as offered in Anderson's edition, *NDRC,* 4:xxi, note 4) or David, who first appears in the following line 19. Based on the punctuation in *F* (the only source to include such information at this point in the poem), the first internal period in the stanza appears at the end of line 17, and as a result I take line 18 here to form the beginning of a new syntactic unit where David is the subject, although the alternatives for the word choice and referent of 18,2 are certainly possible. For further justification of the adopted reading, the description of David via the phrase "appeaser of minds" in a musical context such as this is particularly apropos in light of his pacifying King Saul with his musicianship in 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 16:14-23. **20:** the mention of the lyre (or cithara) and psaltery here in connection with David's participation in the dance is notable due to their frequent appearance in the book of Psalms, a part of the Bible especially associated with David; additionally, *psalterium,* the word used for the biblical stringed instrument in the conductus poem, is also used as a synonym for the Book of Psalms as a whole. **23-24:** see the discussion of these lines and the various possibilities for their significance in the above notes on stanzaic division.

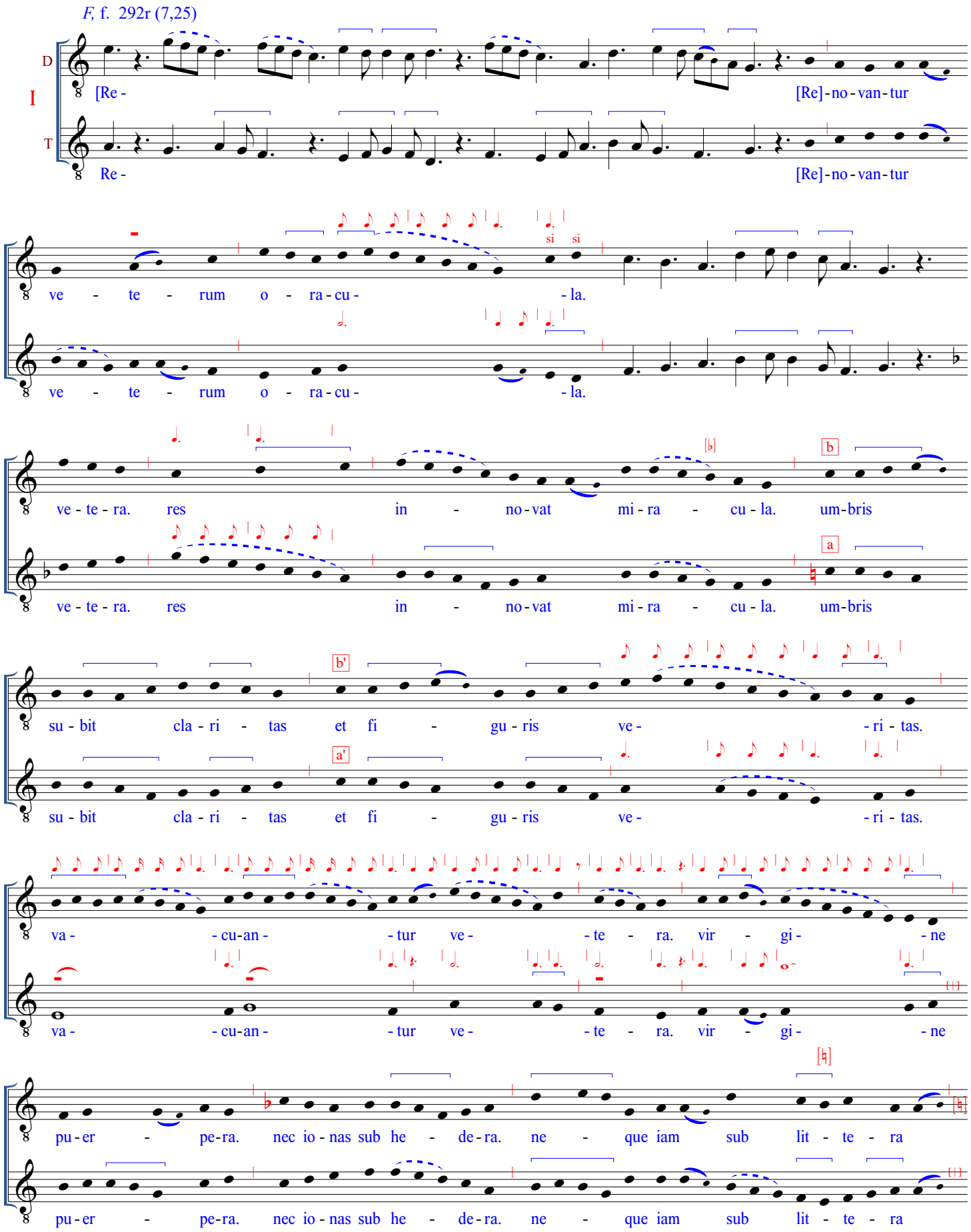
Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 2:** "idem quod" is an idiomatic expression meaning "the same as," "equivalent to," "identical with" (see the *DMLBS* , s.v. "quod," no. 13, at http://logeion.uchicago.edu/quod). **7-10:** since the gender of "defraudata," indicates that the subject of this passage is feminine, I am positing that "prolis," from line 5, serves this role, rather than, say, "nativitas." **11,3:** F: written "coiunctio," as if a macron abbreviation was omitted over the first "o," or that the scribe confused the number of text minims in the middle of the word; the adopted form is verified by all other extant sources (*W1,Cssc 117*,CaJ*). **18,2:** see the remarks on the choice of this word in the notes on the text for line 18 above. **MUSIC: Musical repetition:** there are several instances (unmarked here) of motivic repetition connected to various elements of this piece. A frequent unmarked rising or falling 3-note scalar figure, such as *bcd, bag,* and the like, can be seen (and often in combination) at the start of numerous phrases, such as the one for line 2, which reappears at the start of line 4, and also opens Strophe II (at line 7) with the parts exchanged; it arises noticeably once again in lines 21 and 24. Similarly, the cauda closing Strophe I (following line 6) is tightly constructed of only two different motivic ideas throughout its short course; this latter instance is marked above the staves in the score. Further relationships occur in the appearance of similar motives in both voices that begin the caudae at the ends of Strophes II (following line 14) and [IV] (after line 24), also indicated in the score. **Modal transmutation:** *W1* offers several caudae, or portions thereof, in readings that offer mode 1 in preference to the mode 3 that appears in the other sources. These are signaled in the score and supplied as alternatives at the end of the transcription. **Line 5,3:** T: F: the 4 of 4li over "un[itas]" looks like *e,* clearly given as *f* in the extant materials of *W1,CaJ, Cssc 117*.* **Line 22,4:** T: F: the *a* that appears here over the penultimate syllable of "[propi]ti[a]" is *f,* as adopted here, in all other extant sources. **Cauda closing Strophe III (following line 22):** T: F: the 2li=*gb* near the start of the second T phrase at L14 is smudged, clarified by all extent sources; also the low *d* pitch following

soon after looks more like *e; d* is suggested by all other extant sources. **Cauda opening Strophe [IV] (at line 23,1):** D: F: the om si=*g* closing the first D phrase at L3 occurs in all other extant MSS; the *F* reading may be performed as it stands via the alternative rendition above the staves.

RENOVANTUR VETERUM ORACULA

Conductus: (J5/305)

F, f. 292r (7,25)



| mode 3 equally likely for these two phrases, and for final phrase of cauda

la - tet pro-phe-ti - a.

la - tet pro-phe-ti - a.

II D In fi - cel - la mo - y - ses vi - mi - ne - a. et sub car - ne clau - sus est

T In fi - cel - la mo - y - ses vi - mi - ne - a. et sub car - ne clau - sus est

c

vir - gi - ne - a sum - mi re - gis fi - li - us. pa - nis ci - ne - ri -

vir - gi - ne - a sum - mi re - gis fi - li - us. pa - nis ci - ne - ri -

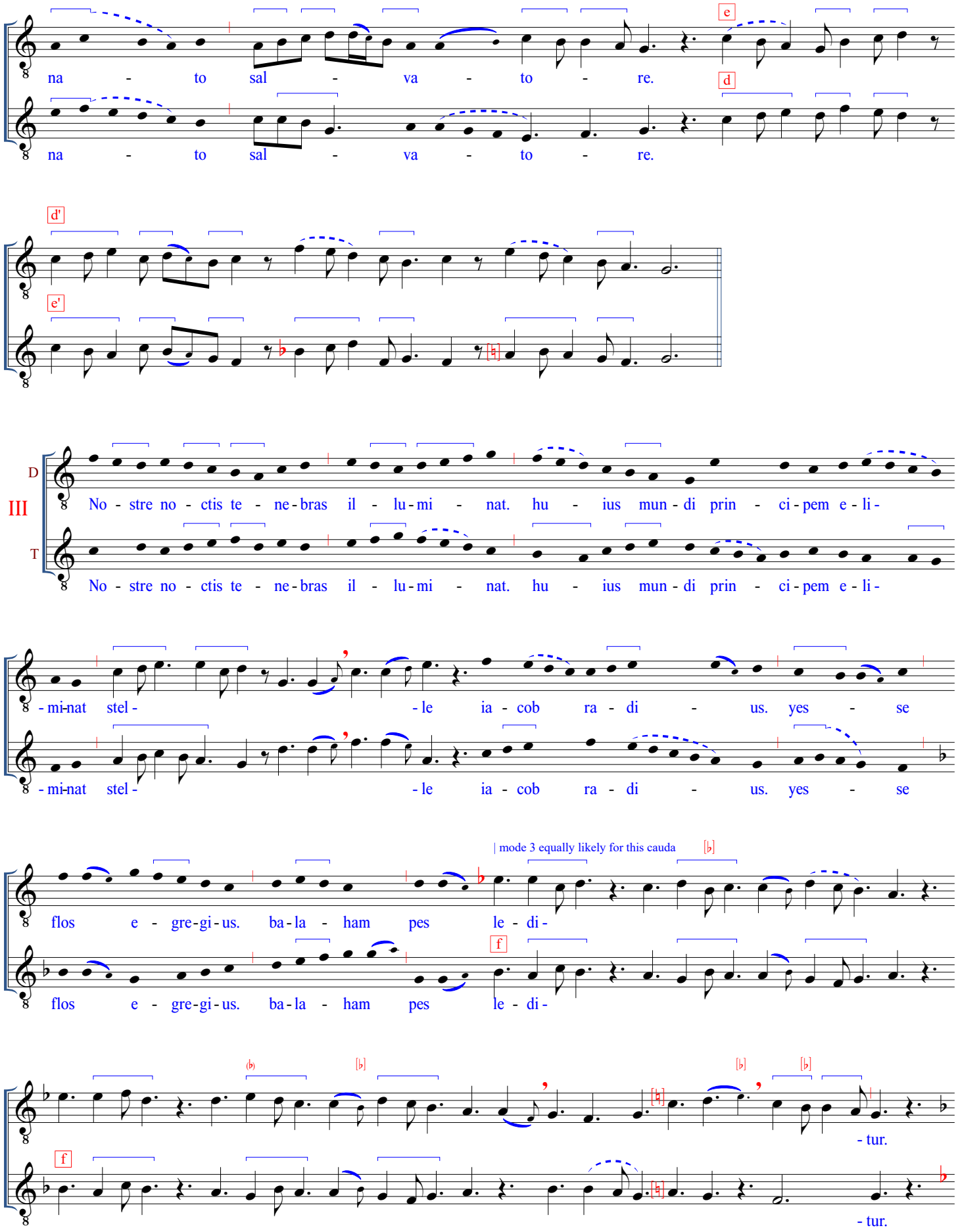
- ti - - us iam sub - ver - tit o - mni - a ma - di - am tem-pto - ri - a.
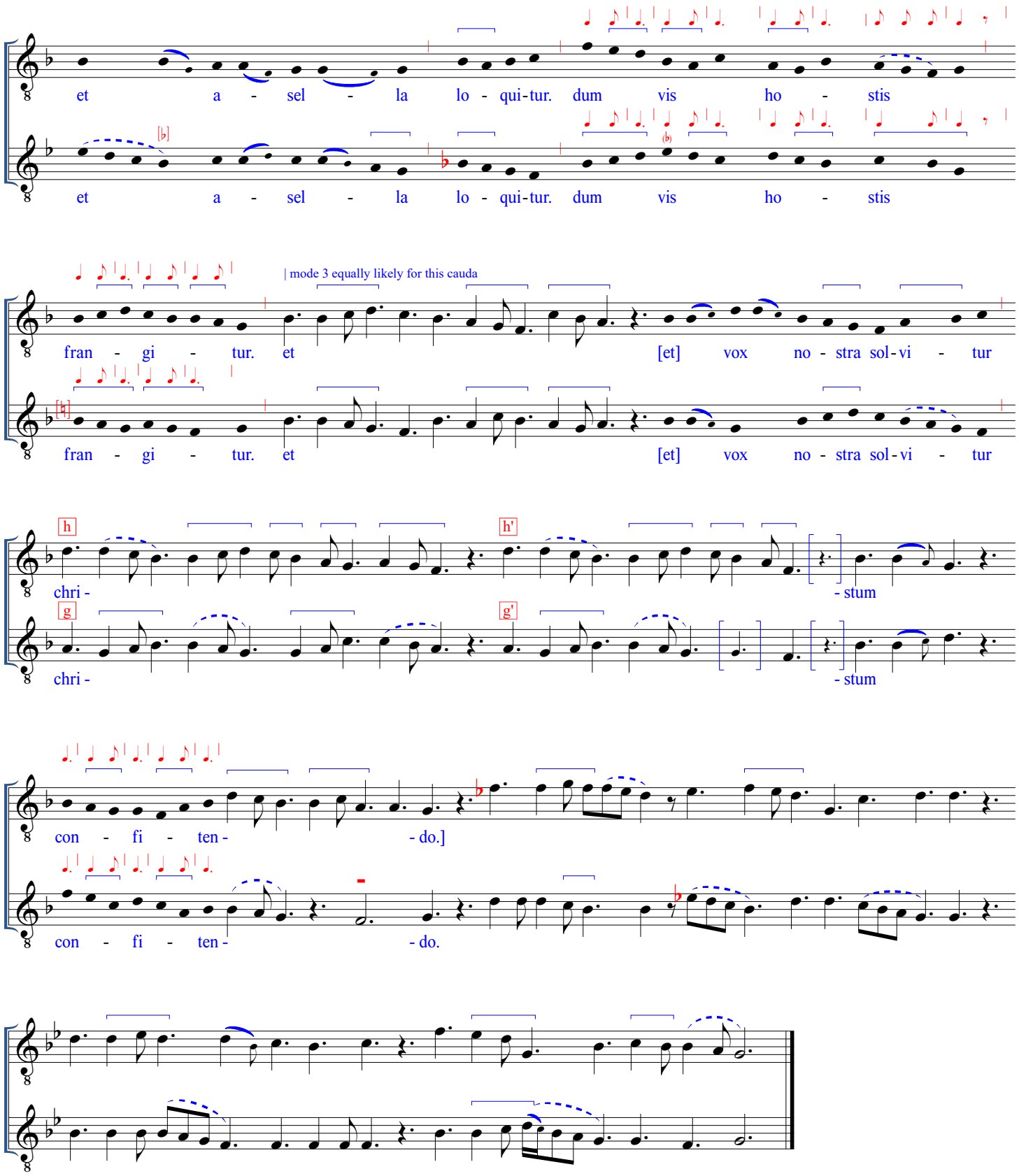
- ti - - us iam sub - ver - tit o - mni - a ma - di - am tem-pto - ri - a.

c

et an - ti - qua som - pni - a no - va sup-plet gra - ti - a.

et an - ti - qua som - pni - a no - va sup-plet gra - ti - a.


e
na - to sal - va - to - re.
d
na - to sal - va - to - re.
d'
e'
III
D
T
No - stre no - ctis te - ne - bras il - lu - mi - nat. hu - ius mun - di prin - ci - pem e - li -
No - stre no - ctis te - ne - bras il - lu - mi - nat. hu - ius mun - di prin - ci - pem e - li -
- mi - nat stel - le ia - cob ra - di - us. yes - se
- mi - nat stel - le ia - cob ra - di - us. yes - se
| mode 3 equally likely for this cauda
flos e - gre - gi - us. ba - la - ham pes le - di -
f
flos e - gre - gi - us. ba - la - ham pes le - di -
- tur.
f
- tur.


et a - sel - la lo - qui-tur. dum vis ho - stis
et a - sel - la lo - qui-tur. dum vis ho - stis
| mode 3 equally likely for this cauda
fran - gi - tur. et [et] vox no - stra sol-vi - tur
fran - gi - tur. et [et] vox no - stra sol-vi - tur
h
h'
chri - - stum
g
g'
chri - - stum
con - fi - ten - - do.]
con - fi - ten - - do.

RENOVANTUR VETERUM ORACULA

Conductus (J5/305)

F, f. 292r (7,25)

I Renovantur veterum oracula.
Vetera res innovat miracula.
Umbris subit claritas,
et figuris veritas.
Vacuantur vetera
virgine puerpera.
Nec Ionas sub hedera,
neque iam sub littera
latet prophetia.

The prophecies of the ancients are renewed.
An achievement restores the miracles of old.
Brightness overtakes the shadows,
and truth the allegories.
Ancient matters are cleared away
by a virgin giving birth.
Jonah no longer lies hidden beneath a vine,
nor does prophecy now
lurk underneath scripture.

II In ficella Moyses viminea,
et sub carne clausus est virginea
summi regis filius.
Panis cineritius
iam subvertit omnia
Madiam temptoria,
et antiqua sompnia
nova supplet gratia.
nato salvatore.

In a wicker basket lies Moses,
and beneath virginal flesh is confined
the son of the highest king.
A hearth cake
now upends all the
tents of Midian,
and new grace
brings old dreams to fruition
with the birth of a savior.

III Nostre noctis tenebras illuminat.
Huius mundi principem eliminat,
stelle Iacob radius,
Yesse flos egregius.
Balaham pes leditur,
et asella loquitur,
dum vis hostis frangitur
et vox nostra solvitur
Christum confitendo.

He illuminates the shadows of our night.
He banishes the prince of this world,
this beam from Jacob's star,
this excellent flower of Jesse.
Balaam's foot is injured,
and his little she-ass speaks,
while the strength of the enemy is shattered
and our voice is unleashed
by acknowledging Christ

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 25, f. 292r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals; this is the first piece in *F*-7 to be uniquely transmitted, with no known musical or textual concordances. The next such work with this attribute does not arise until *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220), at *F*-7,50, f. 317r.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Content:** the primary theme in this conductus is the change from the Old Testament covenant to that of the New, with earlier miracles and allegories now revealed as typological prefigurations of the coming of Christ and his bestowal of the gift of grace. As a result, several Old Testament narratives appear in this text as harbingers of the new law, and the poem exploits metaphorical conceits that feature light

overtaking darkness and the disclosure or revelation of things that were previously hidden. **Textual notes: 3:** cf. Matthew, 4:16 (paraphrasing Isaiah, 9:2).[1] **5:** cf. 2 Corinthians, 5:17.[2] **7:** see Jonah, 4,5-11. Jonah, having finally journeyed to Nineveh after attempts to avoid God's command to do so, became distressed that his prophecies of the city's destruction had not come to pass, thanks to the Lord's forgiveness of the people. He exited the city and set up a shelter to await further developments. While Jonah waited there, God caused a vine to grow, which offered some welcome shade to the prophet. However, the next day God created a worm that destroyed the vine's roots and it immediately withered away, which caused Jonah to be angry and the Lord to chastise him. Note that the word used in the Vulgate (Jonah, 4:6-9) is indeed "vine" *(hedera),* although other translations sometimes use "gourd." Jerome, in one of his letters to Augustine (no. 112 – see, e.g., *PL,* 22, cols. 930-931), defends his choice of words in rendering this specific passage, saying that the word "gourd" is actually not found in the Hebrew text, and the specific type of plant referred to in the biblical passage would be unrecognizable to his readers if left untranslated. In Anderson's edition of this conductus (*NDRC,* 5:v, note 2), the meaning of the passage is explained with quotations from Jerome's *In Jonam commentarium,* drawn from *PL,* 25, cols. 288-289. These indicate that the vine is an allegory for the quick rise and sudden fall of the Israelites. The juxtaposition of light and shade unites with the other expressions in this strophe, and the revealing of something previously hidden or covered by the withering of the vine finds corollaries later on in the poem. **10:** see Exodus, 2:1-10; the birth of Moses, his hiding in a wicker basket by his mother, and his adoption by the daughter of Pharaoh are common allegories associated with Christ. Here the significance of the image is made plain by its juxtaposition with Jesus being enclosed in Mary's womb in lines 11-12. **13-15:** a reference to events in Judges, 7, where the Israelite warrior Gideon was promised by God that he would miraculously defeat the army of the Midianites, who were oppressing his people. After the Lord forces Gideon to whittle down his forces to only 300 men to make the miracle of the future victory more palpable, he and a servant sneak down the hill into the valley where the Midianite camp lies. There they overhear one of the enemy recount a dream (Judges, 7:13) in which a hearth cake make of barley bread (a symbol of the Israelites who regularly ate this simple type of food) rolls down into the Midianite encampment and overturns their tents. As Anderson recounts from the *Glossa ordinaria* (in *NDRC,* 5:v, note 5, cited from *PL,* 13, col. 527), the hearth cake is read as an allegory of Christ. Its upending of the tents, furthermore, continues the conceit of revealing what was earlier hidden or covered, as in the references in lines 7 and 10. Furthermore, later on in Judges, 7:15-21, the revelation of a dream to Gideon causes him to wage the attack that night, with his soldiers bearing lamps concealed within pitchers. On the sounding of a trumpet signal, the Israelite soldiers broke their pitchers and revealed the lights within them. This implicit reference also incorporates the light-versus-darkness trope that appeared earlier in Strophe I, beginning with line 3. **16-18:** the mention of "old dreams" in line 16 recalls the reference to the story of Gideon from lines 13-15, and indicates that the Old Testament account is now to be read in light of the new covenant. **20,2-3:** the "prince of this world" is a common figure for the Devil, see, for example, the various allusions to the figure in John, 12:29-31, 16:7-11, and 14:30.[3] The Devil is also suggested

---

[1]Matthew, 4:16: "populus qui sedebat in tenebris lucem vidit magnam et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta est eis" ("The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light; and for those sitting in the region and the shadow of death, light is sprung up").

[2]2 Corinthians, 5:17: "Si qua ergo in Christo nova creatura, vetera transierunt; ecce facta sunt nova" ("Therefore, if anyone is a new creature in Christ, the old things have passed away; behold all things are made new").

[3]John, 12:29-31: "Turba ergo, quae stabat, et audierat, dicebat tonitruum esse factum. Alii dicebant: 'Angelus ei locutus est.' Respondit Jesus, et dixit: 'Non propter me haec vox venit, sed propter vos. Nunc judicium est mundi: nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras' " ("The multitude therefore that stood and heard, said that it thundered. Others said: 'An angel spoke to him [Jesus].' Jesus answered, and said: 'This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes. Now is the judgment of the world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out.' "). John, 16: 7-11: "Sed ego veritatem dico vobis: expedit vobis ut ego vadam: si enim non abiero, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos; si autem abiero, mittam eum ad vos. Et cum venerit ille, arguet mundum de peccato, et de justitia, et de judicio. De peccato quidem, quia non crediderunt in me. De justitia vero, quia ad Patrem vado, et jam non videbitis me. De judicio autem, quia princeps hujus mundi jam judicatus est" ("But I [Jesus] tell you the truth: it is expedient to you that I go: for if I go not, the

in the reference to the enemy in line 25 of the conductus poem. **21-22:** Two prophetic images – star and flower – that prefigure Christ: the first, a continuation of the omnipresent light imagery throughout this poem, comes from Numbers, 24:17.[4] The speaker of the oracle is Balaam, who actually emerges later in the conductus poem in lines 23-24. The second reference is to Isaiah, 11:1, a passage prefiguring the Virgin and Christ that is recalled myriad times within the conductus repertory.[5] **23-24:** in Numbers, 22, the Gentile soothsayer/prophet Balaam is asked by Balak, king of the Moabites, to journey to his kingdom in order to level a curse on the Israelite forces camped outside his city's walls. After twice refusing to come, because he says he would be unable to speak except what God may command him to say, Balaam eventually undertakes the trip at the Lord's command, although God has now become angry with him. Along the way, God sends an angel with a drawn sword to block Balaam's path, although the entity is visible only to the donkey that Balaam is riding (in the conductus poem an *asella,* in the Vulgate text an *asina* – a she-ass in both cases). Upon encountering the angel the donkey refuses to proceed and turns away from the path, which causes Balaam to beat her several times in an attempt to get her to continue. At one point, passing within a narrow, walled part of the road, the beast presses against the wall and injures Balaam's foot (Numbers, 22:25). Finally she falls down beneath her rider, which occasions a third and final beating. Miraculously, God causes the she-ass to speak and bemoan her treatment by Balaam, at which point the angel appears and relays God's anger, indicating that Balaam would have been killed if the donkey had not hesitated. Balaam repents his behavior, acknowledges his sin, and continues on his journey; but he is cautioned by the angel that he is only to speak words he is commanded to utter. The eventual prophecies that Balaam pronounces (in Numbers, 23 and 24) praise the Israelites and include the Christological pronouncement echoed in the conductus text in line 21. Anderson's extracts from the *Glossa ordinaria* (in *NDRC,* 5:v, note 10, taken from *PL,* 13, col. 421) portray the donkey as a figure for the Gentiles who are able to see Christ (the angel), whose presence is hidden from those who deny him. **25:** the enemy is the Devil, cf. the remarks for line 20,2-3, above. **26-27:** The voice given to the donkey in line 24 is here applied to those who acknowledge and proclaim Christ; cf. also Philippians, 2:11.[6]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 23,3:** F: ledi ditur, syllable repeated after a system change, with the second instance (omitted in the transcription) underlaid to the penultimate T note of the cauda; either placement of the syllable would be acceptable. **15,2:** F: the more usual spelling is "tentoria"; I have retained the MS orthography here, which denotes the same object. **27,1:** F: cristum; the MS spelling of Christ's name here does not use the expected Greek χρ for the first two letters, but Roman characters; the "chr-" form adopted here has been changed for consistency's sake to the more familiar spelling used elsewhere in these transcriptions. **MUSIC: Caudae:** a number of the melismas in this piece feature strict mode-3 ligature patterns (si,3li,3li, etc.). They may be performed alternatively in the iambic form of this mode, or, conceivably, in mode 6. However, since some of these caudae also include phrases in mode 1 (as in the closing caudae of Strophe I), and since there are no demonstrable instances of unambiguously iambic modes throughout this work, all the melismas in the

---

Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you. And when he is come, he will convince the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment. Of sin: because they believed not in me. And of justice: because I go to the Father; and you shall see me no longer. And of judgment: because the prince of this world is already judged."). John, 14:30: "Iam non multa loquar vobiscum: venit enim princeps mundi hujus, et in me non habet quidquam" ("I [Jesus] will not now speak many things with you. For the prince of this world is coming, and in me he has not anything.").

[4]Numbers, 24:17: "Videbo eum, sed non modo; intuebor illum sed non prope. Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget virga de Israhel" ("I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not near. A star shall rise out of Jacob and a scepter shall spring up from Israel.").

[5]Isaiah, 11:1: "Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet" ("And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.").
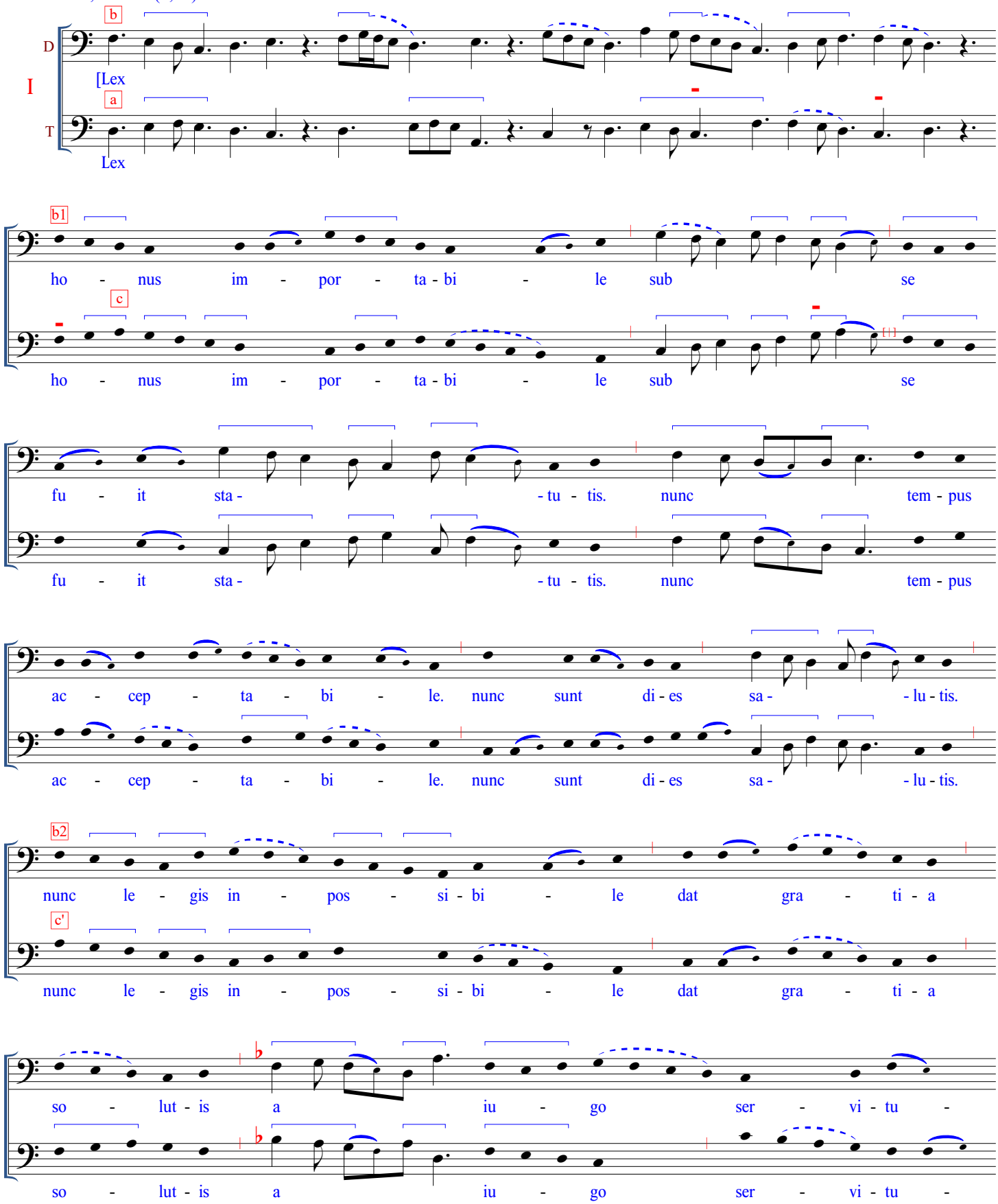
[6]Philippians, 2:11: "Et omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris" ("And let every tongue confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father").

transcription are rendered trochaically. **Opening cauda:** D: F: the first *a* in the third phrase at L13 has its subsequent stroke erased, not restored here. **Lines 3-4:** F: notice that the openings of these two lines in the T and partially in the D are musically the same, signaled in the score. **Lines 12,17:** D: F: "summi regis filius"=D of line 17 ("nova supplet gratia"), both marked in the score. **Cauda at line 23,3:** D: F: an *e-flat* sig precedes the music over "ledi[tur]," (a possible instance of word painting?) yet has no accompanying *b-flat* sig to correspond with the one in the T that begins at line 23,3. Although the sigs in both parts are canceled by the system change just 7L prior to the end of the cauda, *b-flats* as well are posited editorially for the entire passage, with the proposed accidentals valid for the remainder of the phrase, as usual. A similar situation obtains in the T in lines 24-25,3. **Lines 24-25,3:** F: cf. the remarks for the cauda at line 23,3. At the start of line 24 ("et asella"), an *e-flat* sig appears in the T, canceled by a system change before line 25,4 ("frangitur"), with no expected corresponding *b-flat* sig until before line 24,3 ("loquitur"); hence *b-flats* are provided editorially for the intervening segment. **Cauda at line 27,1:** TD: F: the final phrase of the cauda on the first syllable of "Chri[stum]" lacks a penultimate note in the T at L16; a *g* has been supplied editorially. Similarly I think it quite likely that rest strokes have been omitted at the end of this phrase in both voices at L18; these have been added conjecturally as well.
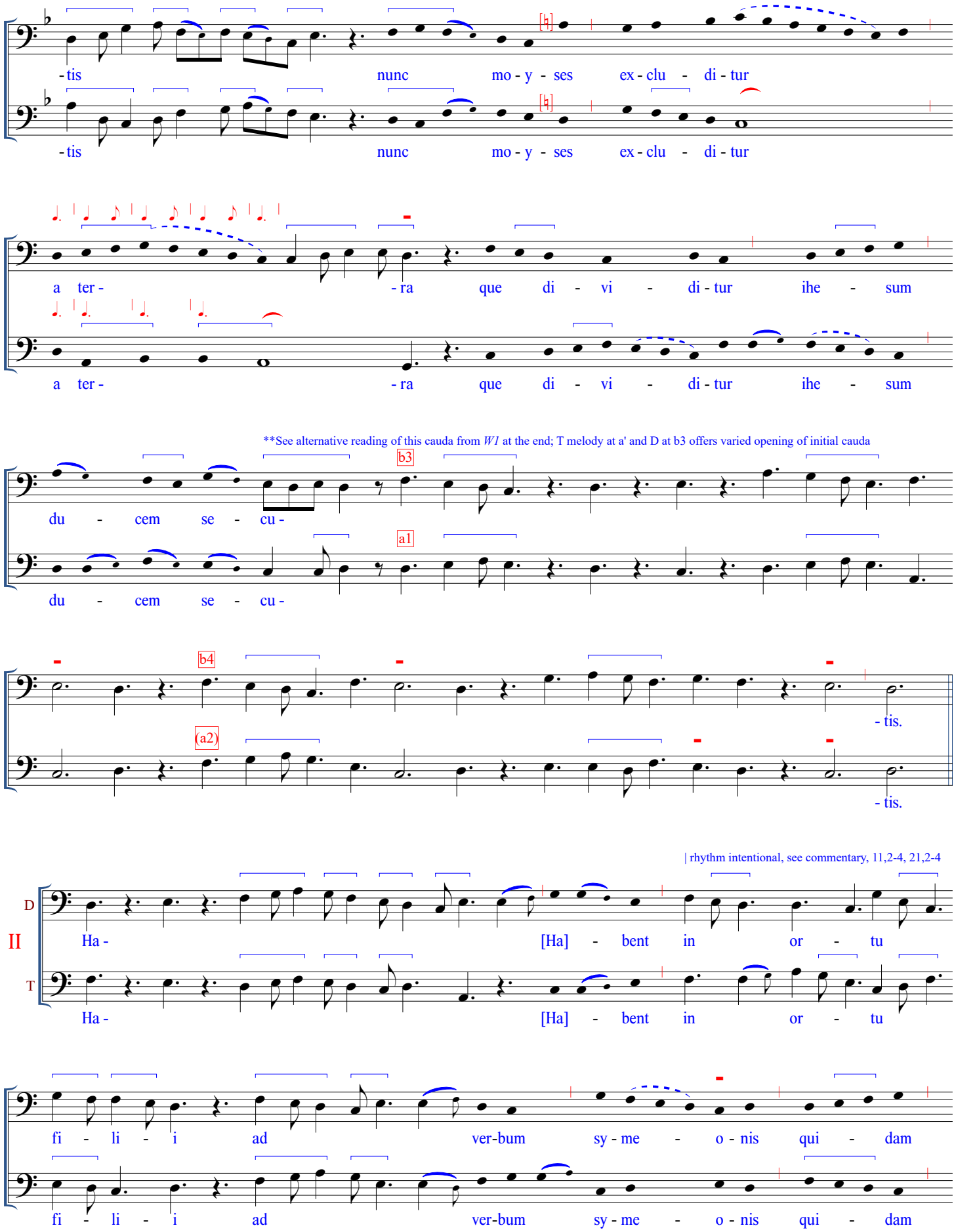
LEX HONUS IMPORTABILE
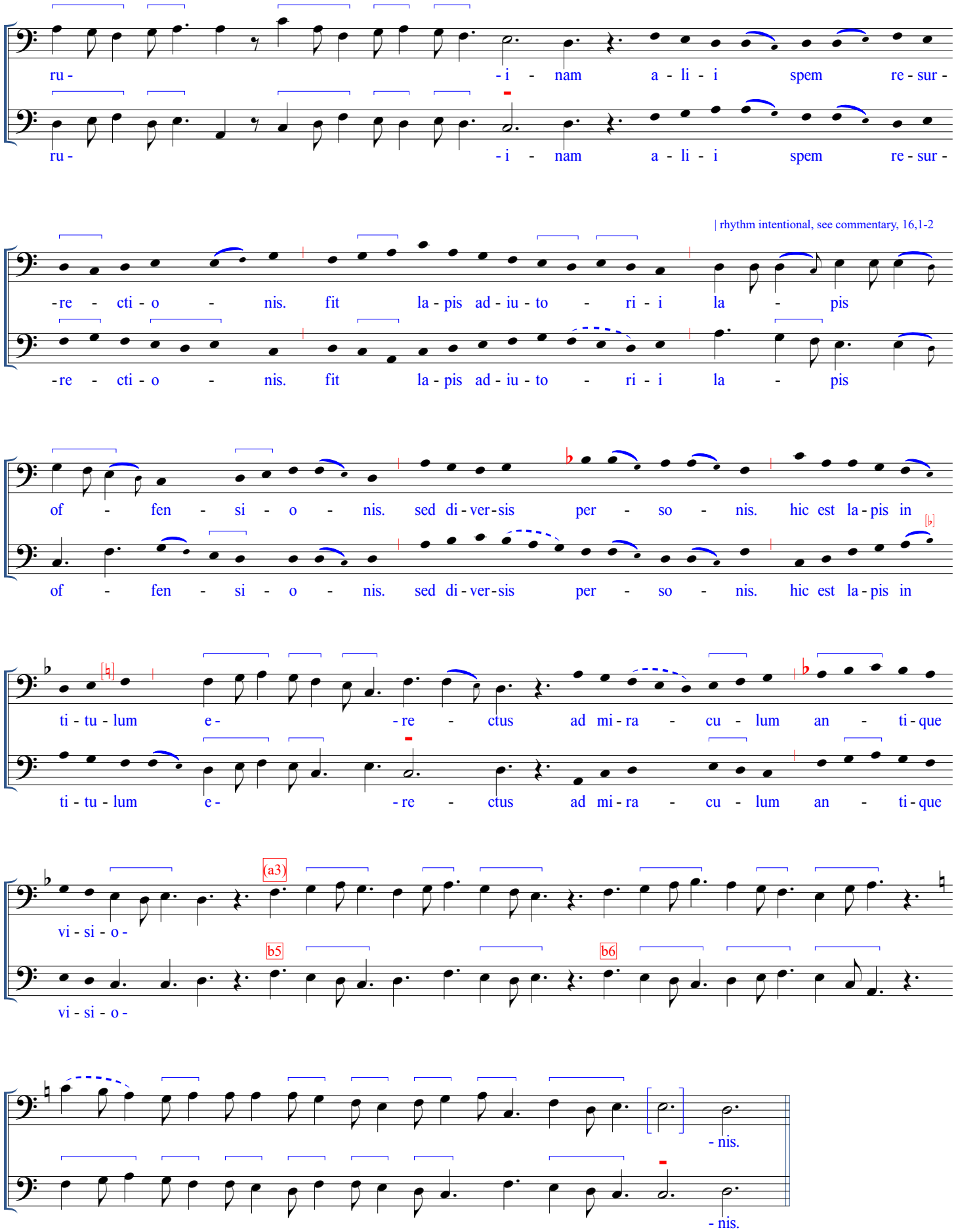
Conductus (I19/197)

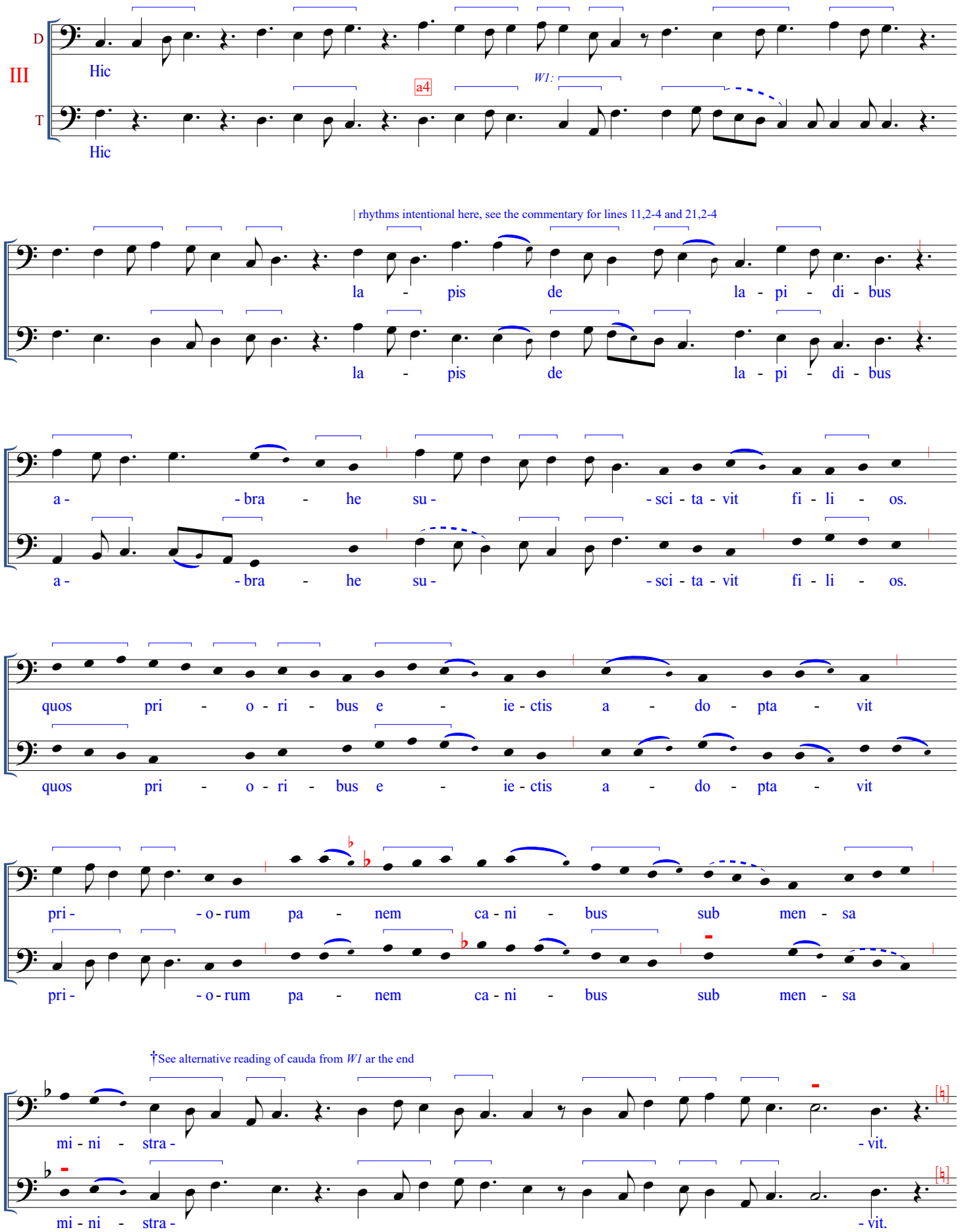
F, f. 293v (7,26)*

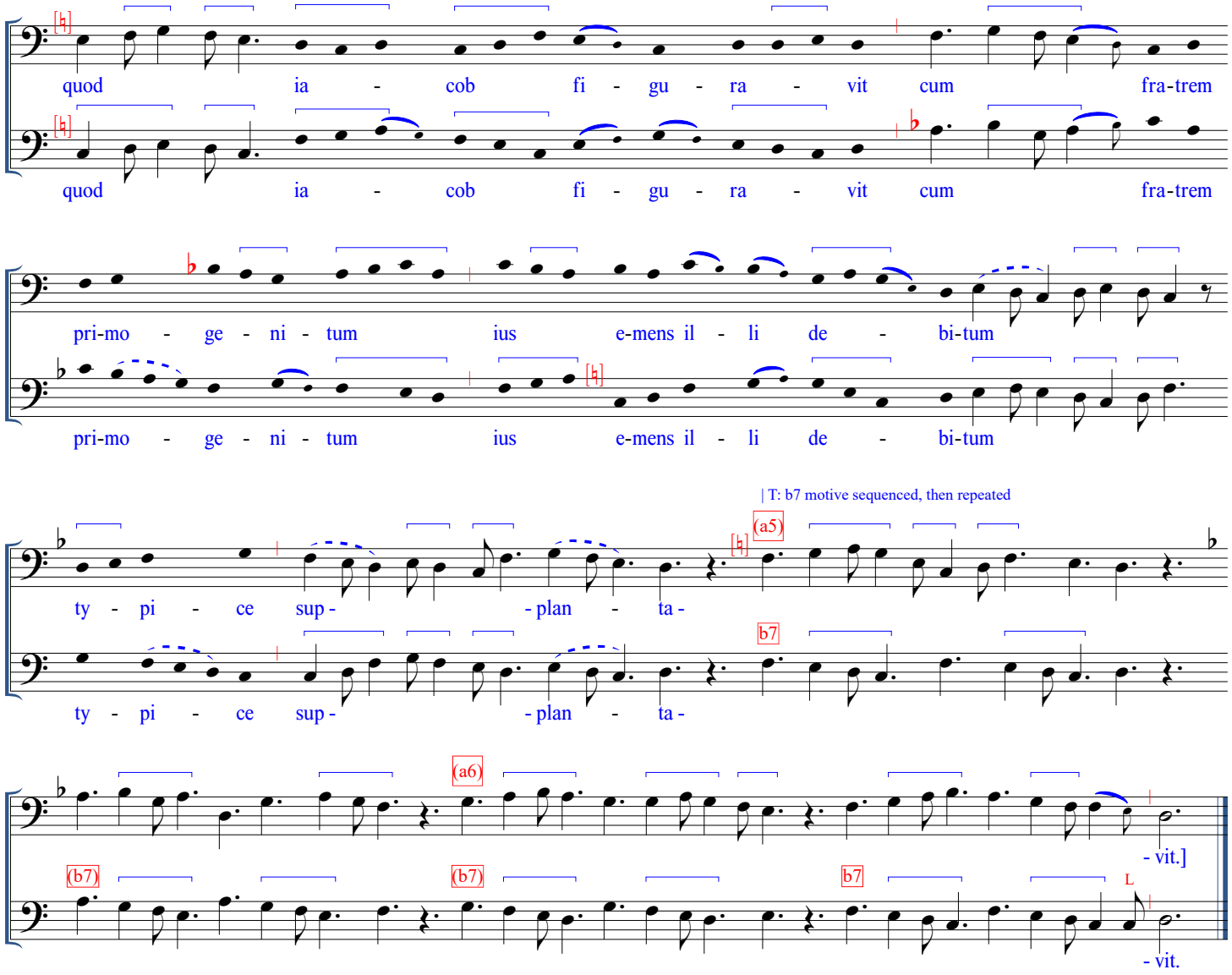


*See the alternative reading of the opening cauda and line 1 from *W1* at the end; the opening phrases in T and D of Strophe I supply material for the caudae closing I-III.


-tis nunc mo - y - ses ex - clu - di - tur
-tis nunc mo - y - ses ex - clu - di - tur
a ter - - ra que di - vi - di - tur ihe - sum
a ter - - ra que di - vi - di - tur ihe - sum
**See alternative reading of this cauda from *W1* at the end; T melody at a' and D at b3 offers varied opening of initial cauda
b3
du - cem se - cu -
a1
du - cem se - cu -
b4
- tis.
(a2)
- tis.
| rhythm intentional, see commentary, 11,2-4, 21,2-4
II
D
T
Ha - [Ha] - bent in or - tu
Ha - [Ha] - bent in or - tu
fi - li - i ad ver-bum sy - me - o - nis qui - dam
fi - li - i ad ver-bum sy - me - o - nis qui - dam

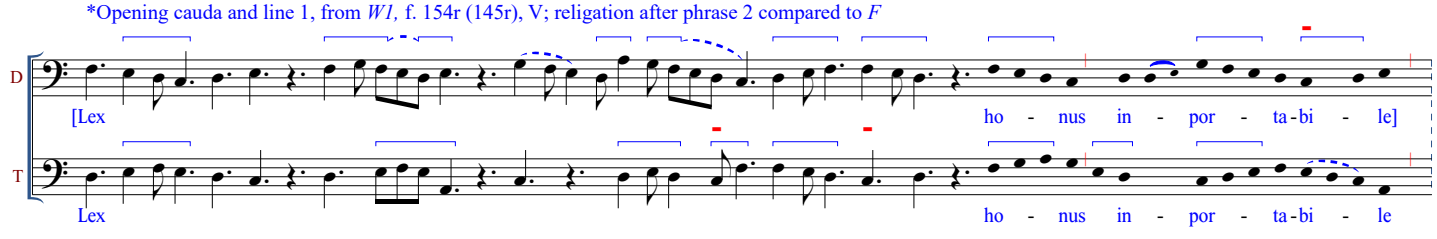

ru - i - nam a - li - i spem re - sur -
ru - i - nam a - li - i spem re - sur -
| rhythm intentional, see commentary, 16,1-2
-re - cti - o - nis. fit la - pis ad - iu - to - ri - i la - pis
-re - cti - o - nis. fit la - pis ad - iu - to - ri - i la - pis
of - fen - si - o - nis. sed di - ver - sis per - so - nis. hic est la - pis in
of - fen - si - o - nis. sed di - ver - sis per - so - nis. hic est la - pis in
ti - tu - lum e - re - ctus ad mi - ra - cu - lum an - ti - que
ti - tu - lum e - re - ctus ad mi - ra - cu - lum an - ti - que
(a3)
vi - si - o -
b5
b6
vi - si - o -
- nis.
- nis.


III
D
Hic
a4
W1:
T
Hic
| rhythms intentional here, see the commentary for lines 11,2-4 and 21,2-4
la - pis de la - pi - di - bus
la - pis de la - pi - di - bus
a - - bra - he su - - sci - ta - vit fi - li - os.
a - - bra - he su - - sci - ta - vit fi - li - os.
quos pri - o - ri - bus e - ie - ctis a - do - pta - vit
quos pri - o - ri - bus e - ie - ctis a - do - pta - vit
pri - - o - rum pa - nem ca - ni - bus sub men - sa
pri - - o - rum pa - nem ca - ni - bus sub men - sa
†See alternative reading of cauda from *W1* ar the end
mi - ni - stra - - vit.
mi - ni - stra - - vit.
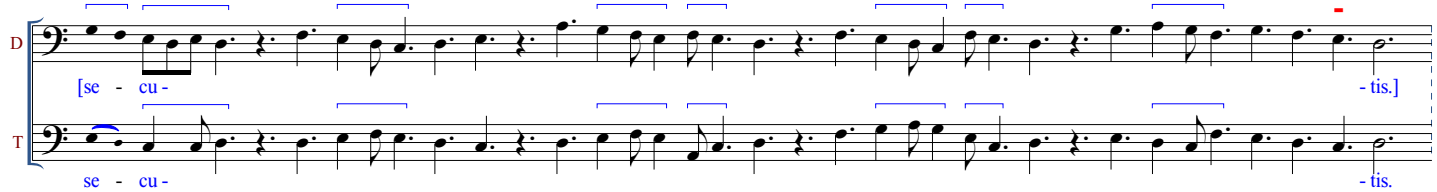


ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Opening cauda and line 1, from *W1,* f. 154r (145r), V; religation after phrase 2 compared to *F*

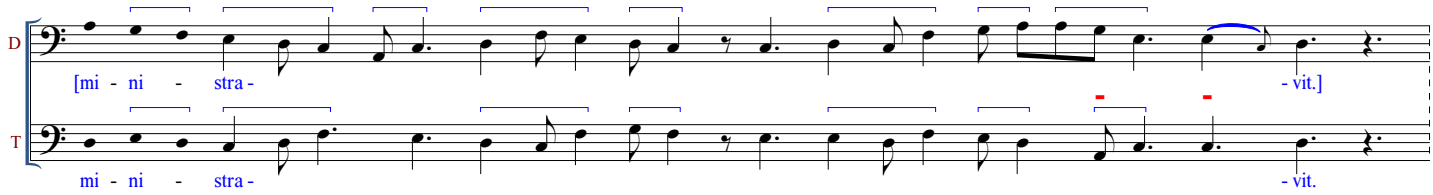


**Closing cauda of Strophe I (at line 10,3), from *W1* f. 154v (145v), III-IV; several curtailed rests and religation compared to *F*



(continued)

†Cauda at line 26,3, from *W1* f. 155r (146r), VI; differing rest placement from *F*



LEX HONUS IMPORTABILE

Conductus (I19/197)

F, f. 293v (7,26)

I Lex honus importabile
sub se fuit statutis.
Nunc tempus acceptabile,
nunc sunt dies salutis.
Nunc legis inpossibile
dat gratia solutis
a iugo servitutis.
Nunc Moyses excluditur
a terra que dividitur
Ihesum ducem secutis.

The Law was a burden unbearable
for those placed under it.
Now is the acceptable time,
now are the days of salvation.
Now grace grants the
impossible to those released
from the yoke of the Law's slavery.
Now Moses is shut out
from the land that is distributed
to those following Jesus as a leader.

II Habent, in ortu filii,
ad verbum Symeonis,
quidam ruinam, alii
spem resurrectionis.
Fit lapis adiutorii
lapis offensionis,
sed diversis personis.
Hic est lapis in titulum
erectus ad miraculum
antique visionis.

Upon the birth of a son,
according to the word of Simeon,
some receive ruin, others
the hope of resurrection.
The "stone of help" becomes
a stumbling block,
but for different peoples.
This is the stone one erected as
a monument to the miracle
of the ancient vision.

III Hic lapis de lapidibus
Abrahe suscitavit
filios. Quos prioribus
eiectis adoptavit.
Priorum panem canibus
sub mensa ministravit.
Quod Iacob figuravit,
cum fratrem primogenitum
ius emens illi debitum,
typice supplantavit.

This stone raised up children
to Abraham out of stones. These
children it adopted, although they
were cast out by their predecessors.
It served the bread of their predecessors
to the dogs under the table.
This is what Jacob represented
allegorically, when he supplanted
his first-born brother, obtaining
the birthright owed to him.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 26, f. 293v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by the typical black-ink capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 70, f. 154r (145r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with stanzas signaled, as usual, by painted initials alternating blue-green and red in color.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Poetic structure:** This strophically constructed poem happens to share the same verse arrangement and rhyme scheme as the single-stanza conductus *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54 – at *F*-7,110) and two of the first three strophes of the conductus *Hi sunt sal quod evanuit foras* (Q20/-), published in 1552 in the *Pia quaedam vetustissima poemata* edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus.[1] Strophe II of *Hi sunt sal* differs from I and III only in the construction of its third line (7pp instead of 8p). The fourth and final stanza of this latter poem (at least as it is published by Flacius) is the text beginning *Monstruosis fluctibus* (I3/209), which is set alone as a free-standing conductus in the Parisian repertory (at *F*-7,78) and does not conform to the rhythmic and rhyme schemes of the previous three strophes, thus suggesting that Flacius's incorporation of *Monstruosis fluctibus* into this poem is a mistake. **Content:** As in a number of other conductus texts (most similarly, perhaps, *Novum sibi texuit* [I22/225] and the previous work in *F*-7, *Renovantur veterum oracula* [J5/305]), *Lex honus importabile* is given over primarily to the passing of the Old Testament law or covenant into that of the New (cf. Jeremiah, 31:31-34).[2] A more complete list of Old-versus-New-Law conductus, as well as my article on the topic, are included in my notes to the text of *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192 – at F-7,43). Beginning in line 15 (with a possible earlier implicit nod in lines 8-10), the poem deploys a number of biblical references that portray Christ metaphorically as a stone, an idea concordant with a number of scriptural invocations of God as a rock or stone. Within *Lex honus* itself, a particular conceit arises in how the perception of "Christ as a stone" differs between the Gentiles who accept him and the Jews who dispute his role in the covenant. For further treatments in the conductus repertory of stones serving as allegories of Christ, see *De monte lapis scinditur* (D2/79) and *Nove geniture* (I13/224), lines 29-35 (Strophe V). **Textual notes: 3-4:** see 2 Corinthians, 6:2.[3] The apostle refers here to Isaiah, 49:8, which he interprets as a foreshadowing of the granting of the new covenant. Furthermore, the use of anaphora through the repetition of the word *nunc* ("now") at the start of these two lines spills over into the remainder of the stanza, reflecting the shift of the rhyme scheme from a-b couplets in lines 1-4 to tercets in lines 5-7 (a-b-b) and 8-10 (c-c-b). **5-7:** the reference in these lines to the slavery imposed by Mosaic Law implies an association with the Israelites who escaped the bonds of servitude imposed by Pharaoh in Exodus, 13:17-14:31; cf. also the motet *Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit* (VdW 322/M24), attributed to Philip the Chancellor, lines 10-11 (in Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 137). Paradoxically, though, thanks to the new covenant's gift of grace, the privileges once accorded to the Israelites who followed Moses out of Egypt are now settled only on those who are free from the laws he imposed – an action that was earlier inconceivable. This point is further explored in lines 8-10. **8-10:** in Numbers, 20:1-12, Moses disobeyed God's explicit orders when he drew water from a rock as the disgruntled Israelites thirsted at

---

[1]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), no. 18, pp. 24-25.

[2]Jeremiah, 31:31-34: " 'Ecce dies venient,' dicit Dominus, 'et feriam domui Israel et domui Juda foedus novum, non secundum pactum quod pepigi cum patribus eorum in die qua apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem eos de terra Aegypti, pactum quod irritum fecerunt: et ego dominatus sum eorum,' dicit Dominus. 'Sed hoc erit pactum quod feriam cum domo Israel post dies illos,' dicit Dominus: 'dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum, et in corde eorum scribam eam, et ero eis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in populum: et non docebit ultra vir proximum suum et vir fratrem suum, dicens: "Cognosce Dominum": omnes enim cognoscent me, a minimo eorum usque ad maximum,' ait Dominus: 'quia propitiabor iniquitati eorum, et peccati eorum non memorabor amplius' " (" 'Behold the days shall come,' saith the Lord, 'and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Juda: Not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt: the covenant which they made void, and I had dominion over them,' saith the Lord. 'But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days,' saith the Lord: 'I will give my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their heart: and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying: "Know the Lord": for all shall know me from the least of them even to the greatest,' saith the Lord: 'for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.").

[3]2 Corinthians, 6:2: "ait enim: 'tempore accepto exaudivi te; et in die salutis adiuvavi te.' Ecce, nunc tempus acceptabile; ecce nunc dies salutis" ("For he [God] says: 'at an acceptable time I heard you; and on the day of salvation I helped you.' Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.").

Kadesh in the desert of Zin (cf. also Numbers, 27:14).[4] Rather than achieving the miracle as commanded by speaking to the rock, Moses struck it with his rod; he also prefaced the act with words that implied that it was his effort, rather than God's, that caused the water to flow (Numbers, 20:10).[5] This reference is the first in the conductus text to evoke the image of rocks or stones that will appear throughout Strophes II-III, but it does so only covertly here. In Deuteronomy, 32:51-52, God informs Moses that, due to his trespass, he shall not enter the promised land of Canaan.[6] The injunction is presaged in Deuteronomy, 1:37-39,[7] where Moses relays God's commands that Joshua will be the one to take his place when the Israelites enter Canaan, and that Joshua also will supervise the division of the land therein. Joshua thus becomes a figure of Christ, and the Israelites that enter the promised land represent the Gentiles who will partake of the new covenant to the exclusion of the Jews, represented here by Moses; for support of this interpretation, see the remarks by Anderson drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria* in *NDRC,* 4:xxii, note 3 (taken from *PL,* 13, col. 430). **11-14:** the son invoked here is, of course, Jesus. The figure of Simeon referred to in line 12 comes from Luke, 2:25-35, where Jesus was presented by his parents at the temple in Jerusalem, as required by Mosaic Law. Simeon had been promised by the Lord that he should not die before he had seen Christ, and when the family entered the temple, Simeon took Jesus in his arms and uttered the speech now known as the *Nunc dimittis* (Luke, 2:29-32). The reference in the conductus text is to some of his subsequent words as he blessed Mary and Joseph (Luke, 2:34)[8] Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xxii, note 5), quoting Bede, *In sancti Lucae evangelium* (from *PL,* 92, col. 346A-B), demonstrates how this passage sets those who do and do not share in the new covenant in opposition to each other, a conceit explored further as the poem progresses. Moreover, the Bede quotation also includes a reference to the *lapis offensionis* ("stumbling block") that first appears in line 16 of *Lex honus importabile*. **15:** here begins the first explicit invocation of the stone symbolism that populates the remainder of the conductus text (cf. the remarks to lines 8-10). The "stone of help" in the conductus poem ("lapis adiutorii" – *Ebenezer* in Hebrew) evokes the stone memorial set up by Samuel between the cities of Mizpah and Shen. This was done after the armies of Israel – with God's aid – had triumphed over the Philistines following a series of defeats that lost them the Ark of the Covenant for seven months. For the raising of this stone, see the account in 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 7:10-13.

---

[4]Numbers, 27:14: "... quia offendistis me in deserto Sin in contradictione multitudinis, nec sanctificare me voluistis coram ea super aquas. Hae sunt aquae contradictionis in Cades deserti Sin" ("... Because you [Moses] offended me [the Lord] in the desert of Sin [i.e., Zin] in the contradiction [i.e., rebellion] of the multitude, neither would you sanctify me before them at the waters. These are the waters of contradiction in Cades [i.e., Kadesh] of the desert of Sin.").

[5]Numbers, 20:10: "... congregata multitudine ante petram: dixitque eis: Audite, rebelles et increduli: num de petra hac vobis aquam poterimus ejicere?" ("... And having gathered together the multitude before the rock, he said to them: Hear, ye rebellious and incredulous: Can we bring you forth water out of this rock?")

[6]Deuteronomy, 32:51-52: "... quia praevaricati estis contra me in medio filiorum Israel ad aquas contradictionis in Cades deserti Sin: et non sanctificastis me inter filios Israel. E contra videbis terram, et non ingredieris in eam, quam ego dabo filiis Israel" ("... Because you [Moses] trespassed against me [the Lord] in the midst of the children of Israel, at the waters of contradiction in Cades of the desert of Sin: and you did not sanctify me among the children of Israel. You shall see the land before you, which I will give to the children of Israel, but you shall not enter into it.").

[7]Deuteronomy, 1:37-39: "Nec miranda indignatio in populum, cum mihi quoque iratus Dominus propter vos dixerit: 'Nec tu ingredieris illuc: sed Josue filius Nun minister tuus, ipse intrabit pro te. Hunc exhortare et robora, et ipse sorte terram dividet Israeli. Parvuli vestri, de quibus dixistis quod captivi ducerentur, et filii qui hodie boni ac mali ignorant distantiam, ipsi ingredientur: et ipsis dabo terram, et possidebunt eam' " ("Neither is his [the Lord's] indignation against the people to be wondered at, since the Lord was angry with me [Moses] also on your account, and said: 'Neither shall you go in thither. But Josue the son of Nun, your minister, he shall go in for you: exhort and encourage him, and he shall divide the land by lot to Israel. Your children, of whom you said that they should be led away captives, and your sons who know not this day the difference of good and evil, they shall go in: and to them I will give the land, and they shall possess it.' ").

[8]Luke, 2:34: "Et benedixit illis Simeon, et dixit ad Mariam matrem ejus: 'Ecce, positus est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israhel, et in signum cui contradicetur' " ("And Simeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother: 'Behold this child is set for the fall *[ruinam],* and for the resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted.' ").

The "stone of help" is also mentioned by name in 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 4:1 and 5:1 prior to its actual erection by Samuel.[9] For the earlier battles and the taking of the Ark, see 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 4-6, and the conductus *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54), line 6, which, as described above, shares the same verse scheme as *Lex honus importabile.* The "stone of help" is specifically interpreted as a figure of Christ by Jerome near the end of his *Tractatus de Psalmo CXXXIII (Homily 46)* – see the note in the remarks to lines 18-20 for Jerome's text. Given its placement between the two cities, the stone also stands for Christ's role as mediator, whether between carnal and spiritual bliss, as relayed by Augustine in *City of God* (book 17, near the end of chapter 7), or between the Old and New Testaments, as indicated by the citation of Isidore's *Quaestiones* in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxii, note 6 (from *PL,* 83, col. 396). Furthermore, Jerome's text also associates Samuel's stone with one that appears in the story of Jacob's Ladder, recollected in lines 18-20 of *Lex honus* (see the remarks below). **16:** see as well the notes on lines 11-14; the "stumbling block" derives originally from Isaiah, 8:14, but also appears in Romans, 9:31-33, and 1 Peter, 2:8.[10] The two expressions rendered here as "rock of offence" *(lapis offensionis)* and "stumbling block" *(petra scandali)* actually have much the same basic meaning in Latin, appearing numerous further times in the Bible. Here, as before, the "stumbling block" serves as a symbol of Christ's role in the new covenant: 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. Such an interpretation is explicit in the language of Romans, 9:31-33,[11] 1 Peter, 2:4-10, and – using the term *scandalum* – in 1 Corinthians, 1:23.[12] The passage in 1 Peter, moreover, assembles additional images of stones that prefigure Christ and the new covenant: the cornerstone of the foundation (Isaiah, 28:16; 1 Corinthians, 3:11; Ephesians, 2:20), and the stone initially rejected by builders that ends up being the cornerstone (Psalm 117:22; Matthew, 21:42,44; Mark, 12:10; Luke, 20:17; Acts, 4:11). **17:** the contrasting portrayals of Christ as a stone in lines 15 and 16 refer to the respective viewpoints of those Gentiles who are accepted into the new covenant, and the Jews who are denied it; each group will thus see the "stone" in a very different light. The implications of these different attitudes are explored as the poem continues. **18-20:** the "miracle of the ancient vision" referred to here is the story of Jacob's Ladder from Genesis, 28:10-22. In this account, Jacob fled from his brother Esau (for why, see the remarks for lines 27-30) and stopped to spend the night outdoors near the city of Luz. He took a stone to serve as a pillow, and while sleeping experienced his miraculous vision of a ladder extending from heaven to earth, traversed by angels and surmounted by God, who promised to Jacob and his progeny the land on which he slept. God further indicated that Jacob's offspring would spread to the ends of the earth and enjoy his constant protection, before they eventually returned back to the place where Jacob rested. Jacob was both amazed and frightened by his dream; he took the stone he had used as a pillow, set it up as a monument, and anointed it with oil. He also named the place anew, calling it *Bethel,* Hebrew for "house of God." This narrative relates closely in some respects to the account of Samuel's erection of the "stone of help" recalled in line 15. These two stories are also brought

---

[9]1 Kings (1 Samuel), 4:1: "Et factum est in diebus illis, convenerunt Philisthiim in pugnam: et egressus est Israel obviam Philisthiim in praelium, et castrametatus est juxta lapidem Adjutorii." ("And it came to pass in those days, that the Philistines gathered themselves together to fight: and Israel went out to war against the Philistines, and camped by the Stone of help [i.e., Ebenezer]."). 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 5:1: "Philisthiim autem tulerunt arcam Dei, et asportaverunt eam a lapide Adjutorii in Azotum" ("And the Philistines took the ark of God, and carried it from the Stone of help into Azotus.").

[10]The Old Testament text reads: "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") – Isaiah, 8:14.

[11]Romans, 9:31-33: "Israel vero sectando legem justitiae, in legem justitiae non pervenit. Quare? Quia non ex fide, sed quasi ex operibus: offenderunt enim in lapidem offensionis, sicut scriptum est: Ecce pono in Sion lapidem offensionis, et petram scandali: et omnis qui credit in eum, non confundetur" ("But Israel, by following after the law of justice, is not come unto the law of justice. Why so? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were of works. For they stumbled at the stumblingstone. As it is written: Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling stone and a rock of scandal; and whosoever believeth in him shall not be confounded.").

[12]1 Corinthians, 1:23: "... nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum: Judaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam ..." ("... But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness.").

together in Jerome's *Tractatus de Psalmo CXXXIII (Homily 46),* mentioned above in connection with line 15, where both stones – as well as the image of the rejected cornerstone from Psalm 117:22 – are specifically associated with Christ.[13] **21-24:** turning from the aspects of Christ and the new covenant as portrayed by the stones of Samuel's *Ebenezer* and Jacob's *Bethel,* the remaining biblical references now explore the contrasting perspective of the covenant as a "stumbling block" for the practitioners of the Old Law, presaged in line 16. The first allegory comes from New Testament accounts of John the Baptist, himself often portrayed as a forerunner of Christ. The conductus text paraphrases John's words from Matthew, 3:9 and Luke, 3:8, where he castigates 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). The text from Matthew is: "Et ne velitis dicere intra vos 'patrem habemus Abraham.' Dico enim vobis quoniam potest Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae" ("And think not to say among yourselves 'we have Abraham for our father.' For I tell you that God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham."). Jerome, in his *Ad Eustochium* (Letter 22, chap. 19)[14] identifies the progeny of these generative stones with the Gentiles, people distinct from the Jews who would therefore replace them in the new covenant. The expressions in lines 23,2-24 of *Lex honus*, which Anderson (*NDRC,* 4: xxiii, note 9) connects with the rejected builders' stone (from Psalm, 117:22, etc., see the remarks for line 16), indicate that the new children spawned by the stones represent peoples that were earlier left out of the agreement, but who will be adopted by Christ, the "stone" that gives them new life in *Lex honus.* **25-26:** the curious canine imagery in these verses comes from the Gospel story of Jesus's exorcism of the daughter of the Canaanite (Matthew, 15:21-28) or Syro-Phoenician (Mark, 7:24-30) woman: Jesus was approached by a mother whose child was possessed by demons; she requested his help in ridding her of them. The woman, though, was a Gentile (described explicitly as such in Mark), and Jesus at first demurred, indicating that his first objective was to aid the children (Mark) or sheep (Matthew) of Israel. He told her: "It is not good to take the bread of the children, and to cast it to the dogs" ("Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus" – Matthew, 15:26; cf. Mark, 7:27). The woman, however, shot back that "even dogs get to eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table, Lord" ("Domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum," – Matthew, 15:27; cf. Mark, 7: 28). Jesus then commended the woman and indicated her daughter would be healed. In the context of the conductus poem, then, the bread represents the blessings of the covenant, once intended for the children of Abraham (the "predecessors" of lines 23 and 25) that Christ (the stone) now feeds to the Gentiles (the dogs under the table), who were once considered unworthy of such nourishment; see the analogous interpretations drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria,* cited in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxiii, note 10, from *PL,* 114, col 139. **27-30:** for the final allegory in this text to associate the Christian covenant with the "stumbling block" of line 16, the poet returns, intriguingly, to Jacob, the same figure who earlier served to illustrate Christ as a "stone of help" in lines 18-20. The story in Genesis, 27:1-30, of Jacob and his mother Rebecca deceiving his old, blind father Isaac to usurp the blessing intended for the firstborn son, Esau, is well known; also, prior to the deception

---

[13]See, for example, the edition of Jerome's work by Germain Morin: *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri: Tractatus sive homiliae ...,* Anecdota Maredsolana, vol. 3, part 2 (Maredsous: G. Morin; Oxford: J. Parker, 1897), p. 259: "Vultis scire quia lapis ille, qui erat ad caput Iacob, Xristus erat lapis angularis 'Lapis quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli.' Lapis ille, qui scriptus est in Regnorum libro, Abenezer. Lapis iste Xristus est. Abenezer autem interpretatur lapis adiutorii" ("Do you want to know what that stone was that Jacob had at his head? It was Christ the cornerstone: 'The stone that the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner [Psalm 117:22].' That stone that was written about in the book of Kings, Ebenezer: that stone is Christ. 'Ebenezer' is translated 'stone of help' ").

[14]The 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]).

(in Genesis, 25:29-34), Esau had previously forfeited his birthright in exchange for a share of some food that Jacob made. This is most likely the particular focus of the Jacob reference in the conductus, as it comes on the heels of the feeding image in lines 25-26. Esau's anger at the deprivation caused him to pursue his younger brother, and this led to Jacob's flight to Luz where he had his vision of the ladder, alluded to in lines 18-20. In scriptural exegesis, Jacob is commonly presented as a figure of the Gentiles and Esau as the Jews. This is demonstrated by Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xxiii, note 11) in his citation from Bede's *In Pentateuchum comentarii,* taken from *PL,* 91, col. 248. For more on Jacob and Esau in the conductus repertory, see the conductus *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225), strophe III (lines 17-24). Incidentally, the connection of these lines to the conceit of the "stumbling block" is furthered by the principal meaning of the verb *supplantare* as "to trip up one's heels."[15] "Supplanter," moreover, is a primary meaning of the Hebrew name Jacob.
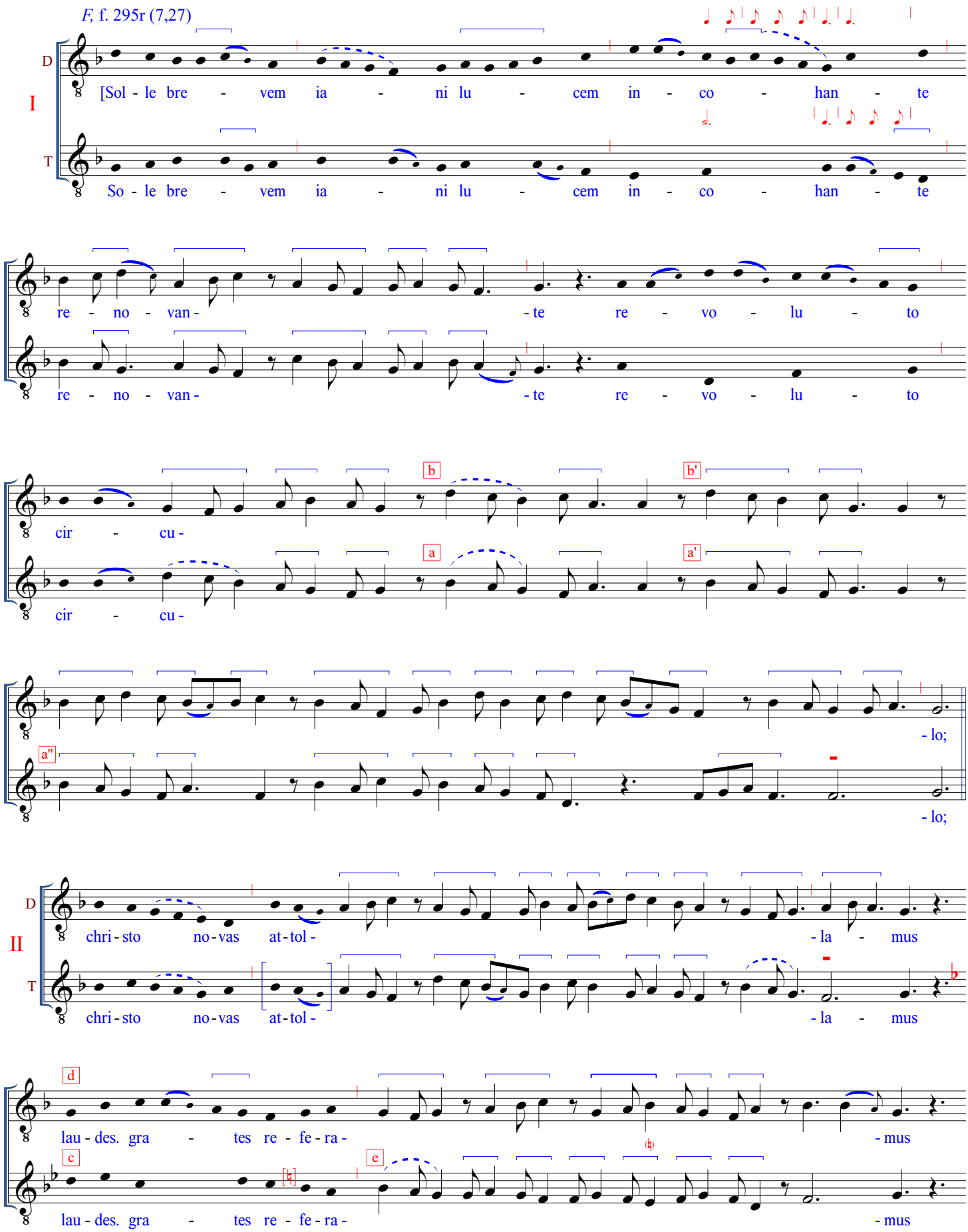
Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,2:** F: the spelling "honus" for "onus" appears in both surviving sources; the orthography is retained here. **10,3:** F: period at end of strophe omitted; restored without brackets in the musical transcription. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** subtly varied musical repetition can be seen throughout this piece; several repeated motivic patterns are signaled above the staves. Interestingly, in addition to their occasional use elsewhere, the opening motives in both the T and D voices supply musical material for the several caudae that close all three of the poetic stanzas. TD: W1: different ligations after the second phrase; the alternative reading according to this MS appears at the end of the transcription. **Lines 1 and 5:** T: there is similar music for these two separated phrases, marked in the score, corresponding to the change in rhyme scheme beginning with line 5 ("nunc legis"); see also the above textual notes for lines 3-4. **3,1:** D: F: the first syllable of ("nunc tempus") has 2liP,2li=*fe,de;* the adopted reading comes from *W1.* **7,1:** D: F: a sig rot on *b* precedes "a iugo," along with one in the T, but there are no *b* pitches in the D to inflect prior to its cancellation before the last syllable of line 8,2 ("[moy]ses"). **9,2:** the descent down to the low *g (gamma ut)* on the second syllable of the word "terra" is notable, as I do not recall encountering such a low pitch in any other Parisian conductus. It appears again on the second syllable of line 22,1 ("[A]bra[he]"). It is thus tempting to posit a possible instance of word painting for at least the first case. **Cauda at line 10,3 (closing Strophe I):** TD:W1: the reading of the cauda on "[se]cutis" in this source omits several rests and indicates only one note extension that might suggest a DL (the penultimate note in the D); see the alternative reading that this source implies at the end. T: notice within this cauda the extended reformulation (into 21L) of the opening 18L of the T segment of the first cauda in this piece; the D at this point also shows correlations with the first cauda. **Line 11,2-4:** rhythmic values are indicated for this *cum littera* segment on "in ortu filii," since there are 2si=*d,c* in the D for "or[tu]," and similar melodic figures and ligations appear in the cauda at line 21,2-4, which have prompted me to indicate rhythms at that point also. **16,1-2:** the multiple repeated-note si figures over "lapis" and the 2si on "of[fensionis]" have motivated the presentation of the rhythmic values indicated in the transcription. **Cauda at line 20,2 (closing Strophe II):** D: F: a penultimate si=*e* is apparently omitted, supplied from *W1.* **Cauda at line 21,1 (opening Strophe III):** T: F: the rhythm of the *ca,f*=2li,si figure in the middle of the phrase after the third rest (at L12-L13) makes better harmonic sense if read rhythmically – as adopted here – as the 3li=LBL that appears in *W1;* the ligation of both sources is indicated above the staff at this point for explanation. **Line 21,2-4:** for the reasoning behind the rhythms presented here in the transcription for "lapis de lapidibus," see the remarks for line 11,2-4. **22,1:** another low *g* at "[A]bra[he]"; see the remarks for line 9,2. **25,2:** D: F: the editorially recommended *b-flat* over the first syllable of "panem" comes from *W1.* **Cauda at line 26,3:** TD: for "[mini]stravit" *W1* places the division strokes differently than *F,* resulting in contrasting phrase demarcations for this melisma; see the alternative reading from this MS at the end. **Line 29,4:** D: the plica pitch over the first syllable of "debitum" is specifically indicated as an *e* in *W1,* which supplies a 4li for the 3liP figure in *F.* **Final cauda (at line 30,3):** T: F: notice how the repeated phrase marked as "b7" in the score is variously sequenced before repeating as the final phrase.
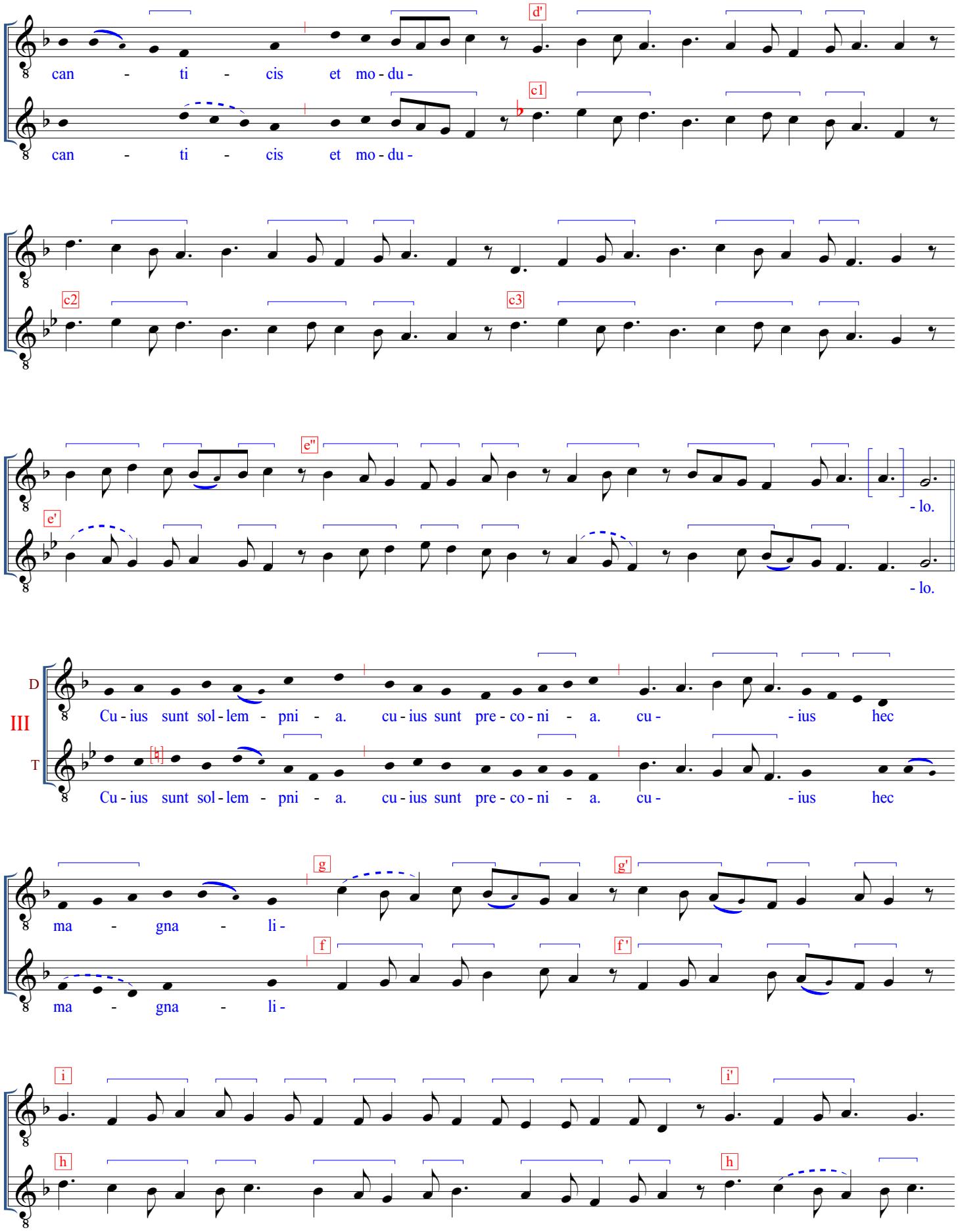
[15]See the entry under the LewisShort tab at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/supplanto, s.v. "supplanto," I.

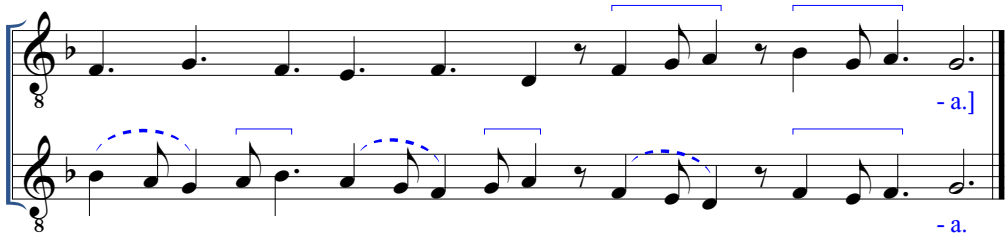
SOLE BREVEM IANI LUCEM

Conductus: (I26/335)

F, f. 295r (7,27)




d'
can - ti - cis et mo - du -
c1
can - ti - cis et mo - du -
c2
c3
e''
e'
- lo.
- lo.
III
D
T
Cu - ius sunt sol - lem - pni - a. cu - ius sunt pre - co - ni - a. cu - ius hec
Cu - ius sunt sol - lem - pni - a. cu - ius sunt pre - co - ni - a. cu - ius hec
g
g'
ma - gna - li -
f
f'
ma - gna - li -
i
i'
h
h


- a.]
- a.

SOLE BREVEM IANI LUCEM

Conductus (I26/335)

F, f. 295r (7,27)

I Sole brevem iani lucem, incohante, renovante, revoluto circulo,
As the sun repeats its orbit, beginning and renewing the new year's short day,

II Christo novas attollamus laudes, grates referamus canticis et modulo;
let us raise new praises, let us render thanks in songs and music to Christ,

III cuius sunt sollempnia, cuius sunt preconia, cuius hec magnalia.
whose festivities these are, whose celebrations these are, whose mighty works these are.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 27, f. 295r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; Strophe II not indicated by any distinctive feature; Strophe III headed with a capital.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 82, f. 168r (159r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with I-III signaled by painted initials, and I-II featuring additional filigree decoration.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** A division into three strophes is suggested by *W1.* As the whole text consists of a single sentence, and as there is no special enlargement, capitalization, illumination, decoration, or other distinctive treatment of the initial of Strophe II in *F,* it is conceivable that this poem may be alternatively considered as a single, nine-line stanza or two irregular ones. **Lines 1-3; 7:** given the opening and closing statements, it seems likely that this piece is intended to celebrate feasts of the Temporale on or around the new year, which could include celebrations from Christmastide to Circumcision (1 January). **1,3:** for this connotation of the word "ianus," see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/Ianus, s.v. "Ianus," *LewisShort,* D. Interestingly, the reference to the shortness of the day ("brevem ... lucem") as well as the invocation of Janus suggests that 1 January was considered as the beginning of the year in the context of this particular poem. For considerations of the various ways the new year was conceived, see the notes to the text to *Hac in anni janua* (E6/148), lines 1-8 (Strophe I).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,3:** F: atollamus; the more widespread spelling adopted here with a double "t" is taken from *W1;* the omission is not bracketed here in the presentation of the text or in the musical score. **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** TD of "laudes grates refera[mus]" (line 5) = **1a.** similar T and D of the first phrase of the later cauda on "[mo]du[lo]" (line 6,3); and = **1b.** the similar T of the second and third phrases of the later cauda on "[mo]du[lo]" (line 6,3); these instances are signaled in the score. **Musical repetition:** a number of the caudae, especially the ones concluding the strophic divisions of this piece as interpreted here, feature some notable repetition as well as internal sequential patterning; these have been signaled with boxed letters above the staves. **Remarks: 2,1:** TD: F,W1: the rhythmicized reading of the *cum littera* segment on "renovante" is prompted by the sequential descent of the opening motives of the first phrase in both voices. **4,3:** T: F: the music om for the second syllable of "[at]tol[lamus]" is supplied from *W1,* despite

the fact that this results in the same pitches in both voices. **5,1:** T: F: as sometimes happens, the *e-flat* accidental that precedes the first note of "laudes" is written in the *d* space on the staff (as is also the later one for the cauda at line 6,3); *W1* lacks this accidental, and shows a *b-flat* sig where the *e-flat* sign occurs in *F*. **Cauda at 6,3:** D: F: as is the case for line 5,1 the *b-flat* sig before L3 of this melisma is written in the *d* space on the staff; the penultimate note of Strophe II is om, supplied from *W1*. **Line 9,1:** T: F: 3 of the 3li for the first syllable of "cuius [hec]" looks like *e,* confirmed as *f* by *W1*.

DEI SAPIENTIA

Conductus (J6/86)

F, f. 295v (7,28)

I

D [De - i sa - pi-en - ti- - a iu- - gum

T De - i sa - pi-en - ti- - a iu- - gum

mor- - tis fran - ge- - re ve - nit ad ter - re - stri-a

mor- - tis fran - ge- - re ve - nit ad ter - re - stri-a

no-stre sor - tis mi - se-re. ve - sti - tus

no-stre sor - tis mi - se-re. ve - sti - tus

ca - mi - si-a quam al - vo pu-er - pe-re pa - ra-cli - tus tex - u-

a

ca - mi - si-a quam al - vo pu-er - pe-re pa - ra-cli - tus tex - u-

| mode 3 also possible

a'
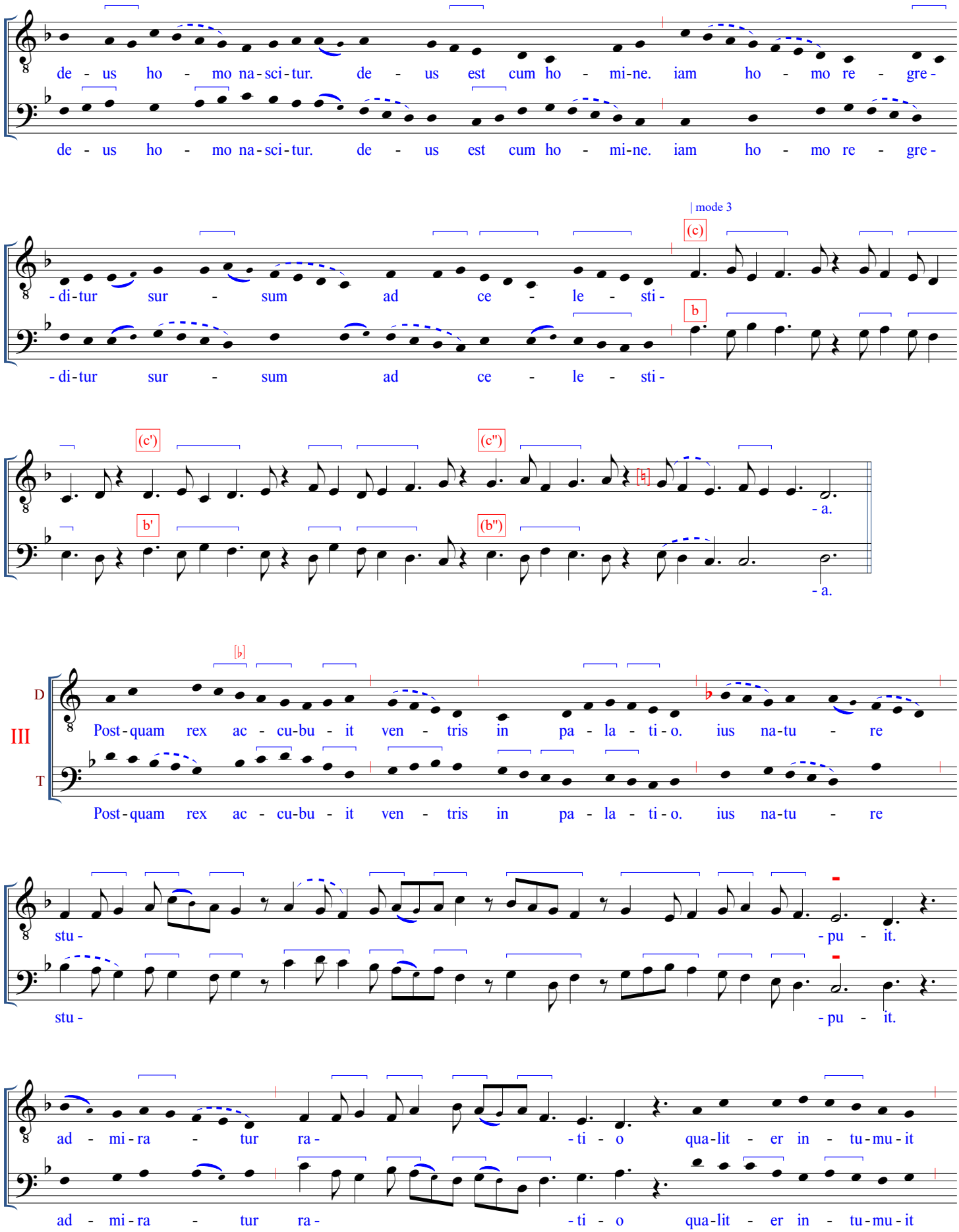
- it.
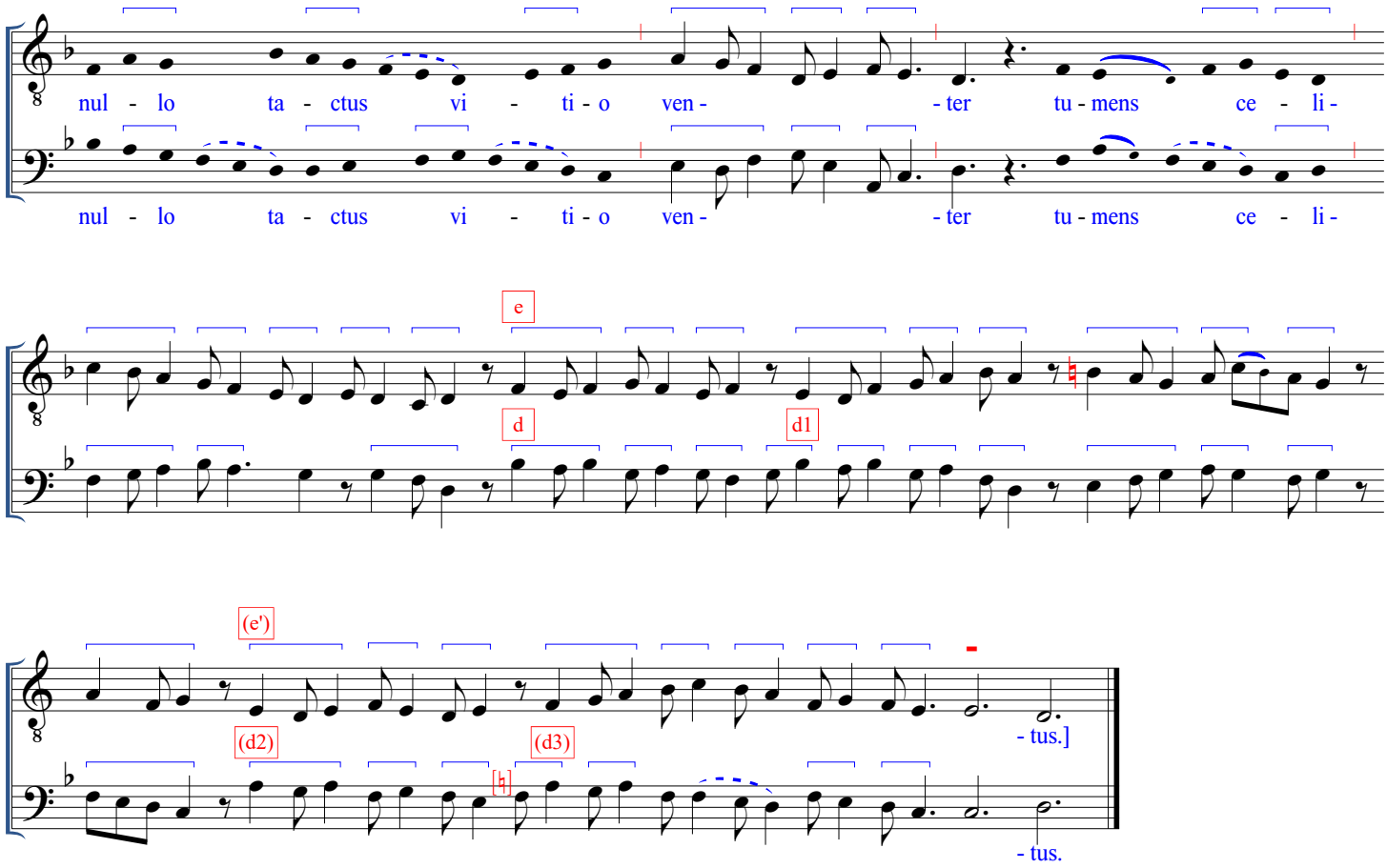
- it.

II

D Ex da-vit o-ri - gi - ne stel - la ia - cob o - ri-tur. ex ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne

T Ex da-vit o-ri - gi - ne stel - la ia - cob o - ri-tur. ex ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne


de - us ho - mo na - sci - tur. de - us est cum ho - mi - ne. iam ho - mo re - gre -
de - us ho - mo na - sci - tur. de - us est cum ho - mi - ne. iam ho - mo re - gre -
| mode 3
(c)
- di - tur sur - sum ad ce - le - sti -
b
- di - tur sur - sum ad ce - le - sti -
(c')
(c")
- a.
b'
(b")
- a.
D
III
T
Post - quam rex ac - cu - bu - it ven - tris in pa - la - ti - o. ius na - tu - re
Post - quam rex ac - cu - bu - it ven - tris in pa - la - ti - o. ius na - tu - re
stu -
- pu - it.
stu -
- pu - it.
ad - mi - ra - tur ra - - ti - o qua - lit - er in - tu - mu - it
ad - mi - ra - tur ra - - ti - o qua - lit - er in - tu - mu - it


nul - lo ta - ctus vi - ti - o ven - - ter tu - mens ce - li -
nul - lo ta - ctus vi - ti - o ven - - ter tu - mens ce - li -
e
d
d1
(e')
(d2)
(d3)
- tus.]
- tus.

DEI SAPIENTIA

Conductus (J6/86)

F, f. 295v (7,28)

I Dei sapientia
iugum mortis frangere
venit ad terrestria,
nostre sortis misere.
vestitus camisia,
quam alvo puerpere
Paraclitus texuit.

The wisdom of God
came to earth
to break the yoke of death,
clothed in the garment
of our wretched lot,
which the Holy Spirit wove
in the womb of the birth mother.

II Ex Davit origine,
stella Iacob oritur.
Ex Maria virgine,
deus homo nascitur.
deus est cum homine.
Iam homo regreditur
sursum ad celestia.

From the lineage of David,
the star of Jacob rises.
From the Virgin Mary,
God is born as man.
God is with man.
Man now returns upwards
to the heavenly regions.

III Postquam rex accubuit
ventris in palatio,
ius nature stupuit.
Admiratur ratio
qualiter intumuit,
nullo tactus vitio,
venter tumens celitus.

When the king lay
in the palace of the womb,
the law of nature was amazed.
Reason wonders
how a divinely swelling womb
has increased, when it has
been touched by no vice.

SOURCES:

F, fasc.7, no. 28, f. 295v: a2, Strophes I-III complete, with II-III indicated by capitals. This is the first piece in *F*-7 with no concordances within the four central Parisian sources *(F,W1,W2,Ma).* The two other surviving instances of this piece, however, amount to the same thing, as one is an offset imprint of the other.

Csss 117 (GB-Csss 117*; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*),*[1] no. 4, f. 2v: a2; fragmentary, with music and text (including the remains of a red painted and blue filigreed opening initial) for lines 1-3,1 in the first of the two preserved systems, followed by most of the music (with all of the verbal text cut away) from line 3,2 up through line 6,1 in the second system; certain portions (especially the lines of three of the four preserved staves) are quite faded. As Eva Maschke has shown,[2] some of the material on the lowest extant staff on this leaf has been transferred via offset from the top staff of f. 1r from this same source, thus

[1]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS originally possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included the now disparate *GB-Cssc 117*, D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115, D-MÜu 382,* and *D-MÜu 378.* For information, 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of the two leaves of this MS, as well as others mentioned above; see her: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

[2]Maschke, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and their History," 104. For images of the pertinent leaves of *Cssc 117** and the description relied upon here, see the appendices at the end of the dissertation, plates 3.1.7, 3.1.7.1, and 3.1.7.2; along with 3.6.1, 3.6.2, 3.7.1, and 3.7.2.

imprinting – in reverse – parts of the T melody (without D or verbal text) of the conductus *Iam vetus littera* (H24/167) from its final lines, beginning with 15,3, through the first 25L of its closing cauda. This transfer occurred when these portions of the two leaves were pasted together in the nineteenth century to form an outer parchment wrapper for a cardboard cover that earlier surrounded the host MS, *Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117.* The material of this preserved folio from *Csss 117** is reproduced with fewer omissions in the remaining concordant source, given below.

MÜsa 6115 (D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115; Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein Westfalen Abteilung Westfalen [formerly Staatsarchiv], Mscr VII Nr. 6115), front binding board (interior): a2: fragmentary; this is a mirror-image offset, imprinted from an essentially complete parchment leaf that now survives trimmed down as f. 2v of *Cssc 117*,* described above; the folio was originally glued to the wooden board to serve as a pastedown. Although some patches are slightly faded, the binding board offset preserves an additional portion that is now cut away from the bottom of the surviving parchment specimen, thereby preserving all the material originally in *Dei sapientia* from its opening through line 6,1 on the last system of the folio, including the verbal text.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1:** for the use of the term "wisdom of God" to refer to Christ, as it does here, see Luke, 11:49,[3] 1 Corinthians, 1:30,[4] and the related sentiments in 1 Corinthians, 1:24, and Ephesians, 3:10-11. Besides its use at the opening of *Dei sapientia,* the conceit also appears in the conductus *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185), line 4. **2:** the non-biblical expression "yoke of death" refers to the mortal burden placed upon humankind by original sin. For some related biblical images that carry the same portents, see the discussion of the expression "yoke of sin" *(iugum criminis)* in lines 7-8 of the conductus *Veri vitis germine* (H14/372). **4-5:** Christ, becoming incarnate and mortal, took on lowly human flesh ("the garment *[camisia]* of our wretched lot"), debasing his outward godliness but not compromising his divine power; see Philippians, 2:7-8;[5] see also, for just two further examples of a similar treatment of this conceit within the conductus repertory, *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20, and *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 10-14. **8:** Jesus and his mortal parents traced their descent from the line of Jesse through David; see the genealogies given in Matthew, 1:1-17 and Luke, 3:23-38. **9:** from the prophecy of Balaam in Numbers, 24:17.[6] Balaam and his prophecy also appear in the conductus *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), lines 21-24. **13-14:** assuming that the image of a man returning to heaven in these lines does not refer to Christ's assumption, this expression likely indicates that humankind now

---

[3]Luke, 11:49: "Propterea et sapientia Dei dixit: Mittam ad illos prophetas, et apostolos, et ex illis occident, et persequentur" ("For this cause also the wisdom of God said: 'I will send to them prophets and apostles; and some of them they will kill and persecute.'").

[4]1 Corinthians, 1:30: "Ex ipso autem vos estis in Christo Jesu, qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio" ("But of him are you in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption.").

[5]Philippians, 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.")

[6]Numbers, 24:17: "Videbo eum, sed non modo; intuebor illum sed non prope. Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget virga de Israhel" ("I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not near. A star shall rise out of Jacob and a scepter shall spring up from Israel.").

has the possibility of salvation, thanks to Christ's sacrifice. **16:** for the closely related image of the Virgin as a castle that housed the Lord, see the citation from Honorius of Autun's *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* given in the notes on the text to Philip the Chancellor's conductus *O Maria virginei* (E14/239), line 8,3-4. **17-21:** another example expressing the astounding event of the Virgin Mary's bearing of Jesus; for just a selection of some additional nods to this commonplace, see the notes to the conductus *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), line 5.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 20,2:** F: tractus, emended editorially. **MUSIC:** Features a very ornate *cum littera* text setting, especially in the opening phrases of Strophe I. To aid in execution, conjectural rhythmic values have been suggested above the staff for the opening lines. Many harmonic fourths occur throughout the setting, and there is frequent use of thirds. The caudae that close Strophes II and III prominently feature sequentially related phrases, some of which have been signaled by boxed letters in parentheses above the staves; the final cauda employs variation as well between its two halves, especially in the T. **Syllabic/ melismatic identity:** the T of "paraclitus texu[it]" (line 7) = the T of first phrase of the following cauda on "[tex]u[it]," marked in the score. **Line 1,2:** F: D: the second 2li on the syllable "[sa]pi[entia]" looks like *ec; ed* confirmed by *Csss 117*,MÜsa 6115.* **5,2:** T: F: has *a* for the final note of "camisia"; *f* confirmed by *Csss 117*,MÜsa 6115.*

SINE MATRE GENITUS
Conductus (I27/330)

F, f. 296v (7,29)

**W1:* cauda in faster rhythms, see at end; *F:* mode 3 also possible

I

D [Si - ne ma - tre ge - ni - tus de pa - - tre

T Si - ne ma - tre ge - ni - tus de pa - - tre

| *F:* mode 3 possible

si - ne pa - tre na - sci - tur de ma - - tre.

a a'

si - ne pa - tre na - sci - tur de ma - - tre.

***W1:* cauda in quicker rhythms, see at end; *F:* mode 3 possible

le - gem su - am ne - scit hic na - tu -

le - gem su - am ne - scit hic na - tu -

| *F:* mode 3 possible

- ra. cum sit ca - sta vir - go pa - ri - tu -

- ra. cum sit ca - sta vir - go pa - ri - tu -

- ra. pa - rit mi - rum vir - go vi - rum vi - ri

- ra. pa - rit mi - rum vir - go vi - rum vi - ri

†*W1:* opening and closing phrases in shorter values, see at end; *F:* mode 3 possible

ta - men ne - sci - - a.

ta - men ne - sci - - a.

††*W1:* cauda in mode 1, see at end; *F:* in mode 3

et pa - ren-tem pa - ri - en-tem non pre - mit an - gu - sti -

et pa - ren-tem pa - ri - en-tem non pre - mit an - gu - sti -

d

b b c

(d) (d1) (d2)

(c) (c) (c)

(d3)

(c) (c)

- a.

- a.

‡*W1:* cauda in mode 1, see at end; *F:* in mode 3
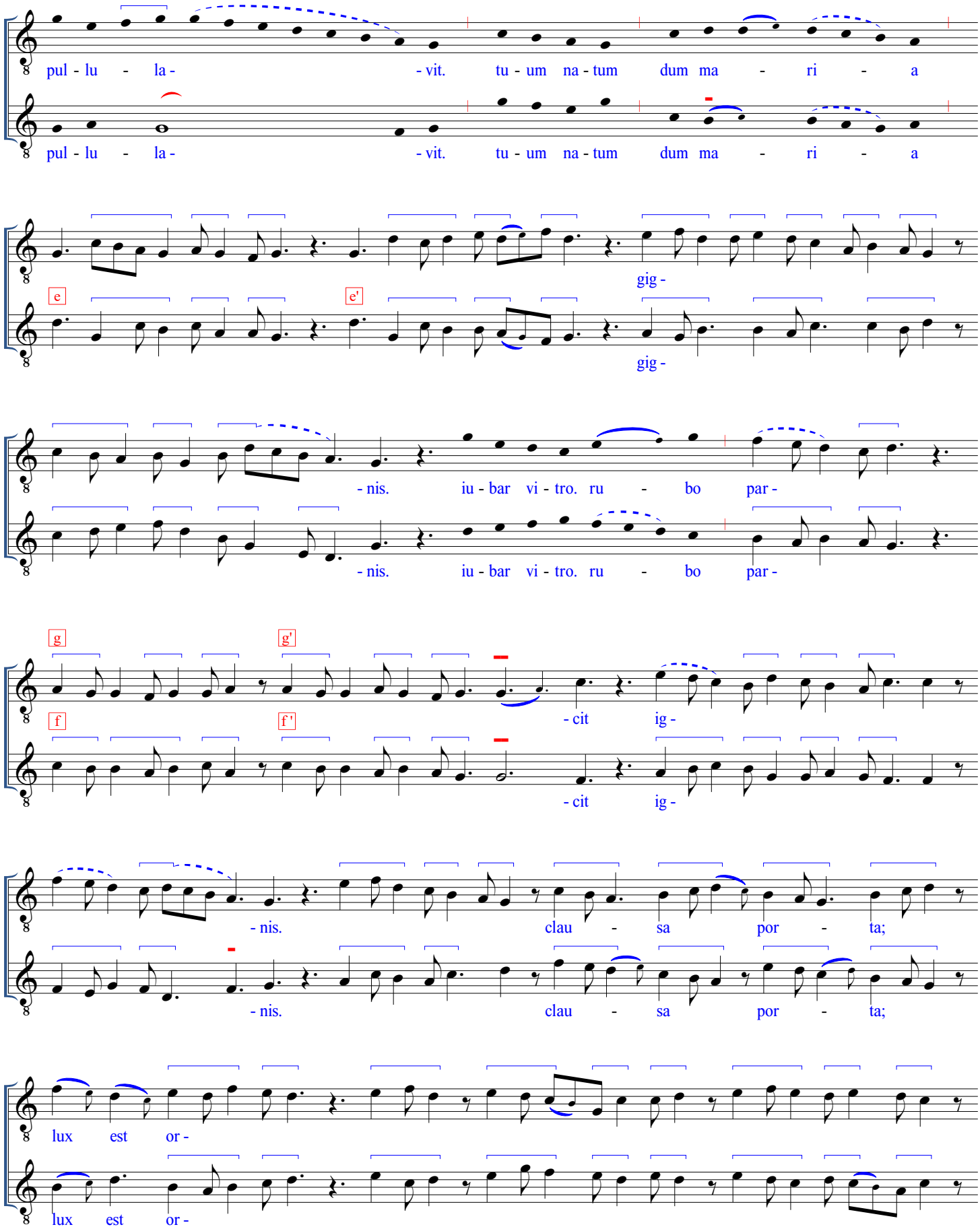
II
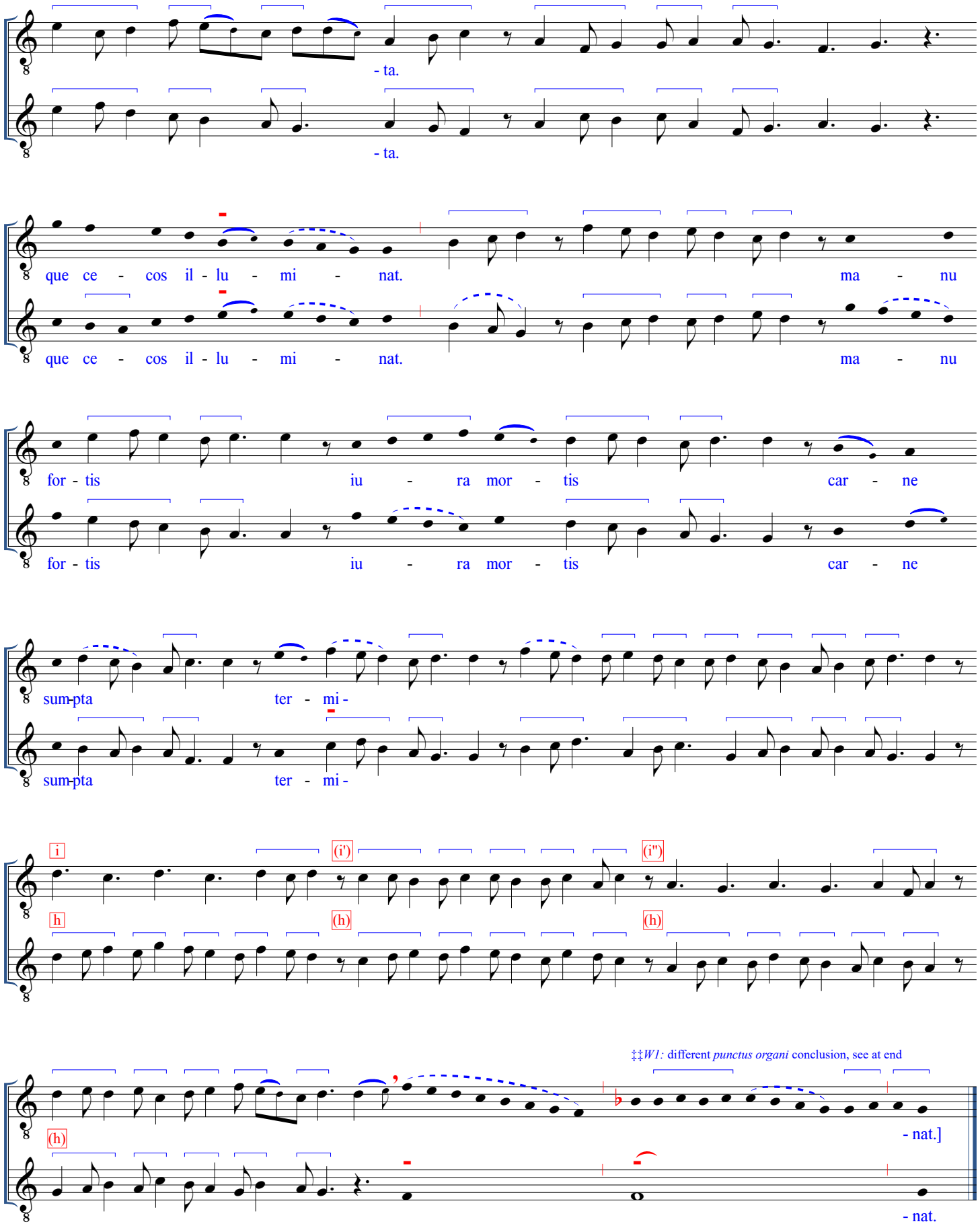
D Ros di - vi-nus

T Ros di - vi-nus

[vel - lus] ir - ri - ga - - vit sic - ca yes - se vir - ga

[vel - lus] ir - ri - ga - - vit sic - ca yes - se vir - ga

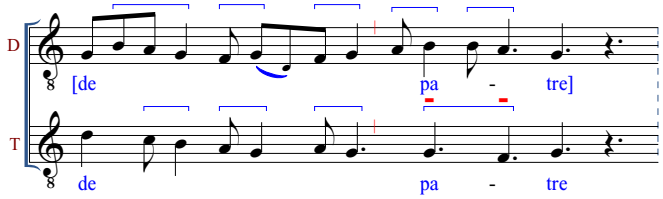

pul - lu - la - - vit. tu - um na - tum dum ma - ri - a
pul - lu - la - - vit. tu - um na - tum dum ma - ri - a
gig -
e
e'
gig -
- nis. iu - bar vi - tro. ru - bo par -
- nis. iu - bar vi - tro. ru - bo par -
g
g'
f
f'
- cit ig -
- cit ig -
- nis. clau - sa por - ta;
- nis. clau - sa por - ta;
lux est or -
lux est or -



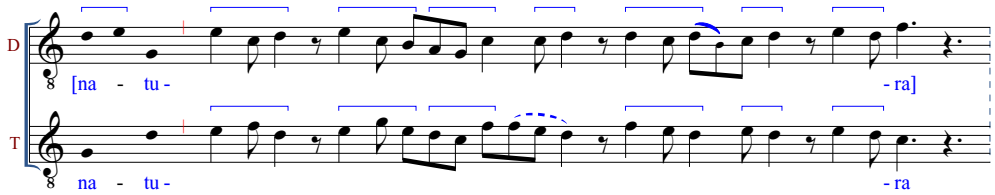
(alternative readings follow)

ALTERNATIVE READINGS FROM *W1:*

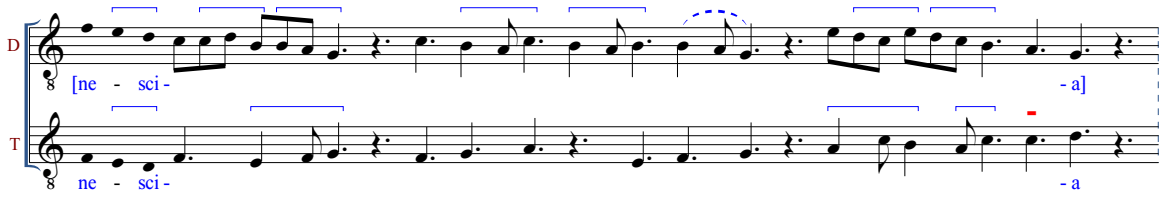
*cauda over line 1,5 (“patre”) in quicker rhythms: f. 169v (160v), VI



**cauda over line 3,5 (“natura”) in quicker rhythms: f. 170r (161r), I-II
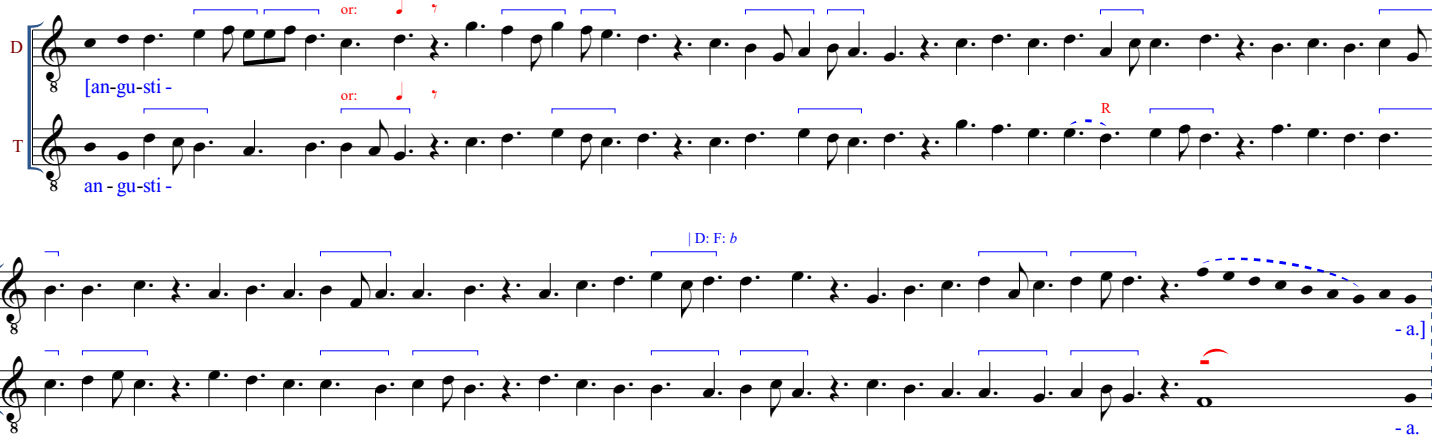


†cauda over line 6,3 (“nescia”), with quicker rhythms for the opening and closing phrases: f. 170r (161r), II-III
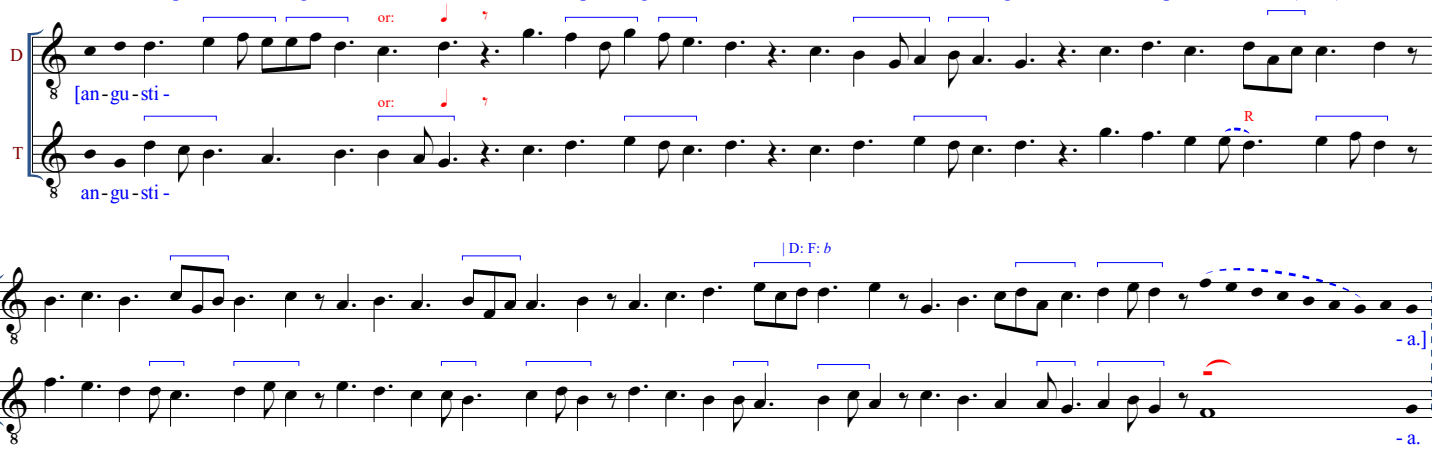


††cauda over line 8,3 (“angustia”)

a. in mode 1 (*F* has mode 3); see also the other possible reading immediately following: f. 170r (161r), IV-V



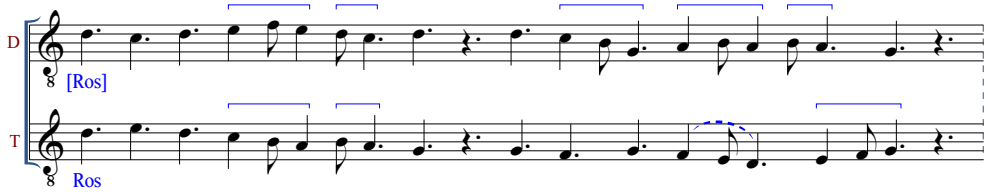
b. another possible reading of the cauda over line 8,3, incorporating the first-mode indications of the T that begin with the fourth phrase: f. 170r (161r), IV-V



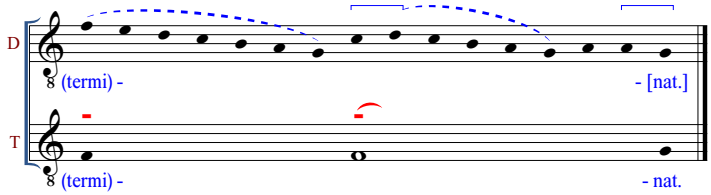
(continued)

(Alternative readings from *W1,* continued)

‡cauda on line 9,1 (“Ros”) in mode 1 (*F* has mode 3): f. 170r (161r), V



‡‡different closing *punctus organi* over line 16,3 (“terminat”): f. 171r (162r), I



SINE MATRE GENITUS

Conductus (I27/330)

F, f. 296v (7,29)

I	Sine matre genitus de patre,	Begotten from a father without a mother,
	sine patre nascitur de matre.	he is born from a mother without a father.
	Legem suam nescit hic natura	Nature here doesn't recognize her own law
	cum sit casta virgo paritura.	when a chaste virgin is a childbearer.
	Parit mirum virgo virum,	A virgin bears a wondrous man,
	viri tamen nescia;	yet knows not man;
	et parentem parientem	and distress does not oppress
	non premit angustia.	the mother giving birth.
II	Ros divinus [vellus] irrigavit;	A divine dew has moistened the fleece;
	sicca Yesse virga pullulavit.	Jesse's dry rod has sprouted.
	Tuum natum dum, Maria, gignis,	When you, Mary, bear your son,
	iubar vitro, rubo parcit ignis.	the sunbeam spares the glass; the fire, the bush.
	clausa porta lux est orta,	Light that gives light to the blind
	que cecos illuminat.	has arisen behind a closed gate.
	Manu, fortis iura mortis,	With his hand, the strong one, having
	carne sumpta, terminat.	taken on flesh, abolishes the laws of death.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 29, f. 296v: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with II indicated by a capital, and the text of line 9,3 is missing with no indication of the lapse; a number of the caudae in this source are rendered in slower rhythmic values and some show the use of iambic rhythmic modes in contrast to *W1.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 84, f. 169v (160v): a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with both indicated by painted and filigreed capital initials, and with the text of line 4, as well as all the musical material above it, omitted in this MS with no sign of a break. Several of the caudae in this source are rendered in quicker rhythmic values, and all show a more consistent use of trochaic rhythmic modes in comparison to *F.*

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This meditation on the Incarnation is much taken over by familiar symbolism relating to the Virgin birth, the chastity of Mary, and the eternal existence of Christ with God before he was conceived in human form. **Versification:** The layout of the text here departs from that of Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:xxxii) by considering lines 5 ,7, 13, and 15 not as denoting separate verses of 4p each, but as single 8p lines with internal rhyme, signaled by the extra horizontal spacing in the above presentation of the text; note that Anderson has unaccountably left out line 7,3 from his presentation of the text and translation. The use of 10p lines for the opening quatrain of each strophe is rather unusual within the Parisian conductus repertory, and although the opening two lines may be divided by rhyme into 4+6 syllables (as shown above), this does not obtain for the subsequent couplet, nor for any of the four lines that open the otherwise identically formulated Strophe II. **Textual notes: 1-2:** These opening lines, with their chiastic, antithetical expressions, refer to the

dual nature of Christ as both divine and human. Their expressions derive from the description in Hebrews, 7:3,[1] of Melchizedek, a priest and king of Salem who blessed Abraham with bread and wine in Genesis, 14:18-20, and who was regarded as a prefiguration of Christ. The concept of Christ's generation was developed principally by Augustine during the ongoing Trinitarian and Christological debates of the fourth and fifth centuries.[2] Central to the orthodox idea of the consubstantiality of Christ with God is that Christ ("the Word") existed before his conception and incarnation on earth (see John, 1:1-2).[3] Hence he was "begotten, not made" (as related in the Nicene Creed) from God the Father from eternity, and thus required no mother. Likewise, in his human incarnation and birth from the Virgin Mary, Christ required no human father. As Augustine remarks in one of his sermons (no. 189, chap. 4): "Generatio Christi a Patre sine matre, et a matre sine patre; ambae mirabiles. Prima, aeterna; secunda, temporalis" ("The begetting of Christ [was] from the Father without a mother and from the mother without a [human] father; both [births being] miraculous. The first [birth] was eternal; the second, temporal").[4] For a detailed study of this matter, see Piotr Paciorek, "Christ and Melchizedek."[5] Compare also the heretical controversy over Arianism, which claimed that God begat Christ separately from himself, and so the Son was therefore neither consubstantial with the Father nor eternally coexistent with him; and that of Adoptionism, which held that Jesus was not the true or direct son of God at his birth, but became his son at some point later in his life, such as at his baptism, resurrection, or ascension (hence Jesus was, so to speak, "adopted" by God, not begotten from him). References to these and related issues can be seen in the conductus repertory; in addition to lines 1-2 of *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), see the remarks on the text of the opening lines of the conductus *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), line 16 of *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89), line 2 of *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), line 7 of *Rose nodum reserat* (I1/313), and lines 51-52 of *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur insere* (J41/360). **9:** the dew that collected on Gideon's fleece, as recounted in Judges, 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ here; the fleece itself is a figure of the Virgin Mary; cf., among the many instances of the use of this image, Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 1-2. **3-8:** further examples expressing the astounding event of the Virgin Mary's bearing of Jesus; for just a selection of some additional nods to this commonplace, see the notes to the conductus *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), line 5. **10:** see Isaiah, 11:1 for the prophecy of the rod, shoot, or twig (Mary) sprouting from the tree, or root, of Jesse.[6] The flower that blooms upon this originally dry rod (a reference to Mary's chastity) was Christ. The images arising from this biblical passage are rife within the conductus repertory; cf. also the opening line of the triplum from the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius eius* (647/648/O16), as well as the text of its host chant, the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16).[7] **12,1-2:** another common symbol of the virgin birth is the image of a sunbeam passing through glass. Just as glass

---

[1]Hebrews, 7: 3: "... sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, neque initium dierum neque finem vitae habens, adsimilatus autem filio dei manet sacerdos in perpetuum" ("... [Melchisedek was] without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but likened unto the Son of God, continues as a priest for ever.").

[2]Primarily in his *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium* and a number of his sermons.

[3]John, 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.").

[4]The text is taken from *PL,* 38, col. 1006, under chap. 4.

[5]Piotr Paciorek, "Christ and Melchizedek both Fatherless and Motherless in the Christology of Augustine of Hippo," in *Augustine, Other Latin Writers,* Studia Patristica, no. 43, Frances Young, Mark Edwards, Paul Parvis, eds., 213-220 (Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006).

[6]"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]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch, and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit.")

remains intact when admitting the sun's (God's) rays (Christ), in the same way Mary's virginity is not compromised by her conception of the Word (Christ). For a treatment of a wide variety of sources that offer this conceit, see Andrew C. Breeze, "The Blessed Virgin and the Sunbeam through Glass, *Celtica,* 23 (1999): 19-29. See also the conductus *Pater noster commiserans* (H19/266), line 14. **12,3-4:** the burning bush, not consumed by the fire in which God appeared to Moses (in Exodus, 3:2-4), is another common symbol associated with Mary's virginity, just as the fire within it is associated with Christ. **13,1-2:** the image of the gate of Ezekiel (44:2-3) is customarily read as a Marian allegory.[8] Here, the gate refers to Mary's chastity; the prince in the chamber within, to Christ. **13,3-14:** for Christ as risen light, illuminating darkness, see, for just a single example of many, Isaiah, 9:2.[9] For the Lord giving light or sight to the blind, see Psalm 145:8,[10] as well as Exodus, 4:11, and the various miracles of Jesus healing the blind (in Matthew, 20:29-34; Mark, 8:22-26 and 10:46-52; Luke, 18:35-43). **15-16:** also conceivable for the translation, but in my opinion less likely: if "fortis" is seen to modify "mortis," these lines could read: "With his hand, having taken on flesh, he [Christ] abolishes the laws of strong death." For Christ conquering death, see Isaiah, 25:8; 1 Corinthians, 15:26 and 15:55; 2 Timothy, 1:10; Hebrews, 2:14; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4:** W1: all text and music of the entire line (including the following cauda and *punctus organi*) om, with no hint of hiatus in the MS. **7,3:** W1: patientem. **9,3:** F: om; supplied from *W1.* **10,4:** W1: last syllable of "pullulavit" om, likely due to the page turn just before in the MS. **12,2:** W1: rubro. **15,3:** W1: possibly vita. **MUSIC: Caudae and modal transmutation:** In addition to a greater than usual reliance on melodic sequence to construct a number of the caudae in this piece (the more extensive examples are signaled by letters above the staff, with transpositions indicated by parentheses), several of its melismatic sections in the first stanza feature modal transmutation between *F* and *W1.* These include the caudae over lines 1,5 ("patre"), 3,5 ("natura"), and the opening and closing phrases of 6,3 ("nescia"). All of these instances present quicker, first-mode rhythms in *W1* as opposed to the more extended, mode-5 renderings of *F.* In other instances, clear distinctions between mode-1 trochaic *(W1)* and mode-3 iambic *(F)* readings on the same rhythmic level appear in the caudae that close both Strophes I (line 8,3, "angustia") and II (line 9,1, "Ros"). Each of the varying readings from *W1* is given at the end of the transcription for comparison. In the case of the example of line 8,3 ("angustia"), two different alternatives for interpreting *W1* are supplied. The first of these corresponds essentially to the rhythmic values seen at this point in *F,* although these are rendered trochaically in *W1;* the second interpretation reads more literally the first-mode implications in the T of *W1* within the latter portion of the cauda (beginning with the fourth phrase). This latter alternative leads to *fractio modi* in the D and yields greater consonance overall. Additionally, a result of the second reading of *W1* is a series of phrases in 6L periods, which happen to correspond in length with all but the first phrase in the earlier portion of this same cauda (and this first phrase may also be made to match by shortening the final note and rest, as it is proposed in the above-staff optional reading in the *W1* alternatives). In terms of the priority of the different MS redactions, it is not possible to determine for certain which, if any, of the caudae versions may present the initial rhythmic conception, although the *W1* redactions sometimes offer more consonant readings. Nonetheless, the dissonance level is rather high throughout this piece, with numerous unavoidable harmonic seconds as well as

---

[8]Ezekiel, 44:2-3: "Et dixit Dominus ad me: 'Porta haec clausa erit; non aperietur, et vir non transiet per eam, quoniam Dominus Deus Israhel ingressus est per eam, eritque clausa principi. Princeps ipse sedebit in ea ut comedat panem coram domino..." ("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 God of Israel has entered through it; and it shall be shut for [the benefit of] the prince. The prince himself shall sit within it, that he may eat bread in the sight of the Lord...'").

[9]Isaiah, 9:2: "populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam: habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est eis" ("The people who walked in darkness, have seen a great light: for those living in the region of the shadow of death, light is risen to them").

[10]Psalm 145:8: "Dominus inluminat caecos. Dominus erigit adlisos. Dominus diligit iustos" ("The Lord gives light to the blind. The Lord lifts up the downcast. The Lord loves the just.").

more than a usual share of fourths in the *cum littera* segments. Interestingly, one of the most startling of the dissonances, the *b/c* dyad on the first syllable of "angustia," ("distress") at line 7,3 might lay claim to an instance of word painting; dissonances also proliferate at a greater than expected rate in the cauda that decorates this word. Moreover, there are some caudae in *W1* where one might expect faster values, but which are essentially identical to *F* (such as the one over line 2,5, "matre"), or that appear to be only partially "converted" (as in the melisma over line 6,3, "nescia"), which could argue for the *F* version as primary. After the opening melisma of Strophe II (over line 9,1 – "Ros"), evidence of modal transmutation between the two sources ceases. Lastly, since *F* has individual caudae that propose specific iambic and trochaic modal readings, any of the melismas that do not express a modal preference within Strophe I of this piece may be read in either fashion (even though this transcription presents them in a trochaic, mode-1 guise); places where an iambic, mode-3 interpretation may be implemented in *F* are marked above the system in the transcription. **Line 1,5:** Tt: W1: the syllable "pa-" of "patre" appears later in this source, underlaid to the 2li=*fg* in the T prior to the end of the cauda; the differing placement in *F* (followed in the transcription) also conforms with the placement of the corresponding syllable at the start of the cauda over 2,5 ("matre") in both sources, so there is little internal reason to shift the "pa-" in *F* to later. **3,5:** D: W1: *g* for the leaping *a* cadence note before the cauda, making a possibly preferable harmonic fifth instead of a fourth. **4:** TD: W1: text and music for this entire verse and its subsequent cauda and *punctus organi* completely om with no sign of disruption in the MS. **Cauda over line 8,3 (Closing Strophe I):** T: W1: in the fourth phrase of the cauda on "angustia," with the pitch series *e,d* at L22-L23 of the W1 redaction (marked with a dashed slur in the alternative readings given at the end of the score), the *d* is written as a rhomb shape (also signaled in the score); this is likely intended to signal ligation with the previous *e,* as in the respective places in each of the following T phrases in this cauda. D: F: 2 of the 3li=*dac* at L56-L57 appears as *b,* disrupting the sequence; *a* confirmed by *W1.* **Line 9,4:** for this and all following caudae, both *F* and *W1* show mode 1, in contrast to several of the prior melismas in *F;* see the above remarks on caudae and modal transmutation. **11,5:** Tt: F: syllabic division as in MS. **12,4:** TD: F: the DL *g* notes placed in both parts just before the second syllable of "parcit" are elongated much more broadly than usual, strongly implying the extension presented in the score. **12,5:** Tt: F: syllabic division as in MS. D: F: the syllable stroke at L6 of the melisma, after the first phrase of the cauda over the first syllable of "ignis," is faint, but visible and appears intentional. **13:** the *cum littera* passage on "clausa porta lux est or[ta]" suggests to me a rhythmical reading (especially for the plicated 3li figures over its first two words), due to its correspondences with the cauda phrases surrounding it; I have therefore stipulated rhythms in the score. **Closing cauda (on line 16,3):** D: F: the penultimate *c* and *f* notes in the respective second (at L18) and fourth phrases (at L30) of the melisma apparently read *b* for the first and *g* for the second instance; the adopted readings are taken from *W1,* where they are more clearly depicted. **Final *punctus organi:*** TD: W1: shows a completely different closing figure in this cadential passage; the alternative reading is given at the end of the transcription.

REX ET PATER OMNIUM

Conductus: (I17/307)

F, f. 297v (7,30)*

I

D [Rex [Rex] et pa-ter o - mni - um

T Rex [Rex] et pa-ter o - mni - um

in ia-ctu - ram ho - sti-um fa-bre-fa - ctum sed non fa - ctum e - va-gi - nans

in ia-ctu - ram ho - sti-um fa-bre-fa - ctum sed non fa - ctum e - va-gi - nans

gla - di-um qua-si per si-len - ti-um in - car - na-tum ut lar - va-tum

gla - di-um qua-si per si-len - ti-um in - car - na-tum ut lar - va-tum

mi-sit ad nos fi - li-

mi-sit ad nos fi - li-

- um.

- um.
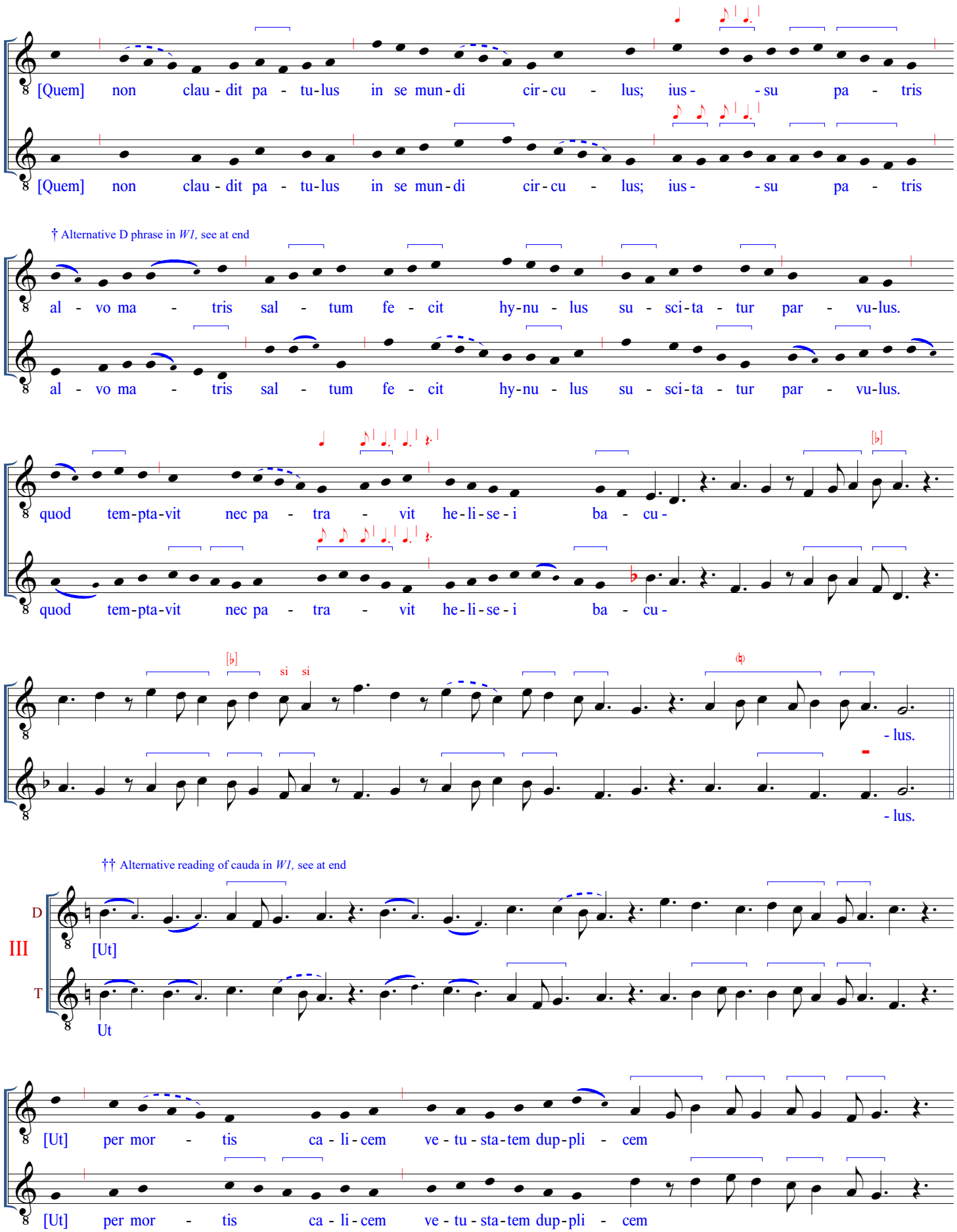
**Reading in iambic mode 3 equally likely, see at end

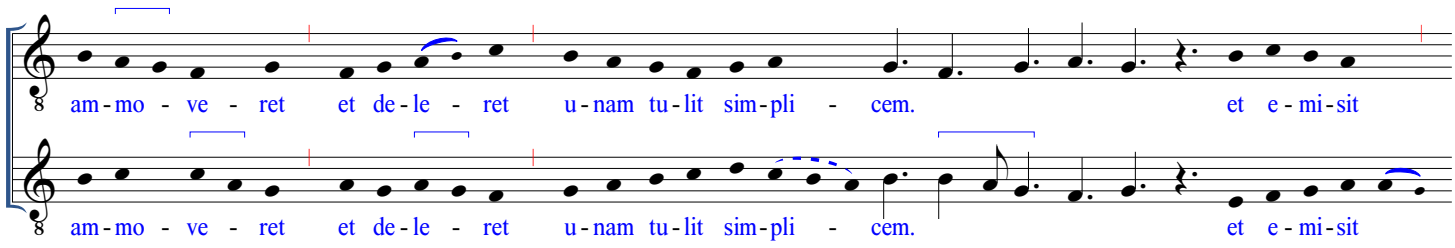
II

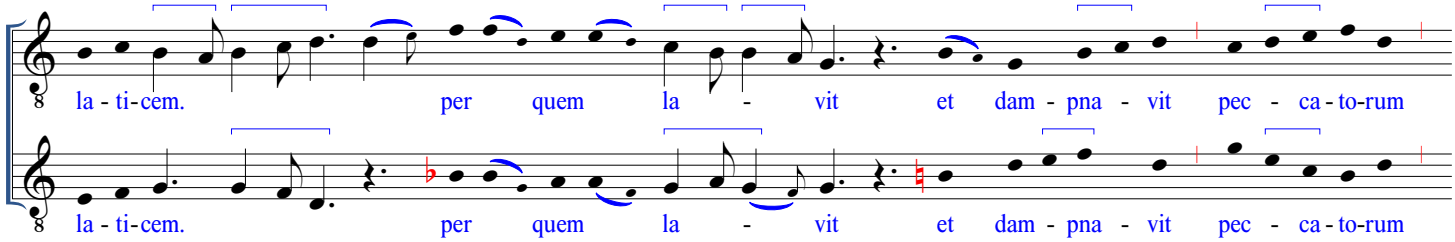
D Quem

T Quem

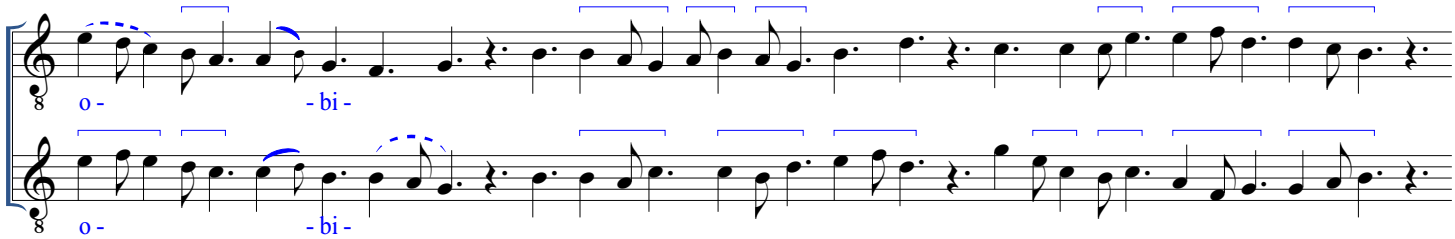
*Alternative rhythmical readings are possible for the opening cauda, see at end

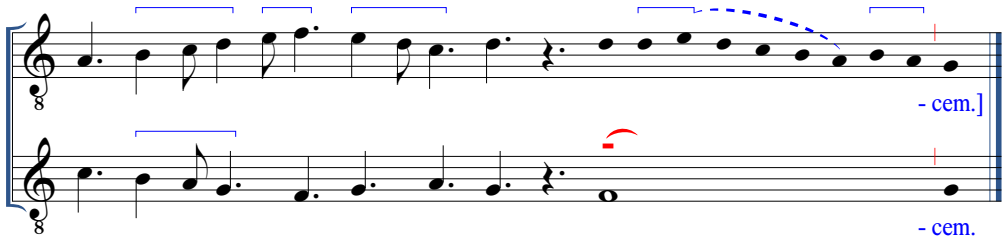

[Quem] non clau - dit pa - tu-lus in se mun-di cir-cu - lus; ius- - su pa - tris
[Quem] non clau - dit pa - tu-lus in se mun-di cir-cu - lus; ius- - su pa - tris
† Alternative D phrase in *W1*, see at end
al - vo ma - tris sal - tum fe - cit hy-nu - lus su - sci-ta - tur par - vu-lus.
al - vo ma - tris sal - tum fe - cit hy-nu - lus su - sci-ta - tur par - vu-lus.
quod tem-pta-vit nec pa - tra - vit he-li-se-i ba - cu-
quod tem-pta-vit nec pa - tra - vit he-li-se-i ba - cu-
si si
- lus.
- lus.
†† Alternative reading of cauda in *W1*, see at end
D
III
[Ut]
T
Ut
[Ut] per mor - tis ca - li-cem ve - tu - sta-tem dup-pli - cem
[Ut] per mor - tis ca - li-cem ve - tu - sta-tem dup-pli - cem





‡ Alternative reading in mode 3 possible, see at end; *W1* has different ligation in parts favoring mode 1

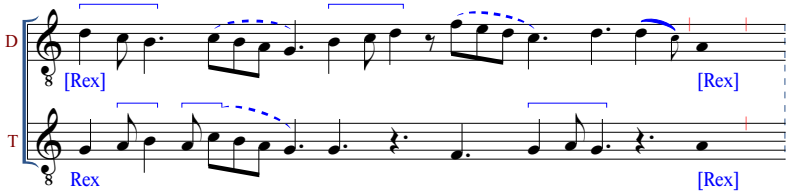




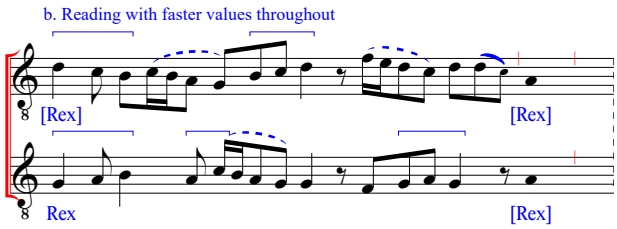
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Two other possible readings of the opening cauda (at line 1,1), from *F*, f. 297v, VI:

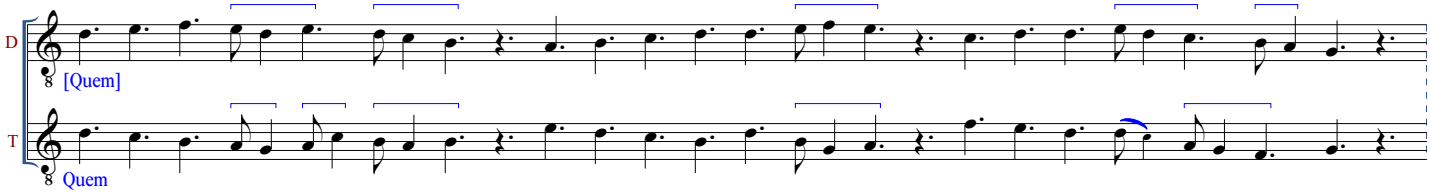
a. Default ligature readings, produces unison 4C=*cbag* fall



b. Reading with faster values throughout

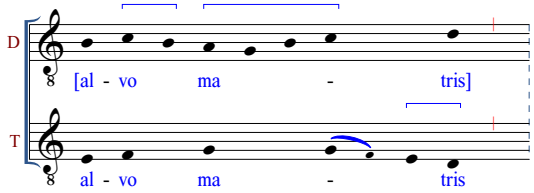


**Possible mode-3 reading of the initial cauda of Strophe II (at line 8,1), from *W1,* f. 124v (115v), IV

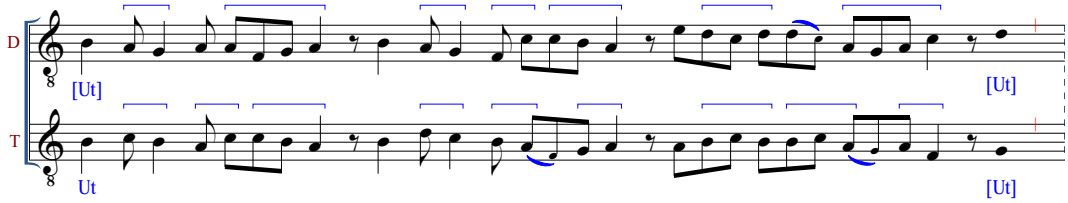


Alternative readings (cont.)

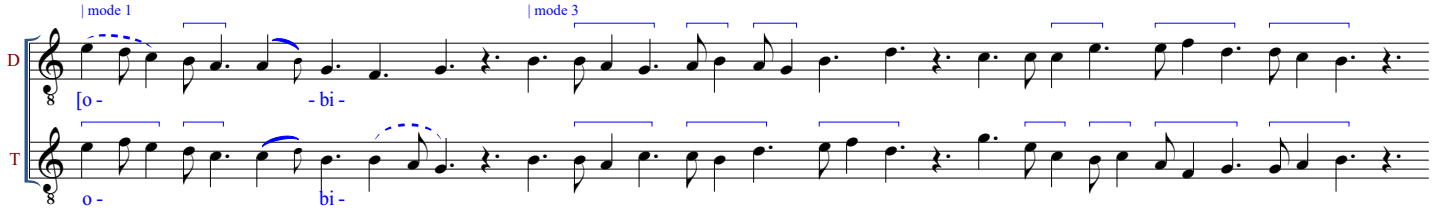
†Differing D phrase for line 10,3-4, from *W1,* f. 124v (115v), V-VI

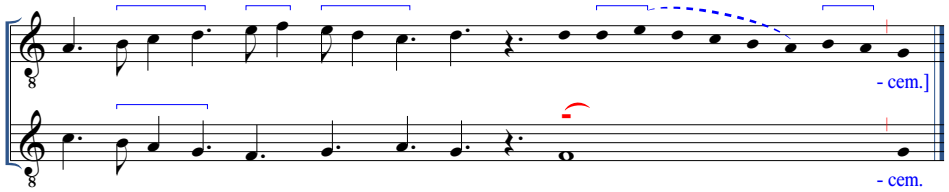


††Reading of the initial cauda of Strophe III (at line 15,1) in faster rhythms, from *W1,* f. 125r (116r), II
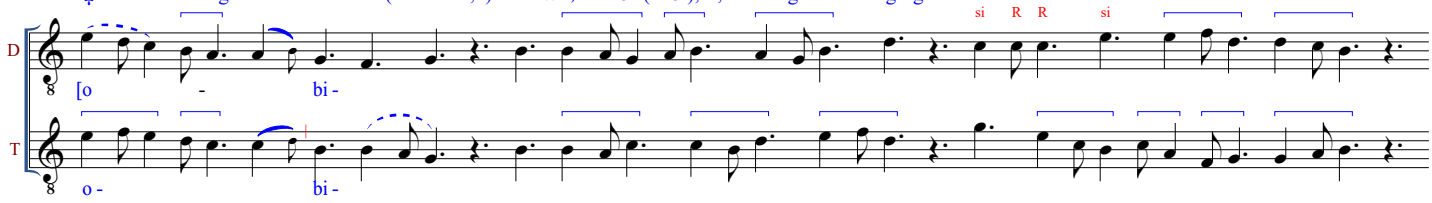


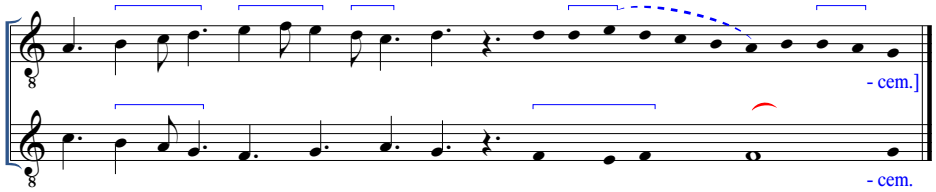
‡Possible mode-3 reading of the final cauda (at line 21,2), from *F,* f. 298v, VI





‡Mode-1 reading of the final cauda (at line 21,2) from *W1,* f. 125r (116r), V, showing contrasting ligations with *F*





REX ET PATER OMNIUM

Conductus (I17/307)

F, f. 297v (7,30)

I Rex et pater omnium –
in iacturam hostium,
fabrefactum, sed non factum,
evaginans gladium –
quasi per silentium
incarnatum, ut larvatum,
misit ad nos filium.

The king and father of all –
unsheathing a blade,
forged, yet unmade,
for overthrowing the enemy –
as if in silence
sent his incarnate son to us,
though in disguise.

II Quem non claudit patulus
in se mundi circulus,
iussu patris, alvo matris
saltum fecit hynulus.
Suscitatur parvulus,
quod temptavit, nec patravit
Helisei baculus.

The young deer, which the widespread circle of
the earth does not enclose in itself,
by the command of the father,
leaps in the mother's womb.
A little boy is restored to life,
because Elisha's staff tried
yet did not succeed.

III Ut, per mortis calicem,
vetustatem dupplicem
ammoveret et deleret,
unam tulit simplicem,
et emisit laticem,
per quem lavit et dampnavit
peccatorum obicem.

In order, through the cup of death,
that he might remove and efface
our double failing,
he took on a single one,
and sent forth a stream,
through which he washed away and condemned
the impediment of sin.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 30, f. 297v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals; this piece ends a short series of contiguous items, beginning at *F*-7,24 with *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144), where the transmission of works is more limited: none is in *W2* or *Ma,* one piece is wholly unique to *F,* and any concordances outside *F* and *W1* for the others are spare.[1] *Rex et pater omnium* is succeeded by *Austro terris influente* (G1/26), beginning at the top of f. 299r; the latter piece is headed by a large historiated initial, the first to appear since the start of the fascicle at f. 263r; it boasts a much wider concordance base that is echoed by the works that immediately follow it.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 43, f. 124r (115r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, indicated as usual by painted initials, although the one for III is about half the size of the one for II.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

[1] *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144 – *F*-7,24) and *Dei sapientia* (J6/86 – *F*-7,28) are the only other pieces that show concordances beyond *F* and *W1* (with three additional sources for the first item, and two for the second – although in both cases two of these sources amount to different representations of the same object due to offset imprinting of a folio's contents upon a binding board housed elsewhere); the latter piece, furthermore, is absent from *W1,* while *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305 – *F*-7,25) appears only in *F.*

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** the layout of the text here departs from that of Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:xix-xx) by considering lines 3,6,10,13,17, and 20 not as denoting two separate verses of 4p each, but as single 8p lines with internal rhyme. **Textual notes: 1-7:** a number of the expressions contained in this first stanza appear in Wisdom, 18:14-16.[2] As Anderson reports (*NDRC,* 4:xix, note 5), drawing on Bede's *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* (cited from *PL,* 83, col. 373), the sword in the conductus text stands for Christ (and see also the remarks for lines 3-4); for more on the leaping image that arises in the biblical text, see the remarks for lines 10-11. **3-4:** *W1* (as well as a number of modern editions of this poem) has "fractum" for 3,4 here, which might conceivably work as a reference to the sword (i.e., Christ, see the remarks for lines 1-7) as constituting two different elements, the divine and the human, that are inseparable from each other; or that Christ and the Father are unified as members of the Trinity, and thus cannot be divided. On the other hand, the *F* reading of "factum" may make better sense, as there is no real biblical connection that I have been able to find with the idea of a broken sword that would readily refer to Christ (the closest is in Psalm 75: 4, which refers to breaking the powers of various weapons, among them swords).[3] Rather, the phrase "forged yet unmade" *(fabrefactum sed non factum)* refers to Christ as begotten by God while being consubstantial with him. Central to these orthodox tenets is that Christ ("the Word") existed before his conception and incarnation on earth (see John, 1:1-3). Hence he was "begotten, not made" (as related in the Nicene Creed) from God the Father from eternity. For some similar nods to this conceit in the conductus repertory, see the opening lines of the conductus *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368) and *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330, which is transmitted just prior to *Rex et pater omnium* in *F*-7), line 2 of *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), as well as line 16 of *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89). For more on the unsheathed sword in the context of the figure of Christ, see Joshua, 5:13-14.[4] **5:** on the reference to silence, see the biblical citation from Wisdom in the remarks above for lines 1-7. **6-7:** i.e., Christ was God's incarnate son, but his human form masked his divine nature. **8-9:** Christ, though he lived in the world as a mortal human, was not bound by it because he was also God. For related expressions in the conductus repertory, see *Exceptivam actionem* (K67/110) by Alanus ab Insulis, lines 41-44; *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16 /334), lines 17-20, by Walter of Châtillon; and *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), lines 1-2, by Philip the Chancellor. Note also the saying: "God is an infinite sphere whose center is everywhere and circumference is nowhere" from *The Book of 24 Philosophers* ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; and Alanus's similar, probably derivative remark "God is an intelligible sphere, whose center is everywhere, and whose circumference is nowhere" ("Deus est sphaera intelligibilis, cuius centrum ubique, circumferentia nusquam");[5] for treatments of these and

---

[2]Wisdom, 18:14-16: "cum enim quietum silentium contineret omnia, et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet, omnipotens sermo tuus de caelo a regalibus sedibus, durus debellator in mediam exterminii terram prosilivit, gladius acutus insimulatum imperium tuum portans, et, stans, replevit omnia morte, et usque ad caelum adtingebat stans in terra" ("For while quiet silence enveloped all things, and the night was in the midst of her course, your almighty word leapt down from heaven from your royal throne, as a fierce conqueror into the midst of the land of destruction, as a sharp sword bearing your undisguised command, and, standing, filled all things with death, and standing on the earth reached even to heaven.").

[3]Psalms, 75:4: "ibi confregit potentias arcuum, scutum et gladium, et bellum" ("There has he [God] broken the powers of bows, the shield and sword, and the battle.").

[4]Joshua, 5:13-14: "Cum autem esset Iosue in agro urbis Hiericho, levavit oculos et vidit virum stantem contra se et evaginatum tenentem gladium, perrexitque ad eum et ait: 'Noster es, an adversariorum?' Qui respondit: 'Nequaquam, sed sum princeps exercitus Domini et nunc venio'" ("And when Joshua was in the field of the city of Jericho, he raised his eyes, and saw a man standing in front of him and holding a drawn sword, and he went to him, and said: 'Are you one of ours, or of our adversaries?' And he answered: 'Not at all, but I am the prince of the host of the Lord, and now I have come.'").

[5]From his *Sermo de sphaera intelligibilis,* available in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, ed., *Alain de Lille: textes inedits* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1965), pp. 295-306.

related concepts, see Peter Dronke "The Fable of the Four Spheres."[6] **10-11:** for the figure of the leaping deer in the Bible, see Song of Songs, 2:8-9.[7] Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:xx, note 2), with support drawn from chapter 2 of the *Sigillum Beate Marie* of Honorius of Autun (cited from *PL,* 172: col. 502D), explains the deer/hart as a symbol of Christ. The image of leaping into the womb may also recall the events of the Visitation in Luke, 1:39-56, where Mary, having already conceived Christ, goes to visit her cousin Elizabeth, who was then pregnant with John the Baptist. Elizabeth's pregnancy was also miraculous, since she and her husband Zachariah had been unable to conceive until Zachariah was visited by an angel who informed him that his wife would bear a son (see Luke, 1:13-15). Upon Mary's arrival, her greeting to Elizabeth caused John to leap ("exultavit") in Elizabeth's womb (Luke, 1:41,44). John himself is typically regarded as a forerunner of Christ who predicted his coming; thus the leaping described in the conductus text has here been transferred from John to Jesus. **12-14:** see 4 Kings (2 Kings), 4:1-37. In verses 32-37, the Old Testament prophet Elisha brings back to life the dead son of a mother who had miraculously conceived him through Elisha's intervention (verses 8-17). An earlier attempt to resurrect the boy (verses 29-31), in which Elisha sent his servant, Gehazi, to lay his master's staff upon the son, failed, and the child was revived only when Elisha himself bent his own body over the child. In a number of exegetical commentaries, Elisha's staff represents the Old Law of the Mosaic covenant, whereas Elisha himself is portrayed as a figure of the new covenant represented by Christ. See also the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur* (H29/127), lines 10-11; *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92), lines 21-24; and *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), lines 3-6. For a similarly framed story concerning the prophet Elijah, of whom Elisha was a devoted disciple and successor, see the notes on the text for lines 15-16 of the conductus *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225). **15:** the "cup of death" recalls both the chalice used at the Last Supper (see Matthew, 26:26-29; Mark, 14:22-25; and Luke, 22:17-20; cf. also 1 Corinthians, 11:25-26), as well as Christ's wish to be relieved of his mortal fate during his prayers to God in the garden of Gethsemane (Matthew, 26:39,42; Mark, 14:36; Luke, 22:42; cf. also John, 18:11). Both instances ring with associations of his sacrifice in taking on the sins of mankind. **16-18:** Anderson's rendering of these lines in English (*NDRC,* 4:xx) goes rather wide of the mark. The "duplex vetustas" that the poem invokes (literally "double oldness," rendered in the above translation as "double failing"), refers to the two-fold imposition of guilt *(culpa)* along with punishment *(poena)* that was visited upon mankind with the inculcation of original sin by Adam. Through his crucifixion, in which he accepted the *punishment* for the sin, but not its actual *guilt* of commission, Christ thus used a single quality of this "oldness" (the "unam ... simplicem" of line 18) to render both of them void. The association of these qualities with agedness stems originally from language in Romans, 6:6[8] and Romans, 7:6.[9] Later commentators, most notably Peter Lombard in his books of *Sentences,* went on to delineate the two-fold nature of the ancient "oldness" specifically with guilt and punishment: "Suscepit enim nostram vetustatem, ut suam nobis infunderet novitatem. Simplam ille accepit vetustatem, id est, poenae, ut nostram duplam consumeret, id est, poenae et culpae" ("For he [Christ] took on our oldness in order that he might pour his newness upon us. He took on a single oldness, i.e., of punishment, in order to consume our double [oldness],

---

[6]In *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism,* Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, no. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 143-153.

[7]Song of Songs, 2:8-9: "Vox dilecti mei; ecce iste venit, saliens in montibus, transiliens colles. Similis est dilectus meus capreae, hinnuloque cervorum. En ipse stat post parietem nostrum, respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos" ("The voice of my beloved, behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping over the hills. My beloved is like a roe, or a young hart. Behold he standeth behind our wall, looking through the windows, looking through the lattices.").

[8]Romans, 6:6: "Hoc scientes, quia vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruatur corpus peccati, ut ultra non serviamus peccato" ("Knowing this, that our old man is crucified at the same time [as Christ], that the body of sin may be destroyed, so that we may serve sin no longer").

[9]Romans, 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, in dying, we are freed from the [old] law, wherein we were held back, so that we may serve in the newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the [Mosaic] letter").

i.e., of punishment and of guilt."[10] Similar interpretations are found in the many writings based on Lombard's work, such as the commentaries on the *Sentences* by Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura. Jacques de Vitry's reference to the idea in one of his Easter sermons is demonstrative of how thoroughly this conceit had penetrated the intellectual culture of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: "Duplicem vetustatem nostram, poenae, scilicet, et culpae, sua simplici delevit vetustate, scilicet, poenae, quam pro nobis assumpsit, sed eam resurgendo deposuit" ("He effaced our double oldness, that is to say of punishment and guilt, with his own single oldness, that is to say, of punishment, which he took on for us, but laid aside by rising again.").[11] **19:** on Christ as water, see, e.g., the conductus *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304), lines 10-12; *Fulget in propatulo* (H17/134), lines 3-4; *Veni creator spiritus ... recreator* (E13/361), line 13; *Ave virgo virginum* (F16,P46/39), 21-22; *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), line 10; and *Beata viscera ... cuius* (K14/42), line 49; as well as Traill, "Biblical Exegesis," 334,[12] which gives explanations of the figure of Christ as *fons, rivulus,* and *flumen,* drawn from the *Allegoriae* of Rabanus Maurus.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 15,4:** Anderson's text edition (*NDRC,* 4:xix-xx) has a nonsensical typo: "portis"; the correct "mortis" occurs in both the extant sources and in Anderson's presentation of the music (*NDRC,* 4:32). **MUSIC: Caudae:** several of the caudae in this work allow for different rhythmical realizations. These include the melismas that open each strophe as well as the final cauda of the piece. Alternative readings of these passages are presented at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 1,1 (opens Strophe I):** reading the ligatures in the most typical manner causes the 4C descent of *cbag* in both parts to occur in unison; this rejected reading, as well as another possible version in faster rhythmic values throughout, is given for comparison at the end of the transcription. **Line 4,1:** D: W1: siP=*a* for the first syllable of "evaginans"; this is adopted here as a more consonant reading for the start of a line than the 3C=*bag* in *F.* **Cauda at line 8,1 (opens Strophe II):** a reading in iambic mode 3 is possible, given at the end of the transcription and taken from *W1,* which also shows an interesting notational variant, since each plicated note in *F* in this cauda is represented by 2si figures in *W1.* This notational feature in *W1* has suggested the extended rhythmic interpretation and the choice of pitches given to these passages in *F.* **Line 10,3-4:** D: W1: a slightly different musical phrase is set to "alvo matris" here (si,2li,4li,si=*b,cb,agbc,d*); for this reading transcribed, see at the end. **Cauda at line 14,2 (closes Strophe II):** T: F: the *b-flat* sig rot preceding the melisma never appears in *W1.* D: F: no flat sig on *b* is ever indicated for this voice, although some seem necessary (given as bracketed ficta above the staff); curiously, though, a sig quad on *b* appears in both the T and D at the start of Strophe III (at line 15,1), perhaps suggesting previous *b-flats* are indeed expected in the D; the two si pitches *c,a* in the D at the end of the fourth phrase of the cauda (at L14,2-L15) are ligated in W1, confirming the choice of rhythm adopted here. **Cauda at line 15,1 (opens Strophe III):** TD: F: sig quads on *b* precede in both voices, despite no prior appearance of a *b-flat* sig in the D. The rhythms for the siP figures that begin each of the first two phrases are based on the treatment of the similar figures at the start of the cauda at line 8,1 (q.v.); the pitches are clarified by the alternative version of this cauda in *W1* that implies faster values; look for this version at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 21,2 (closes Strophe III):** TD: F: an alternative reading in an iambic mode 3 is also possible, beginning with the second phrase of this rhythmicized passage (starting at L9); see at end. TD: W1: implies mode 1 more strongly than *F* due to the slightly different ligation seen in several phrases; this version is also given at the end of the transcription.

---

[10]From Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quattuor libri,* book 3, distinction 15, article 1; text from *PL,*192, col. 785.

[11]Text taken from Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni ...* (Antwerp: Johannis Stelsius, 1575), p. 374.

[12]David A. Traill, "Biblical Exegesis and Medieval Latin Lyric: Interpretational Problems in *Nutante mundi cardine, Relegentur ab area,* and *Vite perdite,*" *The Journal of Medieval Latin,* 17 (2007): 329-341.
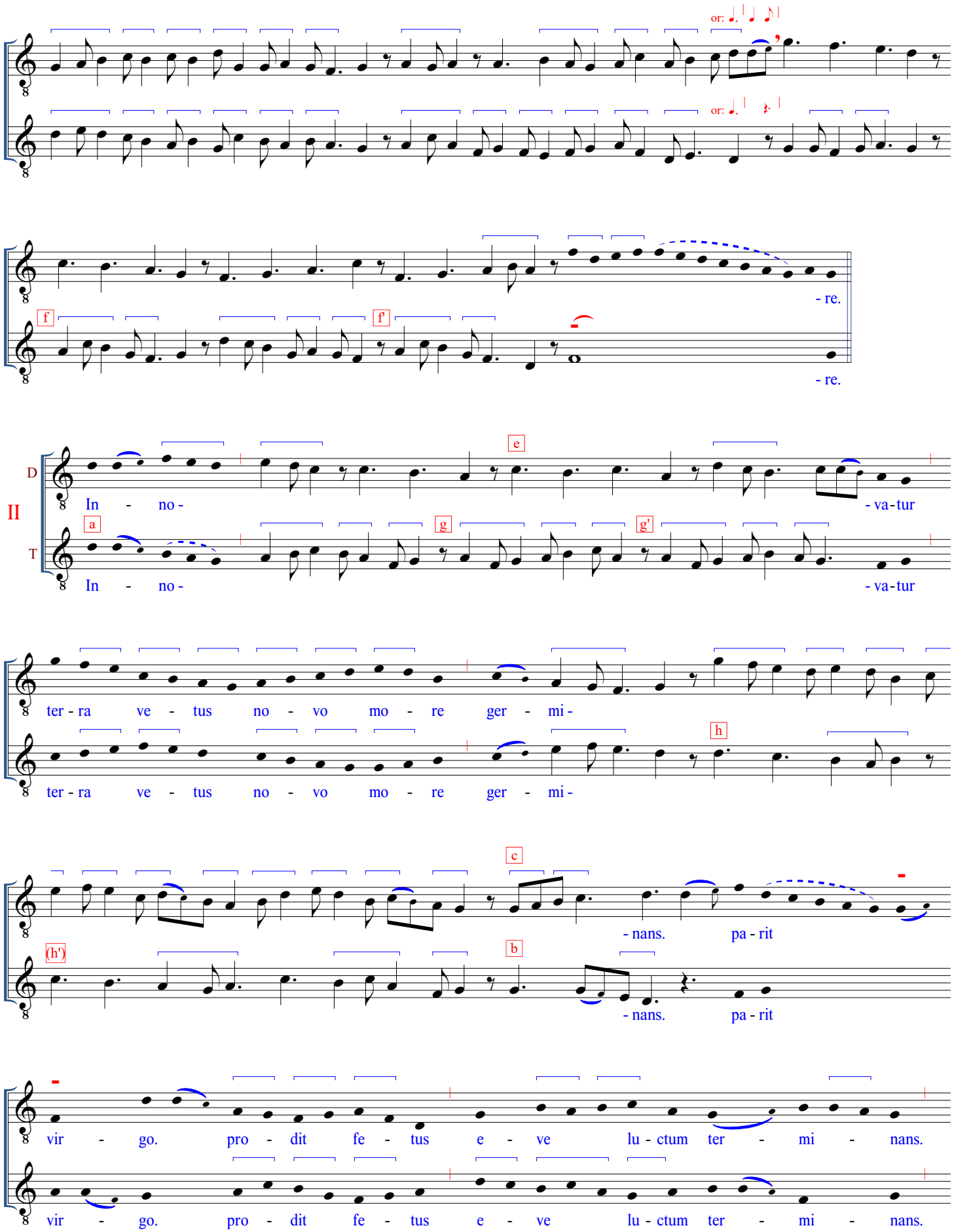
AUSTRO TERRIS INFLUENTE
Conductus (G1/26)
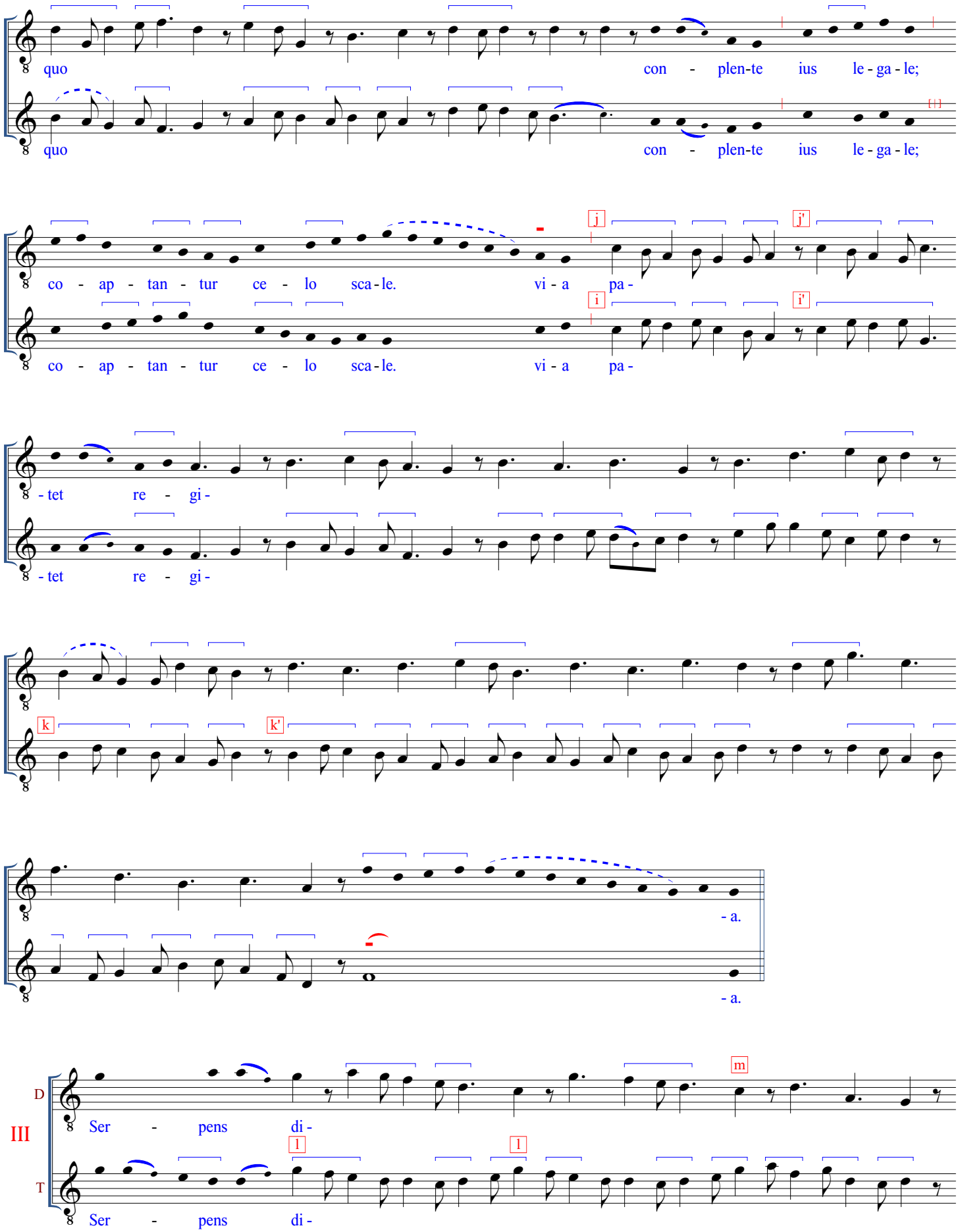
F, f. 299r (7,31)
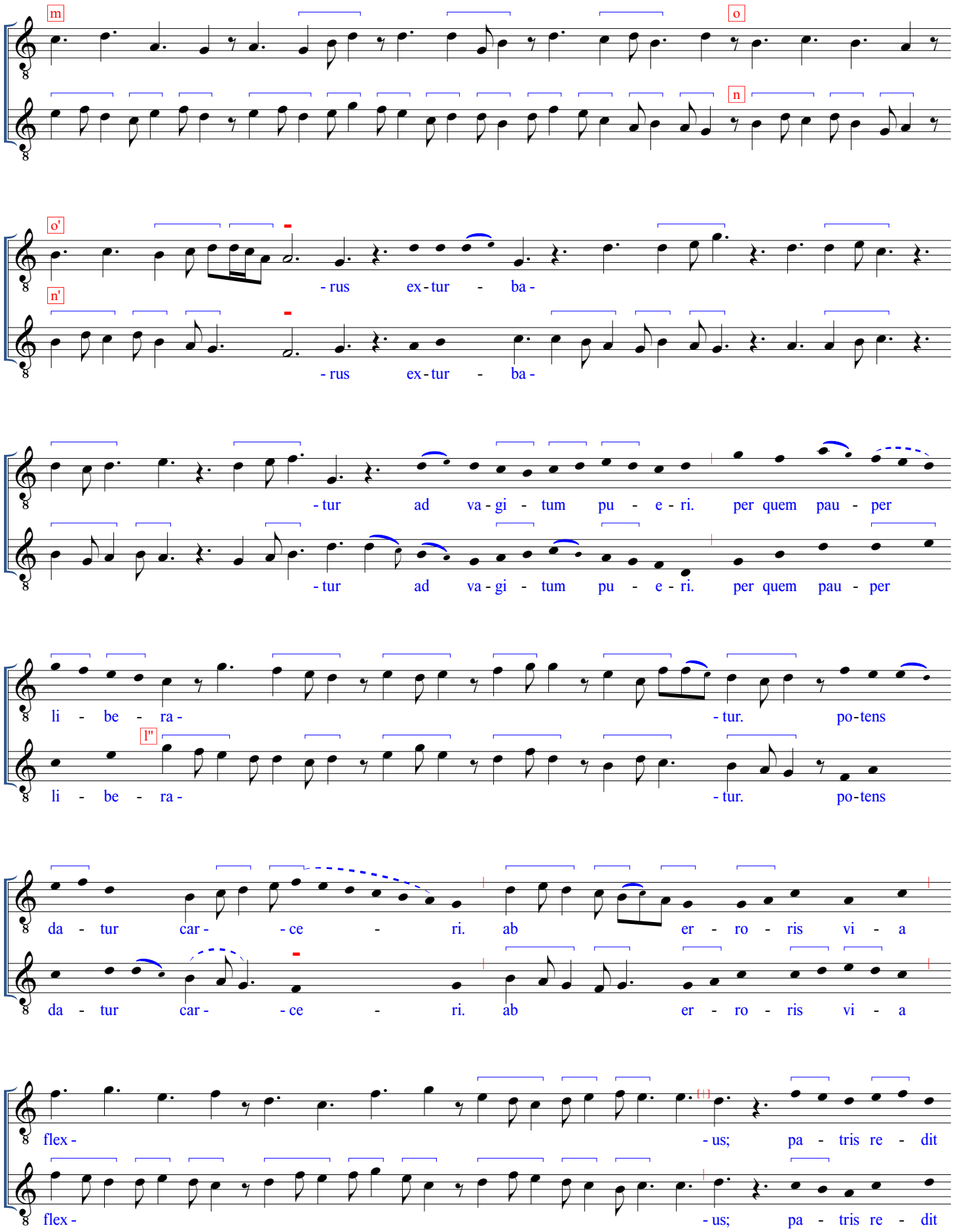
I
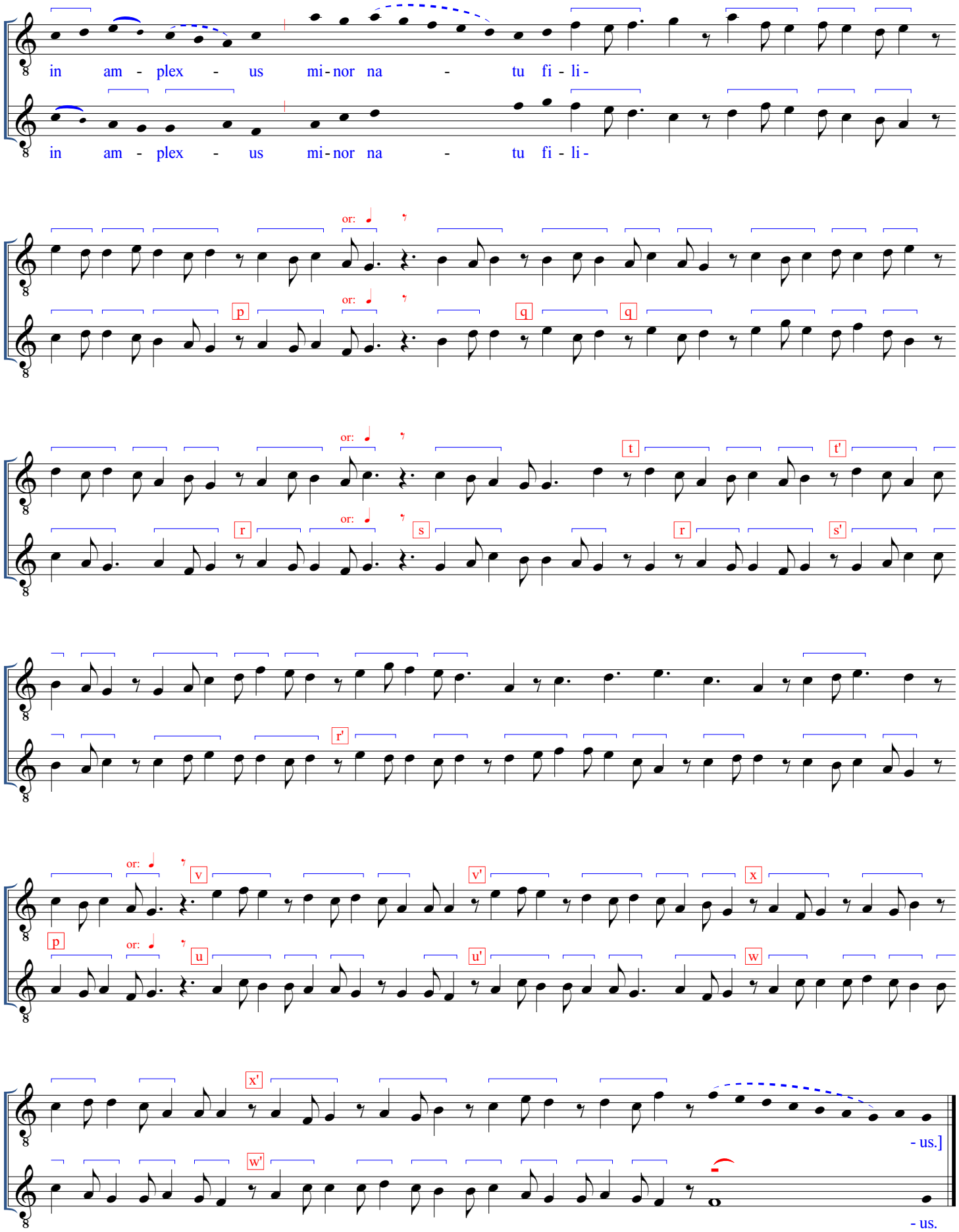
D [Au - - stro ter - ris in - flu - en - te; sur - gens ce - dit a - qui - lo. fla - tu sa - cro suc - ce-den-te; pul - so men - tis nu - bi - lo; fer - vet i - gnis sed fe - cun - dans. et hu - ma - num cor e - mun - dans a le - ta - li fri - go -

T Au - - stro ter - ris in - flu - en - te; sur - gens ce - dit a - qui - lo. fla - tu sa - cro suc - ce-den-te; pul - so men - tis nu - bi - lo; fer - vet i - gnis sed fe - cun - dans. et hu - ma - num cor e - mun - dans a le - ta - li fri - go -


or:
or:
- re.
- re.
II
D
T
In - no -
- va - tur
In - no -
- va - tur
ter - ra ve - tus no - vo mo - re ger - mi -
ter - ra ve - tus no - vo mo - re ger - mi -
- nans. pa - rit
- nans. pa - rit
vir - go. pro - dit fe - tus e - ve lu - ctum ter - mi - nans.
vir - go. pro - dit fe - tus e - ve lu - ctum ter - mi - nans.


quo con - plen-te ius le - ga - le;
quo con - plen-te ius le - ga - le;
co - ap - tan - tur ce - lo sca - le. vi - a pa -
co - ap - tan - tur ce - lo sca - le. vi - a pa -
- tet re - gi -
- tet re - gi -
- a.
- a.
III
D
T
Ser - pens di -
Ser - pens di -


m
o
n
o'
n'
- rus ex - tur - ba -
- rus ex - tur - ba -
- tur ad va - gi - tum pu - e - ri. per quem pau - per
- tur ad va - gi - tum pu - e - ri. per quem pau - per
li - be - ra - - tur. po - tens
l"
li - be - ra - - tur. po - tens
da - tur car - - ce - ri. ab er - ro - ris vi - a
da - tur car - - ce - ri. ab er - ro - ris vi - a
flex - - us; pa - tris re - dit
flex - - us; pa - tris re - dit


in am - plex - us mi - nor na - tu fi - li -
in am - plex - us mi - nor na - tu fi - li -
or:
p
q
t
t'
r
s
r'
v
v'
x
u
u'
w
x'
w'
- us.]
- us.

AUSTRO TERRIS INFLUENTE

Conductus (G1/26)

F, f. 299r (7,31)

I Austro terris influente,
surgens cedit Aquilo.
Flatu sacro succedente,
pulso mentis nubilo,
fervet ignis, sed fecundans
et humanum cor emundans
a letali frigore.

As the warm south wind flows over the lands,
the surging north wind takes its leave.
As the sacred gust draws ever nearer,
having driven away the cloud of the mind,
a fire rages, but one enriching
and cleansing the human heart
from deathly cold.

II Innovatur terra vetus,
novo more germinans.
Parit virgo; prodit fetus,
Eve luctum terminans,
quo conplente ius legale.
Coaptantur celo scale;
via patet regia.

The old earth is renewed,
budding in a new manner.
A virgin gives birth; a child goes forth,
ending Eve's sorrow
and thereby concluding the old legal code.
A stairway is joined together with heaven;
a regal path lies open.

III Serpens dirus exturbatur
ad vagitum pueri,
per quem pauper liberatur
potens datur carceri.
Ab erroris via flexus,
patris redit in amplexus
minor natu filius.

The dreadful serpent is driven away
by the cry of a child,
through whom the pauper is freed
and the mighty consigned to prison.
The younger son by birth,
turned away from the path of error,
returns to his father's embrace.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 31, f. 299r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals. The historiated illumination opening Strophe I at the top left of the folio (though not the start of a gathering) suggests a major division within the manuscript, as it is the first encountered decoration of its type since the beginning of the fascicle. Such a division is supported by the transmission patterns of *Austro terris,* which are wider than the more limited concordances presented by the series of pieces from *F*-7,24-30 (for these, see the remarks on the transmission in *F* of the previous work, *Rex et pater omnium* [I17/307]). The opening illumination presents a bi-level rendering within the initial "A," with the top segment portraying the three Marys at Christ's empty tomb on Easter morning. Two of them are bearing jars, holding spices for anointing Jesus's body (see Luke, 23:55-24:10). They interact with a winged angel, who is pointing to what is apparently an open, empty coffin or sarcophagus (see Mark, 16:1-8; Matthew, 28:1-8; John, 20:1). At the bottom is a *Noli me tangere* scene (see John, 20:17), depicting Christ's encounter with Mary Magdalene after his resurrection; here he warns her not to touch him, since he has not yet ascended to God the Father. There is no direct correlation of these images with the content of the poetry they illustrate, although the advent of fair weather alluded to in the opening lines of the poem connects with the springtime celebration of Easter as depicted in the initial.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 40, f. 121r (112r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, each indicated by painted initials.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 3, f. 69r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, each rather unusually indicated by filigreed initials, with a larger, system-high capital for the opening letter. More typically, initials in *Ma* are never executed, although two other such elaborated decorations grace the previous conductus on ff. 68r-v, the unique

transmission of *Adest annus iubileus* (J56/8).

W2, fasc. 6, no. 6, f. 104v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals. The close of the final cauda and text intrude somewhat into the right margin of the last system to contain the piece; and the final text syllable is written larger and more elaborately than usual, possibly to call attention to its placement outside of the writing block.

Heid (D-Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588), no. 4, f. 3v-3r:[1] a2 (but with a third staff provided throughout for a Tr voice whose content was never entered); the two folios, as presently numbered, are reversed from their original disposition, so the present recto was originally verso; fragmentary; much of the music and text is preserved from the very end of the cauda prior to the last syllable of line 15,2 ("[di]rus") up through nearly the end of the piece, with some internal losses.[2] The notation sometimes displays mensural properties: imperfect and *sine proprietate* ligatures and distinctions between L and B values in repeated-note passages are evident in the caudae, along with rest strokes occasionally distinguished in length; similarly, the extant *cum littera* segments, when legible, show declamation mostly in L values.

GB-Llp 752 (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 752), no. 3, front cover board, interior (offset), and f. Br: a2: fragmentary. Certain segments of the leather covering pasted onto the inside of the front cover board reveal offset images of only the last letter of line 14 and first three syllables of line 15 to start Strophe III ("[regi]a / Serpens di[rus]" – the latter line beginning with a capital), as well as what looks like text and music of part of line 16 ("[vagi]tum pueri") on a different portion of the covering; occasional stray notational figures may also be seen. The folio that rendered the offset is now, unfortunately, lost. The first system on that part of the leaf now designated as f. Br presents the Tt and T of lines 20 ("patris redit ...") through about the first 7L of the final cauda on line 20,3 ("fili[us]"); the D is completely cut away here. The second system shows T and D of the final cauda from L19 to L78, with its remainder and final Tt syllable lost; some further portions of the cauda's music are also missing from this segment, since some of the parchment of this system has been cut away (possibly for binding purposes), leaving a hole somewhat in the shape of a stretched-out letter "V" in the middle of this double-leaf fragment (ff. Av-Br).[3]

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95), no. 34, f. 27v (25v): a1 (T?), with neumes quite similar to those in *Eng 102*; Strophe I only, as in *Eng 102.* Melismas are underscored

---

[1]The 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 at https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs2588/0013/image. 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.

[2]The specific remains of this piece in *Heid* are as follows, organized according to the six systems that carry it (the first four systems on f. 3v, the remainder on f. 3r, according to the foliation now used by the Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg). Each system has an added Tr staff, all of which are empty except for the fifth (q.v.); this one shows the later addition of both parts of a completely different piece a2. For folio 3v, much of the music and text is significantly faded, and legibility is further challenged by the heavy bleedthrough of ink from the other side of the leaf. Folio 3v: system **1)** D of approximately the last 7L (and the last 6L from the T) of the cauda over the penultimate syllable of line 15,2 ("[di]rus"), extending through the T,D, and Tt of 16,2 ("vagitum"). **2)** Tt,T,D from "[p]er" of 17,1 ("per quem pauper") through 18,1 ("potens"). **3)** T,D,Tt from "[car]ceri" of 18,3 through the end of the cauda on 19,4 ("flexus"). **4)** Tt,T,D from approximately "[pa]tris" of 20,1 through approximately the first 12L of the final cauda on 21,3 ("fili[us]"). Folio 3r: **5)** T,D of the final cauda from roughly L14 to L54. In addition, the otherwise empty Tr staff that appears uniquely throughout this transmission of *Austro terris* shows the subsequent addition in a different text and music hand of the opening portion of the troped BD *Procedentem sponsum de thalamo* a2 (found in *CH-EN 314,* f. 180v, as well as other sources); this added material does not continue beyond this fifth system. **6)** T,D of final cauda from L61 through the first 5C pitches of the concluding *punctus organi* of the D and penultimate note of the T; the final syllable of "filius" (line 21,3) is also missing.

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

with wavy lines in red ink, which additionally help to indicate the placement of certain syllables. The single line of text and neumes just below the first system of *Austro terris,* at the bottom of f. 27v and preceded by a Greek cross, does not belong to this piece, but signals an earlier omission occurring within the third text line on this leaf, pointed out by a similar cross.[4]

CH-EN 102 (Eng 102; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 102), no. 27, f. 150v: a1 (T?), with neumes quite similar to those in *Stutt;* Strophe I only, as in *Stutt;* the piece opens just above the center point of the leaf with a fairly nondescript capital latter and following a portion of a different written text without neumes; it begins about midway through the line of text after a relatively large empty space.[5]

Lost transmission:

Austro terris is also cited as the first item in a lost "minimus liber vetus" from a 1295 inventory of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (see Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology*, 5 [1987]: 380-399, at 382).

Text only:

CH-Zz C.58/275 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C.58/275), no. 332 (5),[6] f. 148r: text only of Strophes I-III, complete. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details stem from *NDRC* and the CPI website.

The following source is conjectural, but highly plausible:

F-T 1471 (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471; [olim] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471), no. 1, f. Ar (first front flyleaf, recto): text only of the final syllable ("-us") of the poem. The leaves are ruled to accommodate music a2, but staves were never inscribed and only verbal text is entered throughout. The single extant syllable from *Austro terris* lies at the right margin, with the open area to the left providing space for the sizeable final cauda that concludes the piece (ca. 94L in length plus *punctus organi*). The likelihood that this is a remnant from *Austro terris* is suggested by Eva Maschke's revelation that no other conductus from *F*-7 finishes with a cauda on this specific syllable.[7] Similarly, for the pieces transmitted a3 in *F*-6, the only possible candidate is the otherwise unique *A solis ortus cardine* (F22,Q23/5). However, although this work ends with a cauda of approximately 30L, the closing melisma of *A solis ortus* does not seem protracted enough to require the amount of space that is allowed for it in *F-T 1471.* This source was unknown to Anderson and is not included in his catalog or edition.

The opening line of *Austro terris* also appears as line 8 of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), the

---

[4]Images of this source are available here: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/suche/suchergebnis; search "HB I 95."

[5]Images of this source may be found through this website: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en. Locate "Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek," under the "Collections" pane, and select the codex from the lists that appear. A direct link to the codex appears here.

[6]The numbering of the pieces in *CH-Zz C.58/275* is that of Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). Werner's numbers occasionally split or combine various poems, but this does not apply for the Parisian conductus in this source (nos. 328-335 – although no. 331 is *Virgo deum generat* from *St Gall 383*). The numbering as in Anderson, *NDRC,* which apparently only applies to the conductus portion, is given afterwards in parentheses.

[7]For this point and for images of this source, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, "The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony? A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters,* 97:1–41, at p. 12, note 25. Online, color images are available via DIAMM here.

poetry of which is constructed nearly completely from the incipits of other conductus. Similarly, portions of lines 3 and 5 of *Austro terris* ("Flatu sacro succedente / ... / fervet ignis sed fecundans") also may be recalled in line 15 of *Hac in die rege nato* ("Quam fecundat sacer flatus"), which is not otherwise easily identifiable as coming from a specific work. *Hac in die rege nato* is transmitted in the following, briefly noted 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: the conductus prosula *Minor natu filius* (K82/208), found in the following sources, is equivalent to the Tt and T melody of line 21 and the T music of the ensuing final cauda:

F: fasc. 10, no. 82, f. 450v: a1 (T). *Minor natu filius* appears to be the last entry within this fascicle that was executed by the hand of the main music scribe – and possibly text scribe – of *F*. It is succeeded by the uniquely transmitted *Sol eclypsim patitur* (K83/3310, whose text hand differs slightly and its music hand considerably. Also very unusual is the lack of an opening initial of any kind for *Sol eclypsim,* further suggesting its inclusion was not part of the initial program for *F*. After this piece concludes on f. 451v, the remaining pages contain only staff-line systems until the start of *F*-11 with f. 463r.

LoB: no. 12, f. 36r: a1 (T); rubric: "De filio prodigo." After the inscription of the melody and poetry for the first line of the prosula (= line 21 of the host conductus), the music on the opening leaf alone includes rhomb-shaped figures alternating with the tailed square shapes (which look like L) that serve as the default single-note figure seen throughout this portion of the source. This feature suggests a mensural reading for this portion at least. After the page turn, all the figures then adopt the default shape or its plicated form.

Praha: no. 6, f. 37v[b]: text only of *Minor natu filius*; capital initial or guide letter in the gutter to the left of the text; rubric in right margin: "de filio prodigo."

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** because its final cauda is texted in a separate transmission as the prosula *Minor natu filius,* there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the poetry of *Austro terris influente* may be attributable to Philip the Chancellor. For this claim, see Anderson, "A Postscript," 37.[8] Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," 587, note 56)[9] raises doubts, but concedes the attribution is possible. Similarly, the numerous occasions where Philip is known to have added texts to melismatic segments of Perotin's music opens the possibility that Perotin may be the composer of this piece (see, for such claims, Payne, "Associa," 238, note 13; and *idem, Motets and Prosulas,* xiii). **Textual notes: 1-2:** as Anderson remarks (*NDRC,* 3:ii), the commentary of Honorius of Autun (from his *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* as rendered in *PL,* 172, col. 508) on Song of Songs, 4:16,[10] interprets the north and south winds as figures for the Devil and the Holy Spirit, respectively. The same

[8]Gordon A. Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music – A Postscript," *Studies in Music,* 5 (1971): 36-42.

[9]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[10]Song of Songs, 4:16: "Surge, aquilo, et veni, auster: perfla hortum meum, et fluant aromata illius" ("Arise, O north wind, and come, O south wind, blow through my garden, and let the aromatical spices thereof flow.").

negative and positive assessments of the winds also may obtain for Isaiah, 43:6.[11] **3:** the centonized text of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), which appropriates the opening line of *Austro terris,* makes particularly clear the association of the sacred breath with the Holy Spirit infusing the womb of the Virgin in lines 14-16 of its text.[12] **5,1-2:** fire is a common symbol of Christ, as in, for instance, its appearance within the unconsumed burning bush (itself an allegory for the virgin birth) in which God appeared to Moses (see Exodus, 3:2-4). **8-9:** on the incarnation of Christ signaling a renewal of creation in which he is depicted as a new Adam, see the text and notes for lines 14-17 of Perotin's conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315). **10-11:** the birth of Christ, which established the new covenant between God and humankind (prophesied by Jeremiah, 31:31),[13] undid the effects of original sin prompted from Eve's temptation by the serpent (see especially Genesis, 3:15-16);[14] see additionally the conductus *Beate virginis* (H15/43), lines 5-8.[15] **13-14:** possibly a reference to the story of Jacob's Ladder from Genesis, 28:10-22, of which Jesus speaks in John, 1:51, implying a reference to the new covenant.[16] For more on this biblical figure and its associations with Christ, see the remarks for the text of the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 18-20. **15-16:** the serpent is the devil of Genesis 3, Apocalypse, 12:9, and 20:2;[17] the child is Christ (see the remarks above for lines 10-11). **17-18:** on the freeing of the poor and the imprisonment of the powerful, see Psalm 71:12;[18] and cf. Luke, 1:42 (from the Magnificat).[19] **19-21:** references to Jesus's parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32), a common figure in which typological exegesis interprets the father as representing God, the younger son the Gentiles, and where the sacrifice of the fatted calf (Christ) prompts the envy of the older son (The Jews). For more on this

---

[11]Isaiah, 43:6: "Dicam aquiloni: Da; et austro: Noli prohibere: affer filios meos de longinquo, et filias meas ab extremis terrae" ("I will say to the north [wind]: Give up: and to the south [wind]: Keep not back: bring my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.").

[12]*Hac in die rege nato,* lines 14-16: "Gaude, virgo virginum, / quam fecundat sacer flatus, / unde puer nobis natus" ("Rejoice, virgin of virgins, / whom the sacred breath made fertile, / whence a child was born to us.").

[13]Jeremiah, 31:31: "Ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus, et feriam domui Israel et domui Juda foedus novum" ("Behold the days shall come, says the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Juda.").

[14]Genesis, 3:15-16: " 'Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.' Mulieri quoque dixit: 'Multiplicabo aerumnas tuas, et conceptus tuos: in dolore paries filios, et sub viri potestate eris, et ipse dominabitur tui' " (" 'I [God] will put enmities between you [the serpent] and the woman, and your seed and her seed: she shall crush your head, and you shall lie in wait for her heel.' To the woman also he said: 'I will multiply your sorrows, and your conceptions: in sorrow shall you bring forth children, and you shall be under your husband's power, and he shall have dominion over you.' ").

[15]*Beate virginis,* lines 5-8: "Carens originis / labe, puerpera / dei et hominis / dat nova federa" ("Lacking the blemish of our ancestor, a new mother presents a new covenant between God and mankind.").

[16]John, 1:51: "Et dicit ei: 'Amen, amen dico vobis, videbitis caelum apertum, et angelos Dei ascendentes, et descendentes supra Filium hominis'" ("And he [Jesus] says to him: 'Amen, amen I say to you, you shall see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.' ").

[17]Apocalypse, 12:9: "Et projectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus, et Satanas, qui seducit universum orbem: et projectus est in terram, et angeli ejus cum illo missi sun" ("And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduces the whole world; and he was cast unto the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him."). Apocalypse, 20:2: "Et apprehendit draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus, et Satanas, et ligavit eum per annos mille" ("And he laid hold on the dragon the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years.").

[18]Psalm 71:12: "Quia liberabit pauperem a potente, et pauperem cui non erat adjutor" ("For he shall deliver the poor from the mighty: and the needy that had no helper.").

[19]Luke, 1:42 (from the Magnificat): "Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles" ("He has put down the mighty from their seat, and has exalted the humble.").

biblical allegory, see the remarks on the text of the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI), lines 26-31, transmitted in *F*-6,58, on f. 250r.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** The abundant motivic play and phrase repetition seen throughout this piece has been illustrated more copiously than usual by boxed letters above the staves. **Line 7,1:** for "a [letali]": D: F,W2: si=*a;* Ma: P*a*; adopted *g* from *W1.* **8,1:** T: Ma,W2: stroke prior to the third syllable of "innovatur"; not in *F,W1;* here om. **15,1-2 (beginning Strophe III):** T: F: 3 too low through the end of folio 299v, concluding with the 3li over "di[rus]"; confirmed by *W1,Ma,W2.*

QUOD PROMISIT AB ETERNO

Conductus (G6/295)

F, f. 300vr (7,32)

I

D [Quod pro - mi-sit ab e - ter -

T Quod pro - mi-sit ab e - ter -

- no; di - e sol - vit ho - di - er -

- no; di - e sol - vit ho - di - er -

or:

- no, ver - bum mit - tens de su - per - no pa - ter in y - du - me -

or:

- no, ver - bum mit - tens de su - per - no pa - ter in y - du - me -

b a

a b

- am.

- am.
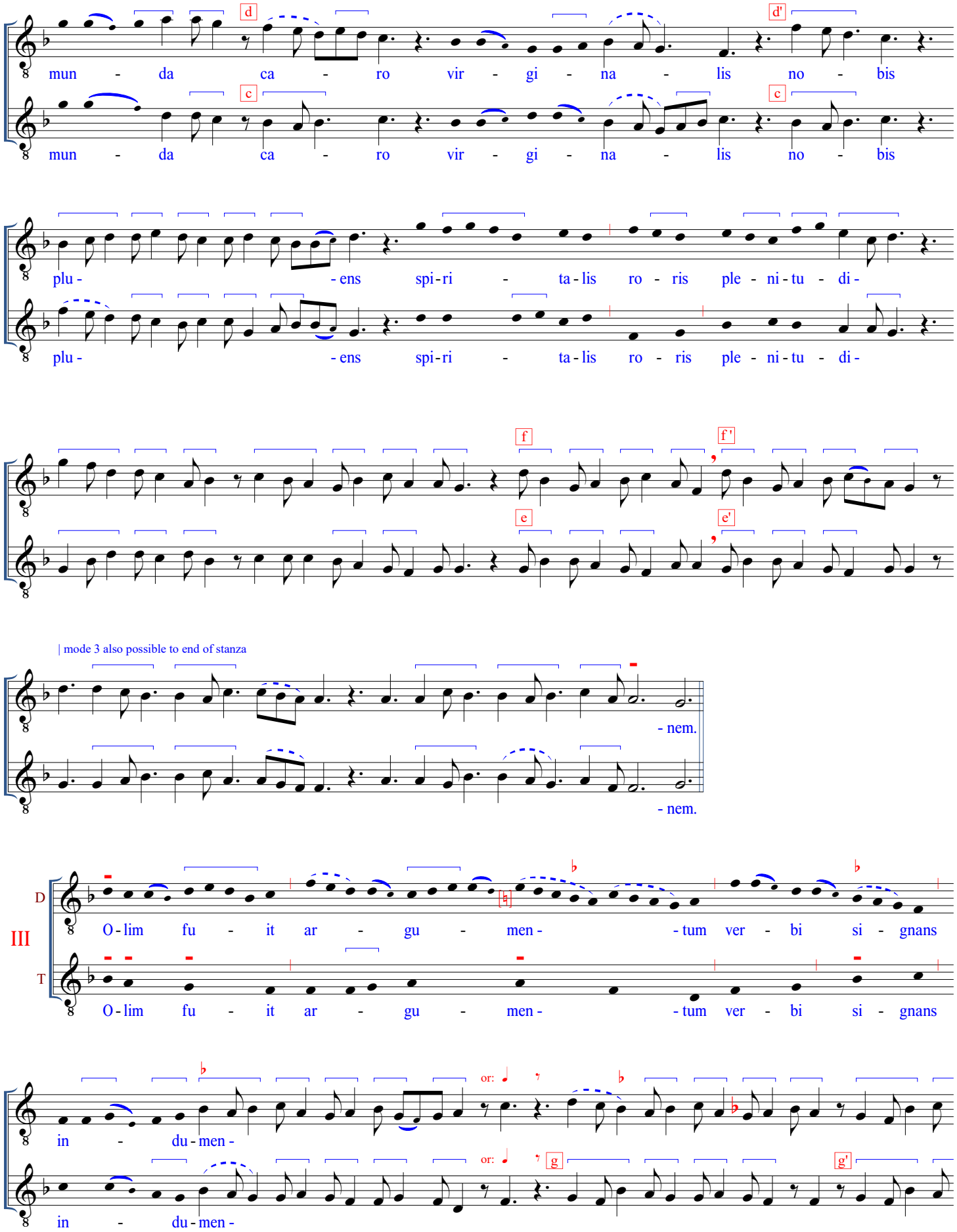
II
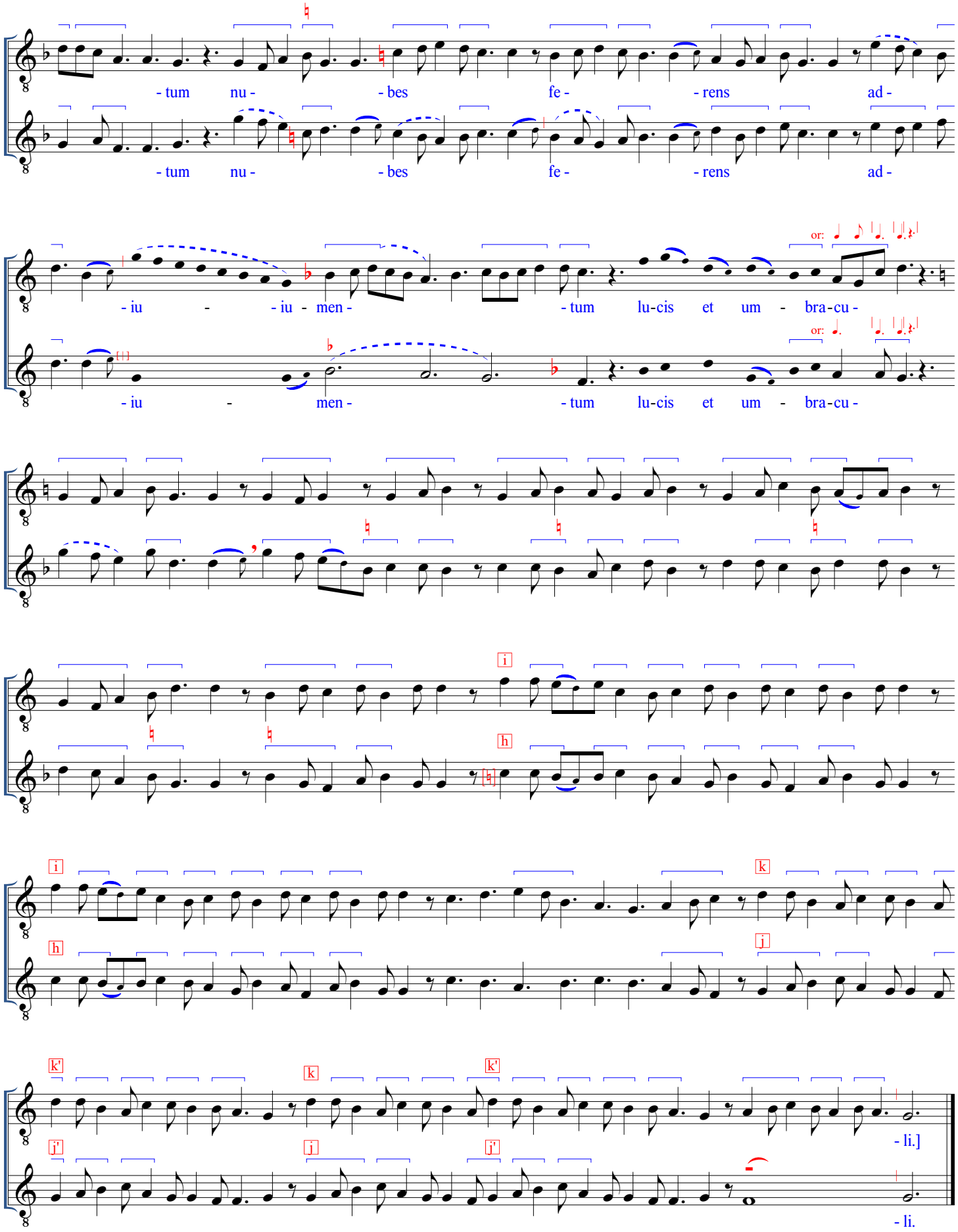
D Le-vis nu - bes et vi - ta - - lis

or: or: or:

T Le-vis nu - bes et vi - ta - - lis

or: or: or:


d
d'
mun - da ca - ro vir - gi - na - lis no - bis
c
c
mun - da ca - ro vir - gi - na - lis no - bis
plu - - ens spi - ri - ta - lis ro - ris ple - ni - tu - di -
plu - - ens spi - ri - ta - lis ro - ris ple - ni - tu - di -
f
f'
e
e'
| mode 3 also possible to end of stanza
- nem.
- nem.
III
D
T
O - lim fu - it ar - gu - men - - tum ver - bi si - gnans
O - lim fu - it ar - gu - men - - tum ver - bi si - gnans
or:
or:
g
g'
in - du - men -
in - du - men -


- tum nu - - bes fe - - rens ad -
- tum nu - - bes fe - - rens ad -
- iu - - iu - men - - tum lu-cis et um - bra-cu -
or:
- iu - men - - tum lu-cis et um - bra-cu -
or:
i
h
i
k
h
j
k'
k
k'
j'
j
j'
- li.]
- li.

QUOD PROMISIT AB ETERNO

Conductus (G6/295)

F, f. 300v (7,32)

I Quod promisit ab eterno,
die solvit hodierno,
verbum mittens de superno
pater in Ydumeam.

What he promised from eternity,
on this very day the Father fulfils,
sending the Word from on high
into Edom.

II Levis nubes et vitalis,
munda caro virginalis,
nobis pluens spiritalis
roris plenitudinem.

A delicate and life-giving cloud
is the sinless virginal flesh,
raining upon us an abundance
of spiritual dew.

III Olim fuit argumentum
verbi signans indumentum:
nubes ferens adiumentum
lucis et umbraculi.

From long ago this was a sign
designating the mantle of the Word:
a cloud, bringing the assistance
of light and of shade.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 32, f. 300v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III headed by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 56, f. 139v (130v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, indicated by painted initials.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 6, f. 76v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete: I presents a partially executed initial whose outline was sketched, but the decoration and coloring left incomplete; II is headed by a painted red initial, yet nothing ever was entered in the system-high space available for the beginning of III.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 8, f. 111r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals.

Hu, no. 146, f. 132r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with each stanza opening at the left margin and headed by system-high painted initials, as though beginning three separate pieces, with space left at the ends of the systems before II and III; in mensural notation.

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95), no. 41, f. 32v (30v): a1 (T?) in unheightened neumes, with melismas underscored with wavy lines in red ink, which also help to indicate the placement of certain syllables; Strophe III only ("Olim fuit argumentum") of *Quod promisit,* followed by Strophe II ("Si quis in hoc artem") of the conductus prosula *Curritur ad vocem* (see below), headed by a smaller painted red initial; rubric (preceding the piece at the end of f. 32r): "Conductum."[1]

Text only:

The first two words of *Quod promisit* begin line 5 ("Quod promisit vox divina") of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), the poem of which is constructed nearly completely from the incipits of other conductus. It is transmitted in the following sources:

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

[1]Images of this source are available here: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/suche/suchergebnis; search "HB I 95."

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

Music only: the melody of the T and D of the final cauda is equivalent to the following conductus prosulas:

Crucifigat omnes (D3/70):

F, fasc. 6, no. 35, f. 231v, a3; Strophes I-II only; see the source report on *F*-6,35 for additional information for this and other sources of the prosula and its contrafacts.

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 *Mundum renovavit* (see below) entered into the otherwise empty staff lines of the Tr and D directly after *Crucifigat;* this latter 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; incomplete, as the remainder is lost with the following folios: music and text of Strophe I up through the first syllable of line 8; also transmitted a2 in fasc. 7 (below).

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.

CaJ (GB-Cjec QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, Ms QB1), Fragment A, no. 9, f. 1c[r]: a3 (with a Tr different from the other a3 sources of this piece); 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 *f* that sits in the space above the fourth line of its *c*3-clef staff.[2]

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95), no. 42, f. 33r (31r): a1 (T?), in unheightened neumes: Strophe I only. This transmission is separated from the earlier partial entries of *Quod promisit* and *Curritur ad vocem* in this source by the text of the first stanza of the motet *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), an ordering also seen in *F;* see the entries on *Stutt* above and below for further context.

Hu, no. 97, f. 97r: a2 (TD): Strophe I only, in mensural notation.

The following two sources transmit only the text of *Crucifigat omnes:*

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana),[3] no. 47, f. 13r: text only of Strophes I-III, complete, without neumes, and headed by painted capital initials; followed without break by the contrafact *Curritur ad vocem* (see below).

Ox Rawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510), no. 28, f. 242v (13v): text only of Strophes I-III, complete; with II and III prefaced by pilcrows, and III starting in-line, rather than at the left margin; rubric: "De effectu crucifixionis

[2]Images available here. For a catalog and images 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.

[3]Images of *CB* available here.

Jhesu Christi" ("On the consequences of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ").

Mundum renovavit (see under Anderson catalog D3/-):

W1, fasc. 8, no. 10a, f. 79v (72v): a3; text only of Strophes I-II, complete; entered in the margin next to a setting of *Crucifigat* (see above) as if part of its poem; a unique text transmission.

Curritur ad vocem (see under Anderson D3/-):

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Carmina Burana), no. 47a, f. 13r: text only, Strophes I-II, complete headed by small painted capital initials; follows directly after strophe III of *Crucifigat,* as if the poem were its additional .

Stutt (D-Sl HB I Asc. 95; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95), no. 44, f. 32v (30v): a1 (T?), in unheightened neumes that seem to show the same melody in this MS as the one for *Crucifigat* (see above); Strophe II only ("Si quis in hoc artem"); follows directly after the isolated Strophe III ("Olim fuit argumentum") of *Quod promisit* (see above); consult the source report on *F*-6,35 *(Crucifigat omnes)* for additional information.

Contrafacts: none, although the final cauda survives independently as a conductus prosula with various texts.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** because its final cauda is fitted with a prosula that has been ascribed to Philip the Chancellor *(Crucifigat omnes),*[4] there is therefore circumstantial evidence to suggest that the poetry of *Quod promisit* may also be attributable to him.[5] Similarly, the numerous occasions where Philip is known to have used Perotin's music as sources for his prosula texts opens the possibility that Perotin may have composed this piece (see, for this speculation, Payne, *"Associa,"* 238, note 13;[6] and *idem, Motets and Prosulas,* xiii). **Textual notes: 3,1:** on Christ as the Word or *Logos* (λόγος), see John, 1:1;[7] and Revelation, 19:13.[8] **4,3:** the biblical kingdom of Edom, which descended from Esau, the twin brother of Jacob, is found frequently throughout the Old Testament and is often represented as a land of unbelievers or enemies, just as Esau himself is often portrayed as a typological symbol for the Jews; see, for example, the remarks on the text of the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 27-30; and *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225), strophe III (lines 17-24). One may also note the conductus *Circa mundi versperam* (J54/63), lines 7-8, which evokes Isaiah, 63:1-4,[9] where Edom

---

[4]See the remarks on attribution in the notes to the text of *Crucifigat,* transmitted in *F*-6,35, on f. 231v

[5]For this suggestion, see the relevant portion of the works list given in Payne, "Philip the Chancellor," *Grove Music Online,* accessed 4 December, 2021, through http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. An earlier version of the article is available in print in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* eds. Stanley Sadie and J. Tyrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 19:594–597.

[6]Thomas B. Payne, "*Associa tecum in patria:* A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986): 233-254.

[7]John, 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.").

[8]Revelation, 19:13: "Et vestitus erat veste aspersa sanguine: et vocatur nomen ejus: Verbum Dei" ("And he was clothed with a garment sprinkled with blood; and his name is called the Word of God.").

[9]Isaiah, 63:1-4: "Quis est iste qui venit de Edom tinctis vestibus de Bosra, iste formosus in stola sua, gradiens in multitudine fortitudinis suae? 'Ego, qui loquor iustitiam, et propugnator sum ad salvandum.' Quare ergo rubrum est indumentum tuum, et vestimenta tua sicut calcantium in torculari? "Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum; calcavi eos in furore meo, et conculcavi eos in ira mea: et aspersus est sanguis eorum super vestimenta mea, et omnia indumenta mea inquinavi' " ("Who is this that comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosra, this beautiful one in his robe, walking in the greatness of his strength? 'It is I,

is presented as the land from which a red-robed figure comes who is portrayed as a figure of Christ at the Last Judgment. **5-6:** on the cloud as a metaphor for the womb of the Virgin Mary (among other associations), see the remarks on lines 9-10 and 11-12, below. **7-8:** dew is a frequent symbol of Christ and God's power; see the story of Gideon's fleece in Judges, 6:36-40; and also Isaiah, 45:8.[10] For just one example among many instances of this image in the conductus repertory, see Philip the Chancellor's *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 1-2. **9-10:** the mantle or covering of the Word in this context is the womb of the Virgin Mary, as indicated by lines 5-6. For biblical images of clouds as symbolic figures for Mary bearing Christ, consider Job, 38:8-9[11] and Luke, 21:27;[12] see also the notes to lines 11-12. **11-12:** cf. Anderson's commentary on this text (*NDRC,* 3:vi); since the cloud is associated with the flesh of the Virgin previously in the poem (lines 5-8), Mary's womb functions as shade for the light of the holy child within. For further use of this imagery within the conductus repertory, see the notes on the text for *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), line 1 *et passim.*

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 12,2:** F: ad (not recorded in the commentary on this piece in Anderson, *NDRC*, 3:194); corrected from all other applicable sources *(W1,Ma,W2,Hu,Stutt).* **MUSIC: Cauda at line 9,2:** TD: F: for the fourth and fifth phrases of this melisma, from L13,2-L21, an "upbeat" rhythmic mode 1 is used; mode 2 is possible, but the series ends in 2li, not 3li. **Line 10,3:** T: for the figure over the second syllable of "indumentum": F,W2: siP=*ag*P; W1,Ma: 2li=*ag,* as adopted here; Hu: 2L=*a,g.* **11,3:** D: F: over the second syllable of "adiumentum": 9C from *g* down to either *f* or *e; W1,Ma,W2,Hu* give the expected series *g-g,* as adopted here. **Final cauda:** T: F: the *b-flat* sig is operative up through the seventh phrase to L27, where it is then canceled by a change of system without sig. The use of *b-natural* throughout the cauda's T voice in *F* is suggested by: the mid-system *c*2 clef with no sig that precedes it in *W1;* in *Ma* where the cauda is prefaced by a natural sign on *b* in the T (possibly a later addition); the natural sign on *b* that begins the cauda in the D in *F;* and all applicable sources for the conductus prosulas, which show *b-natural* throughout the T. Alternatively, *W2* and *Hu* both show a *b-flat* sig operative through the sixth phrase to L23, at which point *W2* cancels it with a change of system and *Hu* with a natural sign. T: F: *d,db,ac,db* for the fifth phrase (L16-L19); W1,Ma,W2,Hu: *d,dc,bd,db* as adopted here, additionally supported by all applicable sources of the conductus prosulas except *W1,* where the phrase is om.

---

who speak justice, and who am a defender for salvation.' Why then is your apparel red, and your garments like theirs that tread in the winepress? 'I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the Gentiles there is not a man with me: I have trampled on them in my indignation, and have trodden them down in my wrath, and their blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my apparel.' "). See also Apocalypse, 19:13, given above in the notes to line 3,1.
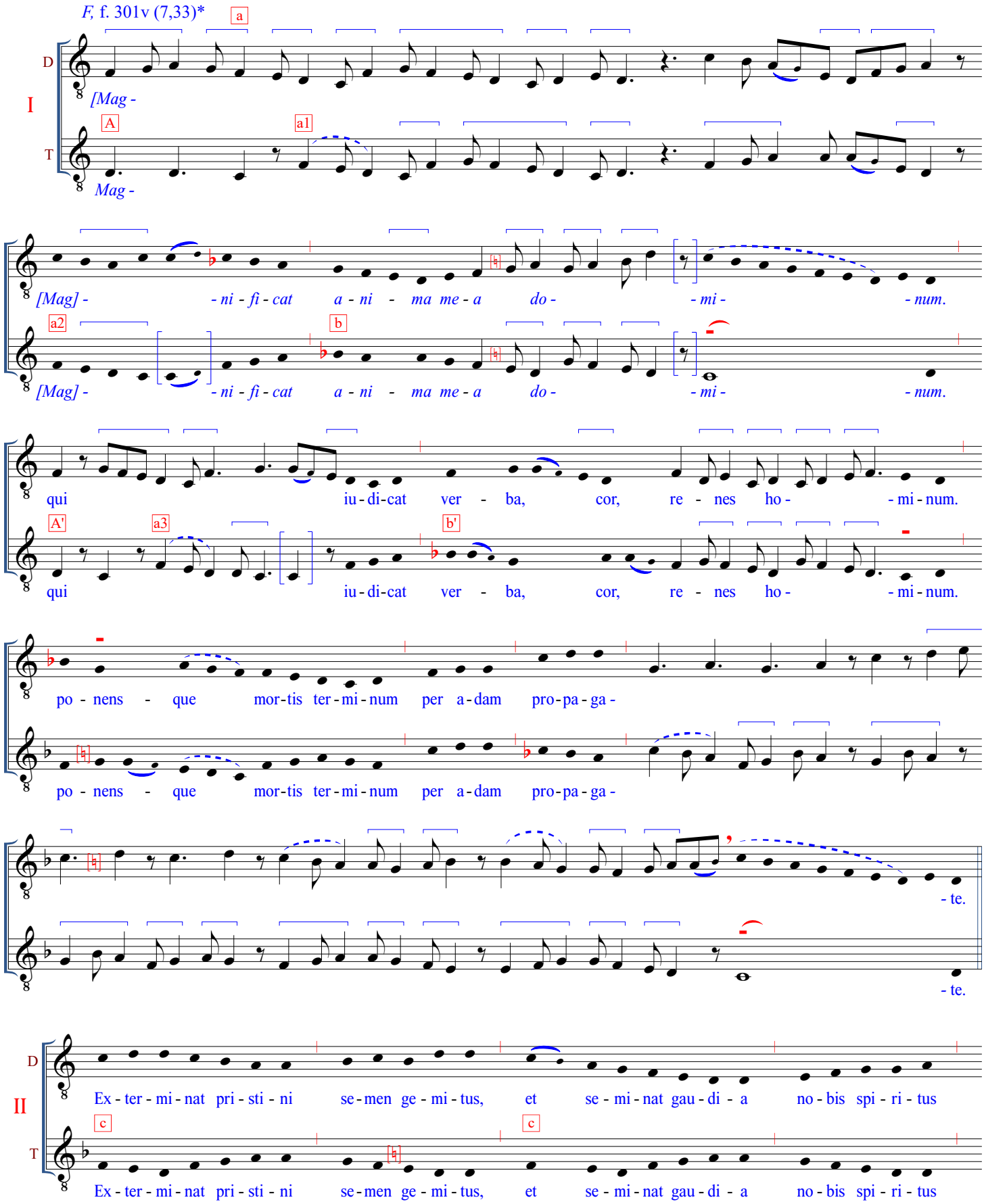
[10]Isaiah, 45:8: "Rorate, caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum; aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem, et justitia oriatur simul: ego Dominus creavi eum" ("Drop down dew, O heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain down a just man: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior: and let justice spring up at the same time: I the Lord made him").

[11]Job, 38:8-9: "Quis conclusit ostiis mare, quando erumpebat quasi de vulva procedens; cum ponerem nubem vestimentum ejus, et caligine illud quasi pannis infantiae obvolverem?" ("Who shut up the sea with doors, when it broke forth as issuing out of the womb: when I [the Lord] made a cloud the garment thereof, and wrapped it in a mist as in swaddling bands?").
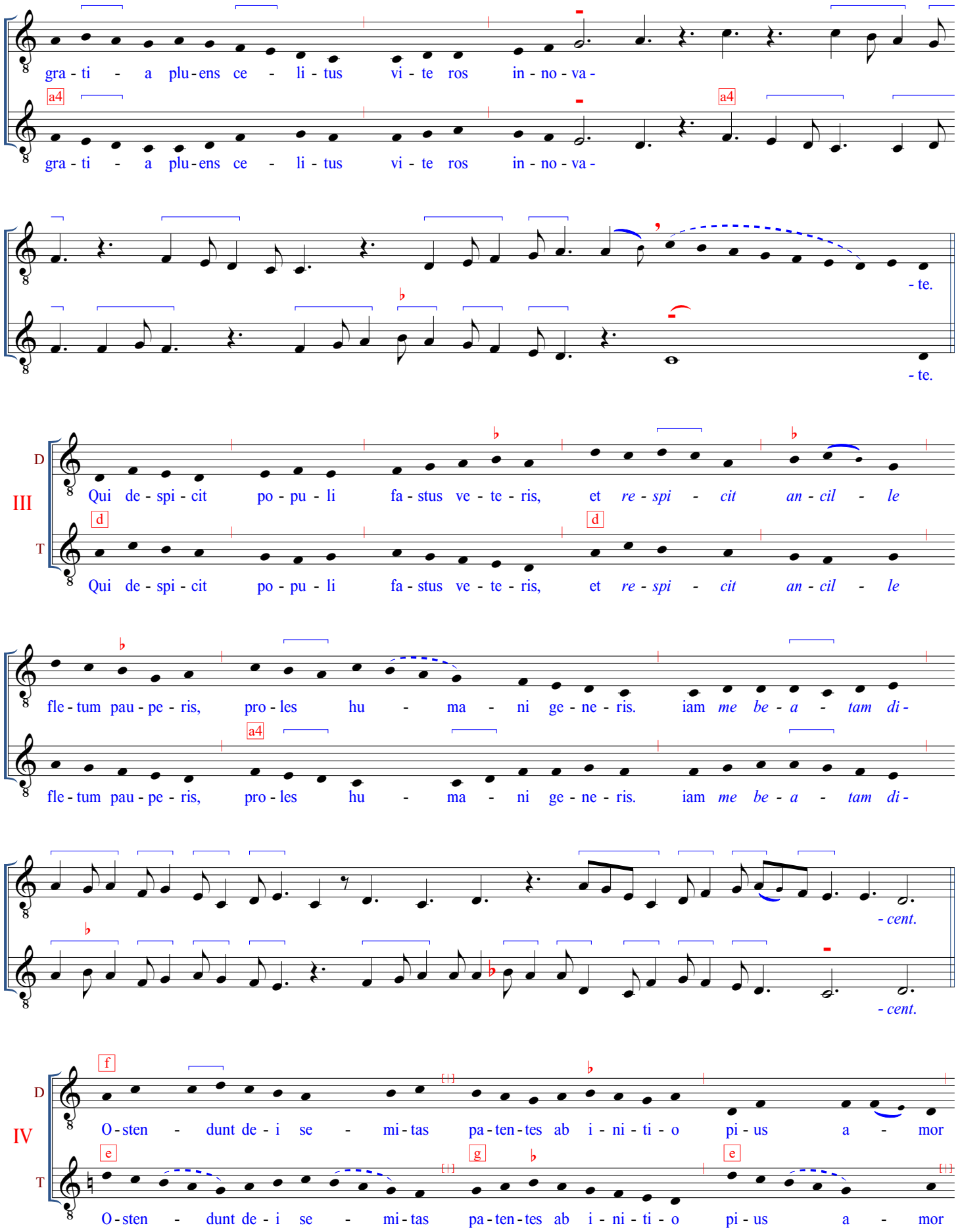
[12]Luke, 21:27: "et tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et majestate." ("And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud, with great power and majesty").

MAGNIFICAT ANIMA MEA DOMINUM QUI IUDICAT

Conductus: (H10/203)



*In addition to the smaller-scale musical correspondences noted in the score for the beginning of Strophe I, the entire T voice from its opening cauda through the setting of lines 1-2 shows striking correspondence with lines 3-4; this is signaled by the capital letters placed above the T staff.


gra - ti - a plu - ens ce - li - tus vi - te ros in - no - va -
a4
gra - ti - a plu - ens ce - li - tus vi - te ros in - no - va -
a4
- te.
- te.
III
D
T
Qui de - spi - cit po - pu - li fa - stus ve - te - ris, et re - spi - cit an - cil - le
d
d
Qui de - spi - cit po - pu - li fa - stus ve - te - ris, et re - spi - cit an - cil - le
fle - tum pau - pe - ris, pro - les hu - ma - ni ge - ne - ris. iam me be - a - tam di -
a4
fle - tum pau - pe - ris, pro - les hu - ma - ni ge - ne - ris. iam me be - a - tam di -
- cent.
- cent.
IV
D
T
f
e
g
e
O - sten - dunt de - i se - mi - tas pa - ten - tes ab i - ni - ti - o pi - us a - mor
O - sten - dunt de - i se - mi - tas pa - ten - tes ab i - ni - ti - o pi - us a - mor

et ve - ri - tas. sed pre - mi - net iu - di - ti - o que non tur - ba - tur o - di - o dul -

et ve - ri - tas. sed pre - mi - net iu - di - ti - o que non tur - ba - tur o - di - o dul -

- cis e - ius be - ni - gni - tas. ne - que fri - ge - scit se - ni - o. sed sem - per

- cis e - ius be - ni - gni - tas. ne - que fri - ge - scit se - ni - o. sed sem - per

si - ne te - di - o fer - vet pa - ter - na ca - ri - tas er - ga de - um *ti - men -*

si - ne te - di - o fer - vet pa - ter - na ca - ri - tas er - ga de - um *ti - men -*
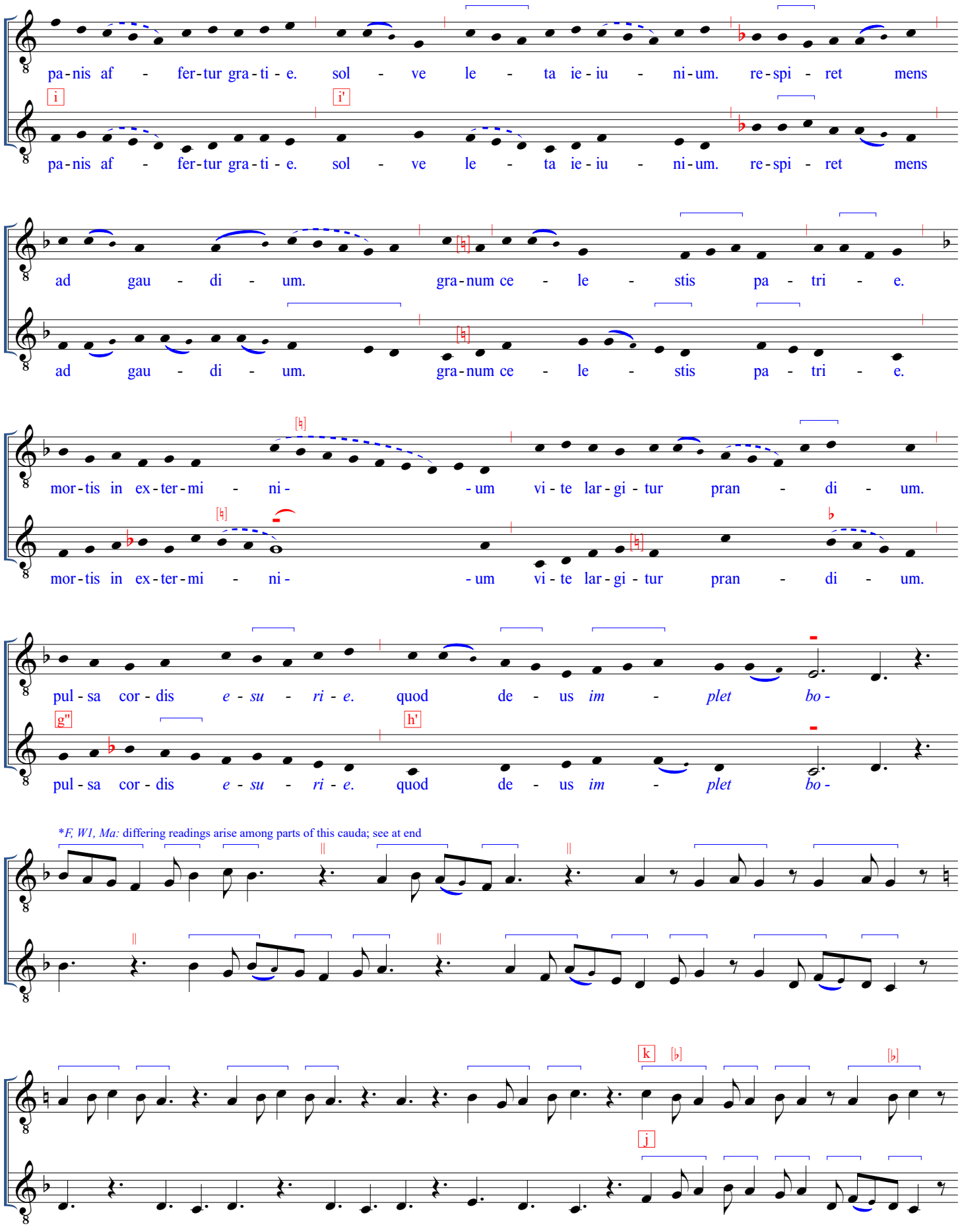
- tes.
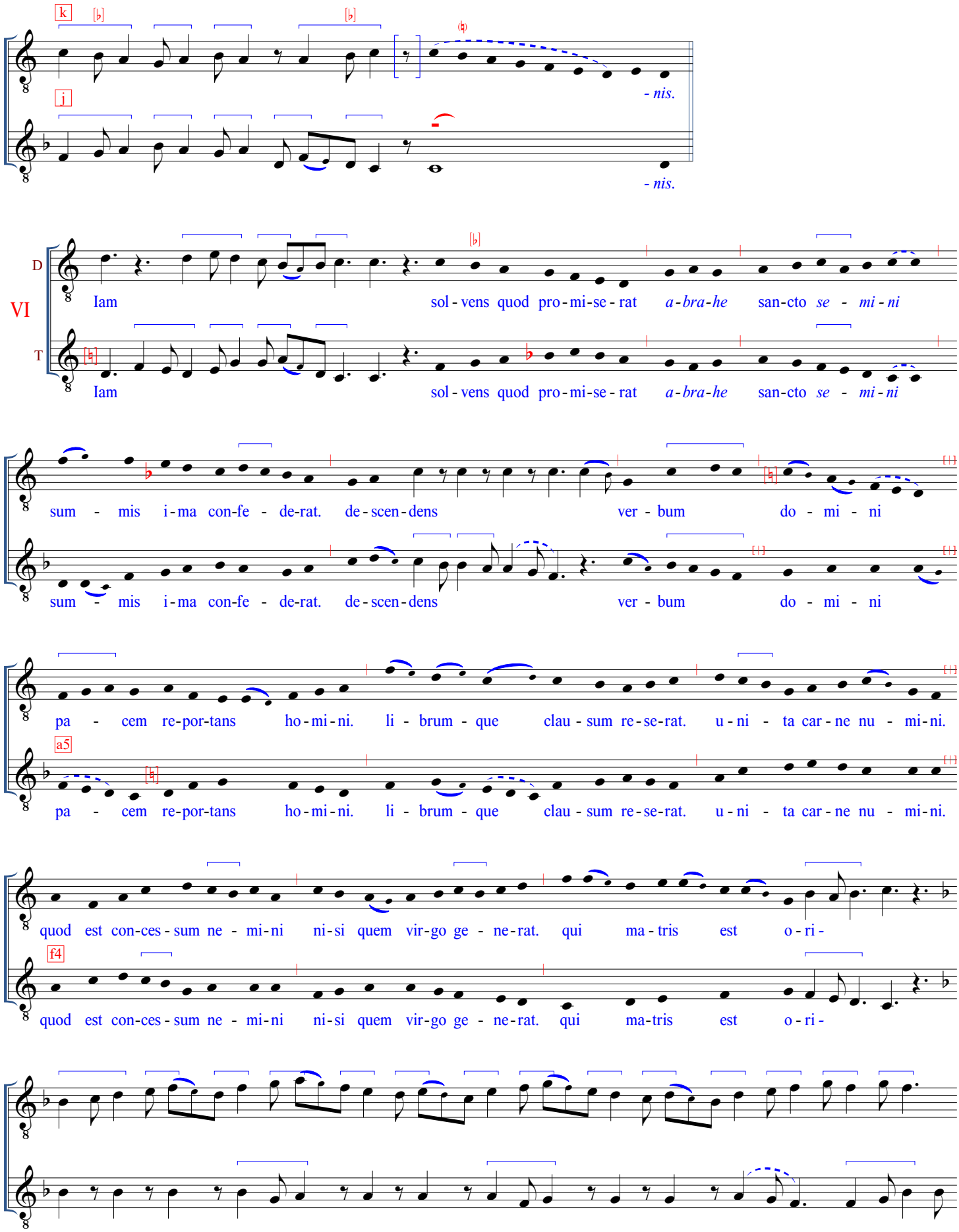
- tes.
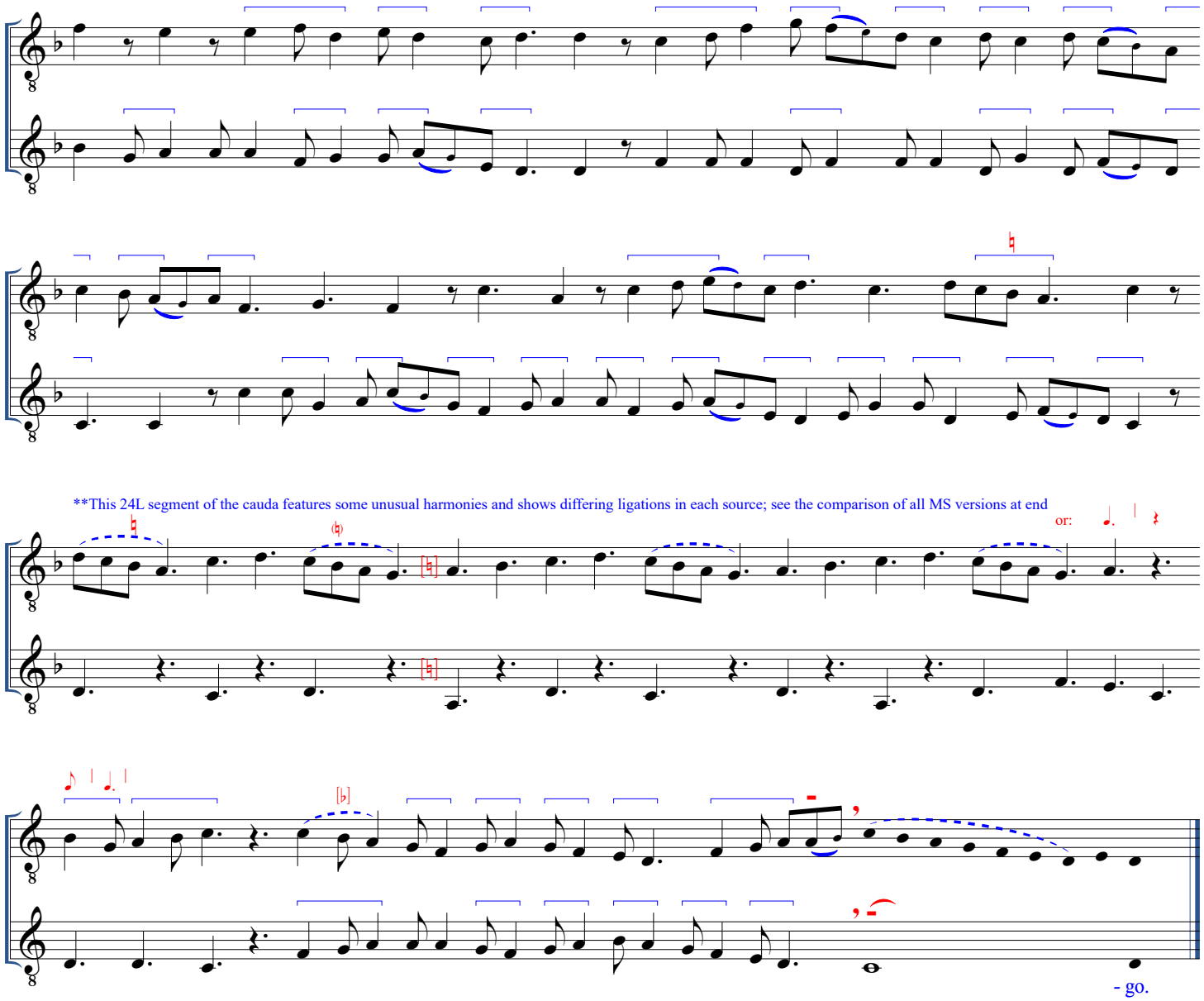
D
V
T

Ie - iu - ne men - tis ma - ti - e con - tra - cta ter - ra gen - ti - um.

Ie - iu - ne men - tis ma - ti - e con - tra - cta ter - ra gen - ti - um.


pa-nis af - fer-tur gra-ti-e. sol - ve le - ta ie-iu - ni-um. re-spi - ret mens
i
i'
pa-nis af - fer-tur gra-ti-e. sol - ve le - ta ie-iu - ni-um. re-spi - ret mens
ad gau - di - um. gra-num ce - le - stis pa - tri - e.
ad gau - di - um. gra-num ce - le - stis pa - tri - e.
mor-tis in ex-ter-mi - ni- -um vi-te lar-gi-tur pran - di - um.
mor-tis in ex-ter-mi - ni- -um vi-te lar-gi-tur pran - di - um.
pul-sa cor-dis *e - su - ri - e.* quod de - us *im - plet bo-*
g"
h'
pul-sa cor-dis *e - su - ri - e.* quod de - us *im - plet bo-*
**F, W1, Ma:* differing readings arise among parts of this cauda; see at end
k
j

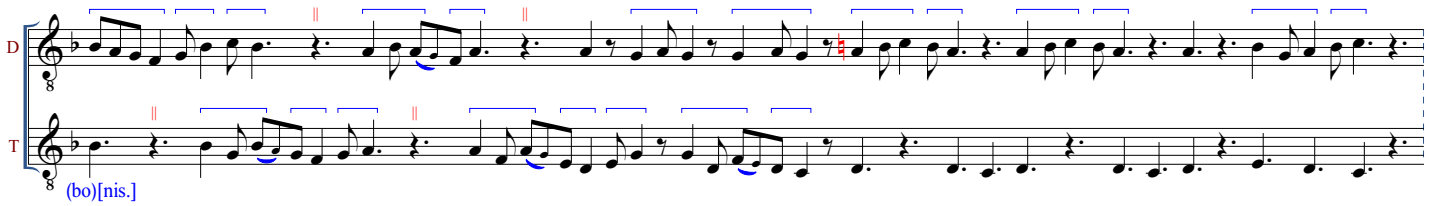

k
j
- nis.
- nis.
VI
D
T
Iam sol - vens quod pro - mi - se - rat a - bra - he san - cto se - mi - ni
Iam sol - vens quod pro - mi - se - rat a - bra - he san - cto se - mi - ni
sum - mis i - ma con - fe - de - rat. de - scen - dens ver - bum do - mi - ni
sum - mis i - ma con - fe - de - rat. de - scen - dens ver - bum do - mi - ni
pa - cem re - por - tans ho - mi - ni. li - brum - que clau - sum re - se - rat. u - ni - ta car - ne nu - mi - ni.
a5
pa - cem re - por - tans ho - mi - ni. li - brum - que clau - sum re - se - rat. u - ni - ta car - ne nu - mi - ni.
quod est con - ces - sum ne - mi - ni ni - si quem vir - go ge - ne - rat. qui ma - tris est o - ri -
f4
quod est con - ces - sum ne - mi - ni ni - si quem vir - go ge - ne - rat. qui ma - tris est o - ri -



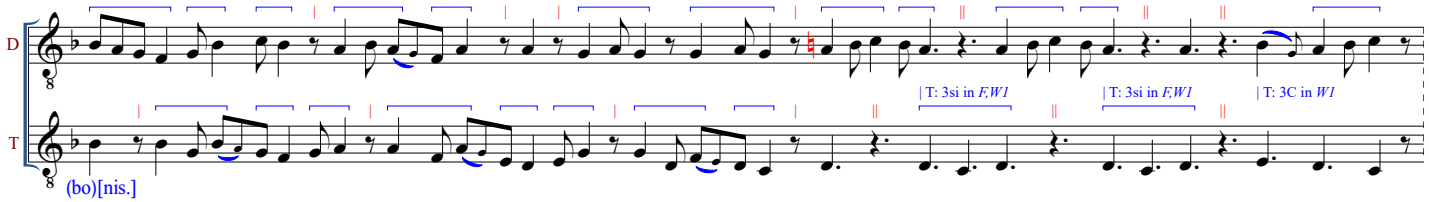
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda closing Strophe V (line 38), opening segment: a comparison of the three different MS readings
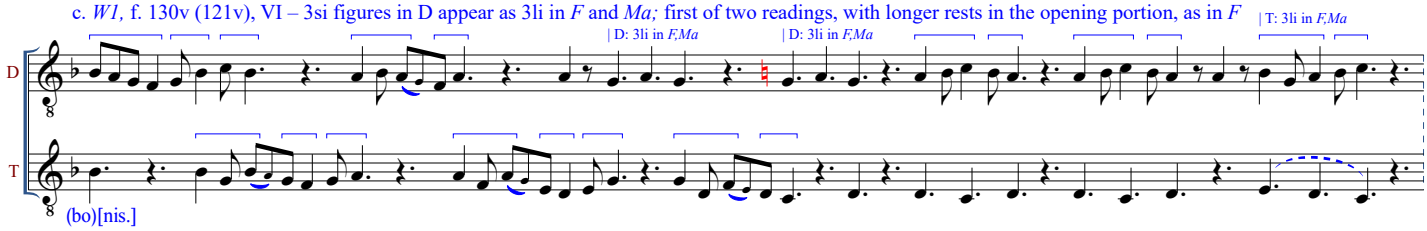
a. *F,* f. 232v, VI – as given in the transcription above, with double strokes specified in opening portions of T and D (shown above the staff)



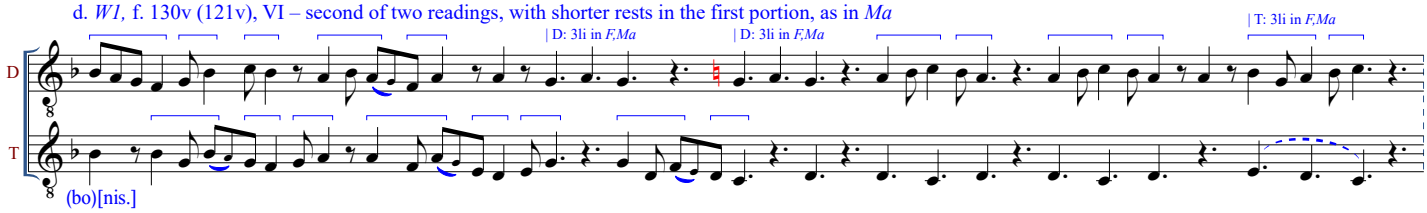
b. *Ma,* f. 73v, III – distinguishes single and double rest strokes differently from *F* (both indicated above the staff); apparent 3li=3L ligations in T near end



c. *W1,* f. 130v (121v), VI – 3si figures in D appear as 3li in *F* and *Ma;* first of two readings, with longer rests in the opening portion, as in *F*
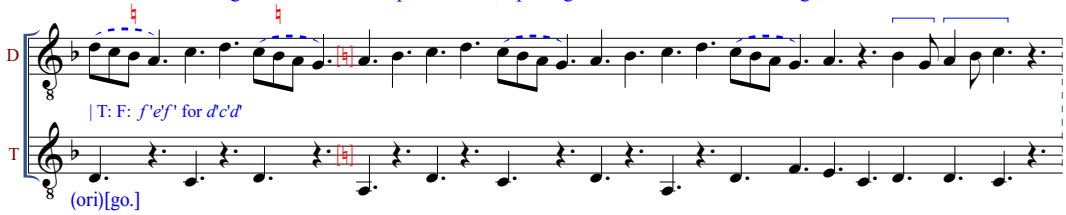


d. *W1,* f. 130v (121v), VI – second of two readings, with shorter rests in the first portion, as in *Ma*

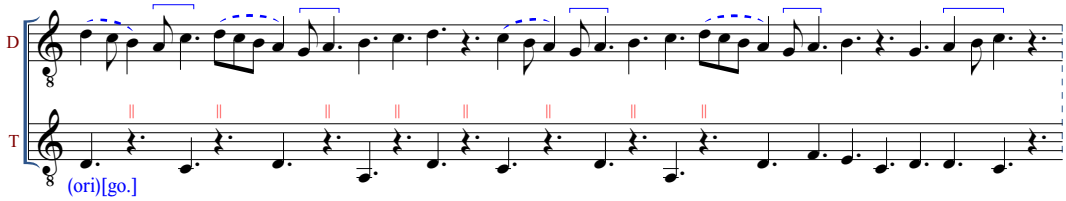


**Closing cauda (line 48), L43-64 – a comparison of the three different MS readings, possibly corrupt in all sources

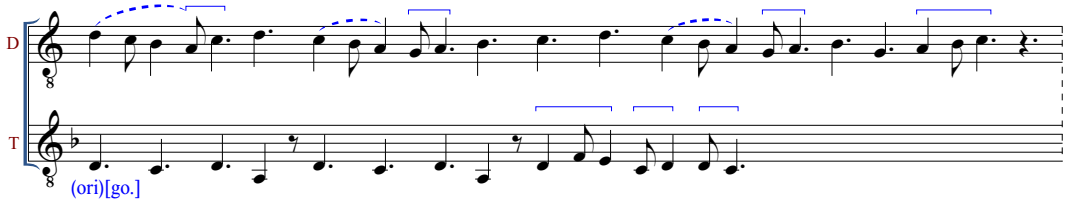
a. *F,* f. 203r V – as given in the transcription above; opening three T notes a third too high, several dissonances



b. *Ma,* f. 74v, II – most acceptable as it stands, fewest dissonances



c. *W1,* f. 131r (122r), V – given here as it stands; most clearly corrupt: missing phrase in D, omitted rests, and ligation of last phrase in T



MAGNIFICAT ANIMA MEA DOMINUM QUI IUDICAT

Conductus (H10/203)

F, f. 301v (7,33)

I *Magnificat*
anima mea dominum,
qui iudicat
verba, cor, renes hominum;
ponensque mortis terminum
per Adam propagate.

My soul doth
magnify the Lord,
who judges the words, the heart,
the innermost feelings of mankind,
putting an end to the death
handed down through Adam.

II Exterminat
pristini semen gemitus;
et seminat
gaudia nobis spiritus
gratia pluens celitus
vite ros innovate.

He drives out
the seed of the very first sorrow;
and the dew of renewed life,
raining down with
grace from heaven, sows
the joys of the spirit in us.

III Qui despicit
populi fastus veteris,
et *respicit*
ancille fletum pauperis.
Proles humani generis.
iam *me beatam dicent.*

He despises the
arrogance of the people of old,
and he *looks with favor on*
the weeping of the poor *handmaiden.*
The descendants of mankind
now *will call me blessed.*

IV Ostendunt dei semitas
patentes ab initio
pius amor et veritas;
sed preminet iuditio,
que non turbatur odio,
dulcis eius benignitas;
neque frigescit senio,
sed semper, sine tedio,
fervet paterna caritas
erga deum *timentes.*

Merciful love and truth
reveal God's paths,
lying open from the start;
but his sweet kindness,
which is undisturbed by hatred,
excels in judgment;
and it grows not cold with age,
but always, without annoyance,
his fatherly charity warms
towards *those who fear* God.

V Ieiune mentis matie
contracta terra gentium,
panis affertur gratie.
Solve, leta ieiunium.
Respiret mens ad gaudium.
Granum celestis patrie,
mortis in exterminium,
vite largitur prandium,
pulsa cordis *esurie,*
quod deus *implet bonis*.

When the land of the Gentiles is diminished
by the emaciation of a fasting mind,
the bread of grace is brought forth.
Break it off, abolish the fast.
Let the mind breathe again for joy.
Upon the expulsion of death,
when *the hunger* of the heart has been dispelled,
the grain of the celestial homeland
grants to life a feast
that God *fills with good things.*

VI Iam solvens quod promiserat
Abrahe sancto *semini,*
summis ima confederat

Now accomplishing what he had promised
to the holy *descendants of Abraham,*
the Word of the Lord, descending,

descendens verbum domini,
pacem reportans homini,
librumque clausum reserat,
unita carne numini.
Quod est concessum nemini,
nisi quem virgo generat,
qui matris est origo.

bringing back peace to mankind,
joins together the highest with the lowest,
and unlocks the closed book
by uniting flesh to divinity.
This is granted to no one,
except the one the Virgin bore,
who is his mother's creator.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 33, f. 301v: a2; Strophes I-VI, complete, with II-VI indicated by capitals; the piece begins at the very top of the folio, as in *W1*. This and the following two works in *F*-7 are also contiguous in *Oxf-Sol,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 47, f. 129v (120v): a2; Strophes I-VI, complete, each indicated by painted initials, with further filigree decoration for those beginning I and V (modest); the piece begins at the very top of the folio, as in *F,* and the last phrase of the closing cauda, along with the subsequent final text syllable and *punctus organi,* was apparently initially omitted and later completed on staves drawn into the right margin, conceivably in the same hand as the main scribe, but in a lighter ink. This feature may account for the repeated pen trials of the letter "a" that appear below in the bottom margin of f. 131r (122r).

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 4, f. 71r: a2; Strophes I-VI, complete; no opening initial for I in the space left for it; painted initials for II, III, V, and VI, with additional filigree decoration for the latter three. There is no indication of any major division for IV, which begins with a standard letter "o," prefaced by an apparent erasure.

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 19 (=*Sol,* no. 6), fol. IIv: a2; fragmentary; text and music – faded in many places – survive on this single, essentially complete leaf, extending from the beginning of the piece through the single word that makes up line 7 (beginning Strophe II); a large, system-high painted initial opens Strophe I; an ink capital begins II. This and the previous two works in *Sol* are also contiguous in *F,* but in reverse order.

Text only:

Two places in the text of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* – the adjacent lines 39 and 40 that begin Strophe VI – may be recalled in the text of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), whose poem is constructed nearly completely from the incipits of other conductus. *Hac in die rege nato* 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.

In contrast, though, to most of the other identifications proposed for *Hac in die rege nato,* its possible evocations of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* do not involve the incipit, and each of these could also refer to other pieces:

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

Line 20 of *Hac in die rege nato* ("Persolvens quod promiserat") not only evokes line 39 (opening Strophe VI) of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* ("Iam solvens quod promiserat"), but it also recollects the incipit of *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), already cited in line 5 of *Hac in die rege nato* ("Quod promisit vox divina"). Furthermore, *Quod promisit* precedes *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* in *F.*

Similarly, line 4 of *Hac in die rege nato* ("Abrahe et semini") recalls line 40 (the second line of Strophe VI) of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* ("Abrahe sancto semini,"), as well as line 5 ("ut Abrahe semini") of the motet *Deo confitemini* (A3/87 – vdW 131/M13), and the opening of the motet *Ex semine Abrahe divino* (vdW 483/M38).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** The opening two lines of the poem and the italicized portions in lines 15, 16, 18, 28, 37, 38, and 40 are drawn from the Magnificat, Mary's canticle addressed to her cousin Elizabeth in Luke, 1:46-55; the opening two lines in the conductus poem relay Luke, 1:46, and the remaining references arise in the same order in both texts. See the notes on the specific places below for more details. **4:** all three parts of the body that appear in this line – the mouth or speech (*os*, *verba,* or related terms), the heart *(cor)* and the "kidneys" (*renes,* i.e., "reins," "loins," or, as rendered here, "innermost feelings") – occur in Wisdom, 1:6, although in reverse order, bottom to top as it were.[2] **4,1-2:** For some biblical passages discussing only speech and heart in close quarters, see Romans, 10:8;[3] Romans, 10:10;[4] Psalm 18:15;[5] and Psalm 48:4.[6] **4,2-3:** for biblical images of just the heart and "innermost feelings" *(renes)* in close juxtaposition, see Psalm 7:10;[7] as well as the analogous expressions in Psalm 25:2, Psalm 72:21, Jeremiah, 11:20, 17:10, and 20:12, and Revelation, 2:23. **5-6:** mankind incurred the punishment of death through Adam's inculcation of original sin, which is then rectified by Christ; see 1 Corinthians, 15:22,[8] and Romans, 5:14.[9] **8:** the "seed of the very first sorrow" is the

---

[2]Wisdom, 1:6: "Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis: quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguae ejus auditor" ("For the spirit of wisdom is benevolent, and will not acquit the evil speaker from his lips: for God is witness of his reins [i.e., "innermost feelings"], and he is a true searcher of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue").

[3]Romans, 10:8: "Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo: hoc est verbum fidei, quod praedicamus." ("But what says the scripture? The word is close to you, even in your mouth, and in your heart [cf. Deuteronomy, 30:14]. This is the word of faith, which we preach.").

[4]Romans, 10:10: "Corde enim creditur ad justitiam: ore autem confessio fit ad salutem." ("For with the heart we believe in justice; but with the mouth confession is made for salvation.").

[5]Psalm 18:15: " Et erunt ut complaceant eloquia oris mei, et meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper. Domine, adjutor meus, et redemptor meus" ("And the words of my mouth shall be such as may please, and the meditation of my heart always in your sight. O Lord, my helper, and my redeemer.")

[6]Psalm 48:4: "Os meum loquetur sapientiam, et meditatio cordis mei prudentiam." ("My mouth shall speak wisdom, and the meditation of my heart understanding.").

[7]Psalm 7:10: "Consumetur nequitia peccatorum, et diriges justum, scrutans corda et renes, Deus." ("The wickedness of sinners shall be brought to nought: and thou shalt direct the just: the searcher of hearts and reins [i.e., "innermost feelings"] is God.").

[8]1 Corinthians, 15:22: "Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur" ("And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.").

[9]Romans, 5:14: "Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis

fall of Adam and Eve as presented in Genesis, 3 (see the remarks for lines 5-6). **9-12:** dew is a frequent symbol of Christ and God's power; see the story of Gideon's fleece in Judges, 6:36-40; and also Isaiah, 45:8.[10] For just one example among many instances of this image in the conductus repertory, see Philip the Chancellor's *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 1-2. **13-16:** a disparagement of the Jews, the keepers of the Old Law (see also the remarks for lines 29-30 and 44), in preference to the handmaiden Mary (for which, see Luke, 1:38;[11] and 1:48 – the latter from the Magnificat, quoted in the remarks for line 18). The apparent reference to Mary weeping in line 16 escapes me, unless it is a further example of her humility, as exemplified in the passages from Luke (see the notes to line 18); also conceivable is a nod to Mary's future grief at her son's crucifixion. **18:** the "me" here probably refers to the Virgin Mary, as the phrase in line 18,2-4 comes directly from the text of the Magnificat in Luke, 1:48.[12] **19-21:** see, for example, Luke, 3:4, which quotes Isaiah, 40:3: "... Parate viam Domini; rectas facite semitas ejus" ("... Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his paths."). **22-28:** on God's kindness *(benignitas)* and his willingness to save sinners, see Titus, 3:4-5.[13] The expressions in lines 26-28 recall Luke, 1:50, from the Magnificat.[14] **29-30:** these are some evocative and difficult images to construe, so the explanations of these lines are provisional. According to Augustine, commenting on Acts, 13:46,[15] in a rebuke to the Jews in his *Sermo 38* (available in *PL,* 39, col. 1821), the expression "terra gentium" – translated as "land of the Gentiles" – is glossed as the "hearts of all peoples."[16] Similarly, in a commentary on Luke, 5:30,[17] a text ascribed variously to Ambrose, Bede, and Rabanus Maurus (available in *PL,* 107, col. 875D)[18]

Adae, qui est forma futuri" ("But death reigned from Adam unto Moses, even over them also who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam, who is a figure of him who was to come.").

[10]Isaiah, 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").

[11]Luke, 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 your word. And the angel departed from her.").

[12]Luke, 1:48: "Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generatione." ("Because he has regarded the humility of his handmaid; for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed").

[13]Titus, 3:4-5: "Cum autem benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei, non ex operibus justitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti" ("But when the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour appeared: not by the works of justice, which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us, by the laver [i.e., cleansing] of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost.").

[14]Luke, 1:50 (from the Magnificat): "et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum" ("And his mercy is from generation unto generations, to them that fear him.").

[15]Acts, 13:46: "Tunc constanter Paulus et Barnabas dixerunt: 'Vobis oportebat primum loqui verbum Dei: sed quoniam repellitis illud, et indignos vos judicatis aeternae vitae, ecce convertimur ad gentes' " ("Then Paul and Barnabas said boldly: 'To you it behooved us first to speak the word of God: but because you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold we turn to the Gentiles.' "). In Acts, 13:14-52, Paul and Barnabas visit Pisidian Antioch and speak to a congregation in the Jewish synagogue there about conversion to Christianity. They are rebuffed and expelled by the Jewish contingent there, although they do succeed in converting a number of the Gentiles in the city (Acts, 13:48-49).

[16]Augustine, *Sermo 38* (text from *PL,* 39, col. 1821): "Hoc est dicere, quia Christum repulistis, et dignum locum non praeparastis in quo altare Domini poneretur, in terra Gentium, id est, in cordibus omnium populorum altare Domini collocamus" ("That is to say, because you repulsed Christ, and did not prepare a worthy place in which the altar of the Lord may be placed, we are establishing an altar of the Lord in the land of the Gentiles, that is, in the hearts of all peoples").

[17]The passage relates to an event in Luke, 5:27-34 where Jesus and his disciples feasted with a tax collector named Levi and his associates, and were reproved by the scribes and Pharisees, not only for eating with Levi's company, but for not fasting. Luke 5:30: "Et murmurabant pharisaei et scribae eorum, dicentes ad discipulos ejus: 'Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducatis et bibitis?' " ("But the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying to his [Jesus's] disciples: Why do you eat and drink with publicans [i.e.,

discusses the image of the "ieiune mentis" (the "fasting mind") as a negative attribute of the Pharisees who are figuratively starving themselves by following the Old Law and distancing themselves from the nourishment of Christ's grace. The passage in the conductus text, therefore, seems to offer another occurrence of the trope of the Old Law succumbing to the New in its all too familiar deployment as a disparagement of the Jews. This interpretation is abetted by the reference to the Lord's despising the "arrogance of the people of old" ("populi fastus veteris") in lines 13-14, and the image of the closed book of the Law that appears later on in the poem (see the remarks for line 44). **29,1:** "macie" is the ablative of "macies." **32:** this reading assumes "leta" to be an imperative, along with "solve," rather than a noun or adjective. **36:** the frequently encountered Gospel image (from Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17) of threshed wheat, without chaff, typically referring to a saved soul, may be in play here; it is a favorite image of Philip the Chancellor and appears in a number of other Parisian conductus, motets, and prosulas (see Payne, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas,* 27); notice also the use of a contrasting grain/chaff figure in line 4 of the conductus *Seminavit Grecia* (I23/322), that appears later at *F*-7,40. **37-38:** this passage derives from the words of the Magnificat in Luke, 1:53.[19] **39-40:** this language recalls Luke, 1:55, from the Magnificat.[20] God's covenant with Abraham is given in Genesis, 17, with further references in Genesis, 12:1-3, 12:7, 13:15, and 24:7. In Galatians, 3:16[21] and 3:29,[22] the promises to the patriarch made by the Lord are re-appropriated specifically to refer to the New Covenant with Christ. **41:** as confirmed by line 45, God ("the highest") unites himself with human flesh ("the lowest") in Jesus, who additionally was born in the lowly circumstances of the Bethlehem manger. For this conceit, see Philippians, 2:7-8;[23] for additional appearances of this image, see the remarks on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. **44:** the closed book is a symbol of the Old Law; see the similar expression and meaning in the opening lines of the conductus *Librum clausum et signatum* (J51/198). **48:** another example of the

---

tax collectors] and sinners?' "); and Luke 5:33: "At illi dixerunt ad eum: 'Quare discipuli Joannis jejunant frequenter, et obsecrationes faciunt, similiter et pharisaeorum: tui autem edunt et bibunt?' " ("And they [the Pharisees and scribes] said to him [Jesus]: 'Why do the disciples of John [the Baptist] fast often, and make prayers, and the disciples of the Pharisees in like manner; but yours eat and drink?' "). See also the related expression in Luke, 15:2: "Et murmurabant pharisaei, et scribae, dicentes: 'Quia hic peccatores recipit, et manducat cum illis' " ("And the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying: This man [Jesus] receives sinners, and eats with them.' ").

[18]*PL,* 107, col. 875D: "Convivantibus cum Domino publicanis, Pharisaei murmurantes de ieiunio gloriantur. Ubi primo legis et gratiae quanta sit distantia declaratur, quia qui legem sequuntur, ieiunae mentis famem patiantur aeternam; qui vero verbum in interioribus animae receperunt alimenti coelestis, et fontis ubertate recreati, esurire et sitire non possint" ("As the tax collectors were feasting together with the Lord, the murmuring Pharisees prided themselves on fasting. In that place it is first declared how great is the discrepancy of law and of grace: for they who follow the law endure the eternal hunger of a fasting mind; but they who receive the word of heavenly nourishment in the inner parts of the soul, and are recreated by the richness of the stream [i.e., Christ], cannot hunger or thirst.").

[19]Luke, 1:53 (from the Magnificat): "Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes" ("He has filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he has sent empty away.").

[20]Luke, 1:55 (from the Magnificat): "sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini eius in saecula" ("As he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever.").

[21]Galatians, 3:16: "Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones, et semini ejus. Non dicit: 'Et seminibus,' quasi in multis: sed quasi in uno: 'Et semini tuo,' qui est Christus" ("To Abraham were the promises made and to his seed. He [God] says not, 'And to his seeds,' as of many: but as of one, 'And to your seed,' which is Christ.").

[22]Galatians 3:29: "Si autem vos Christi, ergo semen Abrahae estis, secundum promissionem haeredes" ("And if you be Christ's, then are you the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise.").

[23]Philippians, 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.").

fascination with the logical implausibility that Mary is simultaneously daughter and mother to the same entity, since Christ is her father as well as her son; see, for a few instances among many, the opening notes on the text for *Parens patris natique filia* (F31/260), at *F*-6,60.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: Versification:** The through-composed setting of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* presents an engaging verse structure made up of two different stanzaic constructions, such that the six-line stanzas of I-III are poetically identical, as is the construction of the three strophes IV-VI, with ten lines each. **24,3:** F: beniginitas; correct spelling in all other applicable sources *(W1,Ma).* **33,4:** F: gaudia; adopted reading from *W1,Ma,* which preserves the rhyme. **41,3:** F: confederans; corrected via *W1,Ma,* which again preserves the rhyme. **MUSIC: Internal Repetition:** Melodic recollection is especially prominent in this piece and accounts for the more frequent than usual boxed letters above the staves. Many more such relationships could be labeled. Strophes I-V, for example, each feature opening lines with repeated elements. In addition to the smaller-scale musical correspondences noted in the score for the beginning of Strophe I, much of the T voice from its opening cauda through the setting of lines 1-2 shows some striking motivic correspondences with that of lines 3-4. Meanwhile, in Stanza II, the music of its closing lines (11-12 – marked "a4" in the score) also supplies the first T phrase of its closing cauda exactly, and even extends beyond that, with the related but varied gestures in the T phrase just before the *punctus organi* at L13-L18 and the unmarked D from L7-L18; the result is syllabic/melismatic identity (see further below). Furthermore, this same figure in Strophe II ("a4") also appears in the T of the setting of the closing lines 17-18 of Strophe III. Lastly, Stanzas IV and V share nearly identical melodic gestures (g'' and h/h') for their respective concluding lines 27-28 and 37-38. **Syllabic/ Melismatic identity: 1.** the T of "gratia pluens celitus / vite ros" (lines 11-12,2) = **1a.** T of following cauda on "[inno]va[te]" (line 12,3, closing cauda of Strophe II) = **1b.** "proles humani generis / iam me be[atam]" (lines 17-18,3). **Opening cauda (line 1):** note the near canon between the parts ("a/a1"), starting with L3 of the D and followed by the T one beat later, extending through L9. The initial gesture of these passages, the descent from *f-c* marked in the score, is a frequently encountered motive throughout the piece, as is the final T motive of the short cauda in line 2 (the descent *g-d*), which often appears as a cadential figure throughout, although its appearances are not called out in the transcription. **Line 1,1:** T: F,Ma: the om siP=*c* is supplied from *W1;* it may also be in *Oxf-Sol,* but the source is heavily faded at this point, making verification extremely difficult. **2:** TD: F,W1: the om rests before the *punctus organi* at "[do]minum"come from *Ma.* **Cauda on line 6,3 (closing Strophe I):** D: W1,Ma: the sequence of pitches for L5-L10 of the melisma over "[propa]ga[te]" is slightly different: *c,d,c,dec,d,* as the result of merely relocating the 3li=*dec* later by 2L than its occurrence in *F; Oxf-Sol* presents the same pitch sequence as *F,* but with the 3li=*dec* rendered as siP'si. **Line 22,3:** T: F,Ma: *a* for the third syllable of "iuditio"; the more consonant *g* supplied by *W1.* **Cauda on line 38 (closing Strophe V):** TD: F,W1,Ma: the extant sources show differing readings among parts of this cauda, including contrasting ways for delineating the rests as well as different ligations; all versions are presented together at the end of the transcription for comparison. D: F: the closing stroke in this voice prior to the subsequent *punctus organi* is supplied editorially to match the one in the T at this same point. **Line 40,3:** TD: F: the repeated *c*'s over the final syllable of "semini," are grouped under a dashed tie in the transcription; this should not necessarily be taken to indicate that the second note of the pair should not sound. As with other places where this particular presentation occurs in *F,* it appears to suggest an indication of greater length. For the use of this figure in a similar context, see the remarks on notation in the commentary to the conductus a3 *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217) from *F*-6,55. **Cauda on 42,1:** T: F: the rhythm of the melisma on "[descen]dens," beginning with 2li repeated-note figures, is clarified by the different ligations and note groupings in *W1* and *Ma* = 2li,3si (*W1:* si,R,si),2li. **Line 43,2:** D: F,Ma: si,siP=*a,ag* for the third syllable of "reportans"; the more consonant figure on *e* is adopted from *W1.* **45,2:** T: F,Ma: *d,c* for "carne"; the more consonant *e,d* comes from *W1.* **Final cauda (line 48):** the second section of the final melisma (L43-L64) appears to be corrupt or at least questionable in all sources: *W1* has a phrase missing and ligations that suggest the scribe may have tried to correct for the omission, and *F* has three wrongly transposed pitches opening the first T phrase and ligations that imply a level of dissonance rather higher than expected. While the contrasting ligations in *Ma* appear to offer the most consonant reading overall,

there is still a questionable dissonance with the occurrence of the *a/b* ninth at L7 within this smaller passage; hence the *F* reading is given in the main transcription as it stands. This part of the cauda is also curious as it extends the range of the T lower (to *a*) than at any other point in the piece. For comparison and alternatives, if wished, the three different extant readings of this segment are given together at the end of the transcription.

DE NATURE FRACTO IURE

Conductus: (I18/80)

F, f. 303v (7,34)*

I

D [De na-tu- -re fra - cto iu - re

T De na-tu- -re fra - cto iu - re

ra - ti - o mi - ra -

ra - ti - o mi - ra -

-tur. si - cut do - cet lit - te - ra; vir - go

-tur. si - cut do - cet lit - te - ra; vir - go

fit pu - er - pe - ra vi - ri - lis ex - pers se - mi-nis al - vus tu - me - scit

fit pu - er - pe - ra vi - ri - lis ex - pers se - mi-nis al - vus tu - me - scit
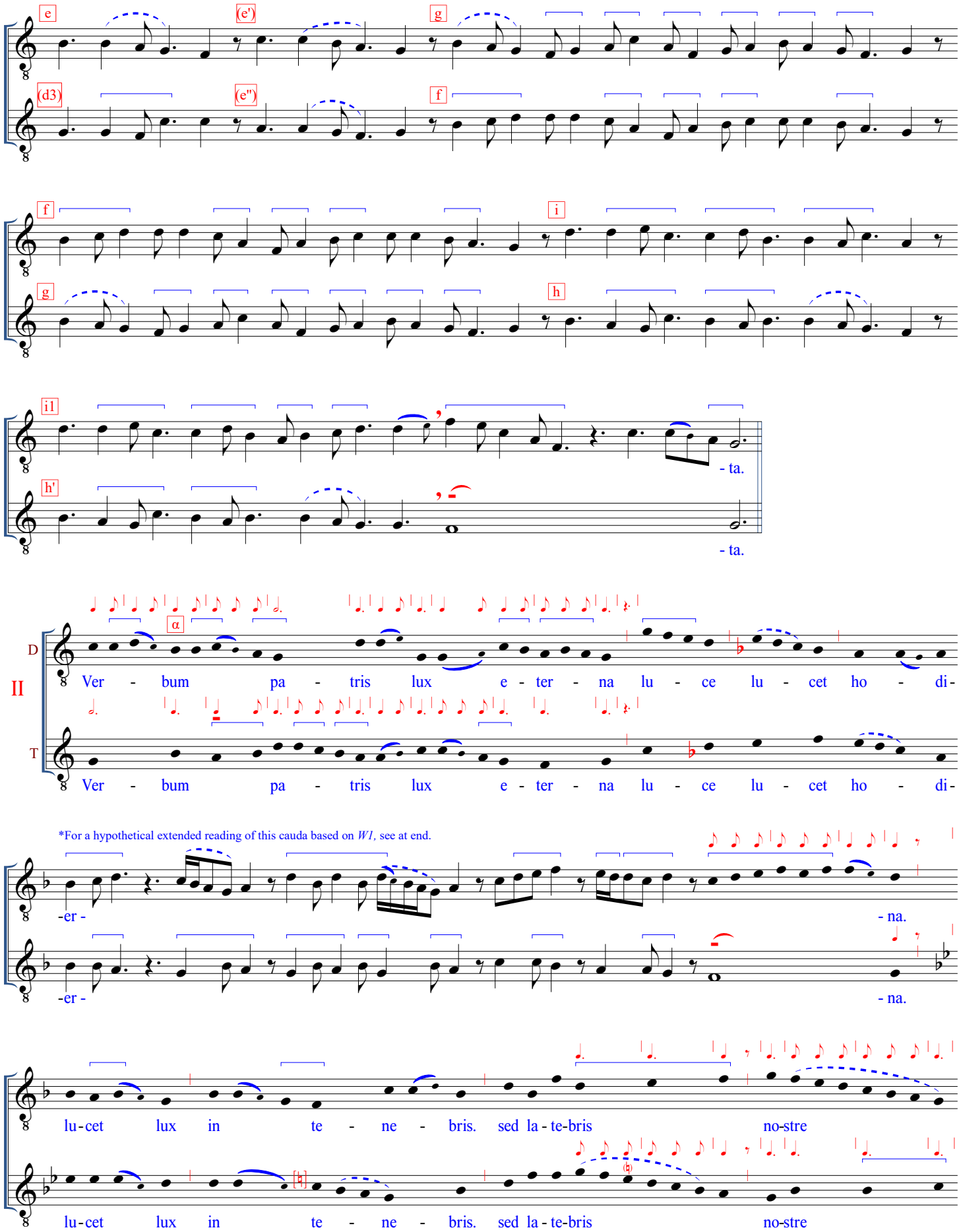
vir - gi - nis. re
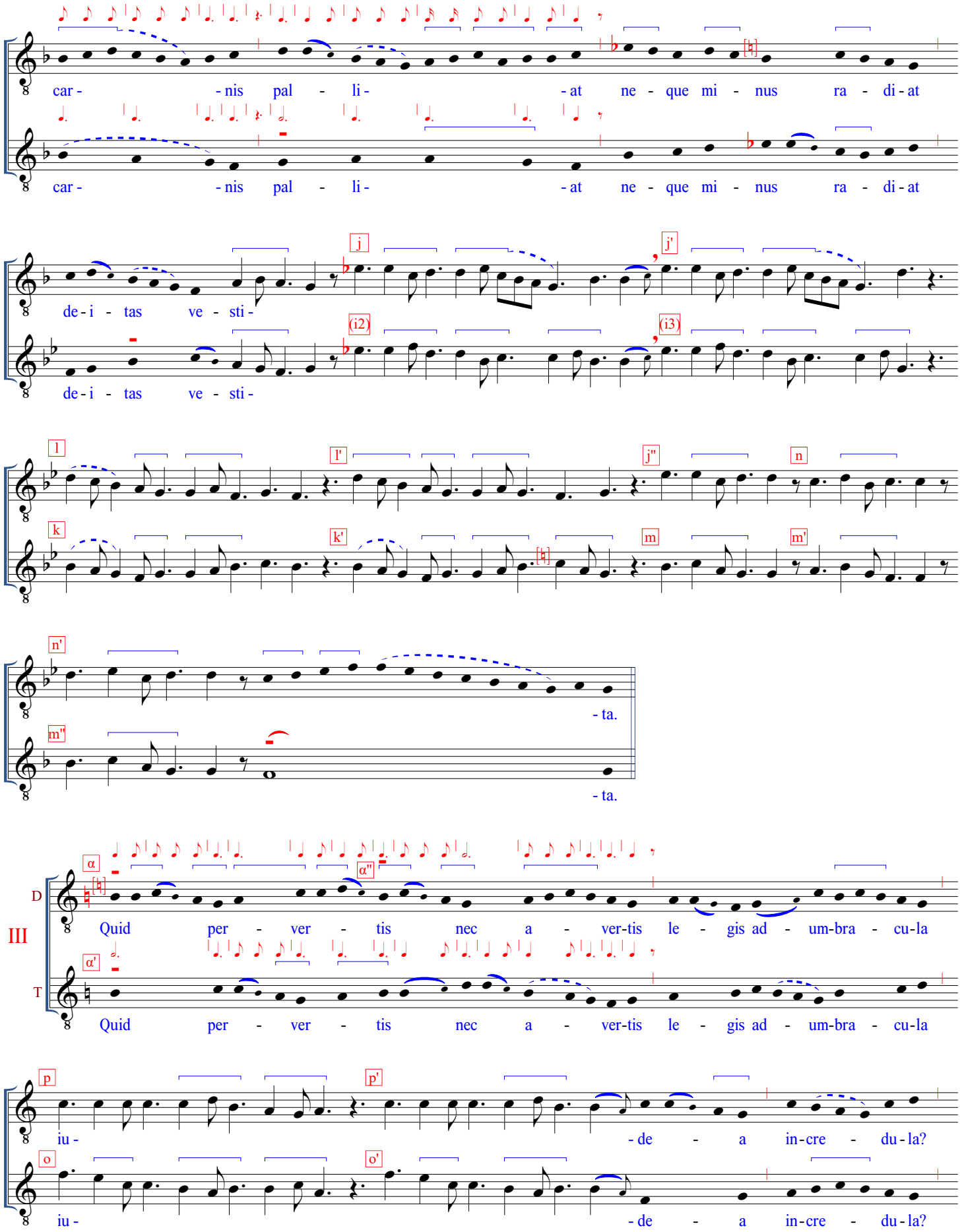
vir - gi - nis. re
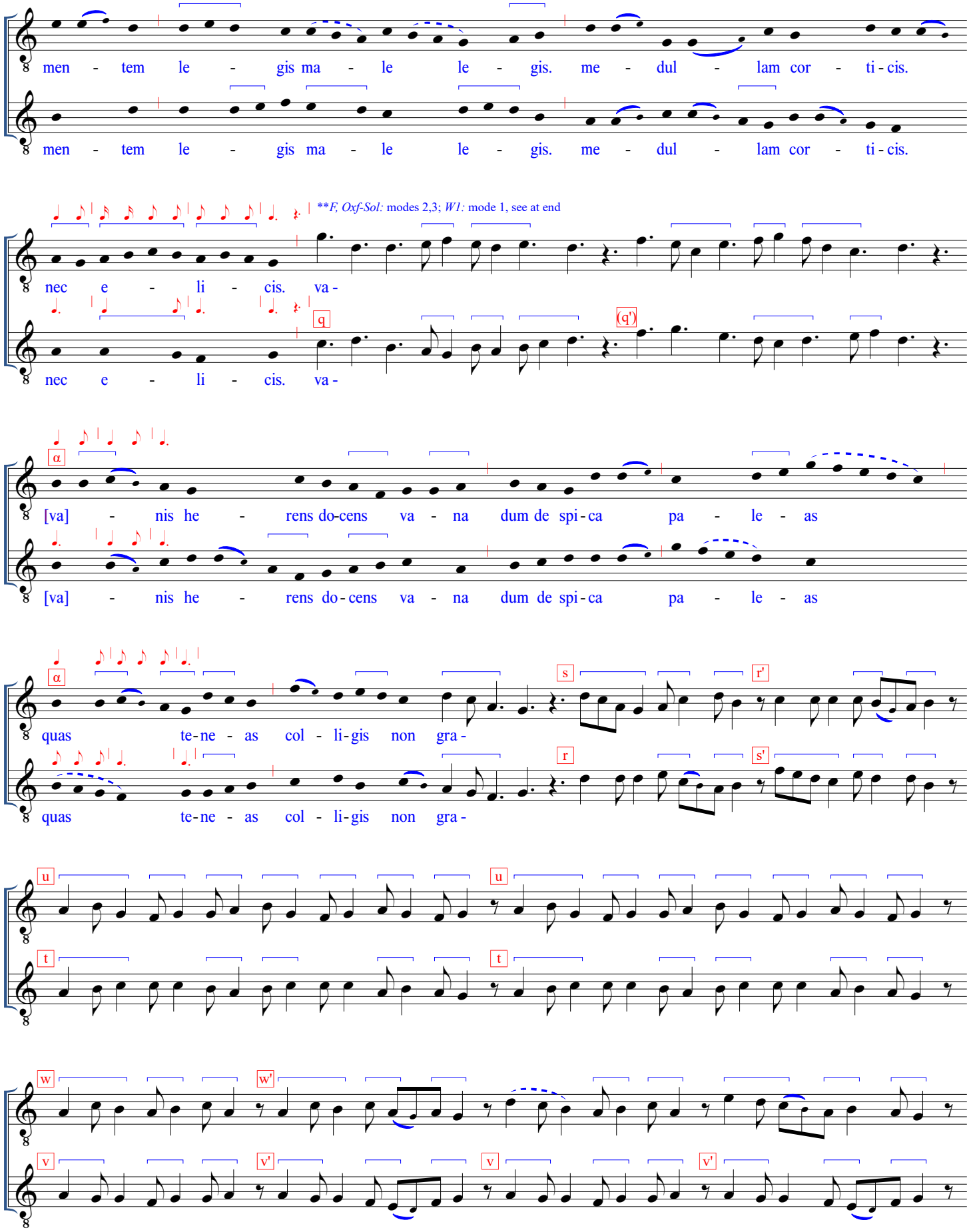
no - mi-nis in vir - gi - ne ser - va -

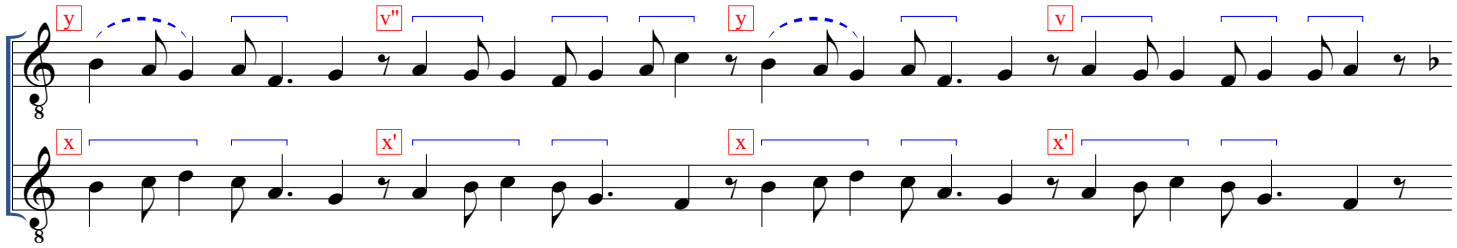
no - mi - nis in vir - gi - ne ser - va -

*Caudae in this piece with phrases beginning with the standard si,3li ligature pattern of mode 3 may be rendered iambically just as readily as in the trochaic form of the mode that is most customarily employed here. **The melodic figure represented by alpha (α) appears frequently throughout the piece; the suggested rhythms given here have been applied elsewhere to the *sine littera* instances of this figure.

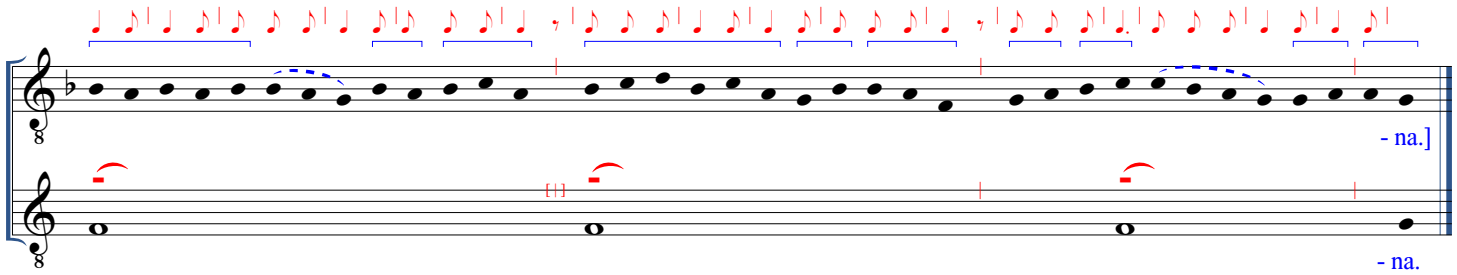

e
(e')
g
(d3)
(e")
f
f
i
g
h
i1
h'
- ta.
- ta.
α
D
II
T
Ver - bum pa - tris lux e - ter - na lu - ce lu - cet ho - di-
Ver - bum pa - tris lux e - ter - na lu - ce lu - cet ho - di-
*For a hypothetical extended reading of this cauda based on *W1*, see at end.
-er -
- na.
-er -
- na.
lu-cet lux in te - ne - bris. sed la - te-bris no-stre
lu-cet lux in te - ne - bris. sed la - te-bris no-stre


car - nis pal - li - at ne - que mi - nus ra - di - at
car - nis pal - li - at ne - que mi - nus ra - di - at
de - i - tas ve - sti -
de - i - tas ve - sti -
- ta.
- ta.
III
D
T
Quid per - ver - tis nec a - ver-tis le - gis ad - um-bra - cu-la
Quid per - ver - tis nec a - ver-tis le - gis ad - um-bra - cu-la
iu - de - a in-cre - du-la?
iu - de - a in-cre - du-la?


men - tem le - gis ma - le le - gis. me - dul - lam cor - ti - cis.
men - tem le - gis ma - le le - gis. me - dul - lam cor - ti - cis.
**F, Oxf-Sol:* modes 2,3; *W1:* mode 1, see at end
nec e - li - cis. va -
nec e - li - cis. va -
q
(q')
α
[va] - nis he - rens do-cens va - na dum de spi - ca pa - le - as
[va] - nis he - rens do - cens va - na dum de spi - ca pa - le - as
α
s
r'
quas te-ne - as col - li-gis non gra -
quas te-ne - as col - li-gis non gra -
r
s'
u
u
t
t
w
w'
v
v'
v
v'

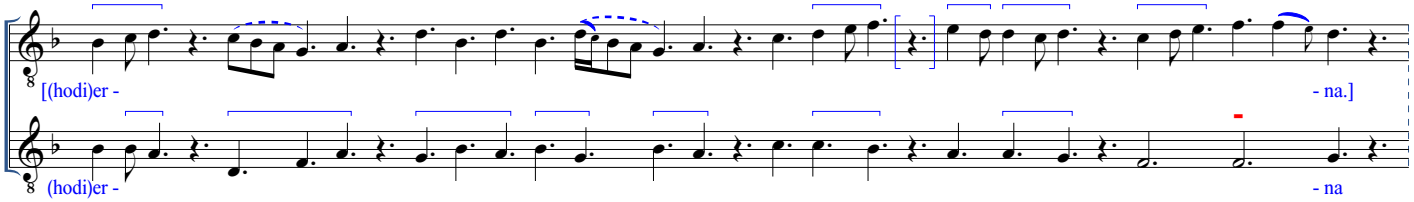


†D: *W1, Oxf-Sol:* differing closing flourishes, see at end

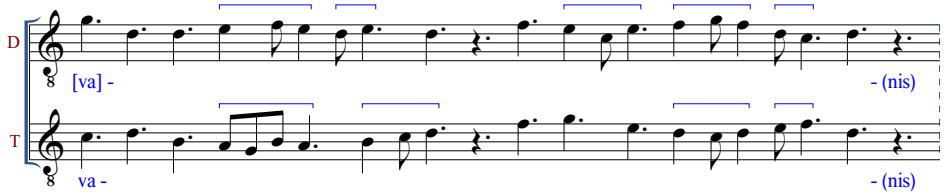


ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda at line 10,3: hypothetical extended reading from *W1,* f. 141r (132r), III – prompted by the 4si in the third phrase of the D

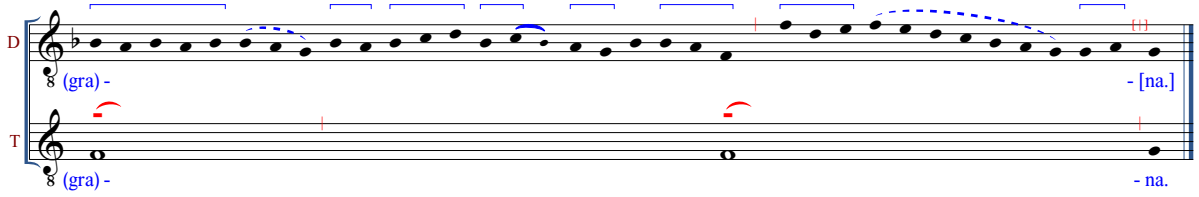


**Cauda at line 22,1: *W1,* f. 141v (132v), III – reading in mode 1

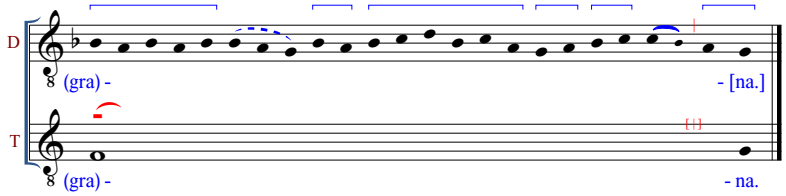


†Closing *punctus organi* at line 25,3:

a. : *W1,* f. 141v (132v), VI



b. *Oxf-Sol,* f. IIv, III



DE NATURE FRACTO IURE

Conductus (I18/80)

F, f. 303v (7,34)

I De nature fracto iure
ratio miratur.
Sicut docet littera,
virgo fit puerpera.
Virilis expers seminis.
alvus tumescit virginis
re nominis
in virgine servata.

Reason is astonished at
the breaking of nature's law.
Just as scripture teaches,
a virgin becomes a child-bearer.
Without manly seed
a virgin's womb swells
through the action of a word
upon an untouched virgin.

II Verbum patris, lux eterna,
luce lucet hodierna.
Lucet lux in tenebris,
sed latebris
nostre carnis palliat;
neque minus radiat
deitas vestita.

The Word of the father, the light eternal,
shines with the light of this day .
The light shines in the darkness,
yet lurks within
the recesses of our flesh;
and godliness shines no
less when it is clothed.

III Quid pervertis, nec avertis,
legis adumbracula,
Iudea incredula?
Mentem legis male legis,
medullam corticis.
nec elicis.
Vanis herens, docens vana,
dum de spica paleas
quas teneas,
colligis non grana.

Why do you corrupt and not
reject these mere shadows of the Law,
unbelieving Judea?
You read wrongly the intent of the Law,
and extract not
the shell's nutmeat.
Clinging to vain things, teaching vain things,
while you may possess some
of the chaff from the tuft,
you do not harvest the grains.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 34, f. 303v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III signaled by capitals. This piece and the works immediately surrounding it in *F* are contiguous also in *Oxf-Sol,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 57, f.140v (131v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, indicated by painted initials.

Oxf-Sol,[1] no. 18 (= *Sol,* no. 5), on ff. Bv, IIr, IIv (in that order): a2; fragmentary. This source is not listed for this work in Anderson's conductus catalog, nor in his edition of the piece from *NDRC,* 4:95-96, but recognition of it does appear in the handwritten annotations to his personal copy of the catalog. The surviving text and music of both voices begin on the strip designated as f. Bv in Stenzl, "Solothurner Fragmente"[2] (this

[1]This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derives from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[2]Jurg Stenzl, "Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente," *Die Musikforschung*, 26 (1973): 311-321.

is the trimmed left segment of the remains of the double leaf ff. Bv-IIr, a portion not included in the facsimiles published in the article).[3] Starting in its third system, f. Bv contains music and text of the following portions of Strophe I on the remnants of four accolades: **1)** lines 1,4-2,2 ("[i]ure ... mira[tur]"); **2)** lines 3,3-4,3 ("[litte]ra ... puer[pera]"); **3)** lines 6,2-7,1 ("[tume]scit ... re [nominis]"); and **4)** all but the first 5L of the first five phrases (i.e., containing L6-L20) of the cauda concluding Strophe I (on line 8,3 – "servata"). The piece then continues directly onto f. IIr (the fully preserved right portion of the double leaf and reproduced in Stenzl's article) with the rest of the cauda and the text syllable that ends Strophe I; it proceeds up to line 19,2 ("mentem legis"); a capital initial is given for the start of Strophe III, but only an extended left diagonal ascender distinguishes the "v" of "verbum" for the start of II. *De nature* finishes on f. IIv, continuing directly with line 19,3 ("male legis") up through the close of the piece at the end of the third system. This work and the ones immediately surrounding it in *Sol* are contiguous also in *F,* but in reverse order.

Text only:

F-T 1471 (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471; [olim] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471), no. 3, f. Av (first front flyleaf, verso): fragmentary, text only of Strophe I up through its penultimate syllable ("virgine serva[ta]"); the leaves are ruled 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; the few variants from it are collated in the text variants below.[4]

Ox Rawl (GB-Ob Rawl.poet. C 510), f. 242r (13r): text only; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III signaled by pilcrows in the left margin; rubric: "item de partu beate virgine" ("another one about the Blessed Virgin giving birth").

CH-Zz C.58/275 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C.58/275), no. 334 (7),[5] f. 148r: text only, Strophes I-III, complete. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details stem from *NDRC* and the CPI website.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** There are a number of poetic images and stylistic traits favored by Philip the Chancellor throughout this poem; discussion of these appears below. No medieval source or modern scholar argues for his authorship of this text, so I do not claim it here. **Versification:** I have combined some of the lines presented separately in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:xxi), as several of the breaks are not supported by rhyme. Internal rhyme is shown by added horizontal space between line segments. **Textual notes: 1-8 (Strophe I):** another instance of wonder at the astounding event of the Virgin Mary's bearing of Jesus; for just

---

[3]The portions of this piece preserved on the strip Bv are also not included in the information on *CH-MSbk S.231 (Sol)* supplied by the CPI website, even though Anderson's handwritten annotations to his catalog indicate that it is the initial folio.

[4]For 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.

[5]The numbering of the pieces in *Zz C.58/275* is that of Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). Werner's numbers occasionally split or combine various poems, but this does not apply for the Parisian conductus in this source (nos. 328-335 – although no. 331 is *Virgo deum generat* from *St Gall 383*). The numbering as in Anderson, *NDRC,* which apparently only applies to the conductus portion, is given afterwards in parentheses.

a selection of some additional nods to this commonplace, see the notes to the conductus *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), line 5. **3-4:** a reference to the prophecy of Isaiah, 7:14.[6] **7:** the "word" in this case could be either the "Ave" of the angel Gabriel (Luke, 1:28) from the Annunciation, or the "Verbum" of John, 1:1. **9-11:** note the use of *annominatio* (word play, a favored device of Philip the Chancellor) in the frequent appearance of nominal and verbal forms of "lux"; further use of the technique appears in lines 16 and 18-21. **11:** the image comes directly from John, 1:5;[7] see also the related expressions in 2 Peter, 1:19; Luke, 1:79; and Isaiah, 60:3. **12-15:** for the idea of Christ clothing himself in flesh, yet suffering no debasement of his divinity, see, among other places, the conductus *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 9-14, and *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. **16:** further *annominatio,* playing upon the verbal root "verto"; see remarks for lines 9-11 and 18-21. **16-17:** another possible way to read these verses is prompted by the apparent splitting of line 16,2 into two words ("ad umbracula"), which, it could be argued, is implied by all the musical sources. In this case the connotation would be "... and do not turn away to the shady places [i.e., 'comfortable havens'] of the Law"; "adumbraculum," moreover, does not occur in the major dictionaries, nor in Ducange, *Glossarium,* although its existence is attested by other texts.[8] The "split-word" reading is also conceivable if put together with the variant reading "advertis" that occurs in *Oxf-Sol, Ox Rawl,* and *Zz C.58;* hence: "... and not turn to the shelter [i.e. 'shady places'] of the law." **18-21:** see the remarks above for lines 9-11 and 16; here the *annominatio* plays on words with "lego" as their root (possibly including the closely similar form of "elicis" in line 21). **20-21:** for the nutmeat drawn from the shell of the nut, symbolic of Christ, and thus of the New Covenant that replaces the Old Law, see the remarks drawn from Augustine in the notes to the text of Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), lines 5-7; as well as those for the motet *Latex silice / Latus* (vdW 228/M14 – at *F*-6,34), line 3, whose text has also been attributed to Philip the Chancellor. **23-25:** in the Gospel image of the wheat and chaff, the threshed wheat, without chaff, refers to souls that have been saved, see Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17; it is a favorite image of Philip the Chancellor and also appears in a number of other Parisian conductus, motets, and prosulas (see, again, the remarks on the text of *Gedeonis area,* line 8, and Payne, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27). Here the emphasis seems to connect the image to the fruits of the New Law.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: Variants:** F: none. F-T 1471: the few different readings of this source, not available for collation in Anderson's edition, are given here: **1,1:** [D]e; opening initial never supplied. **5,3:** criminis. **8,3:** serva[ta], the folio and remains of this piece end with the second syllable. **MUSIC: Repetition:** Most caudae in this piece contain repeated phrases (sometimes complicated by voice exchange), as well as antecedent-consequent and sequentially related gestures. A few caudae also restate motives from others. Reiterated and closely related phrases are indicated above the staff. In addition to the repetition that arises in melismatic segments, a prominently recurring motive (*bbcbag*), marked here in the score by the Greek letter alpha *(α),* appears in several *cum littera* passages, typically in the D, at or near the beginning of phrases, and at – or close to – the start of all three stanzas; the suggested rhythms given for its first appearance have been applied elsewhere to other the *sine littera* instances of this figure. **Cauda rhythms:** the majority of the melismas in all the musical sources imply performance in rhythmic mode 1; however, in *F* and *Oxf-Sol,* the cauda at line 22,1 (at "va[nis]," see the remarks below) is presented in the iambic modes 2 or 3, as opposed to the differently ligated mode-1 reading of *W1.* It is therefore also possible to render iambically any of the

---

[6]Isaiah, 7:14: "Propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum: ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel" ("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.").

[7]John, 1:5: "Et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt" ("And the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it").

[8]See, for example, Johann Ramminger, *Neulateinische Wortliste: Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700,* s.v. "adumbraculum," (consulted 19 December 2025) at www.neulatein.de/words/1/019701.htm.

various cauda phrases in this piece that begin with the standard si,3li ligature series of mode 3. **Cauda at line 8,3 (ends Strophe I):** D: W1: the 5li=*fecaf* descending figure just before the final D phrase at the end of Strophe I is written 3li,2li in this MS; this use of mode-1 ligation in *W1,* along with its representation via the commonly used variant of 5li in *F* (likely also used in *Oxf-Sol,* but the MS is difficult to read at this point), has caused me to present this cadence in specific rhythmic values. **Line 9,2:** D: W1: a *b-flat* sig appears prior to the second syllable of "patris," valid to the end of Strophe II and then followed by a further *b-flat* sig at the start of the system break that begins Strophe III in *W1;* its possible use prior to its appearance in *F* is not reflected in the score. *Oxf-Sol* has a sig quad on *b* in the D to begin Strophe II, which is possibly reiterated at the system break before the second syllable of line 9,2 (although, given the difficulty of reading the MS at this point, it is conceivable that it may be a sig rot, thus corresponding with *W1*); the subsequent appearances in line 10 of *b-flat* sigs in both T (before "[ho]di[erna]") and D (before "[luce lu]cet") of *Oxf-Sol* affirm the slightly earlier ones in the T and D of *F* and in the T of *W1.* **Cauda at line 10,3:** T: Oxf-Sol: the first four notes of the third phrase (L6-L9) over "[hodi]er[na]" show 2siP=*g*P,*a*P. D: W1: the first four notes at the same place are written 4si=*d,b,d,b*; in *Oxf-Sol* they are: 2siP =*d*P,*d*P. The variants in *W1* and *Oxf-Sol* that imply TL values for each of these four notes, along with the busy D ornamentation throughout this cauda – strikingly active in comparison to the other melismas in this piece – provoke the conjecture that this melisma may have been transmuted from slower into faster rhythmic values at some point; see the hypothetical alternative reading based on *W1* at the end of the transcription. A similarly extended execution might apply for the ornate *cum littera* segment from lines 12,2-13,3 ("[late]bris nostre carnis palliat"); suggested rhythmic values for the execution of this portion appear above the staves in the score. **Line 11,1:** T: W1: the *e-flat* sig that appears here before "lucet [lux]" is in affect until the system change just prior to line 13,2 ("carnis"); its possible implementation after its cancellation in *F* before line 11,4 ("tenebris") is not reflected in the transcription. **Cauda at line 15,2 (ends Strophe II):** T: W1: for "[ve]sti[ta]," no flat sigs at all throughout the cauda. D: W1: *b-flat* sigs throughout cauda, but none on *e-flat*. **Line 16,1:** D: W1: a *b-flat* sig, continuing from the previous four systems, appears here at the start of Strophe III; this is specifically contradicted by the sig quads on *b* for both voices at this same point in *F* and *Oxf-Sol;* the possibility of using the flat is not signaled in the transcription; this *b-flat* sig in *W1* is not cancelled until the system break following the first phrase of the cauda at line 18,1 ("iu[dea]"). **Cauda at line 22,1:** TD: W1: "va[nis]" rendered in mode 1, as opposed to the iambic versions in *F* and *Oxf-Sol;* see the alternative reading at the end of the transcription. D: F: at the end of the second phrase, the 1 of the 3li=*fdc* at L13-L14 is written as *e;* the *f* has been taken from both *W1* and *Oxf-Sol.* **Closing *punctus organi* at line 25,3:** D: W1,Oxf-Sol: different final flourishes on "gra[na]" appear in these sources; see the end of the transcription for these readings.

FLOS DE SPINA PROCREATOR ... MISSO RORE CELITUS

Conductus (H29/127)

F, f. 304v (7,35)*

I

D [Flos de spi - na pro - cre - a -

T Flos de spi - na pro - cre - a -

a1

or: si si

- tur. et flos flo -

or:

- tur. et flos flo -

**the rhythmic reading of this portion is based upon the different T ligation in *Ma* and *Hu;* see at end for alternatives

- re fe - cun - da -

- re fe - cun - da -

si si si

- tur. mis - so ro - re

- tur. mis - so ro - re

a2

ce - li -

ce - li -
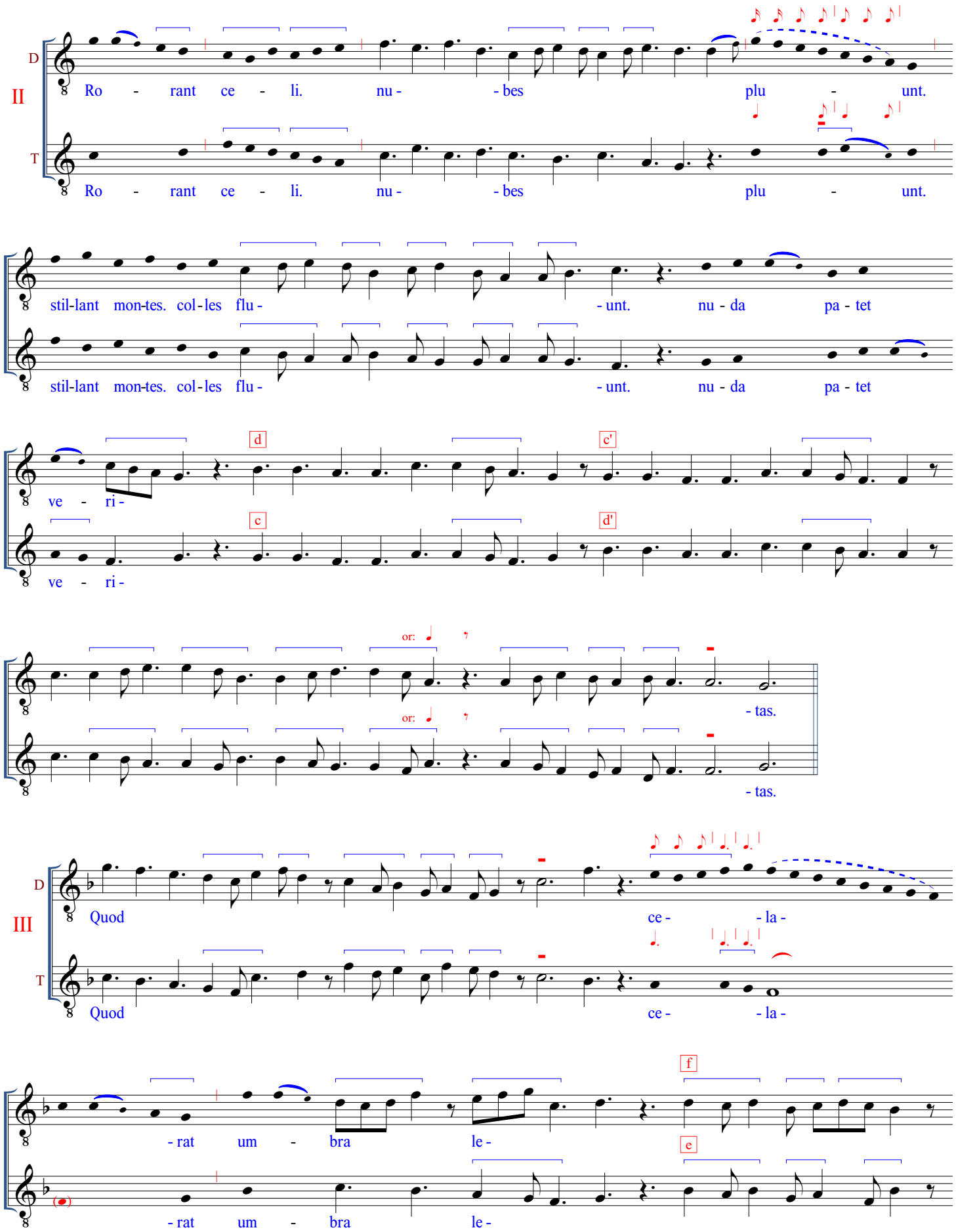
b b'
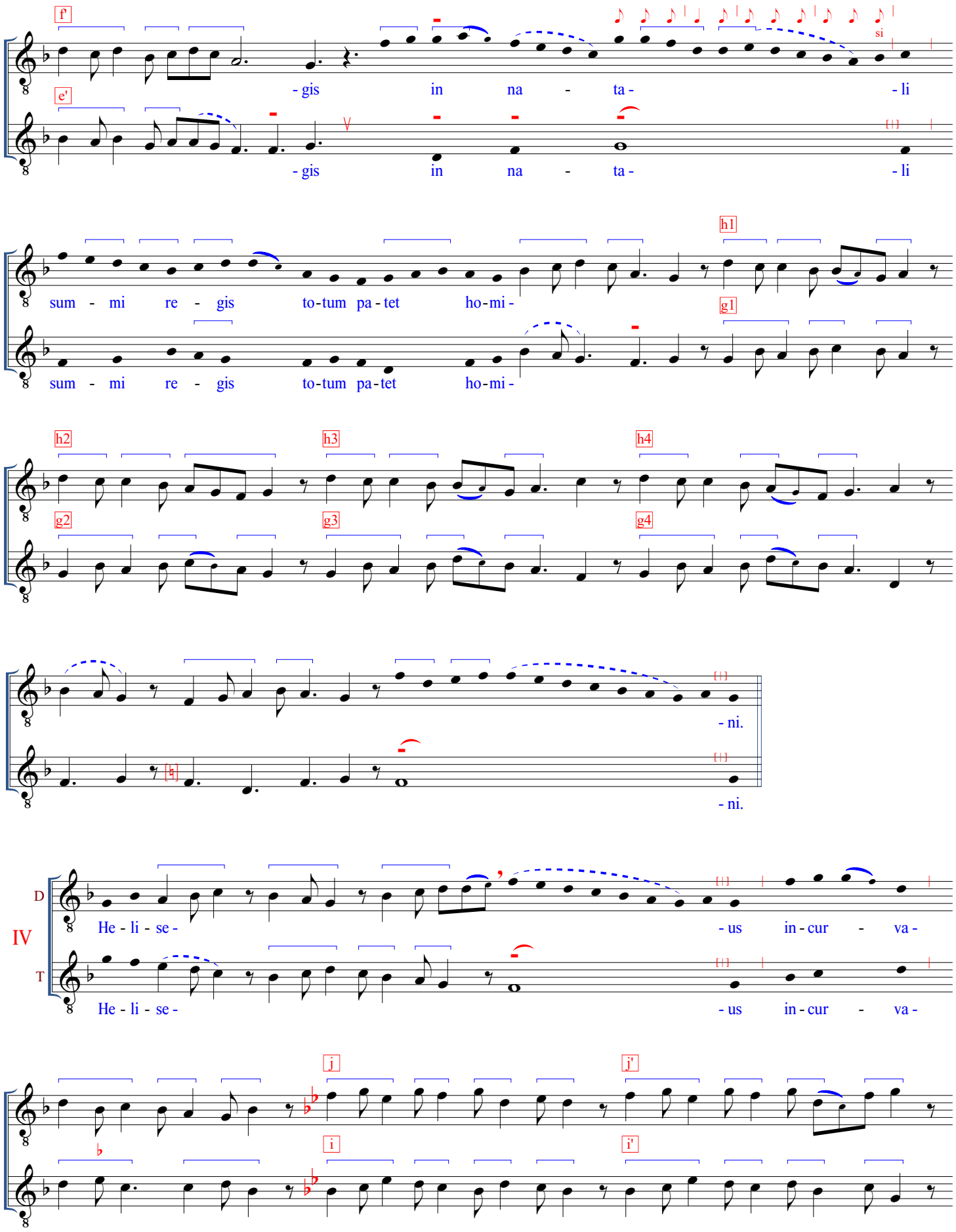
a3 a4
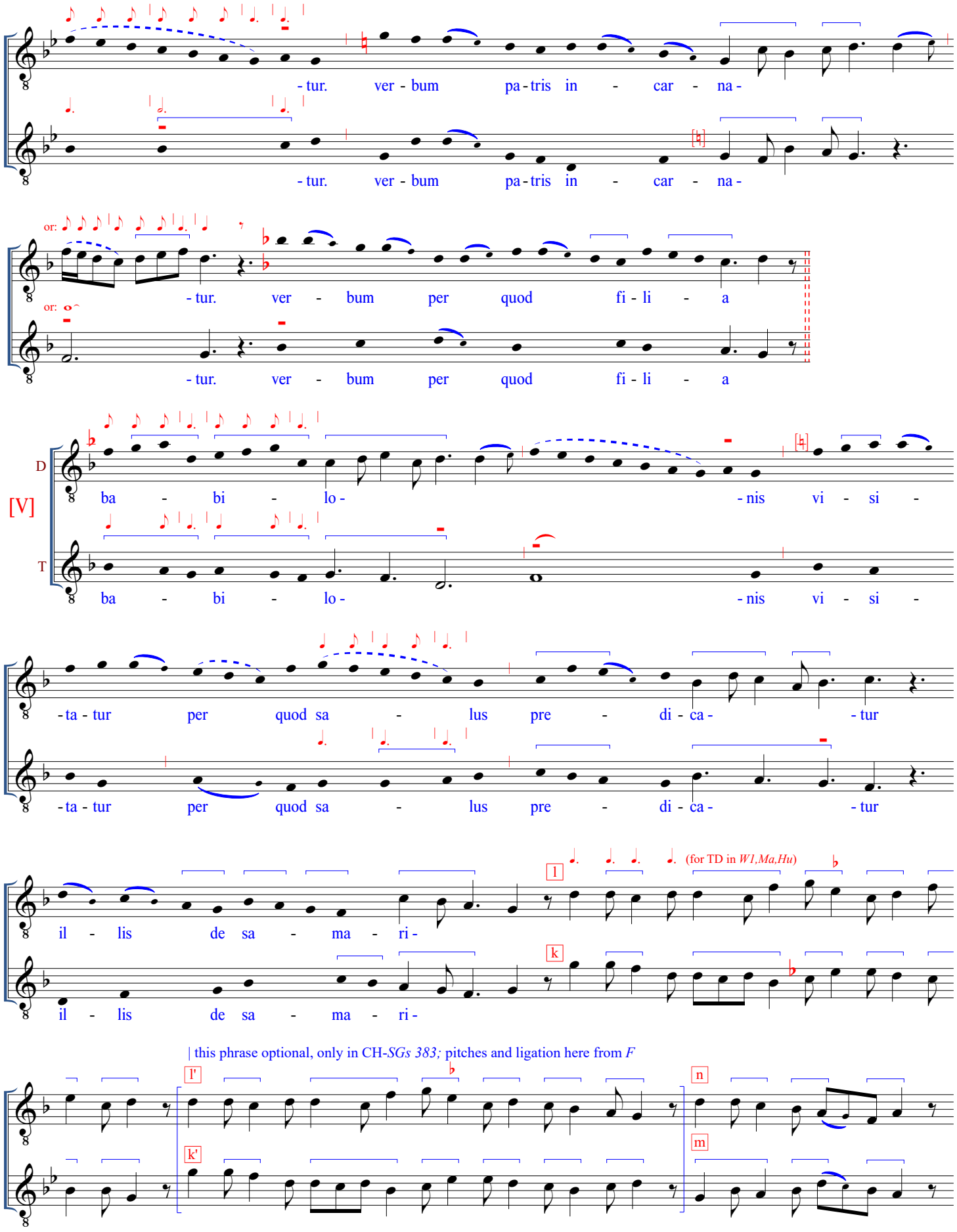
- tus.
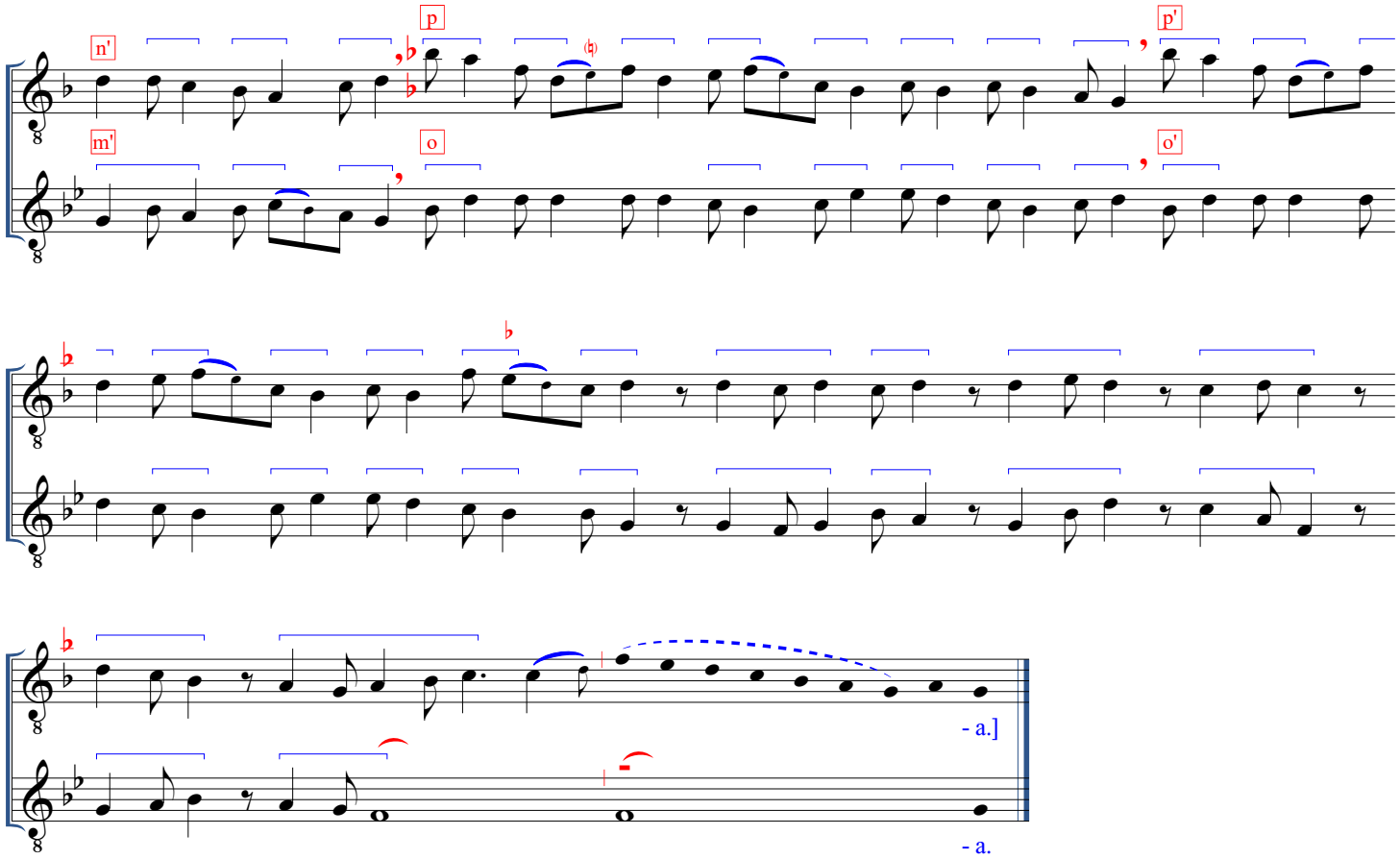
- tus.

*various renderings of line 1,1-3 are suggested by the sources; see the alternatives presented at the end


II
D
T
Ro - rant ce - li. nu - - bes plu - unt.
Ro - rant ce - li. nu - - bes plu - unt.
stil-lant mon-tes. col-les flu - - unt. nu - da pa - tet
stil-lant mon-tes. col-les flu - - unt. nu - da pa - tet
d
c'
c
d'
ve - ri -
ve - ri -
or:
or:
- tas.
- tas.
III
D
T
Quod ce - - la -
Quod ce - - la -
f
e
- rat um - bra le -
- rat um - bra le -


f'
e'
si
- gis in na - ta - li
- gis in na - ta - li
h1
g1
sum - mi re - gis to-tum pa-tet ho-mi -
sum - mi re - gis to-tum pa-tet ho-mi -
h2
h3
h4
g2
g3
g4
- ni.
- ni.
IV
D
T
He - li - se - us in - cur - va -
He - li - se - us in - cur - va -
j
j'
i
i'

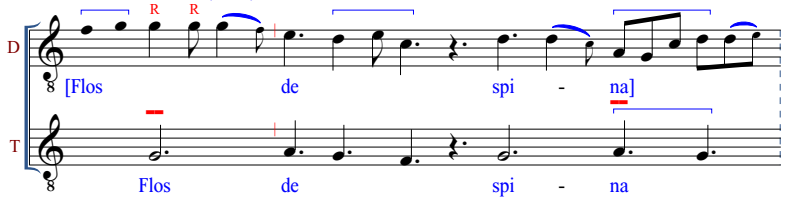

-tur. ver - bum pa-tris in - car - na-
-tur. ver - bum pa-tris in - car - na-
or:
-tur. ver - bum per quod fi - li - a
or:
-tur. ver - bum per quod fi - li - a
[V]
D
ba - bi - lo- -nis vi - si -
T
ba - bi - lo- -nis vi - si -
-ta - tur per quod sa - lus pre - di - ca - -tur
-ta - tur per quod sa - lus pre - di - ca - -tur
l
(for TD in *W1,Ma,Hu*)
il - lis de sa - ma - ri -
k
il - lis de sa - ma - ri -
| this phrase optional, only in CH-*SGs 383;* pitches and ligation here from *F*
l'
k'
n
m



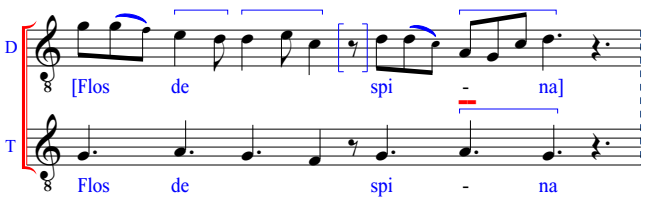
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Other possible readings of line 1,1-3:

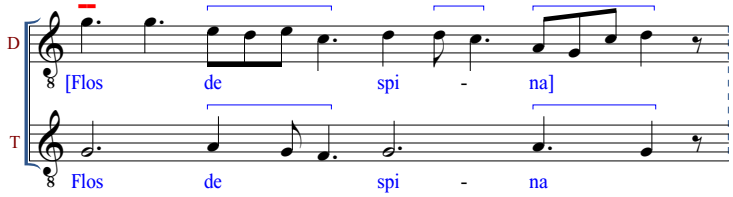
a. *W1,* f. 161r (152r), V



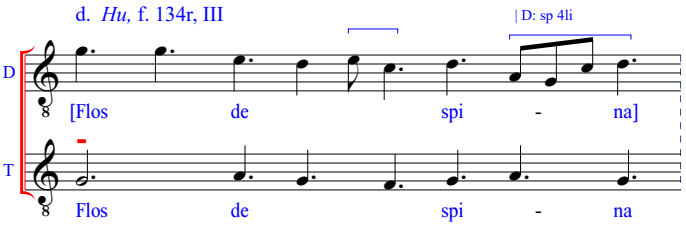
b. *Ma,* f. 74v, IV



c. *CH-SGs 383,* p. 138, III (assuming a rhythmic interpretation is wanted)

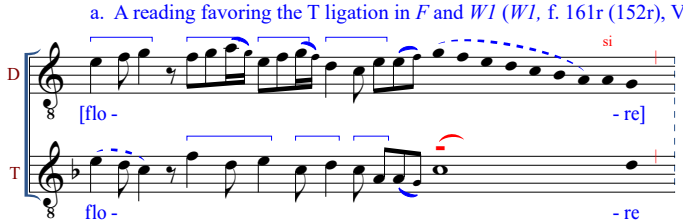


d. *Hu,* f. 134r, III

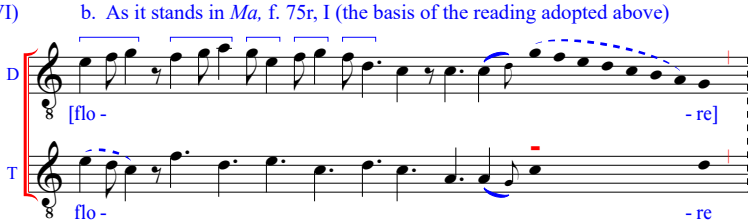


*Cauda on line 2,3 ("flore"):

a. A reading favoring the T ligation in *F* and *W1* (*W1,* f. 161r (152r), VI)



b. As it stands in *Ma,* f. 75r, I (the basis of the reading adopted above)



FLOS DE SPINA PROCREATOR ... MISSO RORE CELITUS

Conductus (H29/127)

F, f. 304v (7,35)

I Flos de spina procreatur,
et flos flore fecundatur
misso rore celitus.

A flower is produced from a thorn,
and this flower is impregnated with a blossom
by way of dew sent from heaven.

II Rorant celi, nubes pluunt,
stillant montes, colles fluunt;
nuda patet veritas.

The heavens pour forth dew, the clouds rain down,
the mountains sweat, the hills run with water;
the naked truth becomes clear.

III Quod celarat umbra legis,
in natali summi regis,
totum patet homini.

All that the shadow of the Old Law had concealed
is revealed to mankind
upon the birthday of the highest king.

IV Heliseus incurvatur,
verbum patris incarnatur:
verbum, per quod filia
[V] Babilonis visitatur,
per quod salus predicatur
illis de Samaria.

Elisha bends down,
the Word of the Father is made flesh:
the Word, whereby the daughter
of Babylon is punished,
and whereby salvation is preached
to those from Samaria.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 35, f. 304v: a2; Strophes I-[V], complete, with II-IV indicated by capitals, and with no special attention paid to the beginning of what is here called [V], a feature mirrored in all the other sources to preserve this part of the piece.[1] This and the previous two works in *F* are contiguous also in *Oxf-Sol,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 76, f. 161r (152r): a2; Strophes I-[V], complete, with painted initials for I-IV; that of II here is entered in the left margin and much larger than those for III and IV; no special indication for [V].

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 5, f. 74v: a2; Strophes I-[V], complete, with an erased opening initial, nothing entered in the space left for II, painted examples with filigree for III and IV, and no special treatment for [V].

Oxf-Sol,[2] no. 17 (=*Sol,* no. 4), fol. Br-v: a2; fragmentary; the surviving text and music of both voices (often quite faded) begins on the strip designated as f. Br in Stenzl, "Solothurner Fragmente"[3] (this is the trimmed right-hand segment of the remains of the double leaf ff. Br-IIv, a portion not included in the facsimiles published in the article) and continues onto the remains of the first two systems inscribed on f. Bv. The various, non-contiguous small segments of *Flos de spina* preserved in this source begin with line 4,4

[1] See the remarks below on the strophic division of the text.

[2] This siglum as used here brings together the related fragments now preserved in *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. Q.3.17 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Auct. 6 Q.3.17; OxAuct)* and *CH-MSbk S.231 (Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S.231),* the latter *olim: Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S. 231 (Sol).* The numbering and sequence of the items in this reconstituted source derive from the more complete combined listing in Everist, "A Reconstructed Source," 107 (Table 2).

[3] Jurg Stenzl, "Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente," *Die Musikforschung*, 26 (1973): 311-321.

("pluunt") and continue through the close of the piece.[4] This and the following two works in *Oxf-Sol* are contiguous also in *F,* but in reverse order.[5]

CH-SGs 383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383), collection 1, no. 2 (no. 2),[6] p. 138: a2; Strophes I-[V], complete, with painted initials for I-IV and no special indication for [V]. As is typical of this source, the ligation of the more ornate passages, including the caudae, does not appear to encode rhythmic information as precisely as the manuscripts more closely associated with the Notre Dame repertory.[7]

Hu, no. 147, f. 134r: a2; Strophes I-[V], complete, with major, system-high initials for I, III, and IV (making them seem independent compositions), a staff-high capital for II, and with [V] undistinguished, as in all other applicable sources; in mensural notation. Strophes IV-[V] are transposed down a fourth from other sources, which obviates the need for the *e-flat* sigs that appear elsewhere and causes the piece to close on a *d* final.

Text only:

CH-EN 102 (Eng 102; Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 102), no. 12, f 13r: text only of Strophes I-[V], complete, with likely capitals opening I-II (the initials here are quite faded) and verifiable ones beginning III-IV. The pieces on the previous folio in this source are supplied with neumes, but none appears on this leaf, which seems to present a hand different from the leaves that surround it and offers three rhythmic poems to the Virgin (*Flos de spina* leads them off), followed by six hexameters examining the genealogy of Christ. The verso of this folio then begins a new segment of this MS (a *directorium chori*) with neumed liturgical chants.[8]

F-T 1471 (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471; [olim] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471), no. 6, f. Cr (also foliated as 113r = first back flyleaf, recto): text only of Strophes I-[V], complete, with

---

[4]The specific contents of each of the eight system fragments (1-6 on f. Br, 7-8 on f. Bv) are as follows: **1)** Tt,T,D of line 4,4 ("pluunt") through much of the second syllable of 5,1 ("stillan[t]," including the D pitch, only, over the second syllable. **2)** TD of the first 12L of the cauda following the cadence on the second syllable of line 6,3 ("veri[tas]"). **3)** Tt,T,D of line 7,3 ("umbra") through the first 4L of the cauda after the cadence on the first syllable of line 7,4 ("le[gis]"). **4)** What appears to be Tt,T,D of line 9,2 ("patet") through the first 3L of the cauda after the cadence on the second syllable of line 9,3 ("homi[ni])." **5)** Apparently Tt,T,D of the complete setting of line 10,1 ("Heliseus" – opening Strophe IV, yet with no indication of a capital or other type of initial), but without the closing D pitch over its last syllable and with part of that syllable and final T pitch cut away. **6)** This seems to show Tt,T,D of part of line 11,2-3 ("[pa]tris incarnatur"), along with the short melisma on its penultimate syllable, but with the D pitch over that last syllable cut away. **7)** T of L7-L24,1 and D of L4-L24,1 of the cauda after the cadence on the third syllable of line 15,3 ("samari[a]"); the added phrase unique to *CH-Sgs 383* (the bracketed L9-L16 in the transcription from *F*) is also absent in *Oxf-Sol.* **8)** Tt,T,D presenting the final syllable of 15,3 ("[samari]a"), the last two notes (el*f,g*) of the T, and the close of the D, beginning with a small remnant of the *c* pitch of the *coniunctura* cascade in the final *punctus organi* (the penultimate D figure additionally presents the variant 2li [=*ga*] where *F* has si=*a*).

[5]Unlike the material preserved on the other side of this strip (f. Bv, containing portions of the conductus *De nature fracto iure* [I18/80]), the remains of *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* found on f. Br of *CH-MSbk S.231 (Sol)* are reported on the CPI website, as well as in Anderson's handwritten annotations to his catalog.

[6]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.

[7]For images of this source, see https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0383/138.

[8]Images of this source are available at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0102/13r/0/.

I-IV allotted empty space for initials, no special treatment for [V]. This source was unknown to Anderson and is therefore not included in his catalog or edition; its leaves are ruled to accommodate music a2, but staves were never inscribed and only verbal text is entered; it shows no variants from the poem as given above.[9]

The entire text of *Flos de spina ... misso rore* is used for a four-voice motet by the fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish composer Johannes Pullois.

The poem's opening line appears as line 6 of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), slightly rearranged ("procreatur flos de spina") in order to supply a rhyme for the previous verse. The text of *Hac in die rege nato* is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus; the piece appears 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.

The text of either the opening verse or couplet from *Flos de spina ... misso rore* is found to begin a number of poems in a variety of further sources not listed here. Some of these lyrics are set to music as prosas, tropes, and sequences. In at least one of these examples (the prosa *Flos de spina procreator ... fructum vite perferens,* available in the so called "Dublin Troper" *[GB-Cul Add. 710]*),[10] the music of the opening two concordant lines also shows similarities to the T voice of the conductus. For an additional textual parallel, cf. the motet *Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat* (vdW 437/M34), which I have attributed to Philip the Chancellor (see my *Motets and Prosulas,* 97-100.[11]

I have not been able to verify the following source:

Andrew Wathey, in *RISM,* B/IV,1-2, supplement 1,[12] as part of the combined entry on the two MS components that make up *Oxf-Sol* (pp. 77-80), reports the following transmission of the text alone of *Flos de spina ... misso rore.* This reference is corroborated neither by Anderson's catalog, his annotations to it, his edition, the CPI website, nor by any other mention in the literature I have seen. Since I have not yet been able to consult this MS to verify the mention, and since no other witness acknowledges its presence, I cannot confirm it as a concordance:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9630, f. 1r: text only, complete (?).

Music only: none

Contrafacts: none.

---

[9]For 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.

[10]See, René Jean Hesbert, *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin: Manuscrit Add. 710 de l'Université de Cambridge (vers 1360)*, (Rouen: Impr. rouennaise, 1966), 148. For other sources of the sequence with this incipit, see the *Cantus Index* (https://cantusindex.org/), nos. ah09097 and ah40084.

[11] Please note my rectification in explaining the opening flower imagery of this motet poem in my notes on the text to the conductus *Virga Yesse regio* [I24/383], lines 5-7).

[12]Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100-1400,* Supplement 1 to RISM B/IV,1-2 (Munich: G. Henle, 1993), see p. 80.

***Notes on the Text*: Strophic division:** The stanzas designated here as IV and [V] each exhibit the same poetic structure as the other three, but in this case IV and [V] also preserve the same rhyme sounds in each tercet. Further, none of the extant sources indicate a new strophe through the typical means of a capital letter, painted initial, or some other kind of signification at this point. The omission is likely due to the lack of a syntactic or musical break between the two stanzas. As a result, the fifth stanza's numeral represents a conjecture and stands here enclosed in brackets. **Textual notes: 1-2:** There are two flowers in this portion of the poem, representing Christ and the Virgin, respectively. The flower of the rose, a common Marian symbol, grows from a thorny branch, which most typically represents the transgression of Adam and Eve that brought on original sin (Genesis, 3). Mary herself, based on the authority of St. Ambrose (*Hexameron,* book 3, chap. 11),[13] who described the rose in Eden before the fall of mankind as thornless, was sometimes identified with this paradisiacal symbol and styled as a "rose without thorns" *(rosa sine spina).*[14] For one example of this image in the conductus repertory, see Philip the Chancellor's *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75/28), lines 16-17: "Venustate vernans rosa / sine culpe spina" ("Rose, blooming in beauty, / without the thorn of sin."). Christ (the blossom in the second line of the conductus poem) is also frequently represented by floral imagery, as in the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16): "Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son."); or in the conductus *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184), where Jesus is represented as a lily (a flower also frequently called on to represent Mary) blooming within a rose (the Virgin). See also the description of the beloved in Song of Songs, 2:1-2.[15] **3:** dew is a symbol of God's power; cf. Hosea, 14:6, where the Lord speaks.[16] Dew is also closely connected with typological symbols of the virgin birth of Jesus, or with Christ himself; for this, see especially the story of Gideon in Judges, 6:36-40, as well as the related expressions throughout the conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143) and *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149). **4-5:** these lines offer various aqueous allegories of God's or Christ's manifestations (i.e., the "naked truth" that has now become clear in line 6). They begin above the earth and move steadily downwards through the heavens, clouds, mountains, and hills in the forms of dew, rain, condensation, and flowing water; see Isaiah, 45:8,[17] Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 35:26,[18] and Joel, 3:18.[19] For figurations of Christ as water, see the textual notes to the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (C6/304), lines 10-12. Allusions to Moses drawing water from the rock (see Numbers, 20:1-11) are also possible, since this figure was allegorized with reference to Christ's birth (the water) from Mary (the rock); see,

---

[13]See the translation of this portion offered by John J. Savage in *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel,* The Fathers of the Church, 42 (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 102-103.

[14]See Jean Delumeau, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition,* Matthew O'Connell, trans. (New York: Continuum, 1995), 125.

[15]Song of Songs, 2:1-2: "Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium. Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias." ("I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.").

[16]Hosea, 14:6: "Ero quasi ros; Israel germinabit sicut lilium, et erumpet radix ejus ut Libani" ("I [the Lord] will be as the dew, Israel shall spring forth as the lily, and its root shall shoot forth as that of Lebanon.").

[17]Isaiah, 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").

[18]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 35:26: "Speciosa misericordia Dei in tempore tribulationis, quasi nubes pluviae in tempore siccitatis" ("The mercy of God is beautiful in the time of affliction, as a cloud of rain in the time of drought").

[19]Joel, 3:18: "Et erit in die illa: stillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles fluent lacte, et per omnes rivos Juda ibunt aquae; et fons de domo Domini egredietur, et irrigabit torrentem spinarum." ("And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop down sweetness, and the hills shall flow with milk: and waters shall flow through all the rivers of Juda: and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the torrent of thorns.").

for example, the remarks on the text for the conductus *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16/39), lines 21-22, and *Gedeonis area* (F15/143), line 10. **6-9:** another instance of the figure of the Old Law superceded by the New Covenant represented by the birth of Christ (further nods to this same trope resurface in lines 14-15); on the Old Law as a shadow, see Hebrews, 10:1.[20] **10:** the reference is to the Old Testament prophet Elisha, who brought back to life a dead child whose mother earlier had miraculously conceived him through Elisha's intervention. In the biblical account (4 Kings [2 Kings], 4:32-37), Elisha restores the son to life by bending or stretching himself over the child; see 4 Kings (2 Kings), 4:34.[21] In the conductus poem, as in a number of exegetical commentaries, Elisha is seen as a prefiguration of Christ. For further discussion of this figure, see the remarks on the texts of the conductus *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), lines 3-6, *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92), lines 21-24, and *Rex et pater omnium* (I17/307), lines 12-14. **11:** from John, 1:14.[22] **12-13:** for biblical references to the daughter of Babylon, a symbol of unbelievers, see Psalm 136:8,[23] Isaiah, 47:1,[24] and Jeremiah, 50:42[25] and 51:33.[26] For Babylon represented as a woman, see Revelation, 14:8,[27] and 17:5.[28] **14-15:** see Acts, 8:1-18, where the deacon and evangelist Philip (not the apostle) preaches the word of God to the Samaritans (a Gentile community). This event occurred during a great persecution of the incipient church in Jerusalem, which caused a number of Christian followers to flee elsewhere. Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xxxiii, note 5), drawing on passages from the *Glossa ordinaria* that treat Matthew, 10:5 (see *PL,* 114, col. 117), explains that the scriptural citation is employed in the conductus to contrast the Jews, who did not hearken to the Word even though they were

---

[20]Hebrews, 10:1: "Umbram enim habens lex futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum: per singulos annos, eisdem ipsis hostiis quas offerunt indesinenter, numquam potest accedentes perfectos facere." ("For the law having but a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things; by the selfsame sacrifices which they offer continually every year, can never make the comers thereunto perfect.").

[21]4 Kings (2 Kings), 4:34: "Et ascendit, et incubuit super puerum: posuitque os suum super os ejus, et oculos suos super oculos ejus, et manus suas super manus ejus: et incurvavit se super eum, et calefacta est caro pueri" ("And he went up, and lay upon the child: and he put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he bowed himself upon him, and the child's flesh grew warm.").

[22]John, 1:14: "Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis" ("And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.").

[23]Psalms, 136:8: "Filia Babylonis, misera! Beatus qui retribuet tibi retributionem tuam quam retribuisti nobis" ("O miserable daughter of Babylon! Blessed shall he be who repays your payment which you have paid us.").

[24]Isaiah, 47:1: "Descende, sede in pulvere, virgo filia Babylon: sede in terra; non est solium filiae Chaldaeorum, quia ultra non vocaberis mollis et tenera" ("Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne for the daughter of the Chaldeans, for you shall no more be called delicate and tender.").

[25]Jeremiah, 50:42: "Arcum et scutum apprehendent: crudeles sunt, et immisericordes: vox eorum quasi mare sonabit, et super equos ascendent, sicut vir paratus ad praelium contra te, filia Babylon" ("They shall take the bow and the shield: they are cruel and unmerciful: their voice shall roar like the sea, and they shall ride upon horses: like a man prepared for battle against you, O daughter of Babylon.").

[26]Jeremiah, 51:33: "Quia haec dicit Dominus exercituum, Deus Israel: Filia Babylonis quasi area, tempus triturae ejus: adhuc modicum, et veniet tempus messionis ejus" ("For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor, this is the time of her threshing: yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come.").

[27]Revelation, 14:8: "Et alius angelus secutus est dicens: Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna: quae a vino irae fornicationis suae potavit omnes gentes" ("And another angel followed, saying: That great Babylon is fallen, is fallen; which made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.").

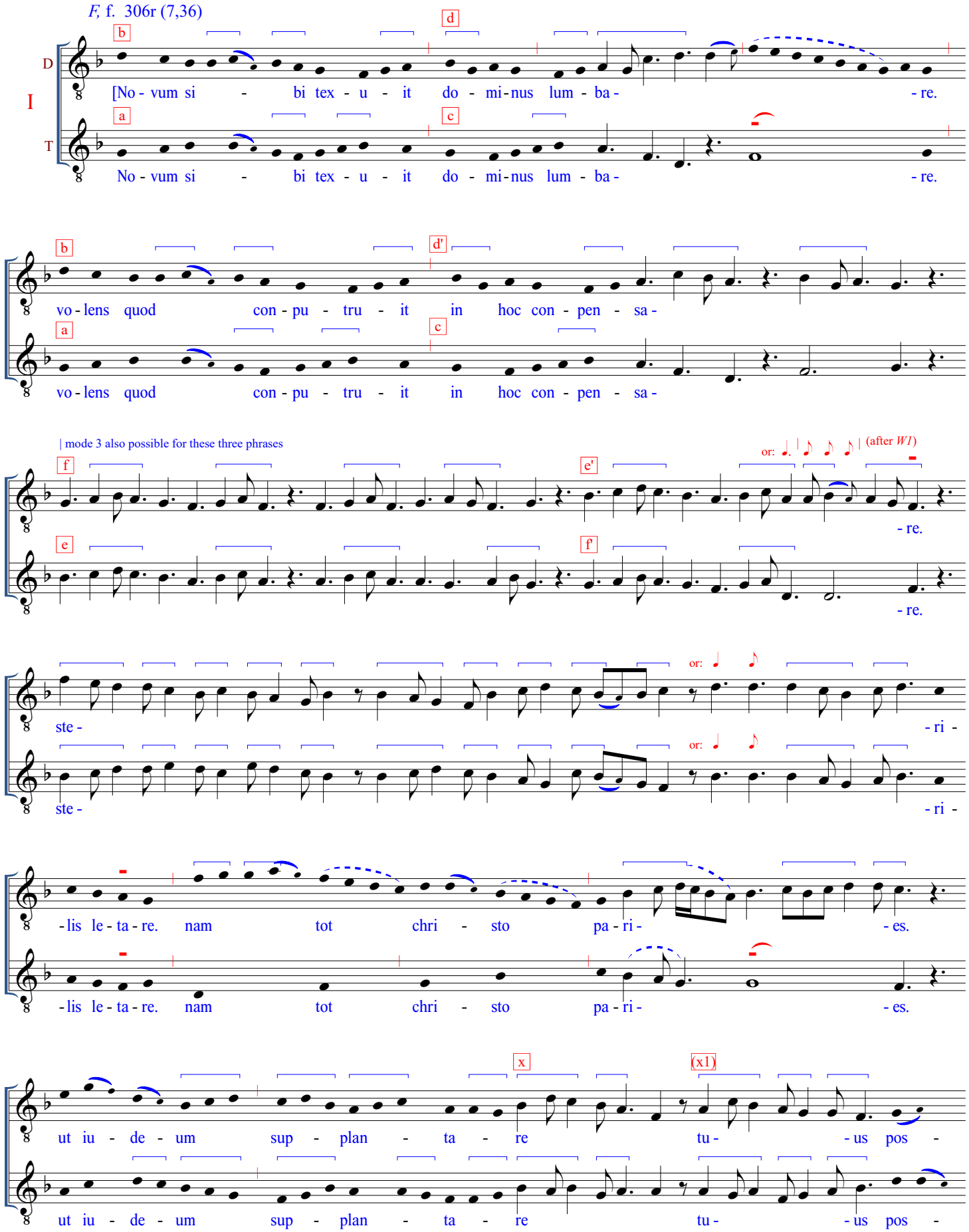
[28]Revelation, 17:5: "Et in fronte ejus nomen scriptum: Mysterium: Babylon magna, mater fornicationum, et abominationum terrae" ("And on her forehead a name was written: A mystery; Babylon the great, the mother of the fornications, and the abominations of the earth.").
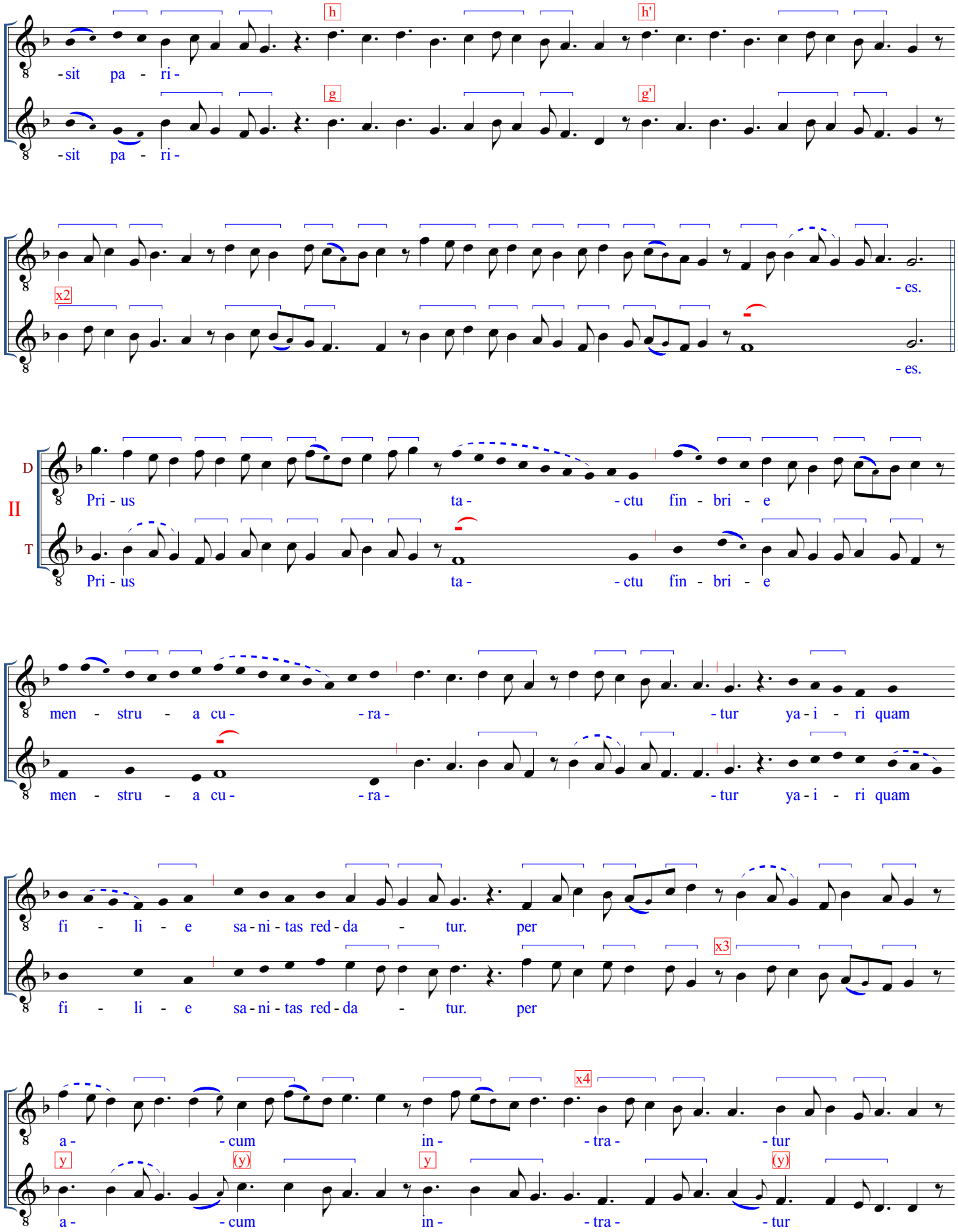
given a first chance to embrace it, with the people of Samaria, who did and were saved (see also the remarks above on lines 6-9).
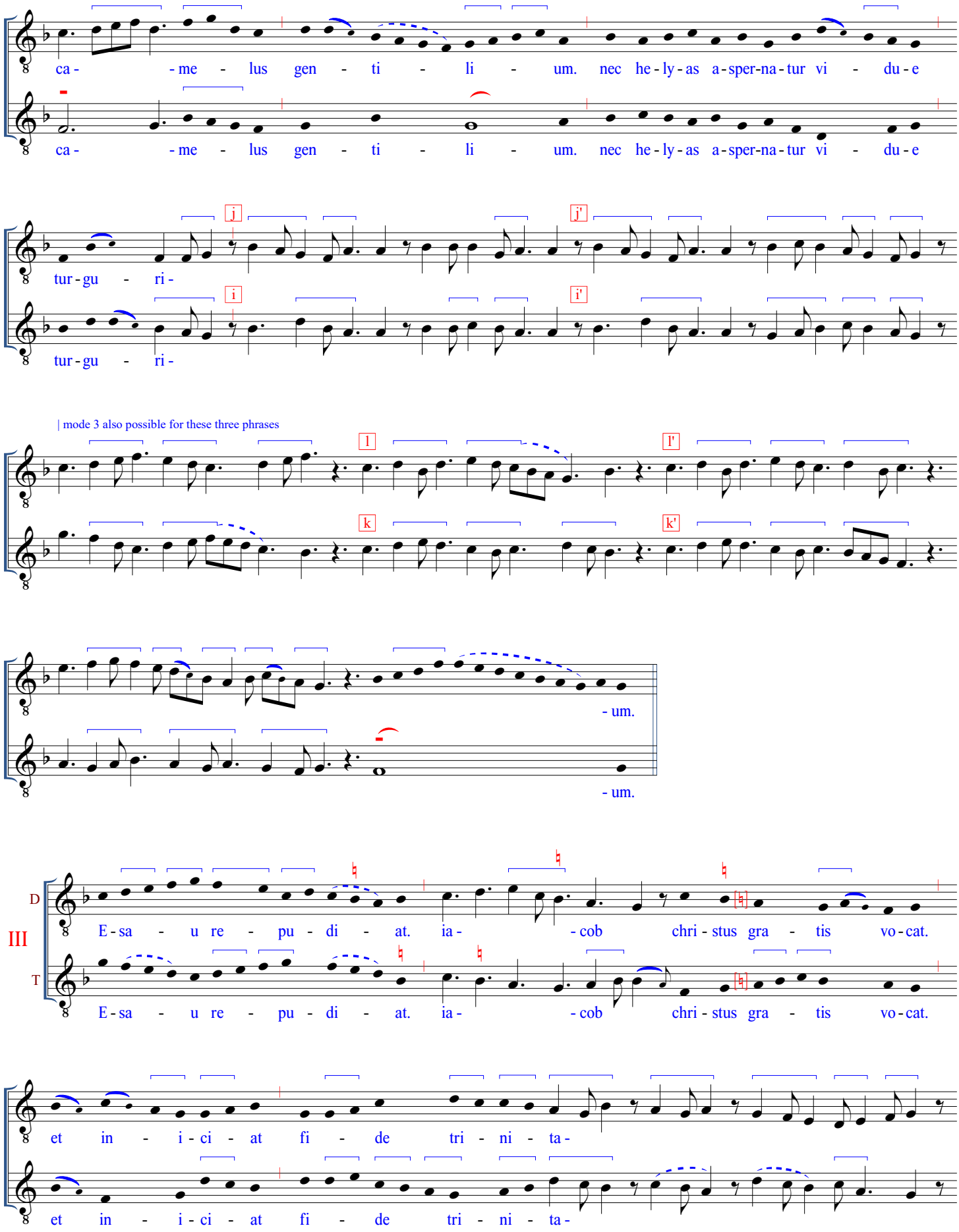
Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. The opening line or lines occasionally occur in other poems, some of which operate as liturgical items; see the reports at the end of the text-only sources, above. **MUSIC: General remarks:** this piece is notable for a relatively large number of repetitive forms in its caudae (noted in boxed letters above the staves), both in terms of voice exchange and antecedent-consequent parings. Harmonically, there is a notable presence of parallel thirds and fifths, with occasional harmonic fourths. Several of these features are also prominent in the following piece in *F*-7, *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225). There is also conceivable word painting in the musical setting of Strophe II with its invocations of rain, flowing water, and condensation; see especially the settings of "pluunt" (line 4,4) and "fluunt" (5,4). **Line 1,1-3:** various rhythmical differences are implied by the mixed *cum* and *sine littera* setting of the opening words "Flos de spina" in the extant sources; some possible alternative interpretations appear at the end of the transcription. **Cauda on line 2,3:** within the various sources, the melisma on "flore" features different ligations opening its second T phrase at L3; these affect the way one interprets the D. *W1* and *F* show an apparent mode-1 pattern in the T (3li,2li,2li); *CH-SGs 383* offers 2li,2li,4li (=*fd,ec,cbag*) with two initial 2liP figures in the D (*fga*P, *efg*P), while the T in *Ma* and *Hu* begins with a mode-5 series of 6si *(Ma)* or 4L *(Hu).* In the adopted reading here, which assumes the rhythm in both D and T in the first phrase of the cauda is continued in the D of the second, the ligation is presented as in *F,* but with rhythms implied by *Ma* and *Hu.* For comparison, the quicker rendition of *W1* (equivalent in ligation to *F*) and the slower one of *Ma* appear in the alternative readings at the end of the transcription. **Cauda on line 10,2:** T: Hu (transposed 4 lower here in comparison with the other sources) implies the *e-flat,* with a preceding *b-flat* sig at L1 of the melisma. **Final cauda:** TD: W1,Ma,Hu (transposed 4 lower): in the setting of "[sama]ri[a]," each of these sources gives the four pitches in both voices that open the second phrase (at L4) as 4si (or 4L for *Hu*); this alternative appears above the D staff. The T of *CH-SGs 383* agrees here with *F,* while the D at L6-L7,1 shows the variant 4li=*dcdf* that appears as well in *W1,Ma,Hu* (transposed 4 lower). *Oxf-Sol* does not preserve these bits. The third phrase of the cauda (L12-L19) appears only in *CH-SGs 383;* it is supplied for optional inclusion in the transcription, where it echoes the immediate repetition that also occurs in each of the two subsequent phrase pairs; the pitches and ligation for this optional inclusion mimic the prior phrase of *F.* The interpretation of phrases 6 and 7 (L27-L35, marked with "o" and "p" and their variants) as "upbeat" mode 1 instead of mode 2 is justified by the lack of a concluding 3li or other indication that would more forcefully imply the other mode.
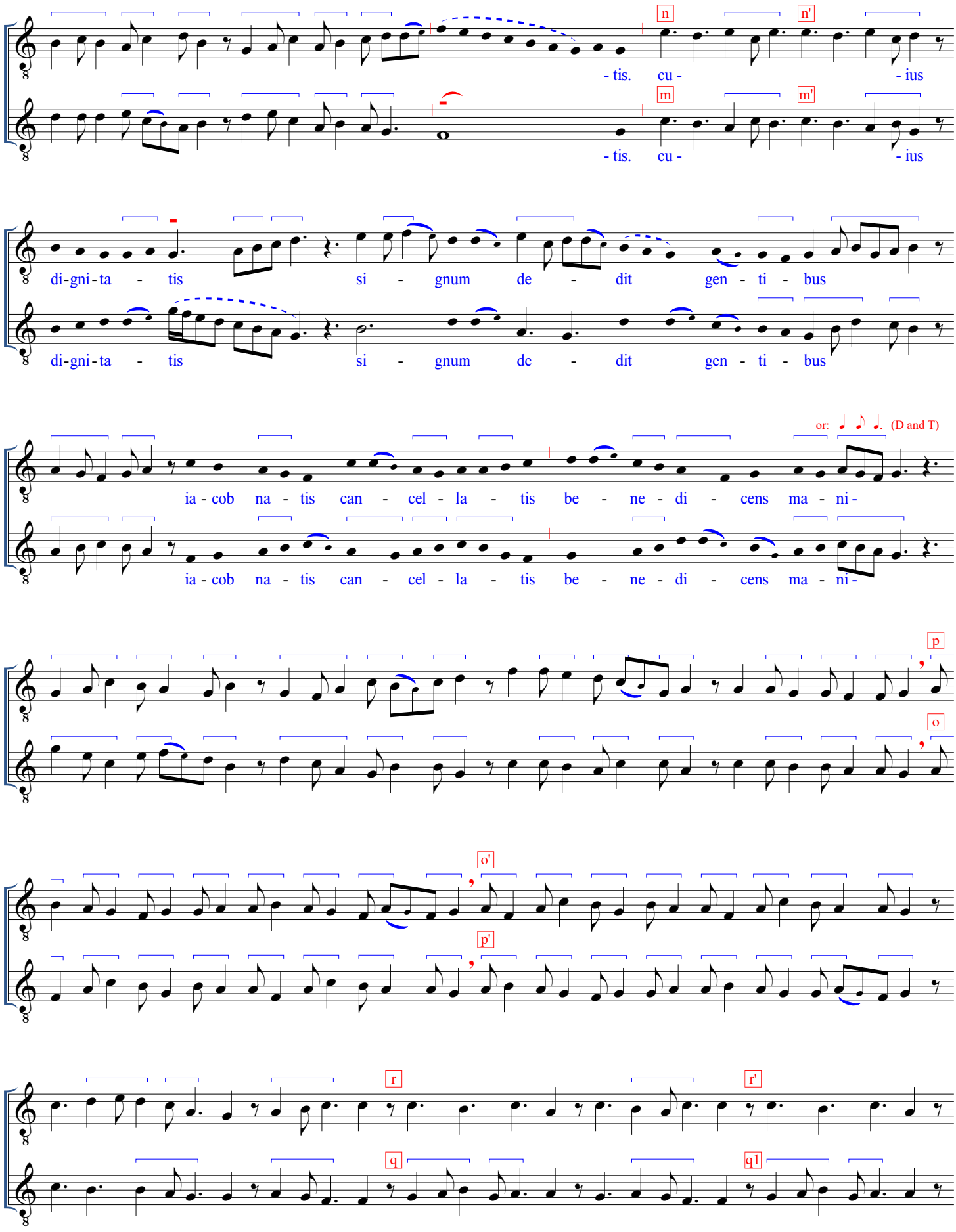
NOVUM SIBI TEXUIT

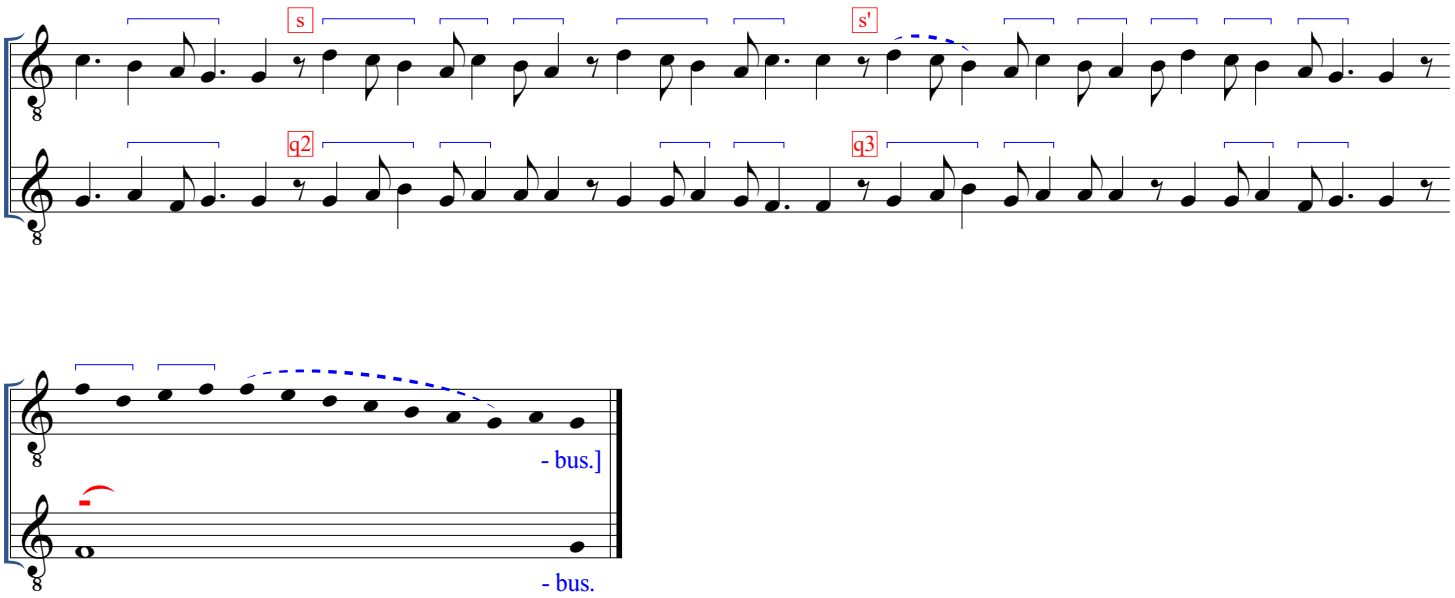
Conductus (I22/225)




h
h'
-sit pa - ri -
g
g'
-sit pa - ri -
x2
- es.
- es.
II
D
T
Pri - us ta - - ctu fin - bri - e
Pri - us ta - - ctu fin - bri - e
men - stru - a cu - - ra - - tur ya - i - ri quam
men - stru - a cu - - ra - - tur ya - i - ri quam
fi - li - e sa - ni - tas red - da - tur. per
x3
fi - li - e sa - ni - tas red - da - tur. per
x4
a - - cum in - - tra - - tur
y
(y)
y
(y)
a - - cum in - - tra - - tur


ca - me - lus gen - ti - li - um. nec he - ly - as a - sper-na - tur vi - du - e
ca - me - lus gen - ti - li - um. nec he - ly - as a - sper-na - tur vi - du - e
j
j'
tur - gu - ri -
i
i'
tur - gu - ri -
| mode 3 also possible for these three phrases
l
l'
k
k'
- um.
- um.
III
D
T
E - sa - u re - pu - di - at. ia - cob chri - stus gra - tis vo - cat.
E - sa - u re - pu - di - at. ia - cob chri - stus gra - tis vo - cat.
et in - i - ci - at fi - de tri - ni - ta -
et in - i - ci - at fi - de tri - ni - ta -


n
n'
- tis. cu - - ius
m
m'
- tis. cu - - ius
di-gni-ta - tis si - gnum de - dit gen - ti - bus
di-gni-ta - tis si - gnum de - dit gen - ti - bus
or: (D and T)
ia - cob na - tis can - cel - la - tis be - ne - di - cens ma - ni -
ia - cob na - tis can - cel - la - tis be - ne - di - cens ma - ni -
p
o
o'
p'
r
r'
q
q1



Immediately after the conclusion of this piece, beginning at the start of the fourth system on *F,* f. 307r, are the two-voice continuations for the remaining two examples of the five conductus from fascicle 6 that begin in three parts (*F*-7,37-38): *Novus Adam natus est,* from Perotin's *Salvatoris hodie* (C5/315), and *Veris hyemps,* from *Ortu regis evanescit* (G3/256); the other three continuations occur together earlier in fascicle 7 of *F* at nos. 20-22.

NOVUM SIBI TEXUIT

Conductus (I22/225)

F, f. 306r (7,36)

I Novum sibi texuit
dominus lumbare,
volens quod conputruit
in hoc conpensare.
Sterilis, letare,
nam tot Christo paries,
ut Iudeum supplantare
tuus possit paries.

The Lord wove a
new loincloth for himself,
wishing to compensate
for the one that putrefied.
Rejoice, barren woman,
for you shall bear so many for Christ,
that your house will
supplant that of the Jews.

II Prius, tactu finbrie,
menstrua curatur,
Yairi quam filie
sanitas reddatur.
Per acum intratur
camelus gentilium,
nec Helyas aspernatur
vidue turgurium.

First, with a touch to his hem,
the bleeding woman is cured;
then health is restored
to the daughter of Jairus.
The camel of the Gentiles
is passed through the needle,
and Elijah rejects not
the widow's hut.

III Esau repudiat.
Iacob Christus gratis
vocat, et iniciat
fide trinitatis,
cuius dignitatis
signum dedit gentibus:
Iacob natis cancellatis
benedicens manibus.

Christ scorns Esau.
He summons Jacob
with favor, and consecrates him
in the faith of the Trinity,
the worthiness of which
he gave as a sign to the Gentiles:
Jacob blessing his grandchildren
with crossed hands.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 36, f. 306r: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by the usual capitals. Following this piece are the two-voice continuations (*F*-7,37-38) for the remaining pair from the five conductus in fascicle 6 that begin in three parts: *Novus Adam natus est,* from Perotin's *Salvatoris hodie* (C5/315), and *Veris hyemps,* from *Ortu regis evanescit* (G3/256); the other three continuations occur together earlier in fascicle 7 at nos. 20-22.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 78, f. 163r (154r): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with painted initials for each stanza; that of Strophe I, furthermore, has decorative tracery, not typical for many of the opening initials in this portion of the MS, but present also in the preceding work, *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192); an upper-case letter begins line 5 and also line 24, as if the scribe expected a *Benedicamus domino* formulation to close.

CH-SGs 383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383), collection 2, no. 3 (no. 7),[1] p. 165: a2; Strophes I-

[1]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 number of the piece according to the total tally of Notre Dame conductus within this manuscript.

III, complete, with their beginnings, as well as those of lines 6, 14, and 21, indicated by red painted initials. As is typical of this source, the ligation of the more ornate passages, including the caudae, does not appear to encode rhythmic information as precisely as the manuscripts more closely associated with the Notre Dame repertory.[2]

Text only:

F-T 1471 (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471; [olim] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471), no. 10, f. Dv (also foliated as 114v = second back flyleaf); fragmentary; the MS is ruled to accommodate music a2, but only the verbal text for lines 1-12,1 survives, with empty space allotted for an opening initial. Staves were never entered. Nothing is legible from the end of line 8 to the start of Strophe II at line 9, as this portion of the leaf is heavily worn and difficult to construe.[3] This source was unknown to Anderson and is not listed in his catalog or edition; its minor variants are collated below.

CH-Zz C.58/275 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C.58/275), no. 333 (6),[4] f. 148r: text only, Strophes I-III, complete. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details stem from *NDRC* and the CPI website.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem marshals a wealth of biblical figures that relate symbolically to the passing of the Old Testament covenant into that of the New (cf. Jeremiah, 31:31-34). Anderson's explications of this conductus text as given in *NDRC,* 4:xxvi-xxvii, are generally thorough and solid; they form the basis for most of the interpretations supplied here. My single major disagreement lies in his reading of the final lines, 23-24, q.v. Further examination of the topic of the two laws within the conductus repertory is available in my article *"Vetus abit littera,"* with *Novum sibi texuit* specifically treated on pp. 178-183, and 187-193, where some of the information given here may also be found.[5] **Textual notes: 1-4:** see Jeremiah, 13:1-11, where the Lord commands the prophet to acquire a linen loincloth. After wearing it for a time, Jeremiah is then ordered to hide it in a rocky crevice by the river Euphrates. Many days later, he is asked to retrieve it and finds it rotted and unfit for use. Here in the conductus poem the old cloth represents the old law of the Israelites, while the new one signifies the new covenant with Christ; see Anderson's explanation drawn from Jerome's *In Jeremiam prophetam* in *NDRC,* 4:xxvi, notes 1-2 (citing *PL,* 24: col. 793). **5-8:** line 5 quotes a portion of

[2]For images of this source, see https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0383/165.

[3]For more on this MS, 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.

[4]The numbering of the pieces in *Zz C.58/275* is that of Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). Werner's numbers occasionally split or combine various poems, but this does not apply for the Parisian conductus in this source (nos. 328-335 – although no. 331 is *Virgo deum generat* from *CH-SGs 383*). The numbering as in Anderson, *NDRC,* which apparently only applies to the conductus portion, is given afterwards in parentheses.

[5]Thomas 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).

Galatians, 4:27,[6] which echoes Isaiah, 54:1.[7] The Pauline context directly juxtaposes the Old and New Law within the events of the story of Sarah and Hagar, wives of Abraham, from Genesis, 16 and 21. Hagar was the handmaiden of Abraham's initially barren wife, Sarah. Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham so that he might have children, whereupon Hagar became pregnant with Ishmael and began to despise Sarah. Eventually Sarah gave birth to Isaac, and Hagar and Ishmael were compelled to leave Abraham's household. Christian biblical commentaries associate Hagar with the old law and the Jewish people, and Sarah with the new Christian covenant; for this, see Galatians, 4:22-31; Augustine, *City of God,* book 15, chapters 2-3; the references from the *Glossa ordinaria* given in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxx, note 2 (citing *PL,* 113: col. 122); and cf. the conductus *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54), lines 1-4. The latter poem is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 591.[8] **6,4;8,3:** note the use of *annominatio* (punning, word play) for the homonym "paries," ("you shall bear" / "house") leading to the connotation of line 8,3 (again "paries,"literally meaining "wall" here) as "house" by *synechdoche* (part standing for the whole). It is also conceivable that the phrase might have some connection to the Western Wall on Temple Mount in Jerusalem. **9-12:** a reference to two overlapping Gospel miracles wrought by Jesus: the healing of the bleeding woman, and the raising of Jairus's twelve-year-old daughter (both covered in Mark, 5:21-43, Matthew, 9:18-26, and Luke, 8:40-56). In the first story, as Jesus was traveling to the house of Jairus, a leader of the synagogue who had sought his aid, a woman suffering for twelve years from bouts of bleeding surreptitiously grasped the hem or fringe of his garment and was healed of her illness. Jesus paused and wondered who had touched his clothing; on finding out, he sent the woman on her way with a benediction and continued on his original errand. In the subsequent miracle, the daughter of Jairus lay near death, and immediately after the earlier episode of healing the bleeding woman, news came forth that the child had died. The crowd around Jesus then advised Jairus not to bother him, as it was too late for any help. Jesus, nonetheless, told Jairus not to fear, but rather to believe, and his daughter would be healed. He continued on to the house and, upon reaching the girl, stated that she was not dead but merely sleeping, and told her to rise; she arose miraculously, and Jesus told her to eat. All accounts but Matthew also report that Jesus told her parents to keep the miracle quiet. As Anderson indicates (*NDRC,* 4:xxvii, n. 5, drawing on the *Lucae evangelium expositio* ascribed to Bede available in *PL,* 92: col. 441), in the case of these intercalated miracles, the daughter appears as a figure of the Old Law and the woman of the New: the one who was cured first represents the Gentiles who first receive the grace of Christ; the later recipient is connected with the Jews, since they were initially left behind (as when Jesus paused during his encounter with the bleeding woman before hastening anew to the house of Jairus), but still have the opportunity for acceptance under the new covenant. **11,1:** "Yairi" is trisyllabic, as required by the poetic scheme and reflected in the musical setting. **13-14:** this phrase might also be rendered – though more awkwardly – as: "one is passed through the needle on the camels of the Gentiles," and thus may retain the reading of "camelis" for line 15,1 that occurs in *F* and *CH-SGs 383.* The passage derives from Jesus's saying: "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven" (from Matthew, 19:24, Mark, 10:25, and Luke, 18:25).[9] Anderson's glossing of these lines quotes the *In Matthei evangelium expositio* ascribed to Bede (*NDRC,* 4:xxvii, note 7, citing *PL,* 92: col. 87), which explains that the figure of the camel here relates to Christ, who has shouldered the weight of sin for the Gentiles. By taking on the burden himself

---

[6]Galatians, 4:27: "Scriptum est enim: Laetare, sterilis, quae non paris; erumpe et clama, quae non parturis: quia multi filii desertae, magis quam ejus quae habet virum" ("For it is written: Rejoice, you barren one, that bear not: break forth and cry, you that travail not: for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her that has a husband.").

[7]Isaiah, 54:1: "Lauda, sterilis, quae non paris; decanta laudem, et hinni, quae non pariebas: quoniam multi filii desertae magis quam ejus quae habet virum, dicit Dominus" ("Give praise, O barren one, that bear not: sing forth praise, and make a joyful noise, you that did not travail with child: for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her that has a husband, saith the Lord").

[8]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[9]The version from Matthew reads: "… Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire, quam divitem intrare in regnum caelorum."

(like a camel), he more easily achieves the Gentiles' salvation than for those who need to convert. Nevertheless, as the author says in a portion of the text just prior to Anderson's quotation (see *PL,* 92: col. 87A-B): "'*amen dico vobis, quia dives difficile intrabit in regnum caelorum.'* Non ait: 'impossibile est,' sed *'difficile,'* quia maximi laboris est, in pecuniis confidentes aulam regni coelestis intrare" (" *'Amen, I say to you, it is difficult that a rich man shall enter into the kingdom of heaven'* [Matthew, 19:23]. He [Jesus] does not say 'impossible,' but *'difficult'* because it is of the greatest labor that those trusting in money enter into the court of the heavenly kingdom."). Thus, salvation is ultimately open even to the ones who seem least able to attain it, and all may still be welcomed in heaven. **15-16:** in the narrative of 3 Kings (1 Kings), 17, Elijah restores life to the son of a widow in Zarephath. The prophet had been directed by God to flee from the kingdom of Ahab (the husband of Jezebel, who with her promoted the worship of the god Baal), after Elijah had warned the king that no rain would fall except at his command. Elijah then escapes to the east and is fed by ravens and refreshed by the stream of Chorath. When this water supply dries up, he journeys to Zarephath where he seeks refuge in the home of the widow and her son, who have only a handful of meal and some oil for food. Elijah asks the woman to feed him first from her small stores, for he assures her that her meal and oil will not diminish until the rains return. She faithfully complies, and the miracle occurs as promised. After this event, the widow's son dies; she complains to Elijah, blaming him for the tragedy, and the prophet restores the boy to life by stretching over him three times. This causes the widow to proclaim Elijah a true prophet. A similar episode occurs in the accounts of Elijah's successor, the prophet Elisha (see 4 Kings [2 Kings], 4:34). This latter story is recalled in the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), line 10 (which happens to precede *Novum sibi texuit* in *F*-7), *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), lines 3-6, and *Rex et pater omnium* (I17/307), lines 15-18. As Anderson relates (in *NDRC,* 4:xxvii, n. 8, drawing on the *Glossa ordinaria* in *PL,* 113: col. 606), Elijah can be seen here as a symbol of Christ, the widow's son as the people of Judea, and the widow herself as a figure of the Jewish synagogue who complains that Elijah's coming caused the death of her congregation. Alternatively, given the emphases of the earlier images in the poem, the widow may just as readily represent the Jews, while her son is a figure for the Gentiles. The expression in the conductus poem here again suggests, as in the previous portions of the strophe, that the same possibility of acceptance into grace is possible for the mother (who, indeed, eventually acknowledges the authenticity of Elijah) as for the son. **17-19,1:** see Malachi, I:2-3, echoed in Romans, 9:13: "Sicut scriptum est: Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui" ("As it is written: Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated"). The Apostle Paul includes the passage as part of his plea that the Jews allow themselves to be included with the Gentiles as part of the new covenant. In *Novum sibi texuit,* Jacob is presented as a figure of the Gentiles and Esau as the Jews, with their father Isaac representing God. The two brothers were twins, although Esau was the first to exit fully from his mother's womb, thus securing his rights as firstborn. Nevertheless, in Genesis, 27:1-30, Jacob, aided by his mother Rebecca, deceived the nearly blind Isaac to usurp his blessing upon Esau. Earlier (in Genesis, 25:29-34) Esau had forfeited his birthright in exchange for a share of a stew that Jacob made. Thus Jacob, who came later, is given the blessing from his father Isaac in preference to Esau, who originally had the privilege of inheritance but spurned it. **17,1:** "Esau" has three syllables here, as shown by the poetic scheme and the musical setting of this word. **18-19:** interestingly, the musical setting reflects the enjambment in the poetry through the lack of a pause between "gratis / vocat". **19,2-20,2:** the mention of Jacob here in connection with the doctrine of the Trinity is given further weight by his role as the third member of the principal Jewish patriarchs, following Abraham and Isaac. **23-24:** Anderson (*ANDRC,* 4:xxvii, notes 10-11) sees this passage as a further exposition of Jacob's deceptive appropriation of the birthright from Isaac. He argues the same for a closely related phrase in the conductus *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), line 6 (see *NDRC,* 3:xii, note 3). Yet a more telling connection arises with the story of Jacob's later blessing of his grandchildren Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph (see Genesis, 48:12-20). In this account, Jacob crossed his arms so that his right hand was placed on the head of Ephraim, the younger, who stood at Jacob's left, and his left hand on Manasseh, standing on his right. Thus the younger child of the two received the greater blessing, and the act also recalled the result of Jacob's earlier deception. In this case, the verb "cancello," used in both conductus poems, does not connote cancelling or striking out Esau's birthright, but rather signifies the action of Jacob latticing his hands, crossing them one over the other. As in *O*

crux ave, the action in *Novum sibi texuit* recalls the figure of the Cross as a symbol of salvation through Christ, and places Jacob even more squarely in his role of a signifier for the new covenant and as a figure for a member of the Trinity. For more on how the music in this cauda may relate to the image of Jacob's crossed hands and further suggest symbolic connections to the topic of the Two Laws, see Payne, *"Vetus abit littera,"* pp. 192-193, as well as the observations on the music below.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** All legible variants between the adopted text (which conforms to *F* with one emendation for line 14,1) and that of *F-T 1471* are collated here, as this source was unknown to Anderson at the time he prepared his catalog and edition; other divergences are mostly orthographical and very minor, consisting of the substitution of the letter "m" for "n" after a vowel. **1,1:** F-T 1471: [N]ovum, initial never entered. **3,3:** F-T 1471: computruit, as in all MSS but *F.* **4,3:** F-T 1471: compensare, as in all MSS but *F.* **6,1-3:** F-T 1471: faded and difficult to read, no obvious variants. **8,2-9,1:** F-T 1471: so faded as to be nearly illegible after the first syllable of 8,2; no way to determine if empty space is left for an initial to begin line 9. **8,3:** F: period om. **9,3:** F-T 1471: somewhat faded, possibly spelled fimbrie, as in all MSS but *F.* **10:** F-T 1471: rather faded, but no apparent variants. **11,1:** F-T 1471: yayre. **12,1:** F-T 1471: last word on the folio, remainder lost. **14,1:** F,CH-SGs 383: camelis, reading taken from *W1* and *CH-Zz C.58;* see the remarks on the text for lines 13-14. **MUSIC: Signatures:** *F* and *W1* have *b-flat* sigs throughout Strophes I-II; *CH-SGs 383* has a single, solitary *b-flat* sign appearing only once, just before the figure over the last syllable of line 7,3 ("sterilis laetare") in the T. For Strophe III, *W1* implies that *b-natural* should apply for the whole stanza, thanks to a system change without signatures just prior to the third syllable of line 17,2 ("repudiat"); this occurs before any *b* pitches are encountered in the music of Strophe III. *F* cancels its *b-flat*s with a signature-less system change just prior to line 18,3 ("gratis"). Although several *b* pitches occur in both parts of Strophe III in *F* before this change, the evidence of *W1* proposes these should be read as natural, and they are so signaled by above-staff accidentals in the transcription. **Caudae:** the caudae in this piece are striking for their frequent use of parallel-third chains, also seen in several *cum littera* phrases. Repeated and antecedent-consequent phrases, including ones that feature voice exchange, are also common, indicated by boxed letters above the vocal parts; many more such relationships could be proposed. These features, interestingly, are also prominent in the piece immediately prior in *F*-7, *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127). **Lines 1-4:** this *cum littera* section, rather exceptionally, repeats the music for both voices of lines 1-2 in lines 3-4, with a slight change for the closing figures in the D. **2,2:** D: F: the rhythm of the 4li over "[lum]ba[re]" (LBLL) is prompted by W1, which has 3 of 4li el. **Cauda at line 4,3:** T: W1,CH-SGs 383: in the fourth phrase of the melisma on "[compen]sa[re]," at L19, *b* is written as the third note of the 3li=*bca* in *F.* In *F* an original *b* in the same place is apparently erased and *a* is entered, suggesting a scribal preference for the *a* adopted here. Prior to the arrival on the last syllable of "[compensa]re," the T of *W1* has a stroke preceding the penultimate *d* at L33 and a corresponding stroke above in the D as well. D: the plicated figure at L32-L33 of the cauda in *F,* falling before the concluding 3li=*agf* (given as 3C in *W1*) is rendered 2liP (with 1 el)=*aba*P in *W1,* while *CH-SGs 383* has si,3li=*a,agb* here. It is likely in these sources that a different rhythm and alignment is intended that would replace the *d-b* sixth in *F* with a *d-a* fifth (and an alternative proposed by *W1* is given above the staff), but I have chosen to retain the rhythmical implications of this passage as it appears in *F.* **Cauda at 7,3:** for the single 4L phrase over "[supplanta]re" (marked as "x" in the score): D: F: 3li,2li,2li=*bab,dc,ba;* W1: 3li,2li,si=*bdc,ba,f*; CH-SGs 383: 2li,3li,si=*bd,caf,f.* I am using the *W1* version in place of the reading in *F* here. It obviates the *bab* unison sonorities at the start of the cauda, corresponds with the sequentially descending D gesture that follows, and although it introduces a *b/c* dissonance at L2, this is compensated by the frequent dissonances that occur in the later caudae of this piece (such as the one on "tuus" immediately following). Note also the frequent, apparently purposeful use of dissonance in the final cauda of the piece. The *W1* D reading also corresponds in its opening with a motive occurring elsewhere in the work; see the second phrase at L5-L8 of the cauda on "per [acum] and the D setting of "[in]tra[tur]" (line 13,2-3), q.v. following. **Line 13:** this segment, which marks the midpoint of Strophe II, emphasizes the start of the second half of the stanza with an extended, melismatically infused section, where each of the six syllables within this line is decorated by short caudae consisting of melodically

related phrases 4L in length. These relationships are signaled by the out-of-sequence boxed letters "x" and "y," with their variants, above the staves. Interestingly, the "x" motive had arrived earlier in the similarly melismatic setting of line 7,3-8 of Strophe I (q.v.), where it is marked in the score; an additional single appearance, also marked, surfaces in the cauda that closes this first stanza (see the T of the melisma on "[pa]ri[es]" from L21-24). **Line 15:** in contrast to the other *cum littera* segments in this piece, the starkly syllabic appearance of this portion ("nec helyas aspernatur") suggests that a performance in a rhythmic mode might not be out of the question here. The two dissonant seconds in "aspernatur" are sanctioned by all three musical sources and may conceivable present a form of text painting (see also the remarks on the music in the final cauda). **24,1:** T: F,CH-SGs 383: 2 lower for the siP figure at "[benedi]cens"; the adopted reading is derived from the 2li=*ba* from *W1* and avoids the dissonance. **Final cauda:** at the occurrence of the syllable "[ma]ni[bus]" that opens the melisma: TD: W1: 3li,si; CH-SGs 383: 4li. Each source thus both contradicts and agrees with the differing T and D ligations at this point in *F*. I have based the rhythm in the transcription on the 4li that appears in the T of *F* at this point, and provided an alternative reading (based on *F*'s D) above the system. TD: F: the voice-exchange passage that begins in L20,2 after the fifth phrase of this cauda (signaled by the boxed letters "o" and "p" over the staves) is given here in an "upbeat" version of mode 1. This is because the entire passage is composed solely of 2li, with no concluding 3li or other signal to argue for mode 2. What is especially striking about this segment in either rhythmic interpretation is the insistent harping on the *f/b* tritone that occurs every 4L. This could have some significance in terms of word painting. Given that there is no evidence among the surviving musical sources of any use of *b-flats* in this segment, I have not sought to soften it with any editorial accidentals. Additional reiterated dissonance is also observable in the frequent striking of simultaneous harmonic seconds in the varied repetition seen in the subsequent phrases of the cauda (see also the remarks on the music of line 15). For more discussion of the musical implications that may be drawn from *Novum sibi texuit,* particularly in the way it may dovetail with the considerations of the Old and New Law given in the poetic text, see the treatment in my article *"Vetus abit littera,"* 187-193.

IN TERRAM CHRISTUS EXPUIT

Conductus (J7/185)

F, f. 308r (7,39)

I

D [In ter-ram chri-stus ex - pu - it. sa - li - vam ter - re mi - scu - it.
[Ex o - re pa - tris pro - di - it hu - ma-num ge - nus li - ni - it.

a a'

T In ter-ram chri-stus ex - pu - it. sa - li - vam ter - re mi - scu - it.
Ex o - re pa - tris pro - di - it hu - ma-num ge - nus li - ni - it.

cum ser - vi for - mam in - du - it de - i sa - pi - en -
du - as na - tu - ras u - ni - it mi - ra pro - vi - den -

cum ser - vi for - mam in - du - it de - i sa - pi - en -
du - as na - tu - ras u - ni - it mi - ra pro - vi - den -

*a mode-2 reading is also possible, see at end b

si

- ti - - a.
- ti - - a.

b'

si

- ti - - a.
- ti - - a.

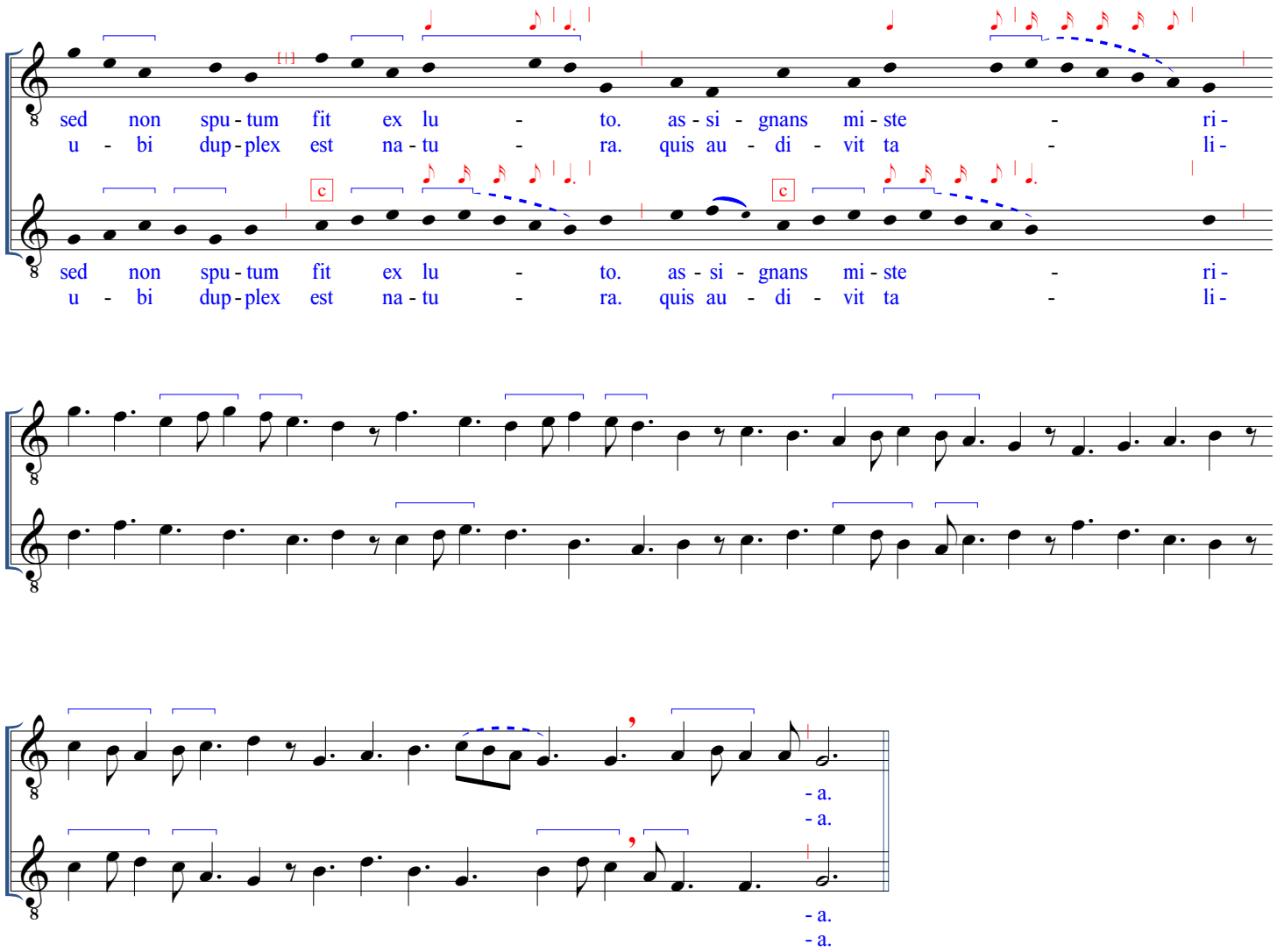
II

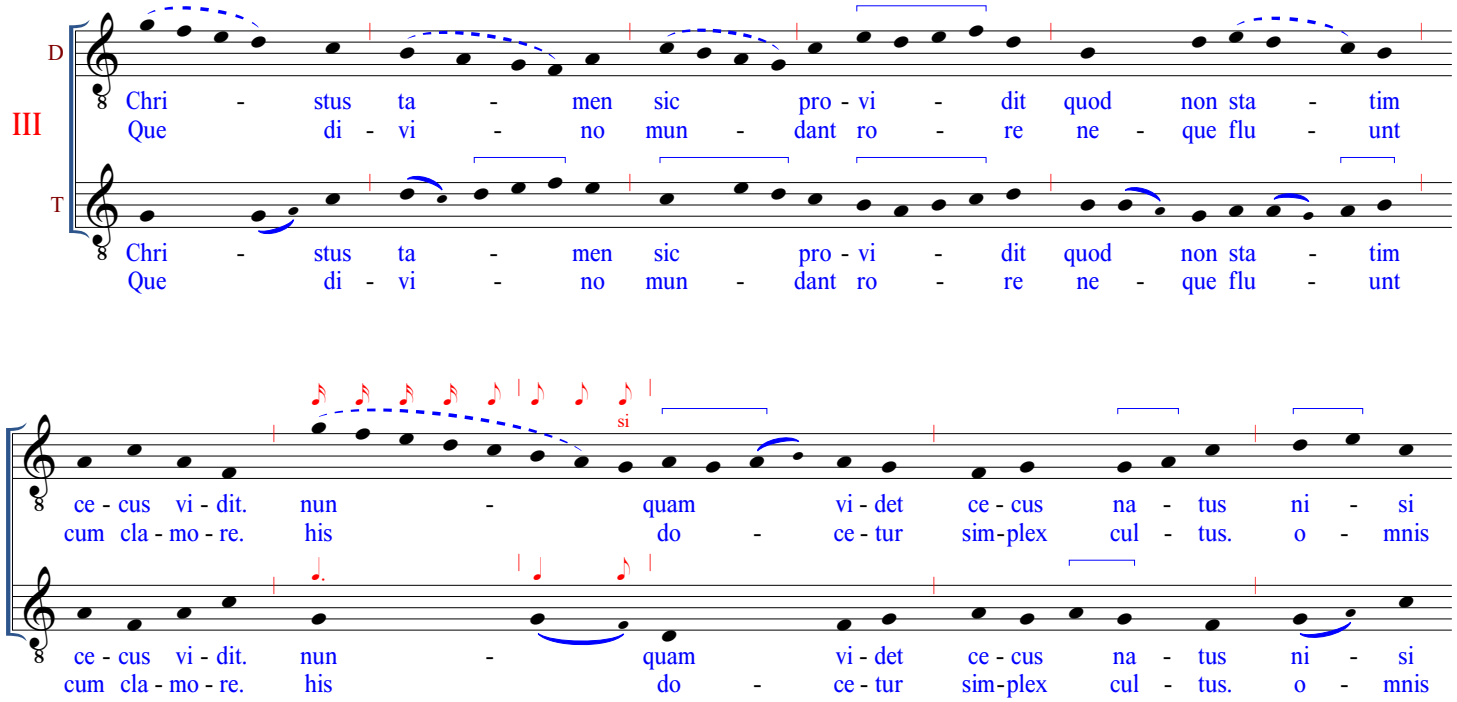
D Il - la mun - dans. hec mun - da - ta. il - la
De - us li - mo se con - iunx - it. et con -

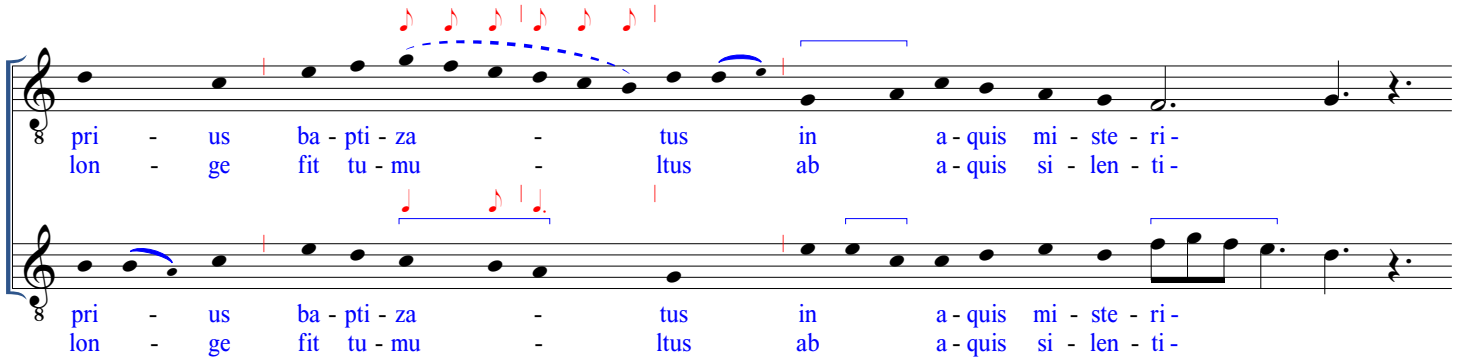
T Il - la mun - dans. hec mun - da - ta. il - la
De - us li - mo se con - iunx - it. et con -

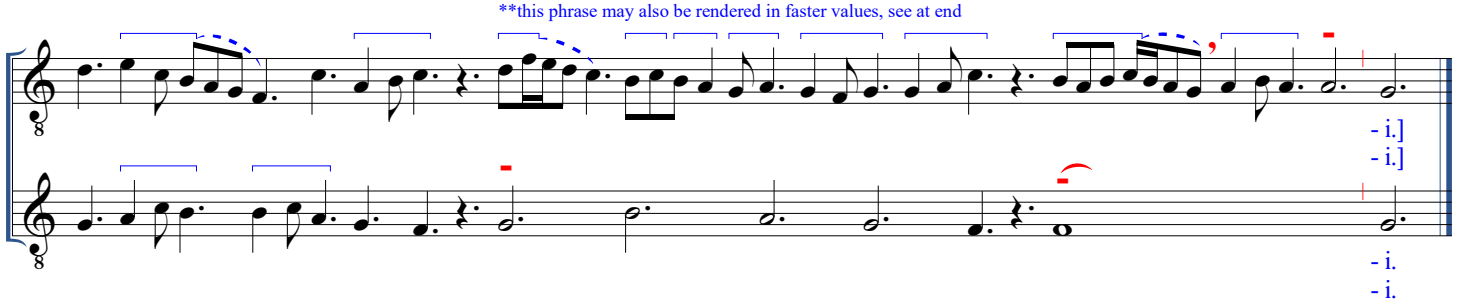
cre - ans. hec cre - a - ta. un - de lu - tum fit ex spu - to.
- iun - ctis nos in - un - xit. in - ter - mix - ta fit mix - tu - ra.

cre - ans. hec cre - a - ta. un - de lu - tum fit ex spu - to.
- iun - ctis nos in - un - xit. in - ter - mix - ta fit mix - tu - ra.


sed non spu - tum fit ex lu - to. as - si - gnans mi - ste - ri -
u - bi dup - plex est na - tu - ra. quis au - di - vit ta - li -
c
c
- a.
- a.
- a.
- a.

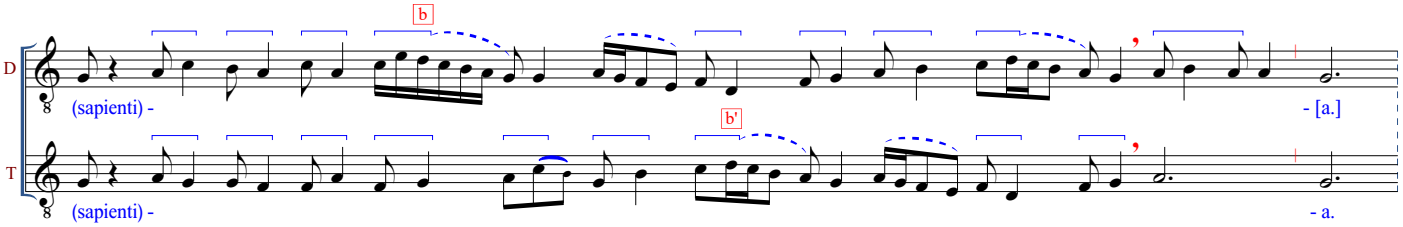

D
III
T
Chri - stus ta - men sic pro - vi - dit quod non sta - tim
Que di - vi - no mun - dant ro - re ne - que flu - unt
si
ce - cus vi - dit. nun - quam vi - det ce - cus na - tus ni - si
cum cla - mo - re. his do - ce - tur sim - plex cul - tus. o - mnis



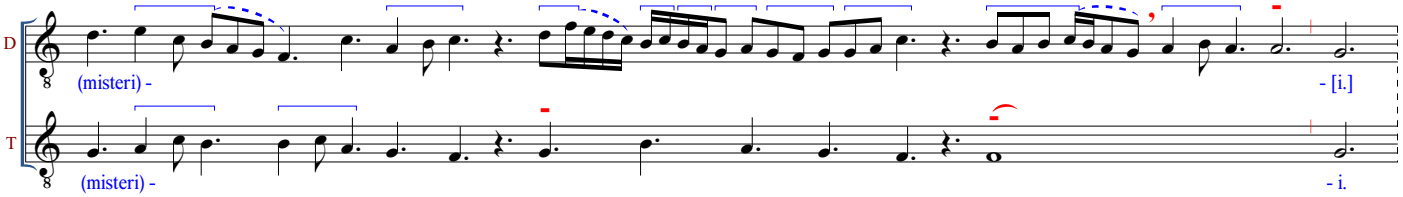


ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda closing strophe I (at line 4,2); *F,* f. 308r, VI-308v, I: reading in mode 2 (less likely, given that the first T phrase closes with a 2li figure)



**Final cauda, closing strophe III (at line 23,3); *F,* f. 308v, VI: reading of second phrase in faster values



IN TERRAM CHRISTUS EXPUIT

Conductus (J7/185)

F, f. 308r (7,39)

Ia In terram Christus expuit;
salivam terre miscuit
cum servi formam induit
dei sapientia.

Christ spat upon the ground;
he mixed saliva with dirt
when God's wisdom took on
the form of a servant.

Ib Ex ore patris prodiit.
Humanum genus liniit.
Duas naturas uniit
mira providentia.

From the mouth of the Father (the spittle) came forth.
He daubed (the eyes of) the human race.
A wondrous providence united
two substances.

IIa Illa mundans, hec mundata;
illa creans, hec creata.
Unde lutum fit ex sputo,
sed non sputum fit ex luto,
assignans misteria.

One is the cleanser, the other the cleansed;
one the creator, the other created.
Whence clay is made from the spittle,
but the spittle is not made from clay,
marking them as divine symbols.

IIb Deus limo se coniunxit,
et coniunctis nos inunxit.
Intermixta fit mixtura
ubi dupplex est natura.
Quis audivit talia?

God joined himself together with the mud
and smeared us with what was conjoined.
What is intermixed becomes a mixture
in which the substance remains twofold.
Who has heard such things?

IIIa Christus tamen sic providit
quod non statim cecus vidit.
Nunquam videt cecus natus,
nisi prius baptizatus
in aquis misterii.

Yet Christ also established
that the blind man did not see at once.
One who is born blind never sees,
unless they are first christened
by the waters of the sacrament.

IIIb Que divino mundant rore
neque fluunt cum clamore.
His docetur simplex cultus:
Omnis longe fit tumultus
ab aquis silentii.

These waters cleanse with heavenly dew
and flow without a sound.
By them a simple lesson is taught:
All uproar occurs far
from the waters of silence.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 39, f. 308r: a2; Strophes Ia-IIIb complete, with each of the subsequent paired versicles (the first piece in *F*-7 to demonstrate this structural feature) indicated by the usual ink capitals, and with the second member of each pair entered in carefully executed blank spaces provided within the staff system directly following the conclusion of each preceding versicle. This is the second piece in *F*-7 to share no concordances with *W1,W2,* or *Ma* since *Dei sapientia* (J6/86) at *F*-7,28, on f. 295v. Note the coincidence of the incipit of that piece with the last line of Strophe Ia here. *F* is the unique musical source for this piece.

Text only:

GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.6.4), f. 61bv (sic): text only of Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa,

only. The poem appears at the end of an early thirteenth-century copy of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy,* preceded by two mazes inscribed by different hands; it is followed by an early fourteenth-century commentary on the *Consolation* by Nicholas Trevet (ca. 1258-ca. 1328) that constitutes the second half of this bipartite MS.[1] According to the CPI website, there is an accompanying rubric: "Scio carmina et versus componere cantus modula[mina] notare e[t] legere" ("I know [how?] to compose songs and verses, [and] notate and read the melodies of a tune").[2]

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Content:** This conductus poem is an exegetical disquisition of the Gospel account of Jesus curing a man who had been blind since birth (John, 9:1-41, especially 9:6-7, quoted below for the remarks on lines 1-2). Jesus accomplished the miracle by spitting on the ground, making a clay poultice of the mixture of saliva and dirt, and applying it to the eyes of the blind man. After being commanded by Jesus to wash away the clay in the pool of Siloam,[3] the man was miraculously able to see. The lyric then goes on to interpret the various components of the story in ways that are congruent with a number of medieval biblical commentaries. Further nods to this miracle and its implications appear elsewhere in the Notre Dame repertory: see, for instance, the two organum prosulas *Vide prophecie / Viderunt* (A9/- – vdW 3/M1), lines 47-50; *Homo cum mandato dato / Omnes* (A10/- – vdW 3/M1), lines 72-84; and the motet *Latex silice / Latus* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), all attributed to Philip the Chancellor and available in Payne, *Motets and Prosulas.* Anderson's explications of the text of this conductus and the biblical images that lie behind it appear both in his edition (*NDRC,* 5:vii), and with fuller treatment in his earlier article "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music," *Studies in Music*, 4 (1970): 19-39; see especially pp. 30-35. The main authorities he cites come from the *Glossa ordinaria* (using the version in *PL,* 114: col. 395A), some so-called *Quaestiones* ascribed to Isidore of Seville (*PL,* 83: col. 128C),[4] and a work designated as *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* by Hugh of St. Victor (*PL,* 175: col. 760B-D). My discussion below is indebted to all these resources. **Symbolism:** Most of the elements in this poem articulate symbols that are explicable through the exegetical texts just cited (cf. especially Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts," 30-32). Among them: **a)** *the blind man* = the human race corrupted by sin, which his blindness represents. **b)** *the dirt or dust* into which Jesus spat = Christ's humanity, as opposed to his divine nature. **c)** *Jesus's saliva* = wisdom from the mouth of God (see the remarks for line 3, below) as well as Christ's divinity that he shares with God. Hence, **d)** *the clay mixture* applied to the blind man's eyes represents the Incarnation that united Jesus's godly and mortal attributes, which nevertheless remained separate and equal. **e)** *the Siloam pool* = baptism, which is what eventually restores the blind man's sight; it also signifies, by extension, Christ. This latter association is emphasized by the passage in John, 9:7, where "Siloam" is glossed as meaning "sent," thus corresponding to the son God sent to redeem mankind. **f)**

---

[1]As the Oxford source is not presently available to me, in addition to what is given on the CPI site, I rely here on the information provided by Penelope Reed Doob in her *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 341; see also pp. 139-143 in this work for additional discussion of *GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4.* Further details can be gleaned from the descriptions given in Falconer Madan and H. H. E. [Herbert Henry Edmund] Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), vol. 2, part 1: 232, under no. 2150.

[2]The minor conjectural completion of the rubric is my own.

[3]The Vulgate gives *Siloe,* which the Gospel text (quoted below) glosses as meaning "sent"; this pool was a large reservoir that served as a protected water supply located within the walls the city of Jerusalem.

[4]So named according to Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts," p. 30, note 60, but the title of this segment in the *PL* volume he cites is *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae.*

the restoration of the man's vision = the salvation Christ can confer. In the biblical verse that immediately precedes the recounting of the miracle, Jesus says: "quamdiu sum in mundo, lux sum mundi" ("As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world" – John, 9:5), thus solidifying the metaphor of Christ as light and sight. **Textual notes: 1-2:** see John, 9: 6-7.[5] **3:** The familiar image of Christ as a servant reflects God's humbling of himself when he adopted human form; see Philippians, 2:7-8.[6] For some additional appearances of this image, see the remarks on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. **4:** for the use of the term "wisdom of God" to refer to Christ, as it does here, see Luke, 11:49,[7] 1 Corinthians, 1:30,[8] and the related sentiments in 1 Corinthians, 1:24: and Ephesians, 3:10-11. The conceit also appears in the opening lines of the conductus *Dei sapientia* (J6/86). See also the following remarks for line 5. **5:** Christ, issuing from the mouth of God, is equated here with the saliva that represents his divine nature. The citation Anderson provides from the *Glossa ordinaria* (drawn from *PL,* 114: col. 395A) makes this very clear and also associates the saliva with God's wisdom, seen just before in line 4, with language very similar to that of the conductus: "De saliva lutum fecit, quia Verbum caro factum est. Saliva est sapientia quae ex ore Altissimi prodiit. Terra est caro Christi" ("Christ made clay from the saliva because the Word was made flesh. The saliva is wisdom emanating from the mouth of the Most High. The dust is the flesh of Christ."[9] **6,3:** on the particular form of this word ("liniit"), see the observations on the text in this same place below. **7-8:** God's providence brought together the human and divine via Christ's incarnation; in the same way, Jesus combined the "lowly" dirt and the "divine" spittle. **9-10:** here the divine nature of the spittle and the mortal essence inherent in the dirt or dust are correlated directly through their respective associations with God and Christ/humankind. **11-13:** in making clay from spittle and dust, the effect of the combination does not mitigate the divine power of the spittle; it does, though, empower the earthly nature of the dust it combines with. The former point is a frequent conceit within the Notre Dame repertory; see, for example, the textual notes of the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334) and *Parit preter morem* (E12/261) and the references included therein. Line 13, moreover, expressly affirms that the two elements represent symbolic types. **14-18 (Strophe IIb):** further emphasis (cf. lines 11-13) on the tenet that 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. See the related expression in the conductus *Relegentur ab area – Clausus in testa* (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. **19-23 (Strophe IIIa):** as the *Glossa ordinaria* passage quoted by Anderson observes[10] and the conductus poem emphasizes here, the blind man (i.e., the sinful human race) who had the clay mixture (i.e., Christ incarnate) applied to his eyes did not obtain his sight immediately. It was only

---

[5]John, 9: 6-7: "Haec cum dixisset, exspuit in terram, et fecit lutum ex sputo, et linivit lutum super oculos ejus, et dixit ei: Vade, lava in natatoria Siloe (quod interpretatur Missus). Abiit ergo, et lavit, et venit videns" ("When he [Jesus] had said these things, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and spread the clay on his [the blind man's] eyes, and said to him: Go, wash in the pool of Siloe, which is interpreted, 'Sent.' He went therefore, and washed, and he came seeing.").

[6]Philippians, 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.").

[7]Luke, 11:49: "Propterea et sapientia Dei dixit: Mittam ad illos prophetas, et apostolos, et ex illis occident, et persequentur" ("For this cause also the wisdom of God said: 'I will send to them prophets and apostles; and some of them they will kill and persecute.'").

[8]1 Corinthians, 1:30: "Ex ipso autem vos estis in Christo Jesu, qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio" ("But of him are you in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption.").

[9]Cited from Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts," 30-31).

[10]"Symbolism in Texts," 31.

his subsequent washing in the Siloam pool (i.e., undergoing baptism) that established his ability to see; see also the remarks for line 25-28. **24:** another instance of the frequent trope of signifying the power of God through the image of dew; see the remarks on the text of the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), line 3, and the references it offers. **24,1:** the subsequent clause of line 25 clarifies that this pronoun *(que)* more effectively refers back to the waters for its antecedent, rather than the sacraments *(misteria)* of line 23. **25-28:** interestingly, the waters of the Siloam pool (not otherwise directly present in the conductus text) are described in the Bible as quietly flowing; see Isaiah, 8:6.[11] **27-28:** although the final couplet of *In terram Christus* has the ring of a proverbial saying, I have not yet found a suitable corollary to it.
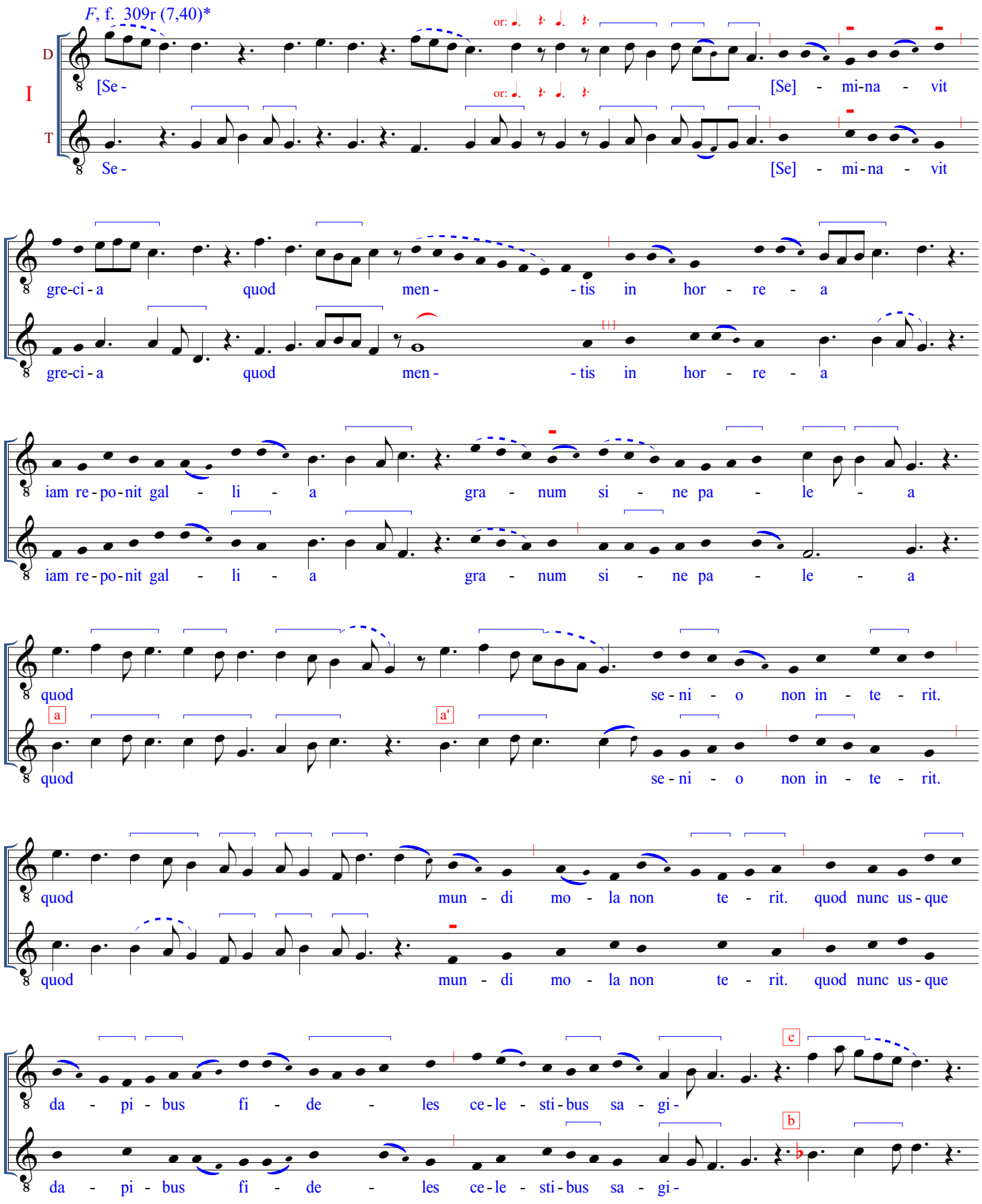
Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** All variants from the adopted text (which uses *F* as its base source) are collated here, since *GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4* was unknown to Anderson at the time he prepared his catalog and edition. As I have not yet seen the Oxford MS, I rely here on the helpful transcription in Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth*, 341 (cited above in the source reports). **3,1:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: et; this could serve just as well as the "cum" supplied here by *F.* **6,3:** not included in *GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4,* this word as given in *F* shows either the form "liniit" or "liviit" (with the former appearing a bit more likely given the specific shapes here of the second and third letters); both are acceptable (through contraction) as third-person perfect-tense forms of the verb "lino / linere"; the final group of three letters is additionally confirmed by the tittles ("dots" or "jots") over the minims indicating "-ii-" in *F;* the Vulgate text cited above from John 9:7, however, gives "linivit," an uncontracted form, but the spelling is notoriously variable overall; the adopted "liniit" is used by both Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:vii), and *AH,* 20:127, no. 162. **11,5:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: sputu; this is an acceptable form, being the ablative of "sputus" ("spitting"), but the reading of "sputo" from *F* supplies the requisite rhyme. **13,1:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: assignant, which would work just as well as the adopted participial form that appears in *F.* **13,2:** F: misterium, which, though serviceable, seems less preferable than "misteria" taken from *GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4,* since the latter reading results in an identical rhyme sound occurring at the end of each of the Strophes Ia through IIb. Given that the paired versicles IIIa and IIIb also share closing rhymes (albeit different ones than in the other stanzas), the *F* variant is jettisoned here in favor of the reading from the Oxford source. **15,4:** F: the MS reading "inunxit," as adopted here and also in *AH,* 20:127, no. 162, is a recognized form of the verb "inungo" ("coat," "anoint," "spread over," "apply to"); Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:vii, 14) gives "iniunxit" (from "iniungo" – hence "joined," although he translates it as "anointed") and does not report the variant in his commentary (*NDRC,* 5:113). It seems possible that Anderson's reading is a typo, although it appears in both the textual and musical sections of his edition, as well as in his article "Symbolism in Texts," 34. **16,1:** equally satisfactory if rendered as two separate words ("inter mixta"), as in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:vii, and *AH,* 20:127, no. 162. **19,1:** F: written "Cristus," without the more typical use of the Greek letter pair χρ (chi-ro) for the opening. **19,4:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: providet, a change in tense from *F.* **21,1:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: numquam. **23,2:** GB-Ob Auct. F.6.4: aquas, an equally serviceable variant. **23,3:** F: the final letter of "misterii" is enlarged, as if a capital; this is not reflected in the transcription. **24,3:** F: mundans, which does not make grammatical sense in the larger context of the stanza; the adopted reading of "mundant" is prompted by Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:vii, and *AH,* 20:127, no. 162. **26,1:** F: "hiis;" a single syllable is required here for the proper syllable count. Although the spelling in *F* could serve if elided as a monosyllable, the form as adopted here is less ambiguous in terms of expected pronunciation. **MUSIC: Cauda closing Strophe I (at line 4,2):** TD: F: in addition to allowing for different interpretations of smaller notational details, a reading in either modes 1 or 2 is possible for this melisma; mode 1, though, seems more likely, given that the first T phrase closes with a 2li figure and the mode-1 version features consonance at the beginning of every beat. An alternative mode-2 version appears at the end of the transcription. My reading of this cauda differs from both of the ones offered by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:14 – in mode 2, the more consistent rendition of the two; and "Symbolism in Texts," 36 – in mode 1). In my interpretation, I have attempted to portray similar figures with

[11]Isaiah, 8:6: "... Pro eo quod abjecit populus iste aquas Siloe, quae vadunt cum silentio ..." ("... Forasmuch as this people have cast away the waters of Siloe, that go with silence ...").
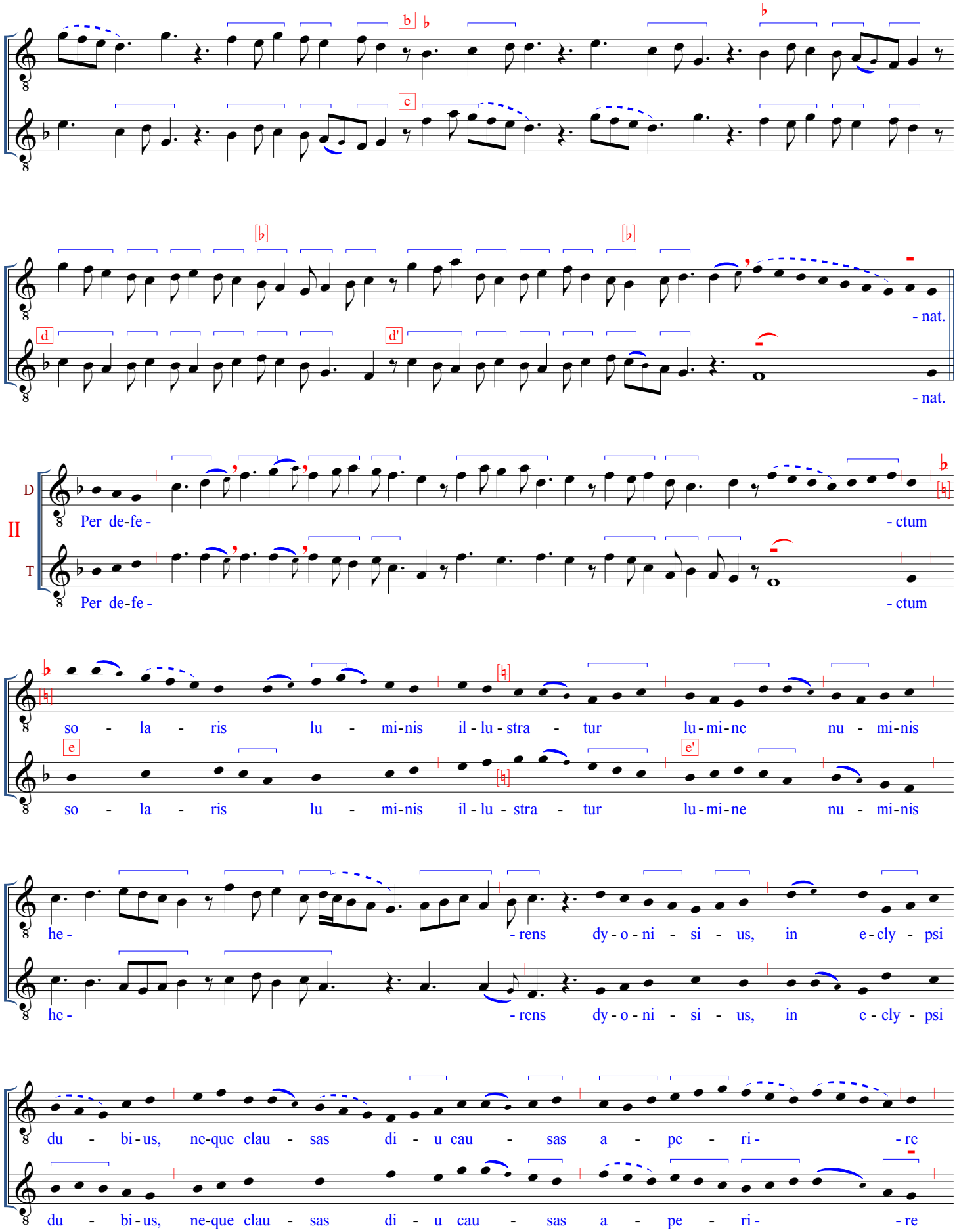
similar rhythms, and to make sure that the passages in imitation (marked in the score) are as alike as possible. D: F: at L7 of the cauda, a partly erased stroke appears just after the si=*g* and before the 4C=*agfe;* it is om in the transcription; D: F: the stroke prior to the last note in the cauda is nearly obscured by the note before it, as though to cover an error; in this case though, it seems to make good sense as an intended *divisio syllabarum,* not a mistake, and is so treated here. **Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 13,2):** TD: F: the strokes (rendered here as breath marks) that occur just 4L-5L prior to the final cadence of Strophe II may serve to signal alignment, one possible implication of this is given in the transcription. This cauda provides some particular musical interest in the way it presents sequential material that deviates throughout the course of the melisma, but which still manages to recall the essence of the earlier phrases. **Final cauda, closing strophe III (at line 23,3):** TD: F: the second phrase of the melisma (L13-L22) may also be read in faster values; an alternative version appears at the end.

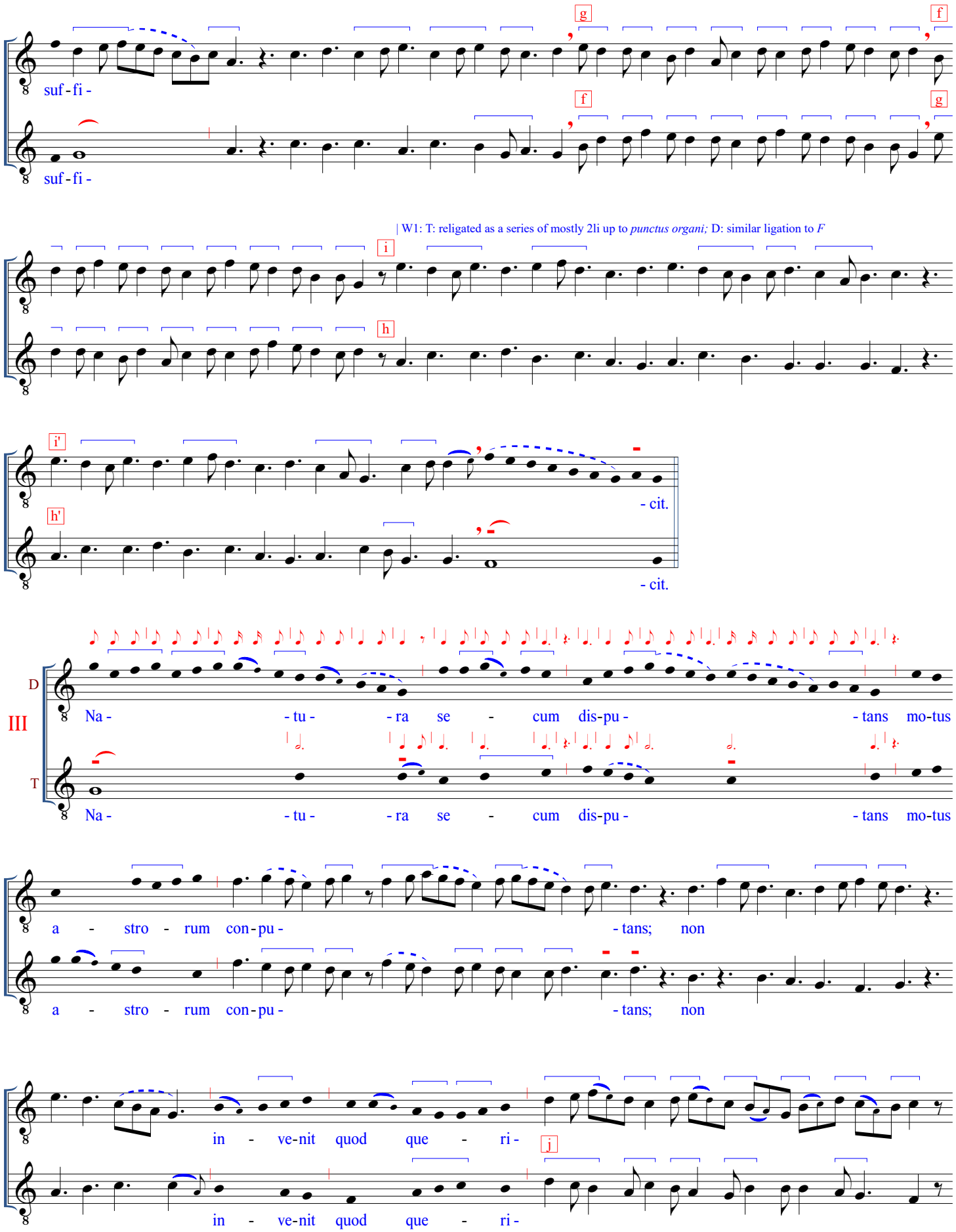
SEMINAVIT GRECIA
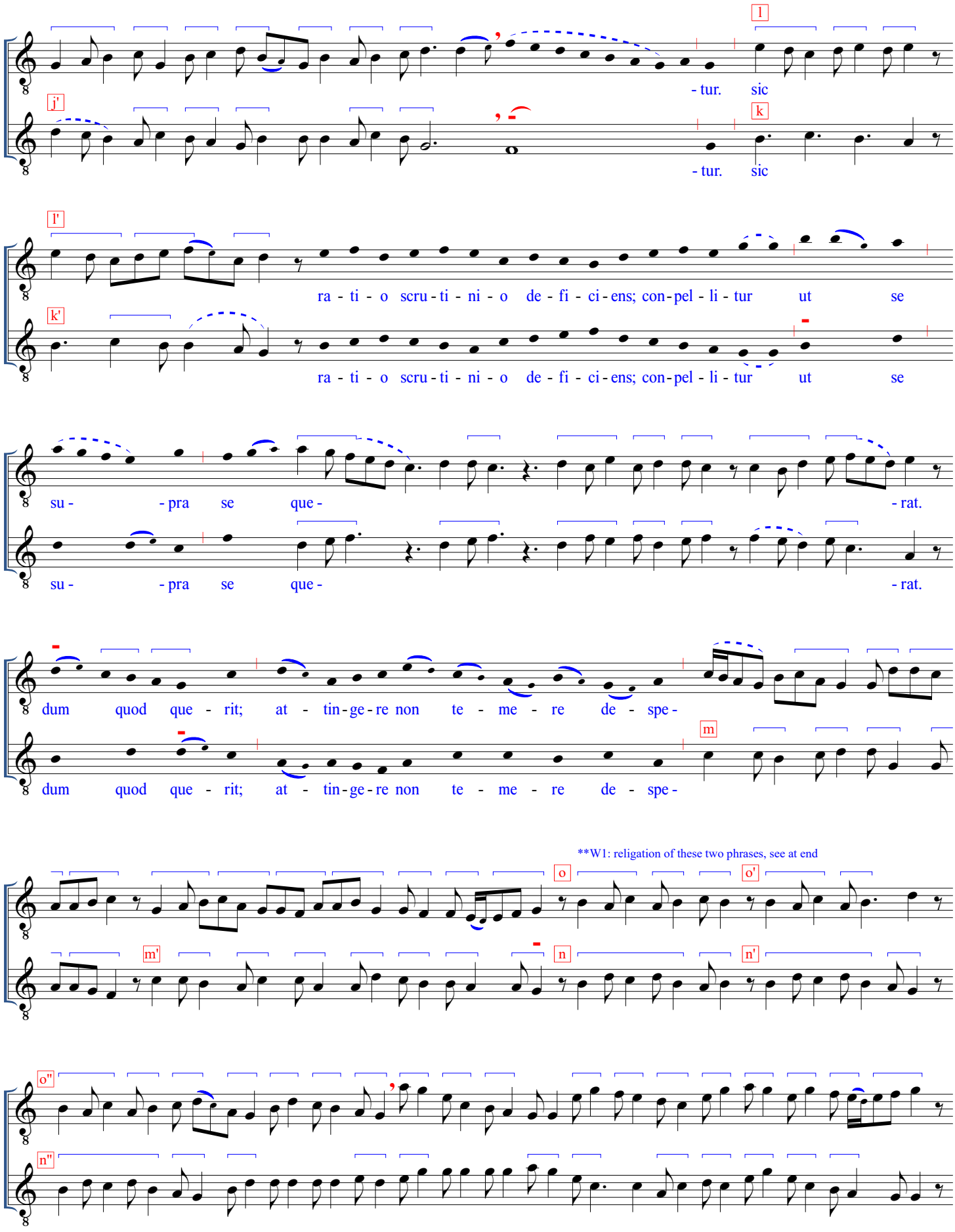
Conductus (I23/322)
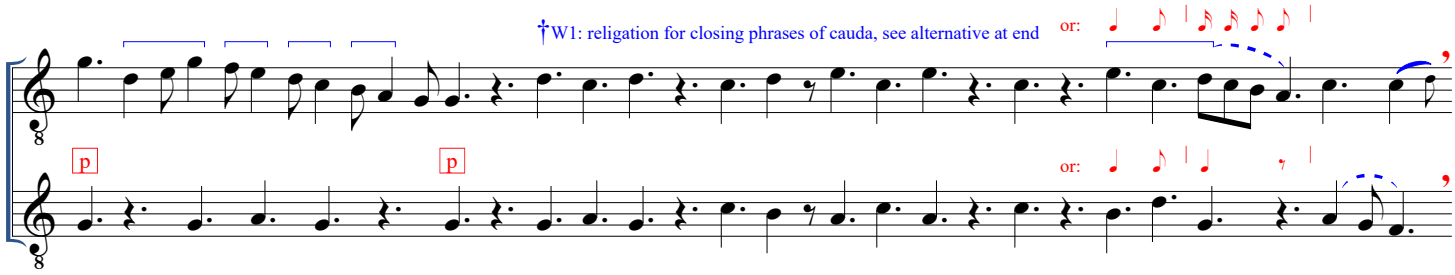


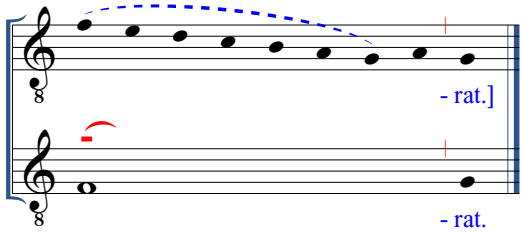
W1: the opening cauda is partly religated; see the alternative version at end; also, no flat signs appear anywhere in the *W1* redaction


b
c
d
d'
- nat.
- nat.
II
D
T
Per de-fe-
-ctum
Per de-fe-
-ctum
so - la - ris lu - mi-nis il-lu-stra - tur lu-mi-ne nu - mi-nis
e
e'
so - la - ris lu - mi-nis il-lu-stra - tur lu-mi-ne nu - mi-nis
he-
-rens dy-o-ni - si - us, in e-cly - psi
he-
-rens dy-o-ni - si - us, in e - cly - psi
du - bi-us, ne-que clau - sas di - u cau - sas a - pe - ri-
-re
du - bi-us, ne-que clau - sas di - u cau - sas a - pe - ri-
-re


g
f
suf - fi -
f
g
suf - fi -
| W1: T: religated as a series of mostly 2li up to *punctus organi;* D: similar ligation to *F*
i
h
i'
- cit.
h'
- cit.
D
III
Na - - tu - - ra se - cum dis-pu - - tans mo-tus
T
Na - - tu - - ra se - cum dis-pu - - tans mo-tus
a - stro - rum con-pu - - tans; non
a - stro - rum con-pu - - tans; non
in - ve-nit quod que - ri -
j
in - ve-nit quod que - ri -

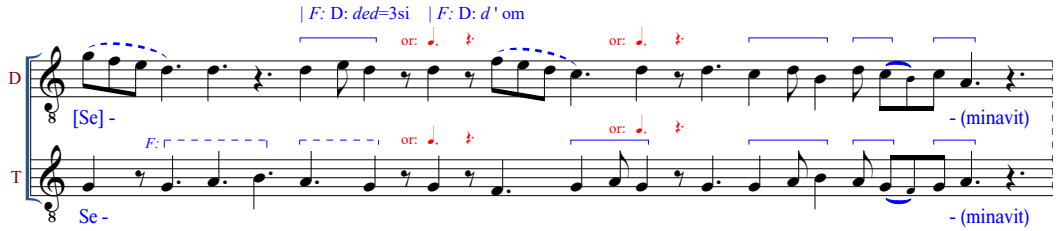

l
- tur. sic
j'
k
- tur. sic
l'
ra - ti - o scru - ti - ni - o de - fi - ci - ens; con - pel - li - tur ut se
k'
ra - ti - o scru - ti - ni - o de - fi - ci - ens; con - pel - li - tur ut se
su - - pra se que - - rat.
su - - pra se que - - rat.
dum quod que - rit; at - tin - ge - re non te - me - re de - spe -
m
dum quod que - rit; at - tin - ge - re non te - me - re de - spe -
**W1: religation of these two phrases, see at end
o
o'
m'
n
n'
o"
n"



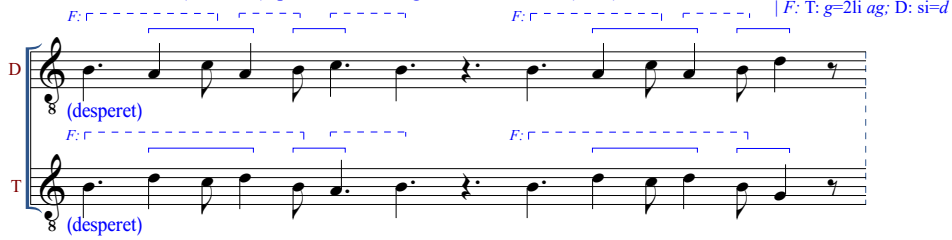


ALTERNATIVE READINGS FROM *W1:*

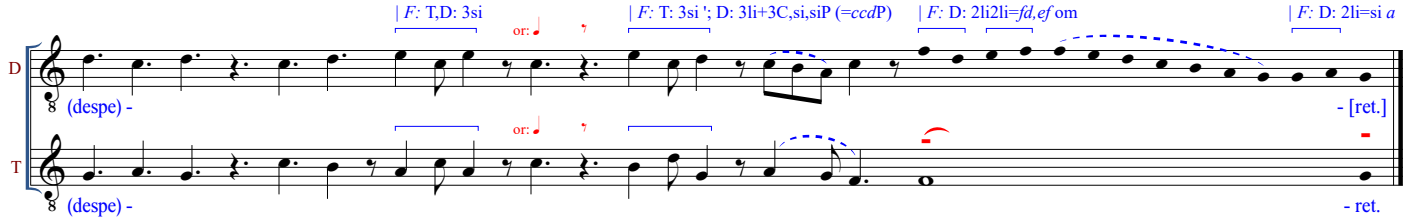
*Opening cauda, religated: *W1,* f. 164v (155v), IV



**Final cauda (line 23,3), phrases 3-4, religated: *W1,* f. 166r (157r), II



†Final cauda (line 23,3), closing phrases, religated: *W1,* f. 166r (157r), III



SEMINAVIT GRECIA

Conductus (I23/322)

F, f. 309r (7,40)

I Seminavit Grecia
quod mentis in horrea
iam reponit Gallia:
granum sine palea,
quod senio non interit,
quod mundi mola non terit,
quod nunc usque dapibus
fideles celestibus
saginat.

Greece sowed
what Gaul now stores
in the granary of the mind:
grain without chaff,
which has not spoiled from age,
which the world's millstone grinds not,
which even now fattens
the faithful at
heavenly feasts.

II Per defectum solaris luminis,
illustratur lumine numinis
herens Dyonisius,
in eclypsi dubius,
neque clausas diu causas
aperire sufficit.

Through an obscuration of the sun's light,
Denis, transfixed in wonderment
at the eclipse, is enlightened
by the light of the godhead,
and has not the capacity to reveal
causes long hidden.

III Natura, secum disputans,
motus astrorum conputans.
non invenit quod queritur.
Sic ratio, scrutinio
deficiens, conpellitur
ut se supra se querat,
dum quod querit, attingere
non temere desperat.

Nature, arguing with herself,
reckoning the movements of the celestial bodies,
finds not what is sought.
And so Reason, failing in the
inquiry, is forced
to seek herself beyond herself,
while she despairs, not without cause,
of attaining what she seeks.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 40, f. 309r: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 79, f. 164v (155v): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, indicated by painted initials; Strophe III is further divided at line 19 by an additional painted initial. Folio 165 (156) has a diagonal slit, perhaps a quarter-centimeter wide, cutting through portions of the top two systems on each side of the leaf; the excision appears to have occurred prior to copying, as no textual or musical information seems to be missing.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** I wish to thank Lena Wahlgren-Smith, Anne Walters Robertson, and Lisa M. Esposito for advice on the translation, and for help with the interpretation of several of the more problematic passages within this extremely complex lyric, particularly the expressions that appear throughout Strophes II and III. **Content:**

The subject of this poem is St. Denis (Dionysius),[1] the first known bishop of Paris and its patron saint, martyred ca. 250-270 along with his associates Rusticus and Eleutherius. The liturgical feast of the bishop and his companions is celebrated on 9 October, while another, honoring the finding of the three martyrs' remains, occurs on 22 April. A number of the legendary accounts of Denis report that, following his decapitation on the hill of Montmartre, he walked for several miles, bearing his severed head, to the spot where the Benedictine abbey that bears his name was founded during the reign of the Frankish King Dagobert I (reg. 628-637).[2] This abbey served for centuries as the burial site for the royal families of France. From the ninth century, Denis was routinely confounded with two other persons. The first is the biblical Dionysius the Areopagite, supposedly a member of the Areopagus, the judicial tribunal of ancient Athens (so called from the large stone outcropping where the tribunal met that was visible from the Acropolis). This Dionysius was a pagan who was prompted to conversion from hearing the preaching of Saint Paul at Athens (see Acts, 17:34), and who became the first bishop of that city.[3] The second is the Christian philosopher now known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, active most probably in the late fifth to early sixth centuries. This Dionysius presented himself as if he were the Pauline convert, and his body of work became an important theological authority in Western Europe after it had been translated into Latin (most notably by John Scotus Eriugena) from a book of his Greek writings given to the Carolingian ruler Louis the Pious (reg. 813-840) by the Byzantine emperor Michael II (reg. 820-829). Louis donated this book to the abbey of St. Denis, and the efforts of Hilduin (775-840), abbot of the monastery from 815, were formative for the first attempts at Latin translation (generally regarded as inadequate) and as the source of the confusion of identities. The fusion of the various Dionysian personalities granted the Parisian bishop special esteem, and although a number of individuals (including Peter Abelard in his *Historia calamitatum,* chapter 10) had earlier questioned the identities of the three, the confusion was not effectively laid to rest until centuries later. Attributes for all three of the figures and evocations of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius are at work in the conductus text. **Versification:** The lineation presented for Strophe II does not correspond to that in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxviii-ixxx. Instead, I have combined his opening quatrain into a 10pp couplet, thus obviating the lack of rhyme in the lines as he gave them. I have also combined two verses from Anderson's lineation into the penultimate and last lines of this strophe; they thus display the same type of internal rhyme and syllable count (though not the accentual pattern) as found in the fourth line of Strophe III, where both Anderson and I agree on the line division. Conceivably, the last line of the poem might also be divided after 23,2 ("temere"), to form a (rather weak) rhyme with line 21 ("attingere") and to draw attention to the incomplete rhyme of 23,3 ("desperat") with the otherwise lone, trisyllabic line 9 ("saginat"), that closes Strophe I. **Textual notes: 1-3:** reflective of the fusion of bishop Denis with Dionysius the Areopagite: originally from Greece, Denis/Dionysius now rests in Paris. **2,2-4:** the "granary (or storehouse) of the mind" is an image typically associated with concepts of memory; Jerome, for instance, uses the expression in his *Commentarium in Aggaeum Prophetam* (see *PL,* 25: cols. 1396D-1397A).[4] **4:** for the oft-mentioned Gospel

---

[1]Note that the otherwise identical spelling of the name of the saint and the later Christian philosopher differs from that of the Greek god, Dionysus.

[2]These details, along with many others that surface in these notes on the text, are present in the entry on Dionysius in the *Legenda* aurea *(Golden Legend).* The English translation used here is *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* William Granger Ryan, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); for Dionysius and his companions, see pp. 622-627.

[3]In addition to the account in the *Golden Legend,* see Eusebius, *History of the Church,* book 3, chap. 4, §10; and also 4,23,3.

[4]*PL,* 25: cols. 1396D-1397A, where Jerome is commenting on Haggai, 1:9: "Sed et haec quoque parva, quae in domum et horreum mentis condiderant, exsufflantur a sermone Dei, quasi indigna eius custodia atque tutela" ("But even these things, though small, which they stored in the house and granary of the mind, were blown away by the word of God, as if its protection and safeguarding were unworthy." Haggai, 1:9 begins: "Respexistis ad amplius, et ecce factum est minus; et intulistis in domum, et exsufflavi illud ..." ("You have looked for more, and behold it became less, and you brought it home, and I blew it away."). It is just conceivable that the conductus poet may have been drawn to Jerome's expression in his commentary due to the fact that Haggai, 1:6 opens with a mention of sowing, which is the initial image in the conductus text: "Seminastis multum, et intulistis parum; comedistis, et non estis satiati;

image of the wheat and chaff, where the threshed wheat, without the chaff, refers to saved souls (in this case, by extension, associated with the holy, uncorrupted body of Denis/Dionysius), see Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17; it is a favorite image of Philip the Chancellor and appears in a number of other Parisian conductus, motets, and prosulas.[5] **6,2-3:** in the Bible, the image of millstones is sometimes used to refer to punishing labor, as in Isaiah, 47:2, and Judges 16:21; or as an instrument of death, as in Judges, 9:53, 2 Samuel, 11:21, Matthew, 18:6, Luke, 17:2, and Apocalypse, 18:21. Here it seems a figure for the cares of the world that grind down every living soul. **7-9:** Although it is not completely transparent, based on the prior context of the images in the poetry, the figurative language of the first stanza appears to imply that the saintly, spotless body of Dionysius/ Denis (the "grain without chaff"), originally from Greece, is now laid to eternal rest in France where the world's cares no longer plague him, and where he occupies the memory of the Parisian faithful as their patron saint, serving as a type of spiritual food that nourishes those who are devoted to him. **10-13:** within the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus is a letter to the hierarch Polycarp (conceivably identifiable with the second-century bishop of Smyrna) where the author reports that he and his friend Apollophanes witnessed an inconceivable solar eclipse in Heliopolis, Egypt, that occurred during Christ's crucifixion (for Eriugena's Latin translation, see *PL,* 122: cols. 1179-1181). The event was seen as miraculous. The moon was not at the point in its cycle where an eclipse could occur, and when the moon made contact with the sun, it then reversed its course and moved parallel with it for about three hours. Not being aware of Jesus, the two observers nonetheless supposed some divine intervention had brought about the anomaly. The incident passed into the Dionysian legendarium (see the account of Denis/Dionysius in the *Legenda aurea,* for instance), where it is related that this fantastic eclipse caused the people of Athens to set up an altar to an "unknown god" (based on the report in Acts, 17:22-23). Subsequently, upon Paul's coming to Athens, the apostle told Dionysius that the god responsible for the eclipse was the one he had been preaching, and Dionysius realized that the event had occurred during the Crucifixion (see Mark, 15:33; Matthew, 27:45; Luke, 23:44, where the phenomenon is described as a darkness that occurred over all the land). This realization, as well as further legendary miracles that were performed in conjunction with Paul's visit, led to the Athenian's conversion and eventual installation as bishop. **10-12:** note the irony here, since the lack of light caused by the eclipse is what prompts Denis/Dionysius to become enlightened. **12-13:** I am extremely grateful for the help of Lena Wahlgren-Smith with this passage; her advice has yielded the rendering given above. Here the meaning of "herens" works together with "dubius" to indicate that Denis/Dionysius was perplexed or at a loss to explain the eclipse (see Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary,* s.v. "haereo," II.B.3; and the *DMLBS,* s.v. "haerere," 4, both accessible through https://logeion.uchicago.edu/). Another related connotation, suggested to me by Anne Walters Robertson, is provided by the text of the Sandionysian sequence *Salve pater Dionysi,* Strophe IIa, which mentions that Denis/Dionysius, like the apostle John and his symbol the eagle, has the ability to look directly at the sun (a symbol of the godhead): "Mente legens, celi numen, ut aquila solis lumen non aversa facie" ("elect in mind, godhead of heaven, light of the sun, like the eagle with his face not turned away").[6] With this manner of reading, Denis/Dionysius is transfixed by the celestial and divine light of the sun during the eclipse. **14-15:** the interpretation offered here is based on the implications that arise in Strophe III (lines 16-23, q.v.), and is also connected with the fantastic occurrence of the eclipse described in the remarks on lines 10-13: since normal reasoning and experience cannot account for the workings of God, which are beyond human understanding and conception, Denis/Dionysius, upon seeing the eclipse, is at a loss to determine its cause or its meaning. **16-23 (Strophe III):** this stanza appears to continue the implications of the eclipse from Strophe II by its reference to the movement of celestial bodies in

---

bibistis, et non estis inebriati ..." ("You [the people of Judah] have sowed much, and brought in little: you have eaten, but have not had enough: you have drunk, but have not been filled with drink ...").

[5]See Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* 27.

[6]The complete text with Robertson's translation (from which comes the portion quoted here) is available in her *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages,* Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 279-83.

line 17. It also (I would contend) expands upon the expressions in lines 14-15 by bringing to the fore certain Pseudo-Dionysian theological concepts. My thanks go out to Lisa M. Esposito for turning me towards his *Mystical Theology* as the most direct manifestation of principles that appear to inhere in this strophe.[7] Stated perhaps overly simply, Pseudo-Dionysius regards the godhead as ineffable; it lies beyond any perceivable qualities of essence or knowledge. Therefore, just as with Denis/Dionysius in Strophe II, the actions here of personified Reason and Nature – the latter of which I assume implies natural laws – are insufficient to describe or explain the supra-essence and supra-knowledge of divinity. Moreover, the association of these ideas with the image of the eclipse also appears particularly relevant in terms of the Pseudo-Dionysian depiction of the godhead as a "cloud (or gloom) of unknowing" (see the end of the first chapter of the *Mystical Theology*, which explicates Moses's ascent up Mount Sinai to speak with God, based on Exodus, 19): to encounter God is to move to a realm of figurative "darkness" that is beyond light, beyond visibility, and beyond what can be known (described in the opening of Chapter 2 of the *Mystical Theology*). Therefore, using Pseudo-Dionysius's favored technique of affirmation through negation (cf. the *Mystical Theology,* chapters 3 and 5), when one admits that they cannot know the unknowable, they may come to know that which is beyond knowledge.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants; those from *W1* are collated below (presenting primarily minor differences in spelling); but note the remarks for line 1,2. **1,2:** both *F* and *W1* clearly spell "Grecia" with "t" rather than "c," even when it is compared with other places in the poem where "e" is followed by "c." Although the custom in my transcriptions is to honor the orthography of the sources as much as possible, I have decided to use "Grecia" here, since its adoption is nearly universal in other presentations and discussions of this text (such as the Anderson and Falck catalogs, Anderson's edition, the CPI website, DIAMM, *AH* [21:67, no. 98], and more), and thus less likely to cause confusion. See the similar response in the observations on the text of the conductus *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229), line 1,2, and *Si membrana esset celum* (F32/326), line 1. **2,4:** although the more common configuration here would be horreo" or "horreis," the feminine, first-declension form of the word as found here is also seen (see the *DMLBS,* s.v. "horreum"). **11,3:** W1: luminis. **12,2:** W1: dionisius. **13,2:** W1: eclipsim. **14, 2-4:** W1: "causas" and "clausas" reversed. **17,3:** W1: computans. **20,1:** W1: defitiens. **23,3:** W1: desperet. **MUSIC: Syllabic/Melismatic identity: 1.** the T of first phrase (L1-L8) in the cauda on "quod" (line 5,1) = **1a.** the T of the entire following phrase, which ends with a *cum littera* portion on "senio" (line 5,2) that corresponds closely with L5-L8 in the first phrase of the cauda. **Opening cauda:** *W1* features a reading with different ligation, presented alternatively at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at line 9,1:** T: F: none of the *b-flat* sigs here and throughout the entire course of the piece ever appear in *W1.* D: F: beginning with the second presentation of the voice-exchange section at L17-L28 of the melisma, the ficta *b-flats* are taken from the identical prior phrases in the T. **Line 10,1 (opens Strophe II):** TD: F: the *b-flat* sigs here (in force until the system change in *F* after the second syllable of line 11,1) also do not appear in *W1.* **Cauda at line 15,2:** TD: FW1: the two cauda phrases on "[suff]fi[cit]," consisting of regular series of 2li that undergo voice exchange from L8-L16 and L16-L24, are read here as "upbeat" mode-1 phrases rather than in mode 2; the choice was made due to the lack of a concluding 3li, expected in mode 2.[8] TD: W1: in the first half of the cauda, the second voice-exchange passage is om. The second half of the cauda, beginning with L25 with TL values in the T, is religated in *W1* as a series of 2li; the D has largely the same ligation as *F,* which suggests that a change in rhythm or mode is not likely for *W1,* since the faster values that would result in the D do not appear to be implied by any expected way of reading the ligatures as they stand. **Cauda at line 18,4:** D: F: the 2li=*gb* figure at L13-L14, several notes prior to the *punctus organi,* appears to be written *ab,* although this

[7]Eriugena's Latin translation of the treatise, appears in *PL,* 122: cols. 1171-1176. For an English translation of the *Mystical Theology,* see Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology,* Clarence Edwin Rolt, trans. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1920), 191-201. An online version is available here.

[8]On this point, see Ernest H. Sanders, "The Notation of Notre Dame Organa tripla and quadrupla," in *Le notazioni della polifonia vocale dei secole IX-XVII: Antologia, Parte prima, secoli IX-XIV,* Daniele Sabaino and Stefano Aresi, eds. (Pisa: Edizioni ETS: 2006), p. 68 under §10).

protrudes into the right margin and the pitches are somewhat difficult to discern; the clearer reading from *W1* is used here. **Lines 19,2-20,2:** TD: FW1: the doubled unison si=*g* notes on "[compelli]tur" at the end of this phrase (connected with dashed ties in the transcription – not necessarily implying that the second note of the pair be silent), along with the completely syllabic disposition of the melodies in both parts suggest that a reading of this passage in mode 1 might be applicable; see the similar features found throughout the conductus *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217) and in the four-voiced *Vetus abit littera* (B3/379) in *F*-1. **Line 21,2:** D: W1: 3 lower beginning with "[ut] se [supra]" up through the penultimate phrase (to L10) of the cauda at line 21,5 ("querat"). **Final cauda (at line 23,3):** TD: W1: religation and slight variance in the third and fourth phrases of "[de]spe[rat]" from L15-L22, see the alternative reading from this MS given at the end of the transcription. TD: W1: the ending phrases of the closing cauda from L51 to the end are partially religated; see the alternative version from this source at the end. D: F: the decision to use two L values to begin the 3li+3C=*ecd+cba* gesture at L63 of the cauda just before the closing *punctus organi* is the result of favoring the reading of the 3si in the T below; an alternative version privileging the ligation in the D appears above the staff.

SONET VOX ECCLESIE SONET

Conductus (I28/337)

F, f. 310r (7,41)

I

D [So - net vox ec - cle - si - a. so - net in

T [So - net vox ec - cle - si - a. so - net in

ho - no - rem lar - gi - to - ris glo - ri - a

ho - no - rem lar - gi - to - ris glo - ri - a

b

na - ti pre - ter mo - rem. bos co - gno - vit ho - di - e su - um pos - ses -

a c

na - ti pre - ter mo - rem. bos co - gno - vit ho - di - e su - um pos - ses -

b'

- so - rem. vi - sum in pre - se - pi -

a'

- so - rem. vi - sum in pre - se - pi -

e e'
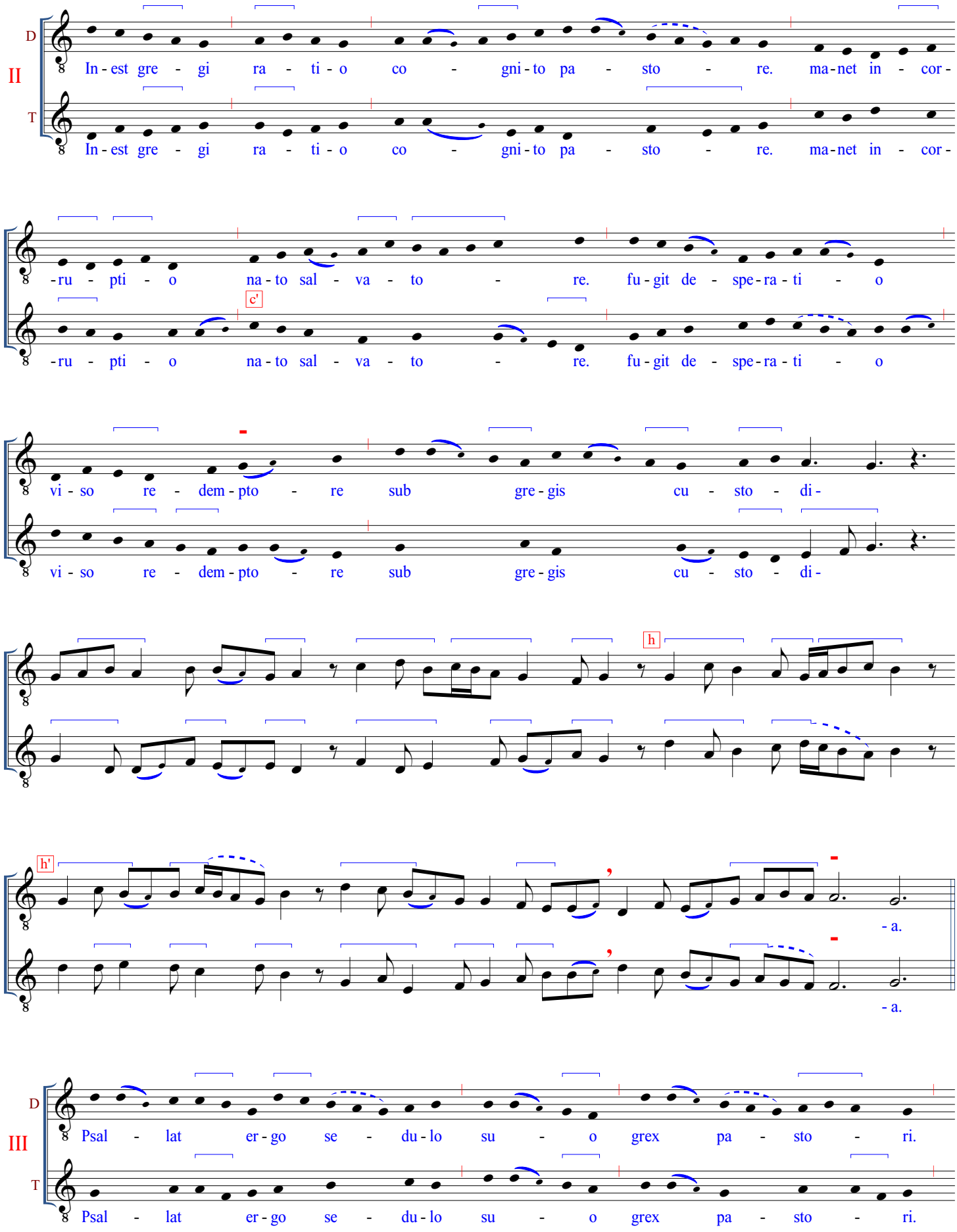
d d'

g g'

- o.

f f'

- o.


II
D
T
In - est gre - gi ra - ti - o co - gni - to pa - sto - re. ma - net in - cor -
-ru - pti - o na - to sal - va - to - re. fu - git de - spe - ra - ti - o
c'
vi - so re - dem - pto - re sub gre - gis cu - sto - di -
h
h'
- a.
III
Psal - lat er - go se - du - lo su - o grex pa - sto - ri.

li - ti - get pro ba - cu - lo pars u - tra - que cho - ri.

li - ti - get pro ba - cu - lo pars u - tra - que cho - ri.

*TD: W1: differing ligation and some pitches, see at end

j

vhe si in er - ga - stu - lo per - mit - ta - tur

i

vhe si in er - ga - stu - lo per - mit - ta - tur

**T: W1: in mode 1, see at end

†W1: differs slightly; see at end

j'

mo - ri ho - stis a - va - ri - ti -

i'

mo - ri ho - stis a - va - ri - ti -

m m'

k (k) l l

n n'

- e.]

- e.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda at line 19,1 ("ve"): *W1,* f. 171v (162v), IV

D ve

T [ve]

**Final cauda, second phrase, mode 1: *W1,* f. 171v (162v), V

(avariti) - - (a.)

(avariti) - - (a.)

†W1: final cauda, third phrase: *W1,* f. 171v (162v), VI

(avariti) - - (a.)

(avariti) - - (a.)

SONET VOX ECCLESIE SONET

Conductus (I28/337)

F, f. 310r (7,41)

I Sonet vox ecclesie. Let the voice of the church resound.
Sonet in honorem Let it sound forth in honor
largitoris glorie, of the granter of glory,
nati preter morem. born contrary to custom.
Bos cognovit hodie Today the ox
suum possessorem, knew its owner,
visum in presepio. having seen him in the manger.

II Inest gregi ratio, Understanding suffuses the flock
cognito pastore. as it recognizes the shepherd.
Manet incorruptio, Incorruptibility endures
nato salvatore. with the birth of the savior.
Fugit desperatio, Hopelessness flees
viso redemptore upon seeing the redeemer
sub gregis custodia. in care of his flock.

III Psallat ergo sedulo So let the flock sing
suo grex pastori. zealously to its shepherd.
Litiget pro baculo Let both sides of the choir
pars utraque chori. vie for the staff of office.
Vhe, si in ergastulo Woe be it, if the enemy
permittatur mori of greed is allowed
hostis avaritie! to die in prison!

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 41, f. 310r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, subsequent strophes indicated by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 85, f. 171r (162r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, shown by painted initials, with a single decorative red tendril for the beginning letter of III.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Note: this work should not be confused with the two-voiced conductus with the like incipit: *Sonet vox ecclesie laudes* (P48 / -),[1] transmitted in two sources in Cividale del Friuli (*I-CFm Cod. LVI* and *I-CFm Cod. LVIII).*

***Notes on the Text*: 1:** the "voice of the church" in this poem is its clergy, as suggested by lines 15-18. **3:** the "dispenser of glory" is Christ; cf. the parallel expression "enemy of avarice" in line 21, which presumably also refers to Jesus. **4:** Jesus's birth by the Virgin Mary was an unnatural, irrational phenomenon. The conceit is

[1]This is the number given to *Sonet vox ecclesie laudes* according to Anderson's handwritten revisions to his catalog and in his published edition of the piece (*NDRC,* 10:xxx, 96, 108). He had reckoned it as P46 in the published version of his catalog.

rife throughout the conductus repertory; see, for example, the opening lines of *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), and for a selection of some additional nods to this commonplace, consult the textual notes to the conductus *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), line 5. **5-6:** for the source of these lines, see Isaiah, 1:3.[2] The mention of the ox and ass, along with the owner's (or lord's) manger, implies that the conductus text was written in celebration of Christmas or adjacent festivities. Although the ox and ass appear countless times in representations of the Nativity from as far back as the fourth century, their presence has no support in any canonical biblical accounts of the event. Based on interpretations of the cited passage of Isaiah, the symbolic and representative associations of the ox and ass are manifold, but most typically they appear as respective figures for Jews and Gentiles – and by extension the Old and New Law.[3] **8-9:** continuing the metaphors of livestock and proprietor from lines 5-6, this passage is a clear reference to John, 10:14,[4] as well as the related expression of John, 10:11. **10-11:** probably a reference to Mary's retention of her virginity with the conception of Jesus. Also likely is the idea of the incorruptibility of the human spirit that seeks refuge in Christ, as in Romans, 2:7; 1;[5] and the related passages in 2 Timothy, 1:10;[6] Wisdom, 6:20; 1 Corinthians, 9:25; and 15:52-53; Ephesians, 6:24; and 1 Peter, 1:23. **17-18:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xxxiii) reasonably interprets this passage as a reference to the Feast of Fools, where lower members of the choir would assume the duties of the higher officials, represented by the staff of office, from after Christmas through New Year's Day. For further references to the Feast of Fools, see the notes for the conductus *Ysyas cecinit* (C4/188), lines 25 and 27. 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 the conductus *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227), at *F*-6,15. The reference to the two parts of the choir ("pars utraque chori") in line 18 suggests the characteristic structural layout of the stalls of a church choir into north and south sections on either side of the central aisle – that is, on the corresponding left and right positions when one is facing the main altar. These are designated respectively as *cantoris* ("belonging to the cantor") and *decani* ("belonging to the dean"). The terms refer to the common seating plan of these cathedral chapter officials within the choir (see Wright, *Music and Ceremony,* 98-100).[7] **19-21:** rather a difficult passage to construe; Anderson, (*NDRC,* 4:xxxiii) offers a conjecture that suggests its linkage to the flight into Egypt undertaken by the Holy Family (Matthew, 2:13-23), the allegorical connection of this event with the flight of the Israelites from the "prison" of Egypt in Exodus 6:6 and 6:7, and the passage's conceivable liturgical associations with the possible Feast of Fools reference in lines 17-18. In the latter case, Anderson considers that the regular bishop, being temporarily replaced by another authority, would effectively be "imprisoned." There may additionally be nods towards the stories of the imprisonments of the prophet Jeremiah by King Zedekiah in Jeremiah, 37 and

---

[2]Isaiah, 1:3: "Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus praesepe domini sui; Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit" ("The ox knew its owner, and the ass its lord's manger; but Israel did not know me; and my people did not understand.").

[3]See, for example, Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah,* book 1, drawn here from *PL,* 24: col. 27B-C: "Bos iuxta anagogen refertur ad Israel; qui Legis portauit iugum, et mundum animal est. Asinus, peccatorum onere praegrauatus, gentium populus accipitur, cui Dominus loquebatur: "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis; et ego reficiam uos.' (Matthew, 12 [*recte* 11]:28)" ("The ox, according to the anagogical [prophetic, eschatalogical] sense, refers to Israel, which bore the yoke of the [Old] Law, and is a clean animal. The ass, weighed down by the burden of sins, is taken to be the Gentile people, to whom the Lord said: 'Come to me, all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you [Matthew 11:28].' ").

[4]John, 10:14: "Ego sum pastor bonus: et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meae" ("I am the good shepherd; I know mine, and mine know me").

[5]Romans, 2:7: "Iis quidem qui secundum patientiam boni operis, gloriam, et honorem, et incorruptionem quaerunt, vitam aeternam" ("To them indeed, who according to patience in good work, seek glory and honour and incorruption, eternal life.").

[6]2 Timothy, 1:10: "Manifestata est autem nunc per illuminationem Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui destruxit quidem mortem, illuminavit autem vitam, et incorruptionem per Evangelium" ("But is now made manifest by the illumination of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has destroyed death, and has brought to light life and incorruption by the gospel.").

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

38, and the prophet Daniel in Daniel, 6, although there is no particular connection in this set of correspondences to the expression "enemy of avarice" that occurs in line 21. Another possible referent could be John the Baptist, especially in terms of his preaching against greed in Luke, 3:10-14, and his own imprisonment by the tertrarch Herod Antipas (Matthew, 14:1-12; Mark, 6:17-29; Luke, 3:19-20; John, 3:24). However, the expression "hostis avaritie" seems to recall the expression "largitoris glorie" of line 3, which could indicate a possible connection between the two items, and thus link the "hostis" phrase more closely to Christ. On Jesus speaking against greed, see, e.g., Luke, 12:15.[8] Conceivably, then, the expressions in these lines might suggest that, should the company of clergy (the flock) not recognize Christ (their shepherd and the "enemy of greed") as their divine redeemer, he would be compelled figuratively to suffer death, as would any ordinary individual "imprisoned" within mortal flesh.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Repetition:** This piece shows relatively frequent melodic correspondences between phrases, often in pairs and involving both voices, particularly in the caudae (where, interestingly, the short penultimate melisma on "vhe" of line 19,1 reappears somewhat later as the second phrase of the closing cauda at line 28 – beginning at L12 of the measured passage), but also on occasion in a few *cum littera* segments (note the analogous situation where the T of 6 – "suum possessorem" – recurs as line 11 – "nato salvatore"). **Line 3,2:** D: F: 2 higher for the first syllable of "glorie," correction is based on W1, which shows: si,siP=*a,*P*a.* **Strophe I, closing cauda (at line 7):** D: W1: in the penultimate ligature of the melisma's fifth phrase at L20,2-L21,1, the 1 of 2liP=*d,* 2 higher than F; this makes better consonance with the T, but as the note passes by quickly, I have decided not to change the *F* reading. TD: W1: the final phrase in both the T and D parts L30-L37 shows different ligations from *F* and an absence of plicas, but no likely change in rhythm: T: W1: si,2li,si,3li,2si; D: W1: si,2li,3li,2li,2si. **Line 11,2:** T: W1: generally 2 lower except for the cadence: si,2li(with 1 el),si=*e,fe,d;* D: W1: pitched slightly differently: 2li, 4li,si=*ab,cabc,d.* **Line 12,2:** T: F: for the P figure on the last syllable of "desperatio," a descending P was originally entered, then corrected; the initial reading adopted here is confirmed by *W1.* **Line 13:** T: F: 2si,2li,si+2li,si+siP,si=*d,c,ba,g,g+gf,g+Pg,e;* modified with reference to *W1,* which offers a slightly more consonant reading: 2si,2li,2si,2li,si=*d,c,ag,f,g,gf,e.* **Strophe II, closing cauda (at line 14):** T: F: in the third phrase at L8 the 1 of 3li is written as *g;* the more preferable reading of *f* used here is from *W1.* **Line 17,3:** for the last two sylls of "baculo": T: W1: 2 lower; D: W1: 2 higher. **Cauda at 19,1:** TD: FW1: with slight variants, this short melisma on "vhe" is repeated later as the second phrase of the cauda that closes Strophe III (at line 21, q.v.); *W1* shows different ligations and variation of a few pitches, see the alternative reading at the end of the transcription; D: F: the final 3li figure=*abd;* the more consonant *bcd* is supplied from *W1.* **Line 21,1:** T: W1: *a,*P*a,c* for "hostis." **Final cauda (closing Strophe 3 at line 21,2):** TD: W1: the second phrase (L4-L11) in the T is written in mode 1 rather than 5, which compels a slightly irregular interpretation of the D ligatures; this varied reading is given at the end of the transcription. TD: FW1: the third phrase (L12-L19) recalls the earlier melisma on "vhe" at line 19,1; for this same second phrase, *W1* is different in some minor details, which introduce a dissonance not seen in *F;* this portion is also provided at the end of the transcription, where it may be compared both with the F reading at this point and the corresponding cauda passage at line 19, 1.

[8]Luke, 12:15: "Dixitque ad illos: 'Videte et cavete ab omni avaritia; quia non in abundantia cuiusquam vita eius est ex his quae possidet.' " ("And he said to them: 'Take heed and beware of all avarice; for one's life does not consist in the abundance of things which he possesses.' ").

HAC IN DIE GEDEONIS
Conductus (H26/149)

F, f. 311r (7,42)

I

D [Hac in di - e ge - de - - o - nis

T Hac in di - e ge - de - - o - nis

b ros mun - di no - vit b'

a ros mun - di no - vit a'

a - di -

a - di -

- tus.

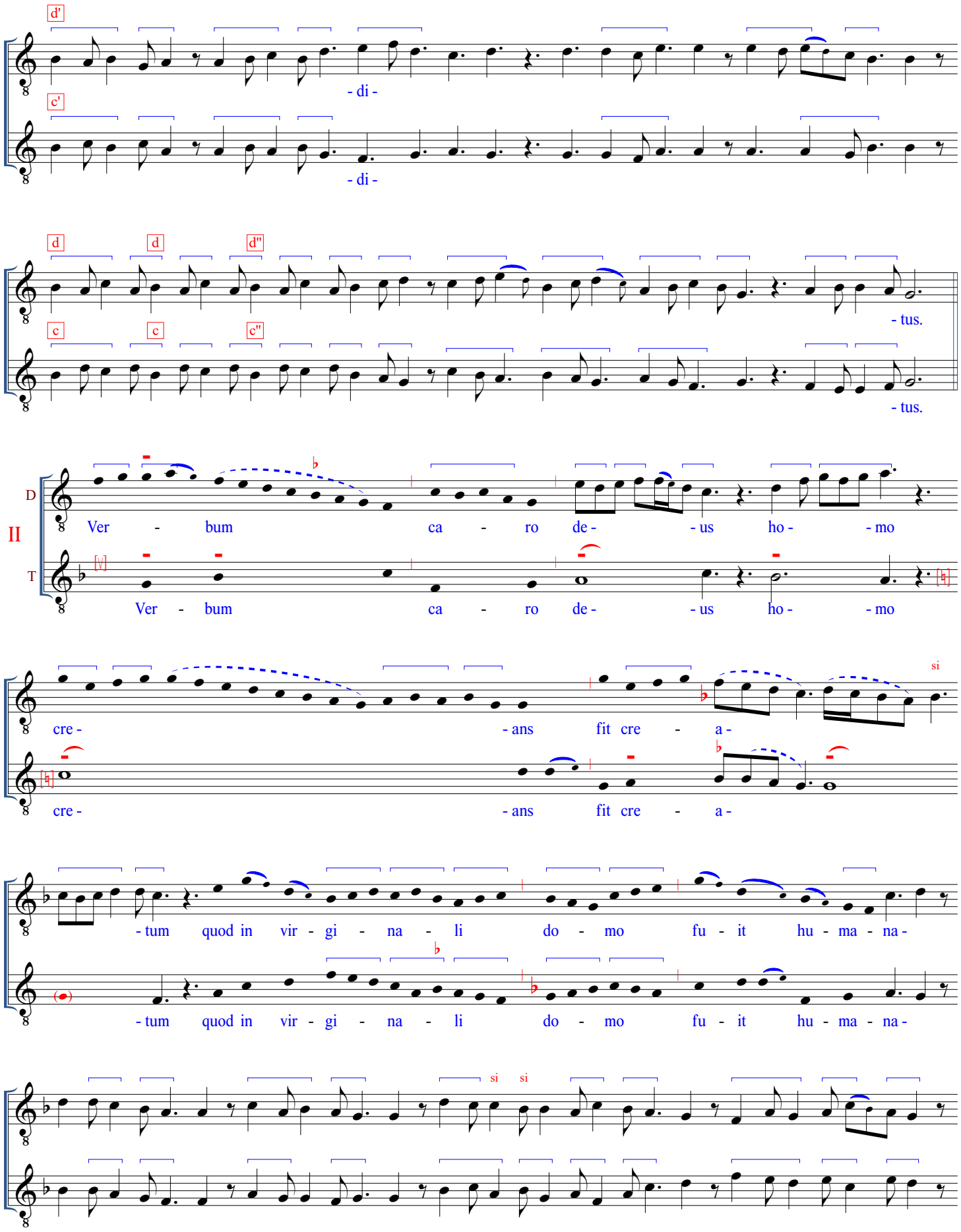
- tus.
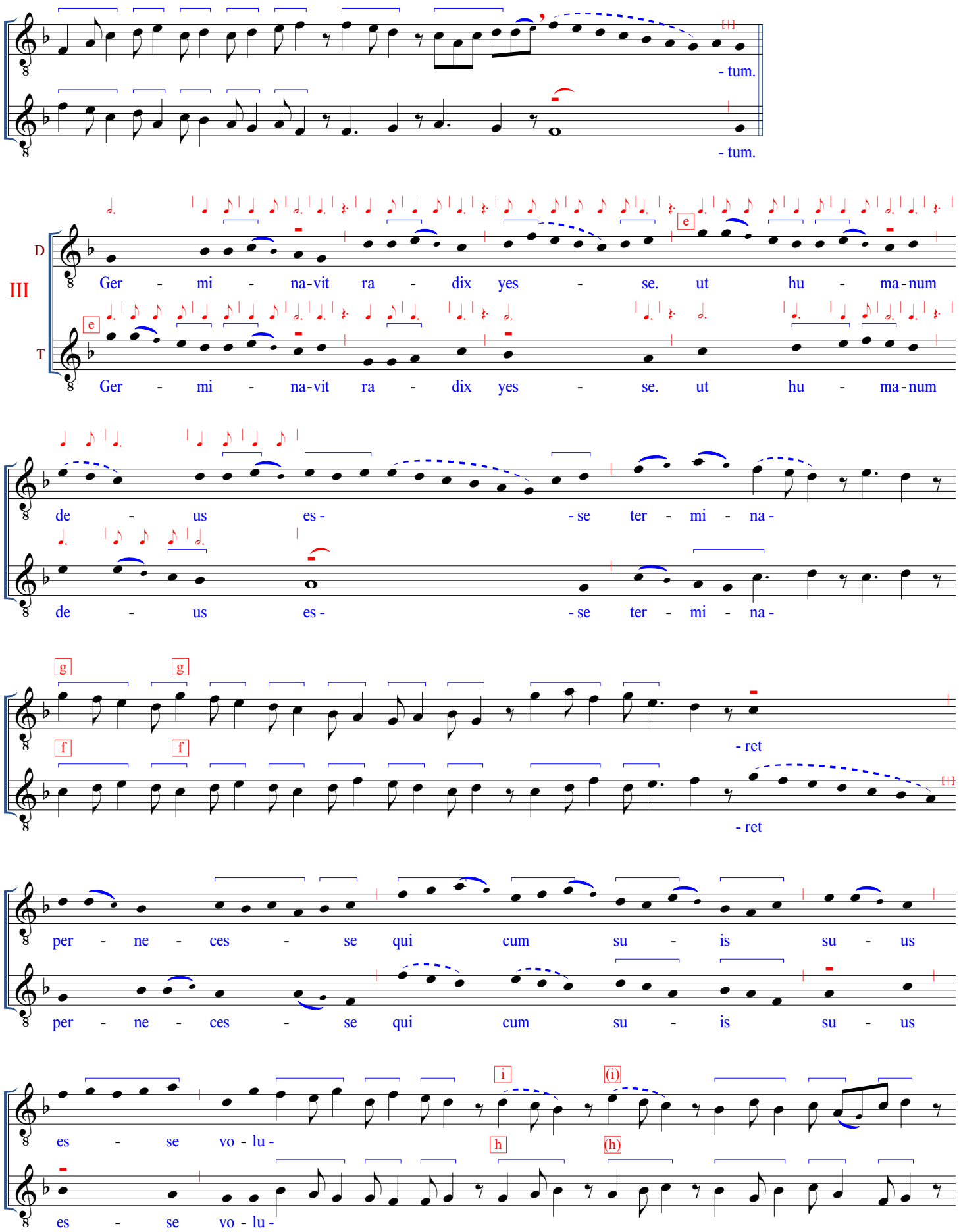
per quem prin - ceps ba - bi - lo -

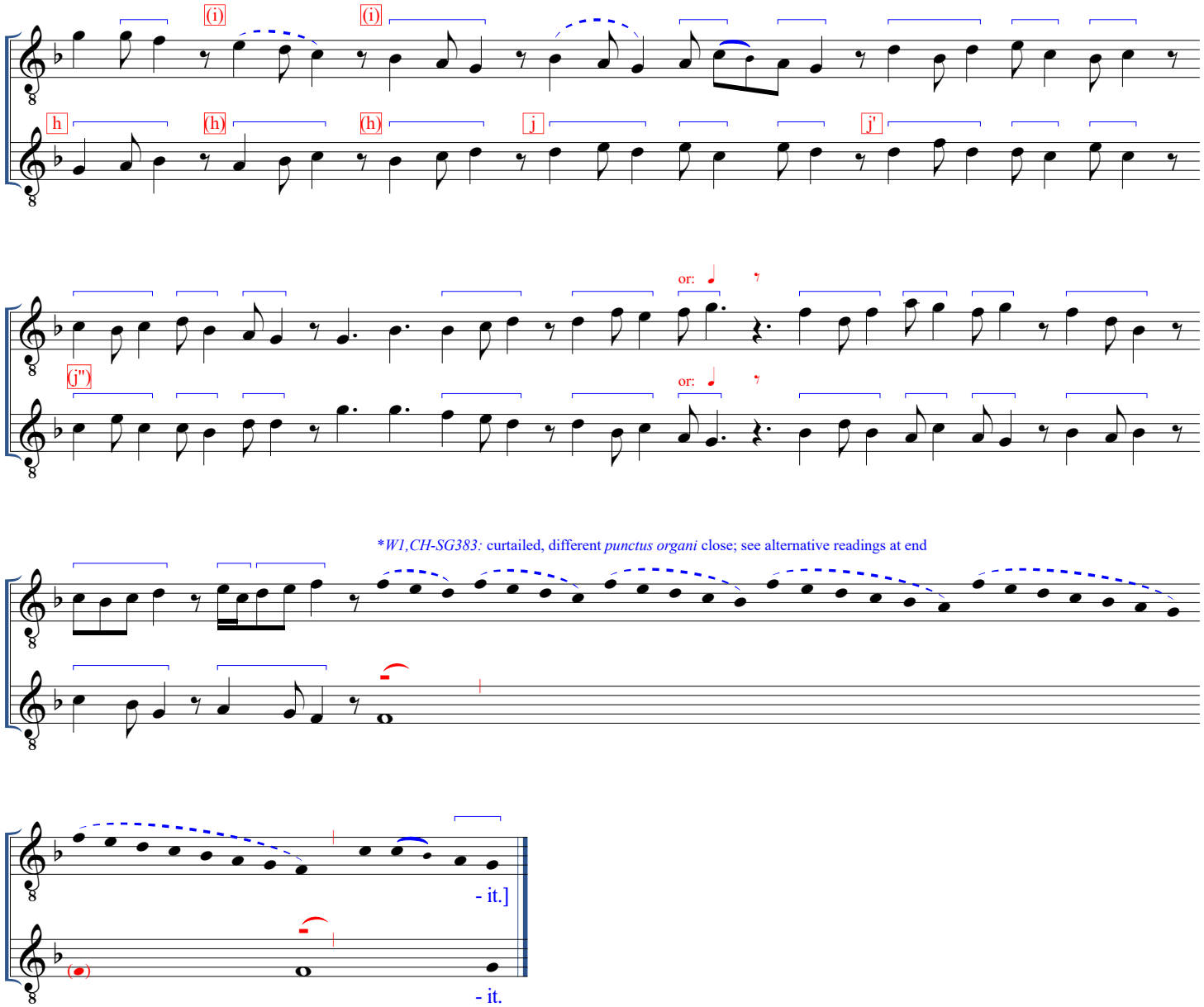
per quem prin - ceps ba - bi - lo -

- nis fit ba - bi - lo - ni sub - d

- nis fit ba - bi - lo - ni sub - c


d'
- di -
c'
- di -
d
d
d''
- tus.
c
c
c''
- tus.
II
D
T
Ver - bum ca - ro de - - us ho - - mo
Ver - bum ca - ro de - - us ho - - mo
si
cre - - ans fit cre - a -
cre - - ans fit cre - a -
- tum quod in vir - gi - na - li do - mo fu - it hu - ma - na -
- tum quod in vir - gi - na - li do - mo fu - it hu - ma - na -
si si


- tum.
- tum.
III
D
T
e
Ger - mi - na-vit ra - dix yes - se. ut hu - ma-num
Ger - mi - na-vit ra - dix yes - se. ut hu - ma-num
de - us es- - se ter - mi - na-
de - us es- - se ter - mi - na-
g
g
f
f
- ret
- ret
per - ne - ces - se qui cum su - is su - us
per - ne - ces - se qui cum su - is su - us
i
(i)
h
(h)
es - se vo - lu-
es - se vo - lu-

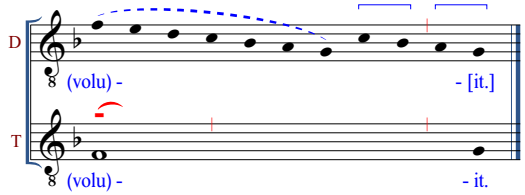


**W1,CH-SG383:* curtailed, different *punctus organi* close; see alternative readings at end

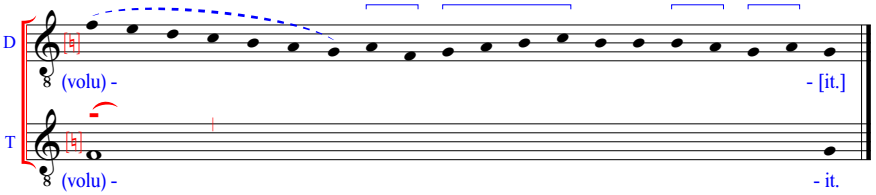
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Final *punctus organi* (at line 13):

a. *W1,* f. 156v (147v), I



b. *CH-SGs 383,* p. 164, IV



HAC IN DIE GEDEONIS

Conductus (H26/149)

F, f. 311r (7,42)

I Hac in die Gedeonis
ros mundi novit aditus,
per quem princeps Babilonis
fit Babiloni subditus.

On this day, the dew of Gideon
gained access to the world.
Because of this, the prince of Babylon
becomes subject to Babylon.

II Verbum caro, deus homo,
creans fit creatum,
quod in virginali domo
fuit humanatum.

Word becomes flesh, God becomes man,
the creator becomes a creature
that was made mortal
in a virginal dwelling.

III Germinavit radix Yesse;
ut humanum deus esse
terminaret pernecesse,
qui cum suis suus esse
voluit.

The root of Jesse sprouted forth.
Since God determined it was
truly indispensable to be human,
he wished to be one of his
own along with his own.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 42, f. 311r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capitals.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 71, f. 155v (146v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with each strophe beginning with painted initials, and with Strophe I divided with an additional painted initial opening line 3, as in *CH-SGs 383* and, presumably *F-T 1471* (see below). The close of the final cauda intrudes into the right margin of the last system to contain the piece. This and the following work in this MS, the conductus *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (H27/201), are in the same order in *Ma* and are separated by only a single piece in *F: Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192).

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 7, f. 78r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with gaps left before each stanza for opening initials that were never executed. This work is followed by the same piece in *W1* (q.v.).

CH-SGs 383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383), collection 2, no. 2 (no. 6),[1] p. 162: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with each strophe beginning with a painted red initial (that of II is noticeably smaller than the others, consistent in size with the letters surrounding it, but with an upwardly extended initial stroke), and with an additional painted initial opening line 3 (this one, unusually, blue-green), as with *W1* and, arguably, *F-T 1471,* below. This and the next piece to follow in this source, the conductus *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225), are in the same order in *F-T 1471* (see below). As is typical of this source, the ligation of ornate passages, particularly in the caudae, does not appear to encode rhythmic information as precisely as the manuscripts more closely associated with the Notre Dame repertory.[2]

[1]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-SG 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.

[2]Images of the source available here.

Text only:

F-T 1471 (Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471; [olim] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1471), no. 9, f. Dr (=114r – second back flyleaf, recto); text only of Strophes I-III, complete; the MS is ruled to accommodate music a2, with empty space allotted for initials in each stanza and ostensibly for line 3; staves were never entered.[3] This work is followed by the same piece in *CH-SGs 383* (q.v.). This source was unknown to Anderson and is thus not listed in his catalog or edition; its variants from *F* are collated below.

The opening line of *Hac in die Gedeonis,* slightly modified in order to supply a rhyme for the following verse, opens the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150), whose text is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus. For sources and further correspondences, see just below.

Music only:

In addition to the textual parallelism noted just above, the music of both D and T for the entire opening line of *Hac in die Gedeonis* is equivalent to the *cum littera* setting of the poetic line that follows the initial cauda of *Hac in die rege nato.* The latter piece appears in these 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.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** The dew that collected on Gideon's fleece, as recounted in Judges 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ and God's power; the fleece itself is a figure of the Virgin Mary. For several instances among many within the Notre Dame repertory of this frequently encountered allegory, see the remarks on the text for the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), line 3, and the references it offers. As a result, I consider the opening couplet to refer principally to Jesus's incarnation, rather than invoking any festival or similar remembrance devoted to Gideon himself, who enjoys no formal celebration within the western church. Accordingly, I find unsatisfactory other translations that render the Latin phrases as "day of Gideon" and "dew of the world."[4] It should also be noted for clarity that "aditus" (2,4) is fourth declension and thus either nominative or genitive singular, or nominative or accusative plural. The second line therefore literally reads: "the dew learned/recognized/came to know the entrances/passages/avenues of the world." Thus, the reading offered here is that Christ ("the dew") entered into the world with his incarnation as a human being. The final lines, 10-13, also seem to accord with this interpretation. **3-4:** The prince of Babylon is the devil (cf. the same expression in the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), line 27, a modern attribution to Philip the Chancellor). Babylon, though typically redolent of worldly sin, and often used as a metaphor for Rome in New Testament scriptures and especially in the book of Revelation (Apocalypse), serves here as a figure for the realm of the devil and the abode of the damned souls who inhabit it after their death; for this connotation, see

[3]For 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.

[4]As in Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:xxxi, or in the liner notes by Christopher Page to the compact audio disc recording *Jerusalem: Vision of Peace,* performed under Page's direction by the ensemble Gothic Voices (London: Hyperion, 1998, CDA67039), p. 10; the work appears on track 6 of the CD.

Revelation, 18:2.[5] Thus, with Christ's birth, the devil (the prince of Babylon) is to be defeated through Christ's eventual death and resurrection and thus becomes subject to, and imprisoned in, the very domain he had earlier ruled. **5:** on Christ as the Word, see John, 1:1;[6] and John, 1:14.[7] **6:** cf. the similar expression in the conductus *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 24-25: "Mira genitura, / fit creans creatura" ("With a wondrous birth, the creator becomes a creature"). In contrast to other translations, I read 6,3 ("creatum") as neuter, meaning literally "the thing that was created," and I construe "quod" of line 7,1 as a relative neuter pronoun with "creatum" as its antecedent, rather than as a conjunction meaning "because." **7-8:** God's human incarnation in Jesus occurred with the acceptance of his Word (Christ) by the Virgin Mary; see Luke, 1:38.[8] **9:** the root, tree, or stem of Jesse signifies Jesus's ancestral lineage from Jesse through King David; for these images, see Isaiah, 11:1;[9] cf. also the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16).[10] **10-13:** i.e., with the incarnation, God, in his determination to save mankind, became human and dwelt among humans, as in John, 1:14, quoted above in the remarks for line 5, and in John, 3:16.[11] Also, there may be some reflection of the sentiments of these poetic lines in John, 17:24, where Jesus speaks: " Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volo ut ubi sum ego, et illi sint mecum ..." ("Father, I wish that where I am, they also whom you have given me may be with me ... .").

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Because *F-T 1471* was unknown to Anderson, its variants are collated here. **1,1:** F-T 1471: [H]ac, capital initial never executed. **3,1:** F-T 1471: [P]er; space is apparently left for an initial, as in *W1* and *CH-SGs 383.* **3,4:** F-T 1471: ba[bilo]nis, syllables lost to apparent worm damage. **4,1:** F-T 1471: plainly "sic" for "fit," particularly evident when compared to the obvious "fit" of line 6,2. **5,1:** F-T 1471: [V]erbum, initial never entered and part of the final letter lost through worm damage. **8,2:** F-T 1471: humana[tum], last syllable either not entered or worn away; the latter seems more probable, as the expected period that would conclude this stanza appears still to be visible . **9,1:** F-T 1471: [G]erminavit, initial never entered. **9,3:** F-T 1471: iesse for "yesse. **11,2:** F-T 1471: written so as to imply two words "per necesse," in every source but *CH-SGs 383* and perhaps *W1;* the use of the single-word form here is preferred in terms of the additional intensity it brings to the statement. **13,1:** F-T 1471: this clearly appears as "noluit," which negates the whole sentence; this would certainly seem to be an error. **MUSIC: General remarks:** The setting is especially florid in the D, with numerous organal passages and frequent figures of three or more notes over syllables in *cum littera* sections. The prevalence of sequential patterns (several of them marked in the score) is

---

[5]Revelation, 18:2: " Et exclamavit in fortitudine, dicens: 'Cecidit, cecidit Babylon magna: et facta est habitatio daemoniorum, et custodia omnis spiritus immundi, et custodia omnis volucris immundae, et odibilis' " ("And he [the angel] cried out with a strong voice, saying: 'Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every unclean spirit, and the hold of every unclean and hateful bird.' ").

[6]John, 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.").

[7]John, 1:14: "Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis ..." ("And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us ... .").

[8]Luke, 1:38: "Dixit autem Maria: 'Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.'" ("And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word.'").

[9]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.").
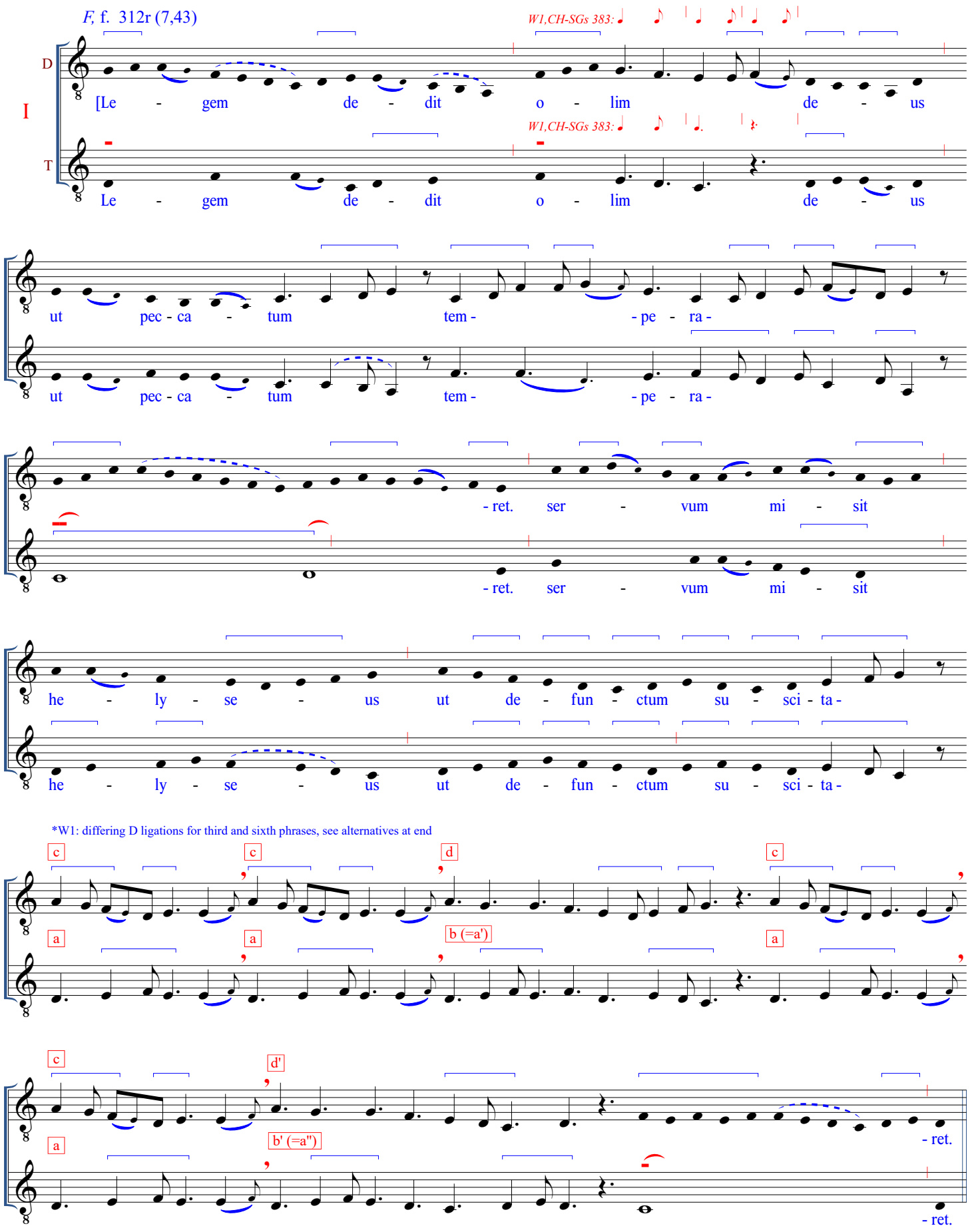
[10]Responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16), opening of verse text: "Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The shoot [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son").
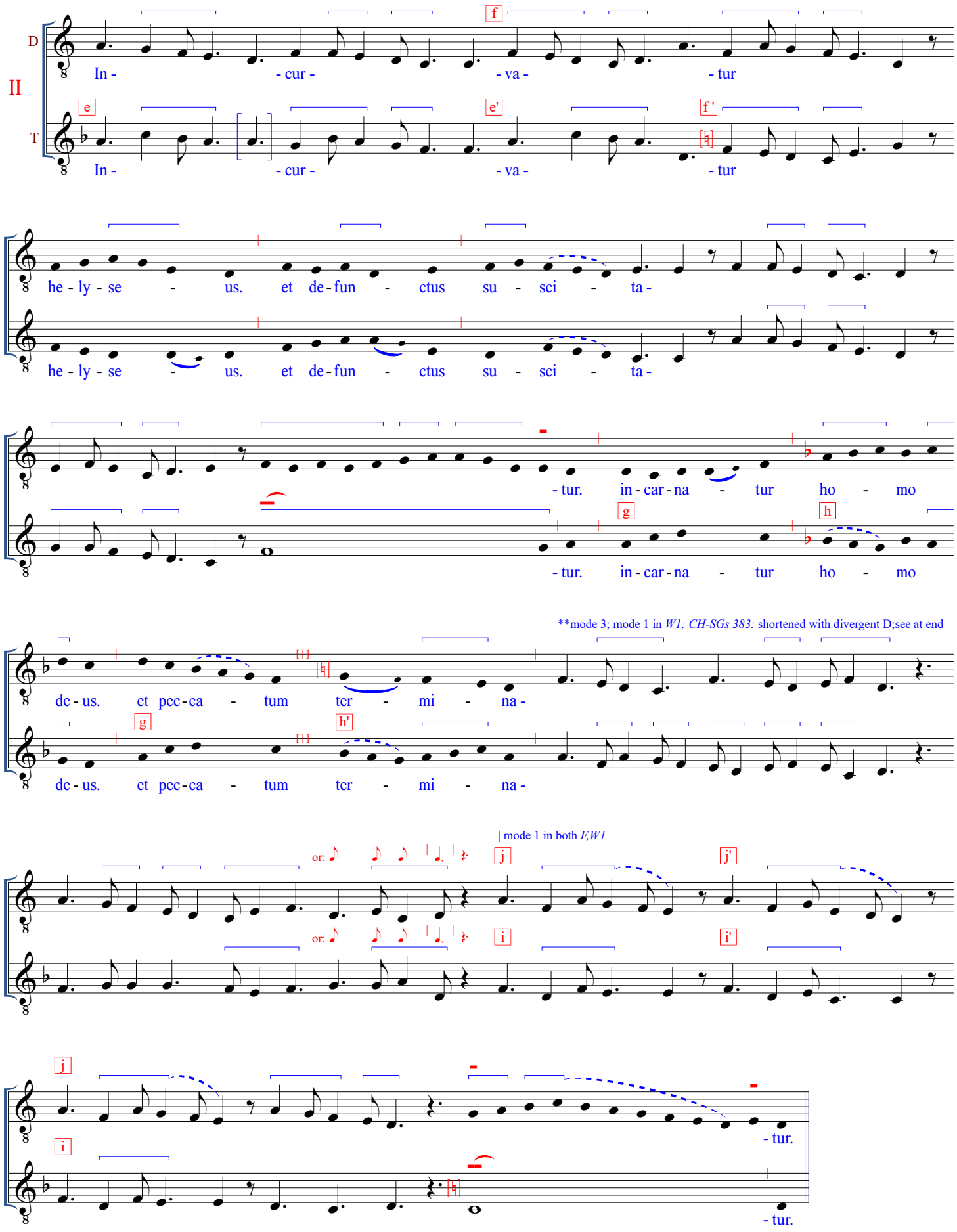
[11]John, 3:16: "Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret: ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam" ("For God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son; that whosoever believes in him, may not perish, but may have life everlasting.").
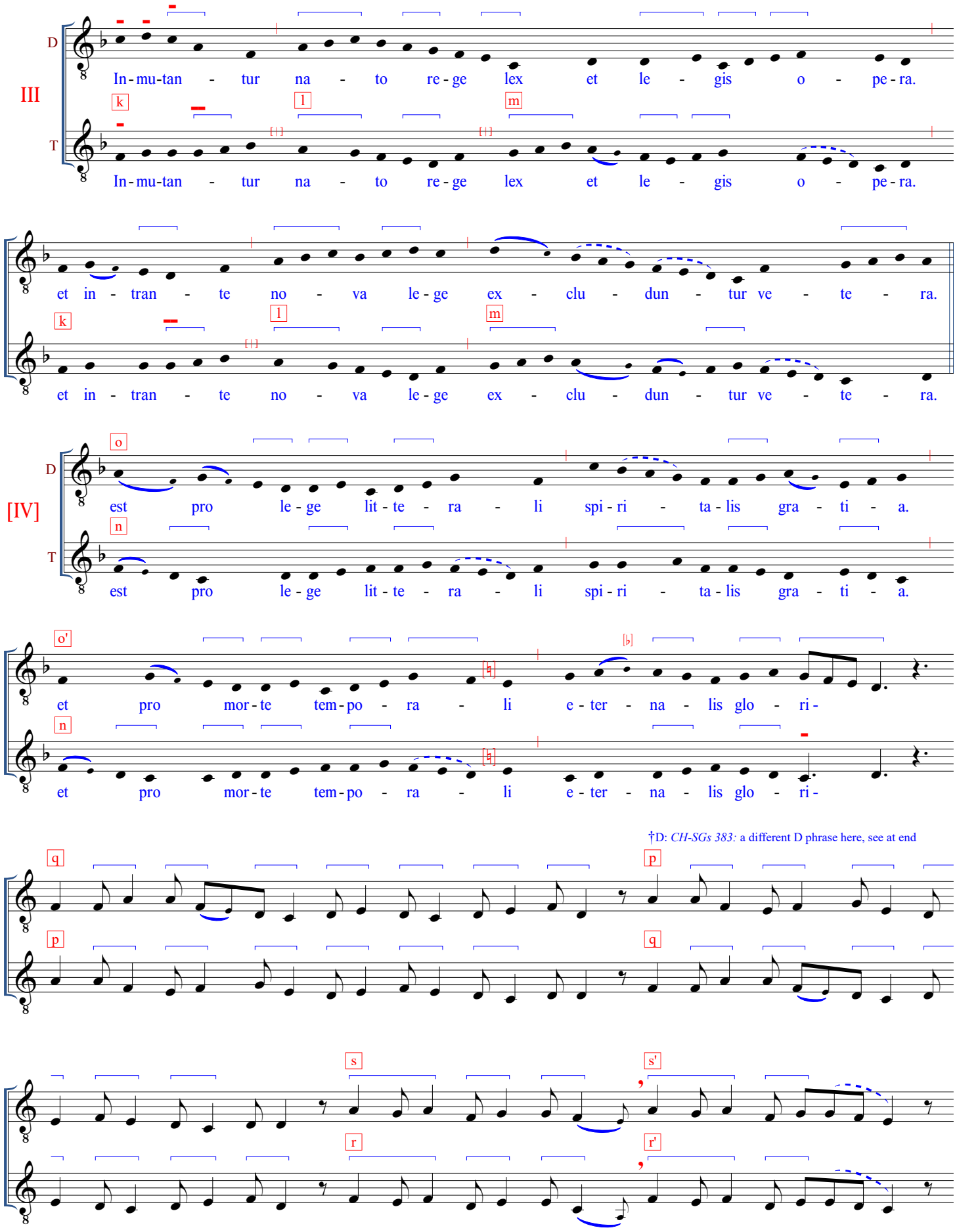
common in both *cum* and *sine littera* portions and in both parts. Series of 3li/3C figures also obtains in the T more than might be expected, whereas the D often offers 4C gestures (see, e.g., the music over line 2,1 and the second syllable of 2,3); this last feature is expanded to exceptional proportions in the ever-expanding *conjunctura* chain that makes up the first part of the final *punctus organi* in both *F* and *Ma* (the other MSS differ at this point, see below). **Line 1,1-3:** D: CH-SGs 383: the setting of the first four syllables of the poem is simplified: si,2siP,2li=*d,e*P,*b*P,*cd.* **1,3:** D: F,Ma: 3C,2li,si=*cba,bc,d;* the more obviously consonant reading of *W1* for these two syllables (4li,si=*babc,d*) is adopted here; for the *CH-SGs 383* reading, see the remarks for line 1,1-3, above. **3,2-4:** T: the five-fold consecutive chain of sequential descending 3C/3li figures in alternation is noteworthy. **Cauda on line 4,3 (closing Strophe I):** there is a strikingly emphatic triple statement of the opening motive in both the T and D in the sixth phrase of this cauda from L25-L32 (marked above the staves). **Lines 9-10 (beginning Strophe III):** Notice how the exact T phrase of line 9,1 moves to the D for line 10,1-2. **Final *punctus organi* (at line 13):** D: W1,CH-SGs 383: these two sources offer a different version of the closing flourish, both of which omit the expanding series of falling *conjunctura* figures given in *F* and *Ma;* see the alternative versions given at the end of the score.

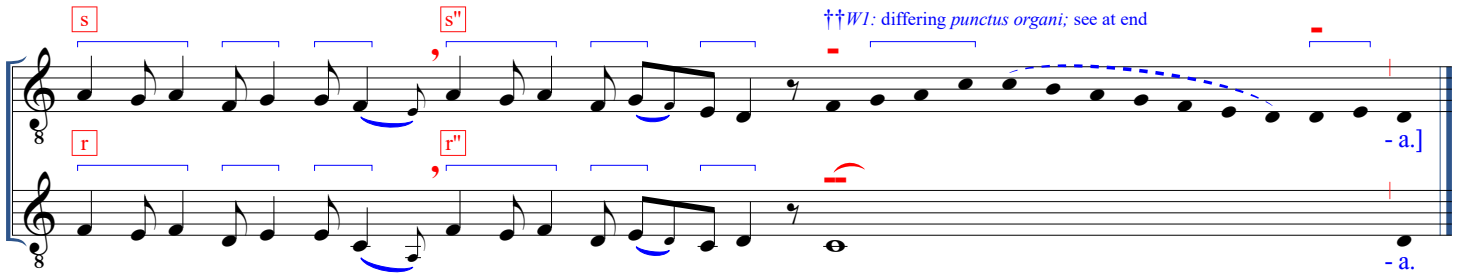
LEGEM DEDIT OLIM DEUS

Conductus (I21/192)




II
D
T
f
e
e'
f'
In - cur - va - tur
In - cur - va - tur
he - ly - se - us. et de - fun - ctus su - sci - ta -
he - ly - se - us. et de - fun - ctus su - sci - ta -
- tur. in - car - na - tur ho - mo
g
h
- tur. in - car - na - tur ho - mo
**mode 3; mode 1 in *W1; CH-SGs 383:* shortened with divergent D;see at end
de - us. et pec - ca - tum ter - mi - na -
g
h'
de - us. et pec - ca - tum ter - mi - na -
| mode 1 in both *F,W1*
or:
j
j'
or:
i
i'
j
- tur.
i
- tur.

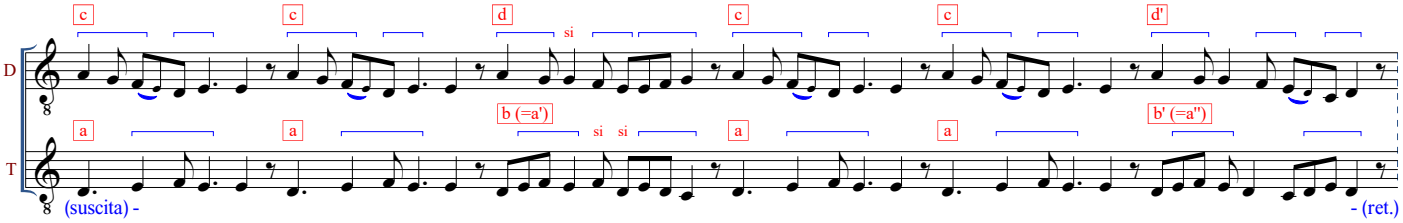

III
D
In - mu - tan - tur na - to re - ge lex et le - gis o - pe - ra.
T
In - mu - tan - tur na - to re - ge lex et le - gis o - pe - ra.
et in - tran - te no - va le - ge ex - clu - dun - tur ve - te - ra.
et in - tran - te no - va le - ge ex - clu - dun - tur ve - te - ra.
[IV]
D
est pro le - ge lit - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a.
T
est pro le - ge lit - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a.
et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri -
et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri -
†D: *CH-SGs 383:* a different D phrase here, see at end



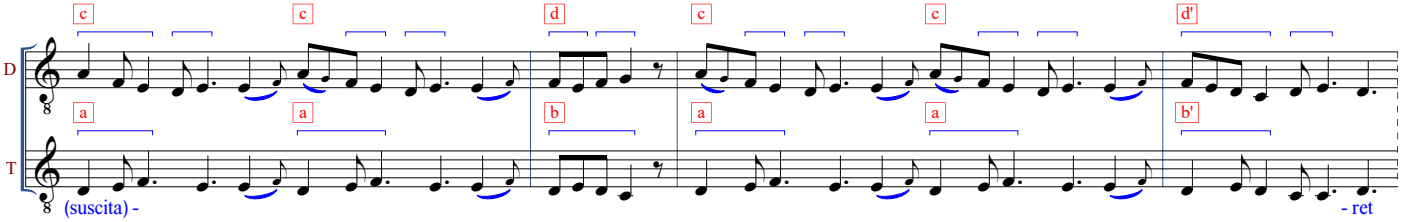
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Cauda closing Strophe I (at line 4,3)

a. *W1,* f. 162v (153v), III; differing D ligations in the third and sixth phrases as given below, prompting faster rhythms in the T

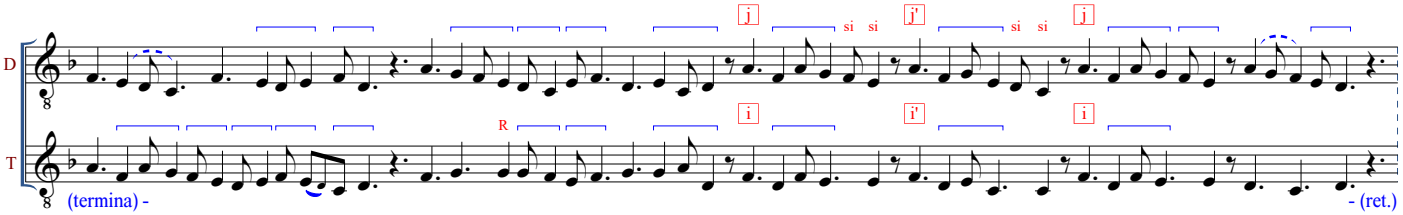


b. *CH-SGs 383,* p. 136, II; differing ligation throughout (assuming rhythm is intended), shortened third and sixth phrases, no *punctus organi,* barlines in MS

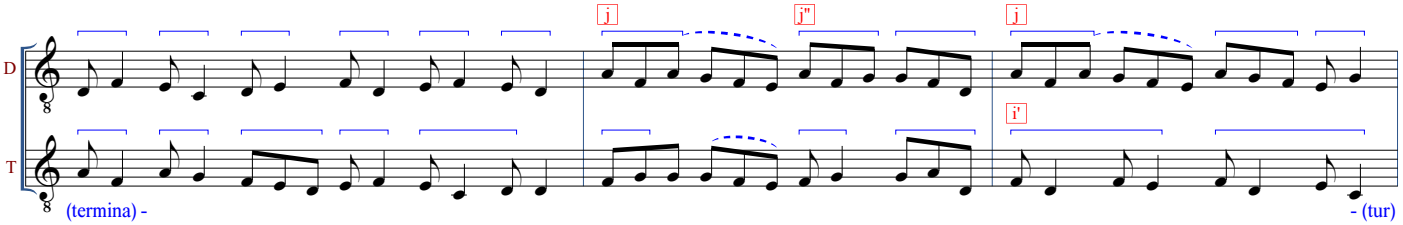


**Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 8,3):
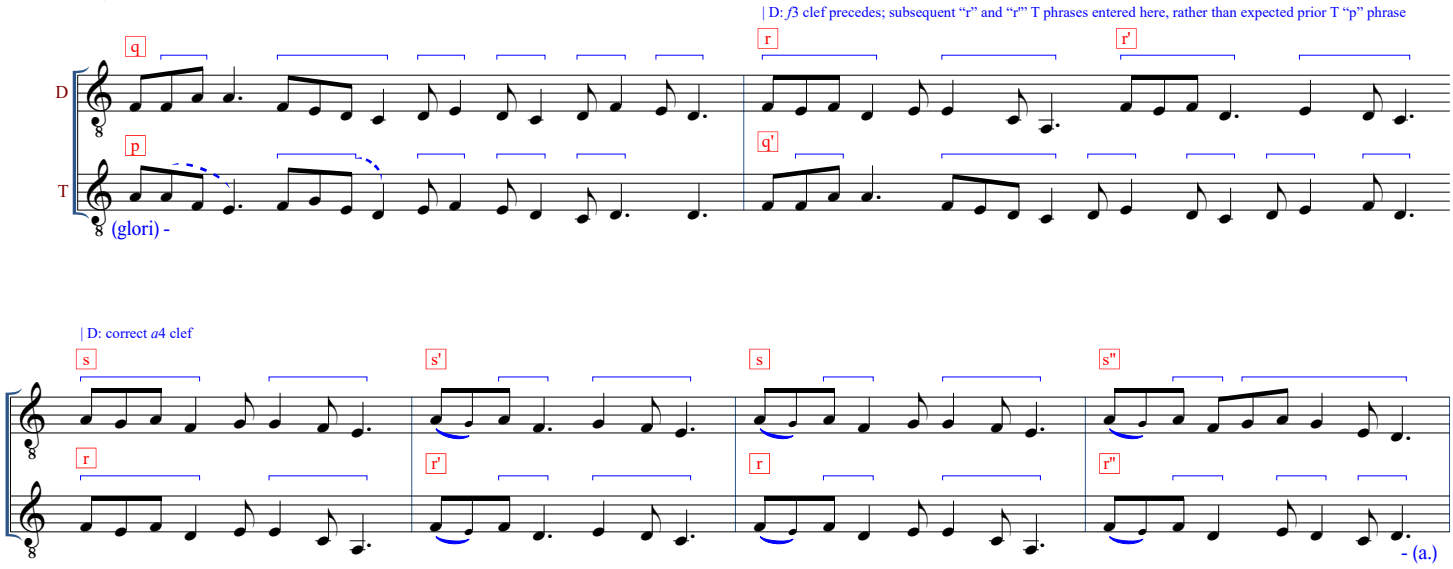
a. *W1,* f. 162v (153v), VI; mode 1 throughout (Tt: "terminatur" in *F,Ch-SGs 383*)



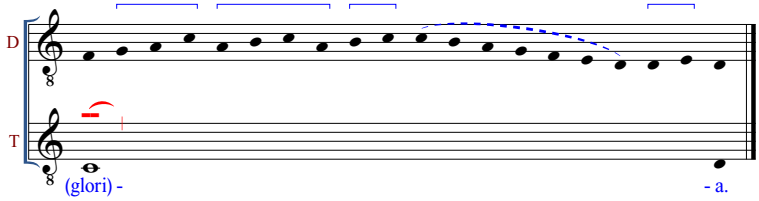
b. *CH-SGs 383,* p. 137, I; shortened, with a more divergent D set over different phrases in the T; mode 2? (assuming a rhythm was intended), barlines in MS



†Final cauda (at line 16,2): *CH-SGs 383,* p. 138, II: differing ligation (assuming a rhythm was intended), different D for second phrase (error?), barlines in MS



††Final *punctus organi* closing Strophe III (at line 16,2): *W1,* f. 163r (154r), VI; a more ornate flourish



LEGEM DEDIT OLIM DEUS

Conductus (I21/192)

F, f. 312r (7,43)

I	Legem dedit olim deus		God enacted a law long ago
	ut peccatum temperaret.		in order to temper sin.
	Servum misit Helyseus		Elisha sent his servant
	ut defunctum suscitaret.		to raise the dead boy.
II	Incurvatur Helyseus.	5	Elisha bends over him,
	et defunctus suscitatur.		and the dead boy is restored;
	Incarnatur homo deus.		God is embodied as man
	et peccatum terminatur.		and sin is cancelled.
III	Inmutantur nato rege		The law and the workings of the law
	lex et legis opera,	10	are transformed through the birth of a king,
	et, intrante nova lege,		and, with the entrance of the new law,
	excluduntur vetera.		ancient matters are shut out.
[IV]	Est, pro lege litterali,		In place of the written law
	spiritalis gratia,		is spiritual grace,
	et, pro morte temporali,	15	and, for earthly death,
	eternalis gloria.		eternal glory.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 43, f.312r: a2; Strophes I-[IV] complete; as in all other applicable sources of this piece, no indication to signal the beginning of Strophe [IV]; stanzas II-III are indicated by conventional capitals. This and the succeeding work in *F, Lux illuxit gratiosa* (H27/201), appear in the same order in the strikingly similar looking MS *E-Mn 6528.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 77, f. 162v (153v): a2; Strophes I-[IV] complete; Strophes I and II have painted initials; there is additional tracery for the first letter of I, as well as some decorative strokes for II, not typical for many of the initials in this portion of the MS, but also present in the very next work, *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225). Strophe III opens mildly with an upper-case letter, but there is nothing special to signal [IV].

E-Mn 6528 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6528),[1] no. 1, back flyleaf, with the remains of the piece beginning on what was originally the recto side of this repurposed folio (which is now numbered f. 124v in the host MS); it is also presently bound upside down: a2; fragmentary, although the leaf itself is essentially complete. The survival of *Legem dedit* in this source is not reported in Anderson's catalog or edition, since these took account only of the original verso side of the folio (now f. 124r). As a result its variants with the version in *F* are reported below. The absence of the source from Anderson's work is due to the fact that the leaf had earlier been attached (with its original recto side down) to the back cover of its host volume, and until recently also had a glued-down flap of parchment folded over its surface that obscured about one third of the left side of the leaf's recto. The flap has now been detached, revealing the now completely visible contents of the leaf's original recto side. Its first two systems contain portions of *Legem dedit* from the second syllable of

[1]Online images of the source are available here. For more on the conductus fragment preserved in *E-Mn 6528,* see the study by Gregorio Bevilacqua, David Catalunya, and Nuria Torres, "The Production of Polyphonic Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris: New Evidence of Standardised Procedures," *Early Music History,* 37 (2018): 91-139 (the online versions of this article have a correction to the first author's email address).

line 13,4 ("[Est pro lege lit]terali") through the end of the piece. It is followed by a transmission of the beginning of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (H27/201), also incompletely reported by Anderson, that continues onto the original verso page (now f. 124r). These same two pieces occur in *F* in the same order, and both sources are strikingly similar in layout and appearance.

CH-SGs 383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383): collection 1, no. 1 (no. 1),[2] p. 135; a2; Strophes I-[IV], complete, with red painted initials to signify I-III, and an additional one for the beginning of line 7; no capital letter or indication of even a line or phrase break to signal [IV]. As is typical of this source, the ligation of the more ornate passages, including the caudae, does not appear to encode rhythmic information as precisely as the manuscripts more closely associated with the Notre Dame repertory.

Text only:

The first two words of *Legem dedit* appear in line 22,3-4 (in Strophe II) of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150): "quam nature legem dedit." The text of *Hac in die rege nato* is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus, although the source of the two opening words of this quoted line (if it ever existed) has not yet been identified. *Hac in die rege nato* appears 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*: Versification:** The poetic disposition of this lyric implies a design of four, four-line stanzas, paired so that two different rhythmic schemes are shared by Strophes I-II and III-[IV], respectively;[3] the rhyme scheme throughout each stanza is in *abab* quatrains with repetition of the *a* rhyme sound between Strophes I and II. However, none of the extant sources signals the beginning of Strophe [IV] in any noticeable way, and *CH-SGs 383* does not even show a phrase break after the end of III. As a result, the stanzaic division and line numbering proposed here for Strophes III and [IV] is contestable and [IV] is given here in brackets throughout. **Content: The Old and the New Law:** Because the matter of Christ's incarnation is perhaps the most favored topic within the Parisian conductus repertory overall, the closely affiliated conflict of the Old versus the New Law is a topic also frequently entertained within the corpus; for an investigation, see my article on the topic, "*Vetus abit littera:* From the Old to the New Law."[4] In an ongoing attempt to gather the relevant works in one place, the following provisional alphabetical list offers those pieces where the opposition of the Old and New Law is especially prominent, whether stated directly or through a veil of exegetical allegory:

---

[2]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.

[3]I, II: 4(8p); III, [IV]: 2(8p+7pp).

[4]Thomas 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).

Beata viscera Marie virginis cuius (K14/42), Strophes IV-VI;
Circa mundi vesperam (J54/63), lines 1-4;
Cortex occidit littere (I6/69), lines 1-2;
De nature fracto iure (I18/80), Strophe III;
Dum medium silentium tenerent (K15/99), Strophes I, VI, refrain;
Excitatur caritas in Yericho (F340/111), Strophes I (allegorical), II, IV;
Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore (H29/127), Strophes III-IV (allegorical);
Iam vetus littera (H24/167), Strophe I;
Legem dedit olim deus (I21/192), *passim;*
Legis in volumine (F13/193), lines 1-6;
Lex honus importabile (I19/197), Strophes I and II-III (allegorical);
Librum clausum et signatum (J51/198), *passim* (allegorical);
Lux illuxit gratiosa (H27/201), line 9;
Nove geniture (I13/224), Strophes IV, V;
Novum sibi texuit (I22/225), *passim* (allegorical);
Ortu regis evanescit (G3/256), line 2 and Strophe III (allegorical);
Purgator criminum (F2/277), lines 7-11 and II (allegorical);
Relegata vetustate (H23/303), *passim;*
Relegentur ab area (C6/304), lines 19-22;
Renovantur veterum (J5/305), Strophes I and II (allegorical);
Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam natus (C5/315), lines 12-13;
Sol oritur in sydere (K13/333), lines 3-4, Strophe III;
Sursum corda elevate (G9/343), lines 29-36;
Veri solis presentia (F6/370), lines 1-3;
Vere vitis germine (H14/372), Strophe II;
Vetus abit littera (B3/379), *passim.*

Textual notes: 1-2; 9-16 (Strophes III-[IV]): The old law of the Mosaic covenant, propounded through the Ten Commandments (see Exodus, 20:1-17), is now replaced by a new covenant represented through the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ.[5] **3-6:** see 4 Kings (2 Kings), 4:1-37. Within this account (at 4:32-37), the Old Testament prophet Elisha brings back to life the dead son of a Shunamite widow who had miraculously conceived him through Elisha's prior intervention (4:8-17). An earlier attempt to resurrect the boy (4:29-31), in which Elisha sent his servant Gehazi to lay his master's staff upon the son in hopes of a miracle cure, had failed, and the child was revived only when Elisha himself bent his own body over the child ("incurvavit se" in the Vulgate – the verb form used in the conductus poem appears to act as a deponent). In a number of exegetical commentaries, Elisha's servant and the ineffective staff he wielded represent the Old Law, whereas Elisha himself is portrayed as a figure of Christ and the mother as a symbol for the Jews;[6] see, for example, the

[5]See, for example, the statement of Romans, 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, passiones 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.").

[6]Anderson's glossing of the Elisha narrative that he provides in *NDRC,* 4:xx, note 4, supposedly drawn from the *Quaestiones* of Honorius of Autun and quoted by Anderson with reference to the conductus *Rex et pater omnium* (I17/307), appears to cite *PL,* 172: col. 718. Unfortunately, I am as yet unable to find the text he names in that place, and a search within the volume has not revealed its presence. The reference given in its place in the following note, from the same author but within a different work, does not relay the same material Anderson uses, but still communicates much the same information.

Expositio in Cantica Canticorum of Honorius of Autun, as presented in *PL,* 172: cols. 352D-353A:

> Shunem is the city where that Shunamite woman was from, the one whose son Elisha raised from the dead, since he earlier sent his servant with the staff, but it could not resuscitate the dead boy. Elisha came and made himself like the dead boy [i.e., adopted the same position as the boy in bending over him] and the boy rose up immediately. This dead boy represents the human race [i.e., both Jews and Gentiles]. The servant who put his staff on the dead boy was Moses, who placed the staff of the [old] law over those dead in sin, which [law] oppressed them all the more and did not resuscitate them. Elisha, which means 'God, my salvation,' is Christ, given to us by God as our salvation, the one who became a mortal in the likeness of men, and revived the dead human race. Furthermore, Shunamite means 'captive,' and represents the Synagogue (i.e., the Jewish people), still held captive in treachery by the devil.[7]

The image of Elisha's staff also occurs in the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur* (H29/127), lines 10-11; *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92), lines 21-24; and *Rex et pater omnium* (I17/307), lines 12-14. For a similarly framed story concerning the prophet Elijah, of whom Elisha was a devoted disciple and successor, see the notes on the text for lines 15-16 of the conductus *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225). **11-12:** on old letter versus new spirit, see Romans, 7:6.[8] **14:** for spiritual grace, note Romans, 1:11.[9] **15-16:** see 2 Corinthians, 4:18 on things temporal vis-à-vis eternal.[10] **16:** eternal glory is mentioned in Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 31:10: "Qui probatus est in illo, et perfectus est, erit illi gloria aeterna ..." ("He who has been tried thereby, and made perfect, he shall have glory everlasting. ..."));[11] and 1 Peter, 5:10.[12]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** The remains of *E-Mn 6528* (from the second syllable of line 13,4 to the end), not collated in Anderson's edition, show no variants from the text presented above. **13,1:** F: et; adopted reading "est" from *W1,CH-SGs 383,* missing from *E-Mn 6528.* **MUSIC: General remarks:** There is a relatively generous amount of melodic repetition throughout this piece: the caudae are especially reiterative, with repetition often featured in both voice parts; voice exchange occurs once in the final cauda, while Strophes III and [IV] feature extensive repetition within their *cum littera* segments. The few musical variants in *E-Mn*

---

[7]*PL,* 172: cols. 352D-353A: "Suna enim est civitas de qua illa Sunamitis fuit, cujus filium Elisaeus a morte suscitavit, quia prius servum cum baculo misit, sed mortuum suscitare non potuit. Venit Elisaeus et assimilatus est mortuo, et surrexit continuo. Hic mortuus significat genus humanum. Servus qui baculum super mortuum posuit, Moyses fuit, qui legis baculum super mortuos in peccatis posuit, quae eos magis oppressit non resuscitavit. Elisaeus, qui dicitur 'Deus mei salus'est Christus, nobis a Deo datus salus, hic in simulitudine hominum mortalis factus, mortuum suscitavit humanum genus. Porro Sunamitis dicitur 'captiva' et est Synagoga adhuc in perfidia a diabolo captivata"

[8]Romans, 7:6: "Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae" ("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.").

[9]Romans, 1:11: "Desidero enim videre vos, ut aliquid impertiar vobis gratiae spiritualis ad confirmandos vos" ("For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual grace, to strengthen you.").

[10]2 Corinthians, 4:18: "... Quae enim videntur, temporalia sunt: quae autem non videntur, aeterna sunt" ("... For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.").

[11]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 31:10: "Qui probatus est in illo, et perfectus est, erit illi gloria aeterna ..." ("He who has been tried thereby, and made perfect, he shall have glory everlasting. ...").
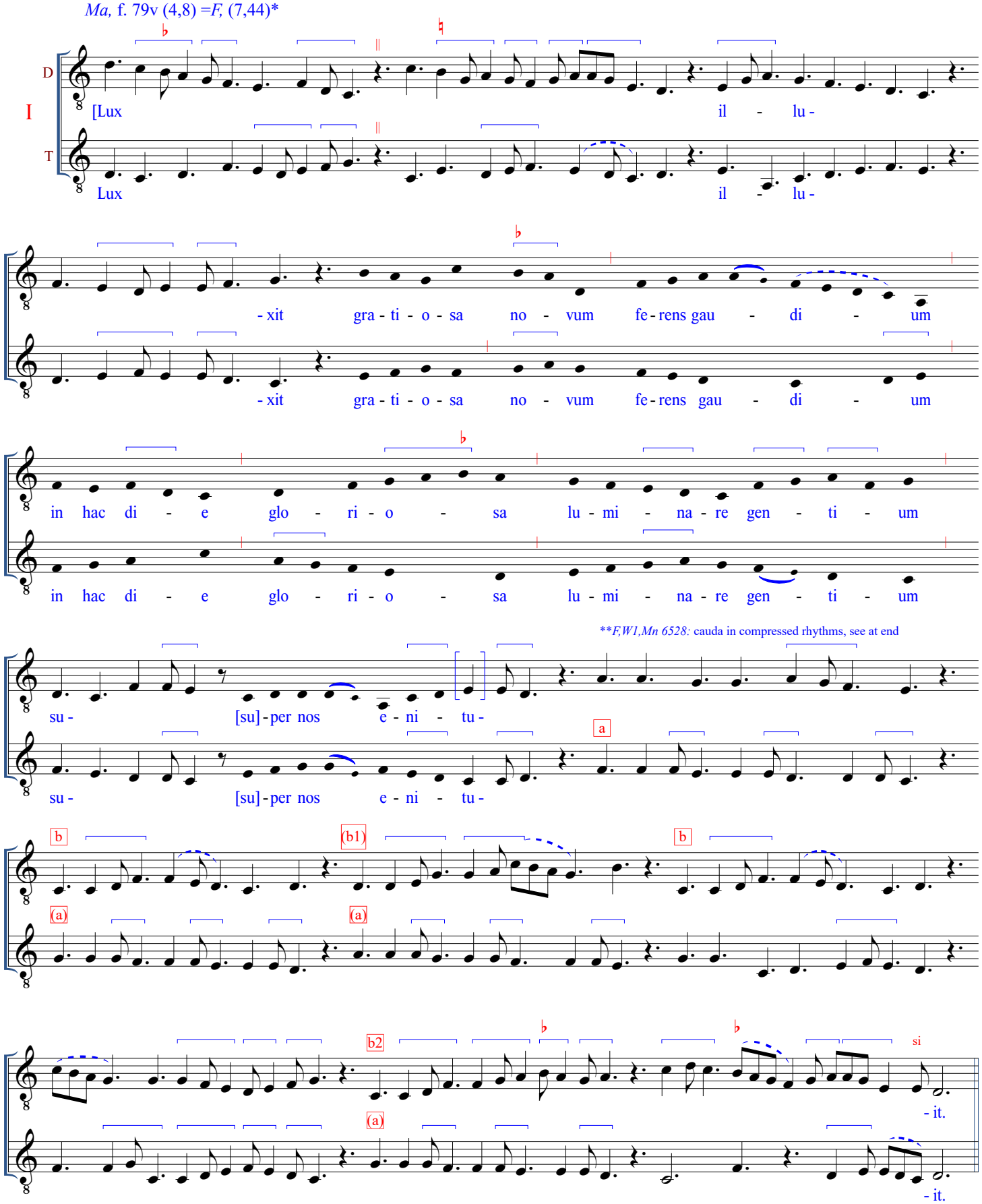
[12]1 Peter, 5:10: "Deus autem omnis gratiae, qui vocavit nos in aeternam suam gloriam in Christo Jesu, modicum passos ipse perficiet, confirmabit, solidabitque" ("But the God of all grace, who has called us into his eternal glory in Christ Jesus, after you have suffered a little, will himself perfect you, and confirm you, and establish you.").

6528 from the transcribed version here from *F* are collated below, since the appearance of this piece in this source was unknown to Anderson and not included in his catalog or edition. **Line 1,3:** TD: W1,CH-SGs 383: in the short 4L cauda on the second syllable of "[o]lim," the opening 3si are rendered as 3li; the implied rhythms according to these two readings are given above the staves. **Cauda closing Strophe I (at line 4,3):** D: W1: different ligations within "[susci]ta[ret]" for phrase 4 (at L11-L18): 2li,si,2li,3li=*ag,g,fe,efg;* and for phrase 7 (at L27-L34): 2li,si,2liP,2li=*ag,g,fe,cd,* neither of which will not fit with the T unless the T is transcribed irregularly; both variant D phrases in *W1* seem to prompt faster rhythms in the T. TD: CH-SGs 383: although the majority of the cauda shows differing ligation for melismatic passages (something often seen in this MS), the same fourth and seventh phrases of this melisma are additionally shortened; for phrase 4: T= 4li=*dedc,* D= 2li,2li=*fe,fg;* for phrase 7: T=4li,si=*dedc,c;* D= 4li, 2li= *fedc, de.* See the alternative readings of this cauda from both these other sources at the end of the score. ***Punctus organi* closing Strophe I (at line 4.3)**: D: CH-SGs 383: no flourish over the penultimate T note. **Cauda opening Strophe II (at line 5,1):** T: F: fifth T pitch at L4: si=*a* om; from *W1,CH-SGs 383.* **Line 6,3:** D: CH-SGs 383: a somewhat simplified organal flourish prior to the last syllable of "suscitatur": 3li+ 3C,2li,si=*fef+edc,de,d.* **Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 8,3):** TD: W1: the first two phrases of the melisma on "[termi]na[tur]" are in mode 1 as opposed to an apparent mode 3 in *F;* the remainder (phrases 3-6) seems to suggest mode 1 in both *W1* and *F,* based on the D ligation of phrase 6 (at L29-L32) and the fact that these four latter phrases offer a series of antecedent-consequent pairs. D: W1: the descending 2si at the ends of phrases 3 (L17-L20) and 4 (L21-L24) seem to be the occasional substitution of si for C figures that is sometimes seen in *W1,* rather than regular ligation, so it is conceivable that *W1* may present an older rhythmic reading. This same cauda in *CH-SGs 383,* on the other hand, has a ligature series that looks on the surface more like mode 2 (assuming its ligation was intended to convey rhythm along the same lines as the more central sources). Furthermore, and very curiously, the cauda in *CG-SGs 383* is shortened to only the first three phrases of the T, which is overlaid with a new D melody for the first T phrase, but with the last four D gestures set to the second and third phrases in the T. As with the final cauda in *CH-SGs 383,* this may be a copying error, prompted by the high volume of repetition that occurs here, but, as later, the end result can nonetheless stand on its own. See the alternative versions of this cauda from both *W1* and *CH-SGs 383* at the end of the transcription. ***Punctus organi* closing Strophe II (a line 8,3):** D: W1 gives a different flourish over the penultimate T note, very similar to the one it uses at the end of Strophe I, but there starting with 7li+3C *(fefefef+edc).* This second close in *W1* = the one in *F* ending Strophe I, except for an additional penultimate siP=*e* in the former MS. **Line 9,2, 11,3:** T: CH-SGs 383: at each of these places, which- feature the same melody (marked with the letter "l" in the score), there is a more ornate setting of the second syllable of the respective words "[na]to" and "[no]va": 2li,3li=*fg,fed.* **13,4:** the extant portion of *E-Mn 6528* begins with the second syllable of this word ("[lit]terali"). T: E-Mn 6528: *e* for the final syllable. D: E-Mn 6528: for the surviving three syllables: 2li,2li,si= *de,gf,e,* forming a T/D cadence on *e,* rather than on *f* as in *F,W1; CH-SGs 383,* rather surprisingly though, has *f* in the T and *e* in the D. **15,2:** D: E-Mn 6528: 2li for the siP over "pro" in *F.* **15,3:** T: E-Mn 6528 si,2li=*d.de* over "morte" for the 2li,2li=*cd,de* in *F.* **16,2:** D: E-Mn 6528: siP for 2li on the first syllable of "gloria" in *F.* **Final cauda (at line 16,2):** D: CH-SGs 383: a different melody for the third phrase (L12-L19), rather than the one exchanged with the previous T gesture that occurs in all other sources: 4li,si,3li=*fefd,e,eca,* 4li,3li=*fefd,edc.* This D reading actually replicates the *following* T passage beginning at L20 of the melisma, as the changed phrase is preceded by an *f*3 clef. It therefore seems very likely that this aberrant D phrase is a mistake, rather explicable given the large amount of repetition in this melisma; see the literal transcription from *CH-SGs 383* in the alternative version of the entire cauda at the end of the score, and cf. the analogous curiosities in the cauda that closes Strophe II (at line 8,3). T: F: at L23 and L31, the rendering of the plicas here as low *a* pitches is prompted by the version of this cauda in *Ch-SGs 383,* which notates them outright; see the last of the alternative readings at the end of the transcription. T: E-Mn 6528: in the third phrase before the *punctus organi,* at L26-L27: 2li=*dc* for the three notes given as 3C=*edc* in *F.* **Final *punctus organi* closing Strophe [IV] (at line 16,2):** D: E-Mn 6528: 2li,2li=*ga,bc* for the si,3li=*f,gac* figures in *F* that precede the C cascade; for the penultimate note: si=*e* for the 2li=*de* in *F.* D: W1: a different, more involved flourish over the penultimate T note, given as an alternative at the end of the transcription.

LUX ILLUXIT GRATIOSA – *Ma* version

Conductus (H27/201)

Ma, f. 79v (4,8) =*F,* (7,44)*



*F, Mn 6528: cauda in mode 3, see at end. See also the commentary for the use here of *Ma* as the base source over *F.*

†*F, Mn 6528:* cauda in compressed rhythms, see at end

II

D: In qua for - ma spe - ti - o - sus pre

T: In qua for - ma spe - ti - o - sus pre

fi - li - is ho - mi - num fru - ctus da - vid ge - ne-ro - sus le - gi po - nens

fi - li - is ho - mi - num fru - ctus da - vid ge - ne-ro - sus le - gi po - nens

††*F, Mn 6528:* cauda in mode 3, see at end

ter - mi - num cir - cum - ci - di vo - lu -
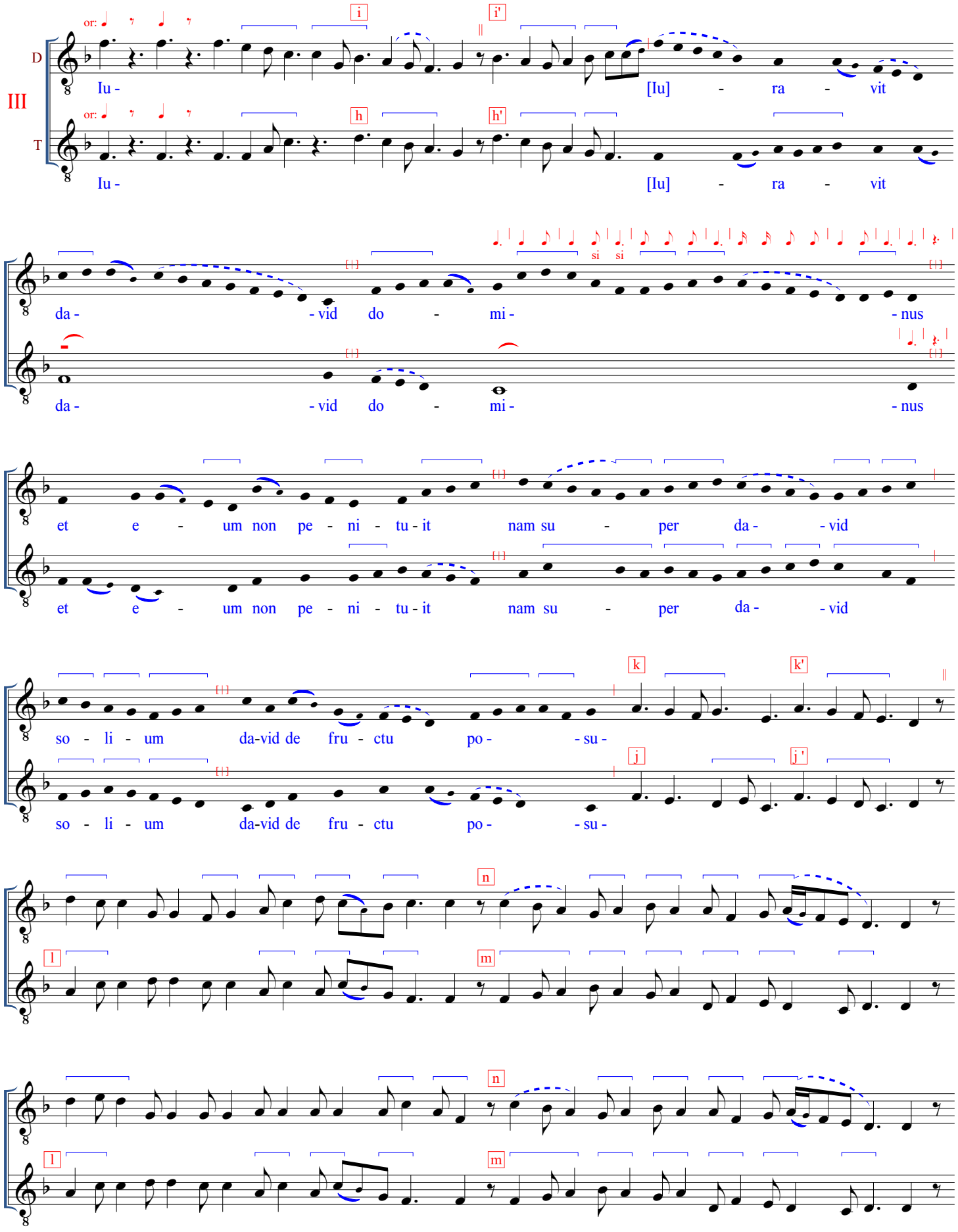
ter - mi - num cir - cum - ci - di vo - lu -
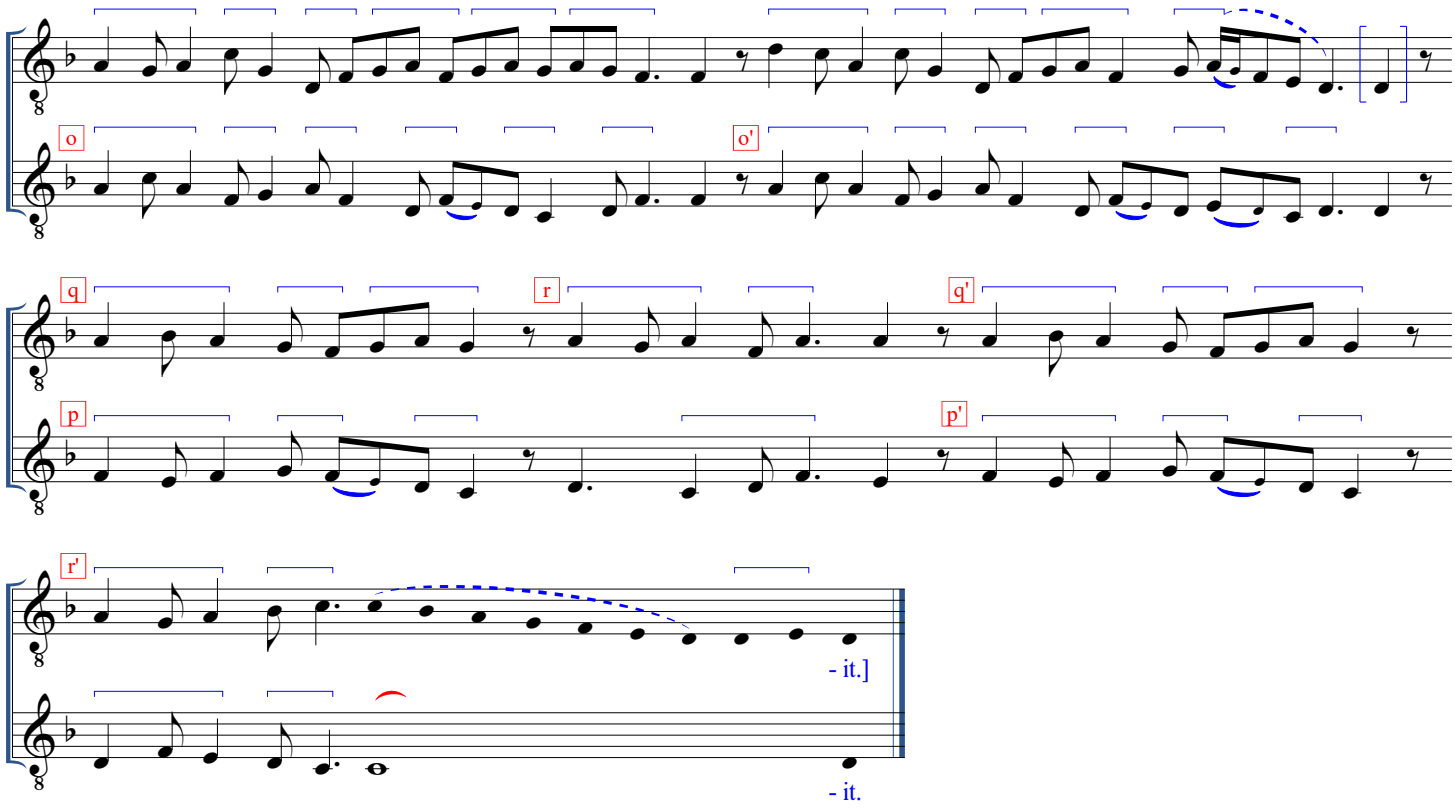
si si

si si

- it.

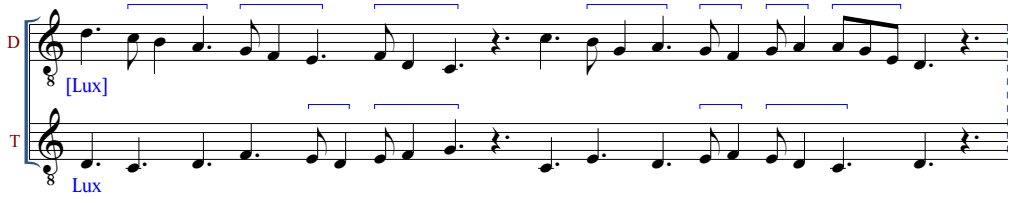
- it.


III
D
T
or:
i
i'
h
h'
Iu - [Iu] - ra - vit
Iu - [Iu] - ra - vit
si si
da - - vid do - mi - - nus
da - - vid do - mi - - nus
et e - um non pe - ni - tu - it nam su - per da - - vid
et e - um non pe - ni - tu - it nam su - per da - - vid
k
k'
j
j'
so - li - um da-vid de fru - ctu po - - su -
so - li - um da-vid de fru - ctu po - - su -
n
l
m
n
l
m
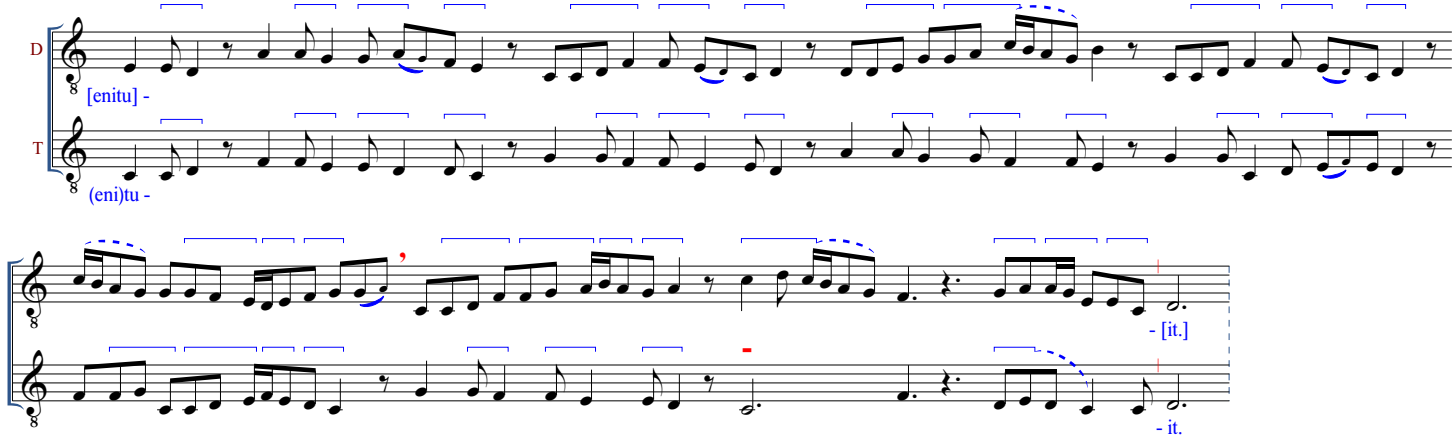


ALTERNATIVE READINGS OF CAUDAE IN OTHER SOURCES:

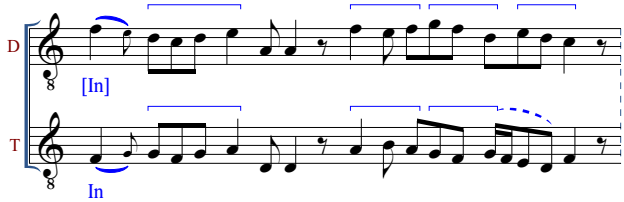
*Opening cauda (at line 1,1) in mode 3 *(F,Mn 6528): F,* f. 313r, I



**Strophe I, closing cauda (at line 5,3): transmutation to compressed rhythms (in *W1,F,Mn 6528): F,* f. 313r, IV
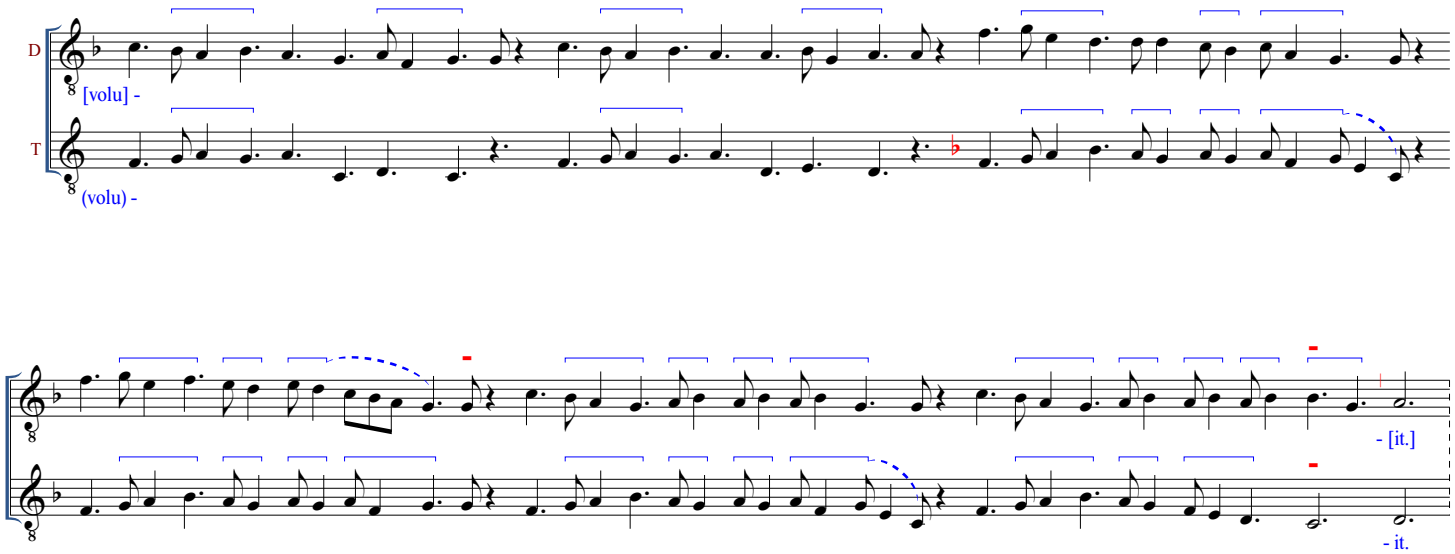


†Strophe II, opening cauda (at line 6,1): transmutation to compressed rhythms (in *F, Mn 6528): F,* f. 313r, V



(continued)

††Strophe II, closing cauda (at line 10,2) in mode 3 (in *F, Mn 6528*): *F,* f. 313v, II



LUX ILLUXIT GRATIOSA

Conductus (H27/201)

Ma, f. 79v (4,8) (= *F*-7,44)

I	Lux illuxit gratiosa,		A favorable light has dawned,
	novum ferens gaudium.		bringing new joy.
	In hac die gloriosa		On this glorious day
	luminare gentium		the light of the Gentiles
	super nos enituit.	5	shone upon us.
II	In qua forma, spetiosus		In this form, as one beautiful
	pre filiis hominum,		above the sons of men,
	fructus David generosus,		the noble fruit of David,
	legi ponens terminum,		putting an end to the Law,
	circumcidi voluit.	10	wished to be circumcised.
III	Iuravit David dominus.		The Lord swore to David
	et eum non penituit,		and did not regret it,
	nam super David solium		for upon the throne of David
	David de fructu posuit.	14	he placed the fruit of David.

SOURCES:

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 8, f. 79v: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with the rather exceptional inclusion of a blue painted initial with red decorative tracery opening I at the top left area of the leaf, but – as is more typical for this source – no further initials entered in the spaces left for them in the other stanzas. A number of the caudae in this MS offer different rhythmic profiles from those in the other sources, which has led to the choice of *Ma* over *F* as the base source for the transcription presented here; for more on this reasoning, see the discussion below of the musical features of this piece. This work and the previous item in *Ma,* the conductus *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149), are in the same order in *W1.*

F, fasc. 7, no. 44, f. 313r: a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III indicated by capital letters. This and the previous work in *F, Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), appear in the same order in the strikingly similar looking MS *E-Mn 6528* (q.v.).

W1, fasc. 9, no. 72, f. 156v (147v): a2, Strophes I-III, complete, with the stanzas indicated by the usual painted initials. Strophe I, though, breaks the expected alternating red and blue/green color sequence with a blue letter, while III shows a mistaken "A" for "I". The closing *punctus organi* intrudes into the right margin of the last system on the subsequent recto, in order to begin the next work (*Qui de Sabba veniunt* [I20/281]) at the top of the following page. *Lux illuxit* is preceded by the same piece in *Ma* (q.v.).

E-Mn 6528 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6528),[1] no. 2, back flyleaf of the MS, with *Lux illuxit* beginning on what was originally the recto side of this repurposed folio (which is now numbered f. 124v); it is also presently bound upside down: a2; fragmentary, although the leaf itself is essentially complete. More of *Lux illuxit* is preserved in *E-Mn 6528* than the information presented in Anderson's catalog and his edition

[1]Online images of the source are available here. For more on the conductus fragment preserved in *E-Mn 6528,* see the study by Gregorio Bevilacqua, David Catalunya, and Nuria Torres, "The Production of Polyphonic Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris: New Evidence of Standardised Procedures," *Early Music History,* 37 (2018): 91-139 (the online versions of this article have a correction to the first author's email address).

(*NDRC,* 3:225) indicates, since he only took account of the folio's original verso. As a result, Anderson also was unaware of the extant closing portion of the prior composition, *Legem dedit olim deus,* that is also preserved in *E-Mn 6528* on this same leaf. Reasons that explain Anderson's oversight are explored in the remarks on *E-Mn 6528* among the sources of *Legem dedit*. *Lux illuxit* follows directly after *Legem dedit* in *E-Mn 6528,* starting on the second system of f. 124v. These same two pieces occur in *F* (q.v.) in the same order as in *E-Mn 6528,* and both sources are strikingly similar in layout and appearance, including the style of the opening, filigreed initial. Music and text of *Lux illuxit* are recoverable in *E-Mn 6258* from its start up through the first five notes of both the T and D of its closing cauda; stanzas II-III are indicated by black-ink capitals, as in *F.* The variants from this source that were omitted in Anderson's edition are collated below from the transcription presented here from *Ma.*.

Text only:

The first two words of *Lux illuxit* appear in line 3 of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150): "lux illuxit homini." The text of *Hac in die rege nato* is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus; it appears 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*: 1-5:** on Jesus as light, see, e.g., John, 9:5,[2] and the similar passages in John, 8:12 and 1:4-5.[3] **4-5:** see Isaiah, 42:6,[4] and 49:6,[5] as well as the similar language in Acts, 13:47. See also Luke, 2:32, where Simeon describes the infant Jesus.[6] **4,1:** "luminare" is a neuter noun here. **6-7:** the person being described is Christ, and although the previous stanza was concerned wholly with light imagery, the second strophe emphasizes Christ's incarnation in human form, a manifestation it states that he himself desired; for biblical echoes, see Psalm 44:3.[7] **8:** Jesus was a descendant of the house of David, see Matthew, 1:1-17, Luke, 3:23-31; and also lines 13-14, below. **9:** the old law of the Mosaic covenant, propounded through the Ten Commandments (see Exodus, 20: 1-17), is now concluded, thanks to a new compact instituted through the birth

[2]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").

[3]John, 1:4-5: "In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum: et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt" ("In him [the Word, Christ] was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.").

[4]Isaiah, 42:6: "ego Dominus vocavi te in iustitia, et adprehendi manum tuam, et servavi; et dedi te in foedus populi in lucem gentium" ("I the Lord have called you in righteousness, and taken you by the hand, and protected you; and I have given you for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles").

[5]Isaiah, 49:6: "... dedi te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terrae" ("... I have given you to be the light of the Gentiles, that you may be my salvation even to the farthest part of the earth").

[6]Luke, 2:32: "lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuae Israhel" ("A light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of your people Israel").

[7]Psalm 44:3: "speciosus forma prae filiis hominum: diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis; propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum" ("You are beautiful above the sons of men: grace is poured over your lips; therefore God has blessed you for ever").

of Christ; for just a few examples of this assertion, see Romans, 7:6,[8] and 10:4.[9] The conductus *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), which precedes *Lux illuxit* in both *F* and *E-Mn 6528,* treats this issue in its lines 9-16 (Strophe III and [IV]); there also, in the notes on the text of this piece, a provisional list is offered of the works in the conductus repertory that treat the frequent theme of the Old versus the New Law. **10:** the circumcision of Christ is often interpreted as a prefiguration of the Passion, see, e.g., the opening lines of Perotin's conductus *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315): "Salvatoris hodie / sanguis pregustatur, / in quo Syon filie / stola candidatur." ("Today the blood of the Savior is foretasted, in which the robe of the daughter of Zion is whitened."); it is thus possible that the Christmastide conductus *Lux illuxit* also invokes the feast of Christ's Circumcision (1 January). For more information on the concept of "circumcision" as a form of salvation under the New Law, see the notes to the text of *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam,* lines 21-22. **10,1:** the translation of "circumcidi" as "circumcised" corresponds with the way this Latin verb is most frequently understood in the Bible, although it might also conceivably imply the idea of Christ humbling himself by being born human, thanks to its related connotations of "diminish" or "circumscribe" (see Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary,* s.v. "circumcido," II, accessible via https://logeion.uchicago.edu/circumcido). Anderson suggests this meaning in his translation of lines 8 and 10 as: "the fruit of David's noble line ... has willed himself to be made lowly" (*NDRC,* 3:xxxi). **11-12:** see Psalm 131:11,[10] and 109:4,[11] and the similar language in Hebrews, 7:21. Also, see 2 Kings (2 Samuel), 7:8-16, for the promises that God (speaking through the prophet Nathan) swore to grant David. **13-14:** cf. Isaiah, 9:7;[12] see also line 8 of this conductus poem.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: General remarks:** *Ma* has no punctuation throughout, except what looks either like a colon or the start of an unfinished, unintended letter after 12,2 (omitted in the transcription); periods have been supplied editorially in the musical transcription to end each stanza. The textual remains of *Lux illuxit* that remain on the original recto side of the back flyleaf of *E-Mn 6528* (i.e., from the start of the piece up through line 6,1 that opens Strophe II) were not collated in Anderson's edition; except for the lack of any punctuation until the period that closes the poetry of Strophe I (at line 5), they show no variants from the text as presented here. **1,2:** the syllabic division in the musical transcription ("illu-xit") follows all sources. Ma: the first two syllables of "illu[xit]" are written so closely spaced that it is difficult to determine whether *Ma* intended the alignment of "-lu-" to be on the next T note (=*a*) or the following T *c,* as suggested by the D and all other sources (which either ligate the *e* and low *a* that start this T phrase or present it as si,2li=*e,ea; E-Mn 6528* alone gives us si,siP= *e,*P*e*). **3,1-2:** F: hac in, the only source with this word order. **6,1:** Ma: initial omitted, from *W1,F,E-Mn 6528.* **7,3:** Ma: hominun, corrected after all other sources. **8,2; 11,2; 13,3; 14,1:** F: curiously, gives varying spellings of the four closely packed instances of David's name that appear in this poem; all but the first also present evidence of erasure and correction of the final letter. The first instance reads

---

[8]Romans, 7:6: " Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae" ("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.").

[9]Romans, 10:4: "finis enim legis Christus, ad iustitiam omni credenti" ("For the end of the law is Christ, as regards justice to every believer").

[10]Psalm 131:11: "Iuravit Dominus David veritatem et non frustrabit eum: de fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam" ("The Lord has sworn truth to David, and he will not make it void: of the fruit of your womb I will set upon your throne").

[11]Psalm 109:4: "Iuravit Dominus, et non paenitebit eum: tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech" ("The Lord has sworn, and he will not repent: You are a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech").

[12]Isaiah, 9:7: "multiplicabitur eius imperium et pacis non erit finis super solium David et super regnum eius sedebit ut confirmet illud et corroboret in judicio et justitia, amodo et usque in sempiternum: zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc" ("His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of peace: he shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom; to establish it and strengthen it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth and for ever: the zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.").

"davit," with no hint of emendation, and this appears to be the form that the scribe eventually settled on. The second and fourth instances clearly have had the original final "d" changed to "t," while the third instance preserves "david," but shows the ascender of the final "d" partly erased with no further correction. All other sources show "david" throughout. **9,1:** Ma,F: legis, adopted reading from *W1,E-Mn 6528.* **11,1:** Ma: initial omitted, from *W1,F,E-Mn 6528.* **11,1:** F: Iuraravit (the extra syllable follows a system change). **12,4:** Ma: penitebit, with the variant "-eb-" letters partly erased or smudged, as if to be corrected. Apparently the scribe expected the form of the word to correspond with the language of Psalm 109:4 (see the notes on the text for lines 11-14, above); the adopted reading, made necessary by rhyme, is in all other sources. **MUSIC: General remarks:** The remains of *Lux illuxit* that are preserved on the original recto side of the back flyleaf of *E-Mn 6528* (i.e., from the opening of the piece up through the end of the cauda on line 6,1 that starts Strophe II) were never collated in Anderson's edition; variants for these omitted portions only are listed below. **Caudae:** many of the caudae are extremely elegant with reiterated phrases disposed into pairs or antecedent-consequent series. The cauda that closes Strophe I (at line 5,3), for instance, features two motives ("a" and various forms of "b") repeated in melodic sequence. **Modal transmutation**: The melisma that begins the piece, the one that closes Strophe I, and the two caudae that encircle Strophe II (at lines 6,1 and 10,2) show transmutation of rhythmic mode among the various sources (for all four instances *Ma* lines up against *F* and *E-Mn 6528,* and also against *W1* for the second example). The transcription offered here relies on *Ma* as the base source, which favors mode 1 throughout and appears from comparison of the notational details given in the other sources to be closest to the original rendering. The primacy of the *Ma* versions is suggested particularly by the cauda that ends Strophe I (at line 5,3). Here the three other sources halve the length of the mode-1 gestures in the T that make up phrases 2, 3, 4, and 7 – not by compressing the rhythms from mode 1 into mode 6, as might be expected, but by retaining a general mode-1 framework and reducing the number of T notes in each case from 10 to 7. The number of notes in the D phrases throughout the cauda, however, remains essentially untouched, which results in the mode-5 patterns in *Ma* being reduced to mode 1 and its mode-1 portions compressed to mode 6. This arrangement, though, retains several 2li figures for short values in the D that must be read in an irregular fashion if they are to correlate with the T at these points; see especially the ends of the sixth and seventh D phrases of this cauda. This latter detail thus suggests that the *Ma* readings could well represent the initial rhythmic conception for these caudae, since their rhythmic realization is much more straightforward. The alternative readings of all the passages in question, taken from *F,* appear at the end of the transcription. **Opening cauda (at line 1,1):** TD: F,E-Mn 6528: the opening cauda of the piece is given in mode 3, the alternative reading at the end from *F* is identical here to *E-Mn 6528* and may be consulted for its variants from *Ma.* The only exception is the presence of the *b-flat* signature at the start of the D, absent in *F,* which is then cancelled at the opening of the next phrase with a sig quad on *b.* **Line 1,2:** T: E-Mn 6528: the low *a* note on the second syllable of "illuxit" is rendered as a P; the 2li=*ed* that precedes its last syllable is given as siP=*e.* D: E-Mn 6528: 4li=*edef* replaces the 3li,2li=*ede,ef* prior to the syllable "[illu]xit". **2,1:** D: Ma: *ag* for the 2li over the first syllable of "novum"; the adopted *ba* has been taken from *F,W1,E-Mn 6528;* the ficta *b-flat* suggested here is in *W1.* **3,1:** D; E-Mn 6528: no stroke after "in." **3,2:** TD: E-Mn 6528: stroke follows "hac." **3,4:** T: F: 3C=*bag* over first syllable of "gloriosa"; Ma: 2li,si over its last two syllables =*ed,c;* the adopted 2si=*e,d* reading is taken from *F,W1; E-Mn 6528* gives *ed,d.* D: the *b-flat* ficta pitch at this same place is called for in *F,W1,E-Mn 6528.* **4,2:** T: E-Mn 6528: for "gentium," first syllable has *f*P*f.* D: F,E-Mn 6528: P*f* at the first syllable for the 2li in *Ma,W1.* **Cauda at line 5,1:** T: E-Mn 6528: stroke after second note si=*e.* **Line 5,1:** TD: E-Mn 6528: following the short cauda, strokes following each of the two notes over "[su]per." **Line 5,2:** T: E-Mn 6528: si=*g* for "nos." D: E-Mn 6528: si=*d.* **5,3:** T: E-Mn 6528: 2si=*c,d* for the si,2li=*c,cd* closing the first short phrase of the cauda. D: E-Mn 6528: the om *e* note for "[eni]tu[it]" is transmitted only in *F.* **Cauda closing Strophe I (at line 5,3):** TD: F,W1,E-Mn 6528: this cauda is rhythmically compressed into shorter phrases with faster values, particularly in the D, see the alternative reading at the end. Unlike the other transmuted sections, *W1* here disagrees with *Ma* and concords with *F* and *E-Mn 6528*. The only variant from *F* in *E-Mn 6528* is in the figures prior to the final syllable of line 5,3: T: E-Mn 6528: s,3li=*d,edc* for 2li,3C=*de,edc.* D: E-Mn 6528: 4li=*gage* for 2li,3li,si=*ga,age,e*. D: the *b-flats* in the last two phrases of the

cauda are specified in *Mn 6258.* T: the reading of the si=*c* as a DL in the penultimate cauda phrase is prompted by the el notes in *F,E-Mn 6528.* **Cauda opening Strophe II (at line 6,1):** TD: the opening cauda of Strophe II, like the one closing Strophe I, is rhythmically compressed in *F,E-Mn 6528;* see the end for this alternative reading. Hereafter, Anderson's edition provides the variants from *E-Mn 6528* for the rest of *Lux illiuxit* (NDRC, 3:225, beginning with his bar 62,2=line 6,2 of my transcription). **Cauda in line 6,4:** T: Ma: the omitted *c* note starting the final phrase of the cauda at L7 comes from *F,E-Mn 6528.* **7,3:** T: Ma: om stroke after "hominum" supplied from *F,W1,E-Mn 6528.* **10,2:** D: Ma: the om stroke after "[vo]lu[it]" is from *F,W1,E-Mn 6528;* a redundant *b-flat* sig appears here in *Ma* as well. **Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 10,2):** TD: F,E-Mn 6528: in mode 3, see the alternative reading at the end. D: F: a *b-flat* signature appears before the third phrase in the cauda (at L17); though not in other sources, *b-flats* in the D seem necessary for the final two D phrases at least. T: Ma: the 2si=*e,c,* seen twice in the cauda at the end of phrases 3 (at L24) and 5 (L40), are written as +2C in *W1,F,E-Mn 6528,* hence their rhythmic interpretation here as B,L. D: Ma: the final TL rests in the third through fifth phrases of this cauda have an added si *g*' (=L,B-rest) in their places in *F,E-Mn 6528; W1* has this *g*' only for the third phrase. **11-13:** TD: Ma: the omitted strokes following lines 11,2-3; 12,4; and 13,4 appear in all other MS sources; they are supplied here for clarity in determining the ends of the phrases. **11,3:** D: Ma: the 2si=*a,f* (notes 5-6) in the organal phrase over "[do]mi[nus]" are rendered 2li in *W1,F,E-Mn 6528.* **14:** D: Ma: a redundant *b-flat* sig precedes "david de fructu"; the first note is el (signifying DL?) in *W1.* **Closing cauda at line 14,4:** TD: E-Mn 6528: after the first five notes of the final cauda, the remainder of the piece is lost. D: Ma: the omitted si *d* at the end of the seventh phrase of the cauda (at L56) comes from *F,W1.* D: Ma: most of the final phrase of the concluding cauda, beginning at L67, and all of the subsequent *punctus organi* are entered in the left margin, outside the writing block. Even though this is inscribed in an area where the staff lines have not been extended. It is not difficult to assess the intended pitches.

ROSE NODUM RESERAT
Conductus (I1/313)

F, f. 314r (7,45)

I

D [Ro - - se no - dum re - se - rat ve - ri so - lis

T Ro - - se no - dum re - se - rat ve - ri so - lis

ra - di - us dum ad or - tum pro - pe - rat ve - rus de - i fi - li - us.

ra - di - us dum ad or - tum pro - pe - rat ve - rus de - i fi - li - us.

hunc mun - dus in - car - ce - rat qui mun - da - na li - be - rat in - cli - na - to

hunc mun - dus in - car - ce - rat qui mun - da - na li - be - rat in - cli - na - to

di - e no - cti lu - cem ge - ne - rat gra - ti - a ma - ri -

di - e no - cti lu - cem ge - ne - rat gra - ti - a ma - ri -
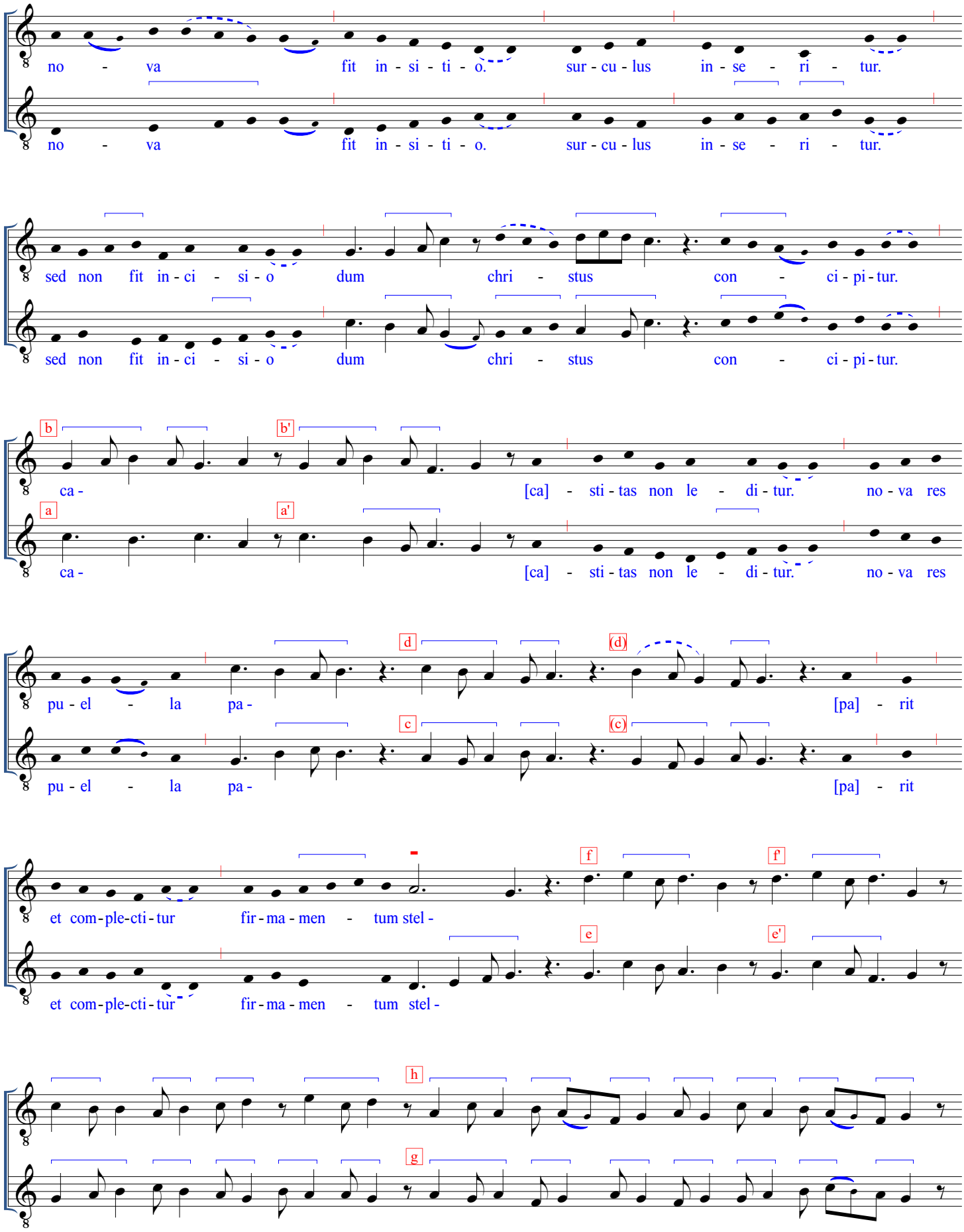
- e.
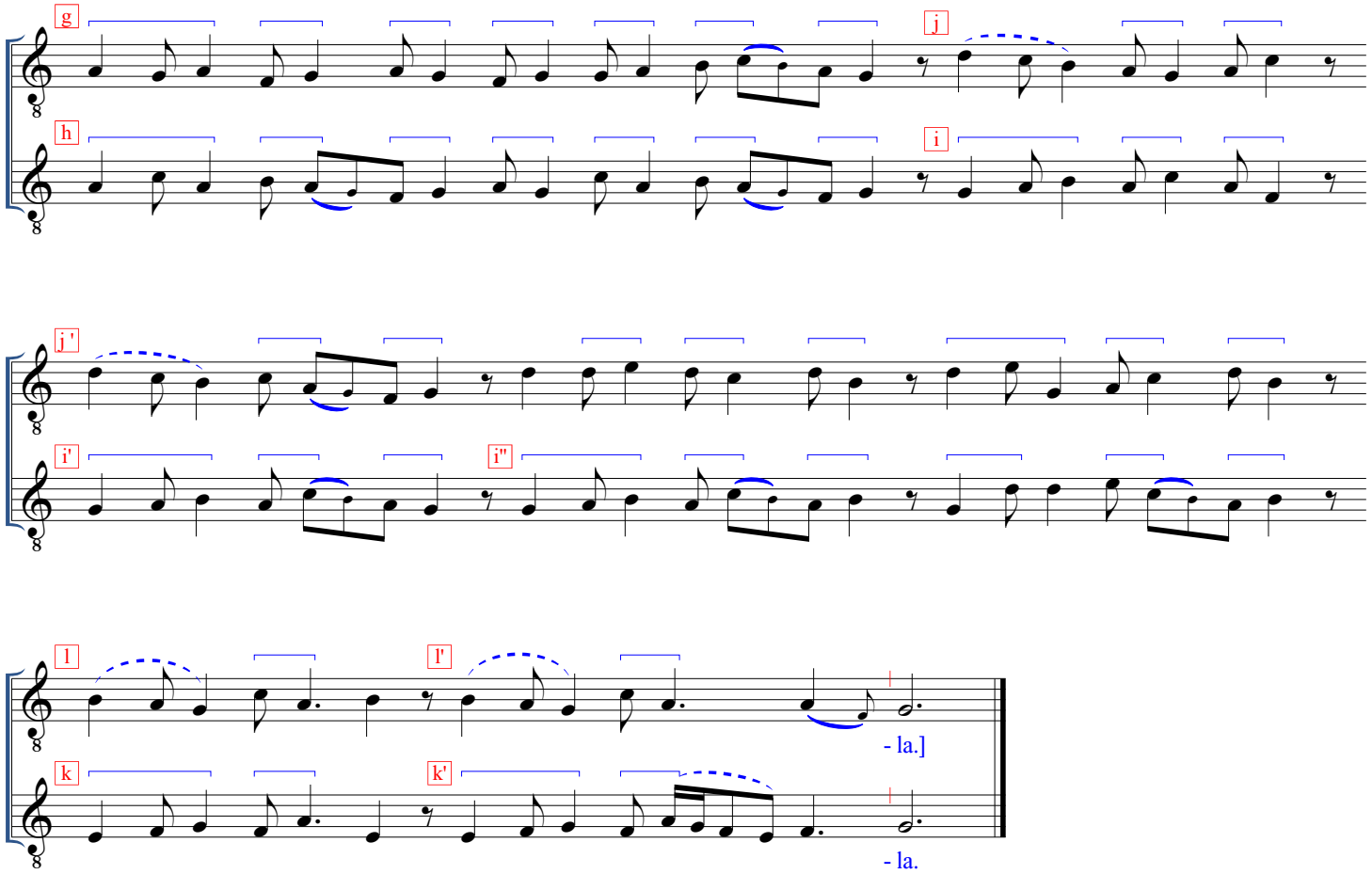
- e.

II

D Styrps yes - - se pro - - gre - di - tur.

T Styrps yes - - se pro - - gre - di - tur.


no - va fit in - si - ti - o. sur - cu - lus in - se - ri - tur.
no - va fit in - si - ti - o. sur - cu - lus in - se - ri - tur.
sed non fit in - ci - si - o dum chri - stus con - ci - pi - tur.
sed non fit in - ci - si - o dum chri - stus con - ci - pi - tur.
b
b'
ca - [ca] - sti - tas non le - di - tur. no - va res
a
a'
ca - [ca] - sti - tas non le - di - tur. no - va res
d
(d)
pu - el - la pa - [pa] - rit
c
(c)
pu - el - la pa - [pa] - rit
f
f'
et com - ple - cti - tur fir - ma - men - tum stel -
e
e'
et com - ple - cti - tur fir - ma - men - tum stel -
h
g


g
h
j
i
j '
i'
i"
l
l'
k
k'
- la.]
- la.

ROSE NODUM RESERAT

Conductus (I1/313)

F, f. 314r (7,45)

I	Rose nodum reserat	A ray of the true sun
	veri solis radius	unlocks the bud of the rose
	dum ad ortum properat	when the true son of God
	verus dei filius.	hastens to the garden.
	Hunc mundus incarcerat	The world imprisons the one
	qui mundana liberat.	who liberates worldly things.
	Inclinato die,	At the close of the day,
	nocti lucem generat	Mary's grace creates
	gratia Marie.	light for the night.
II	Styrps Yesse progreditur.	A stem comes forth from Jesse.
	Nova fit insitio.	A new grafting is made.
	Surculus inseritur,	A shoot is inserted,
	sed non fit incisio	but no incision occurs
	dum Christus concipitur.	when Christ is conceived.
	Castitas non leditur.	Chastity is not violated.
	Nova res! Puella	This is something new! A maiden
	parit, et complectitur	gives birth, and a star
	firmamentum stella.	encircles the heavens.

SOURCES:

F: fasc. 7, no. 45, f. 314r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with II indicated with the conventional capital.

W1: fasc. 6, no. 69, f. 62r (54r): a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with no initials ever entered for either stanza, an omission that applies to many of the works that surround this piece in the MS. *Rose nodum* closes fasc. 6, which otherwise contains two-voice clausulae, rather than conductus. It follows *Et florebit* 2[1] and is succeeded (after a system and a half of empty staves) by the organum *Alleluya. Dies sanctificatus* (M2 a3) that begins fasc. 7 at the top of f. 63r (55r). Occupying much of the left margin on the preceding leaf, f. 62v (54v), which presents the closing portion of *Rose nodum,* is the later addition of a simple, brown-ink illustration of a bearded man, divided into separated portions, so that one may make out at least his head (possibly sporting some type of floppy headgear), part of one leg, two feet, and portions of either his torso or thigh, as well as a hand bearing an ax-shaped weapon (a halberd according to the report of Staehelin),[2] the shaft of which is incompletely rendered. A less easily indentifiable shape appears above the man's head (perhaps the profile of a grotesque figure?). The drawing is labeled below with the name "lorimar" and suggests no connection to the musical contents of the leaf.

Text only:

---

[1]This work, no. 102 among the clausulae preserved in W1, is the last member of the second of two cycles of clausulae now preserved in this MS (the first in fasc. 5 with 34 works; the second in fasc. 6 with the remaining 68). The loss of the originally numbered folios (51)-(52) from *W1* means that an unknown number of pieces is missing from the first series in fasc. 5.

[2]Martin 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.

CH-Zz C.58/275 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C.58/275): no. 328 (no. 1),[3] f. 147v: text only, Strophes I-II, complete. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details stem from *NDRC* and the CPI website.

The text of line 1 of *Rose nodum* is also quoted as most of line 18 ("nec rose nodum reserat") within Strophe II of the conductus *Hac in die rege nato* (I30/150). The text of *Hac in die rege nato* is constructed nearly completely from incipits of other conductus; it appears 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*:** The poem is replete with common symbols of the incarnation and virgin birth: the sun denotes God; the rose, garden, and star, Mary; the sun's ray, the shoot *(surculus),* and the heavens surrounded by the star, Christ; the stem *(styrps),* Jesus's ancestral lineage from Jesse through King David (see, e.g., see Matthew, 1:1-17); the bud *(nodus),* Mary's womb; the grafting, Christ's incarnation; and the absence of an incision for the grafting, Mary's conceiving Christ while retaining her virginity. **3-4:** for a passage particularly evocative of garden symbolism applicable to the Virgin Mary, see Song of Songs, 4:12.[4] Also apropos are: Song of Songs, 6:1,[5] as well as the similar expressions in Song of Songs, 5:1, and 6:10. **3,3:** an alternative spelling of "hortus" ("garden"); the word may also conceivably be understood as it stands ("ortum") meaning "birth/origin," although the frequency of horticultural images throughout this poem prompts the translation adopted here; punning is also likely. **5-6:** for a conceivable biblical echo, see John, 16:33.[6] This expression in the poem seems a likely nod to the metaphor of God/Christ assuming mortal flesh, and thus voluntarily "imprisoning" himself in human form. For similar associations see the remarks on the text of the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20, *Sonet vox ecclesie sonet* (I28/337), lines 19-21, as well as the extensive discussion of the concept of Christ as a captive or prisoner in the notes on the conductus *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), line 2,1. **7:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:ii), quoting Augustine's *Sermones* (no. 81), suggests that the mention of the lateness of the day refers to the change in covenant from the Old to the New Testament.[7] But

---

[3]The numbering of the pieces in *Zz C.58/275* is that of Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). Werner's numbers occasionally split or combine various poems, but this does not apply for the Parisian conductus in this source (nos. 328-335 – although no. 331 is *Virgo deum generat* from *St Gall 383*). The numbering in Anderson, *NDRC,* which apparently only applies to the conductus portion, is given afterwards in parentheses.

[4]Song of Songs, 4:12: "Hortus conclusus soror mea, sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus" ("A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up.").

[5]Song of Songs, 6:1: "Dilectus meus descendit in hortum suum ad areolam aromatum, ut pascatur in hortis, et lilia colligat" ("My beloved is gone down into his garden, to the bed of aromatical spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies").

[6]John, 16:33: "Haec locutus sum vobis, ut in me pacem habeatis. In mundo pressuram habebitis: sed confidite, ego vici mundum" ("These things I [Jesus] have spoken to you, that in me you may have peace. In the world you shall have distress: but have confidence, I have overcome the world.").

[7]The Latin text translated by Anderson is: "Ideo seni Abrahae natus est filius, quia erat utique Christus in ipsius mundi senectute uenturus," which he renders: "And so a son is born to Abraham, an old man (Genesis, 17:15-19), so that Christ would also come in the old age of the world." It may be found in *PL,* 38: col. 505, paragraph 8. This particular section of the sermon, though, does not appear to refer specifically to the turnover of the Old Law to the New, as Anderson suggests. It actually appears more relevant to the point I

perhaps more immediately apropos, this statement most likely refers to the teaching that, although Christ was coexistent with God from the beginning, he was not incarnate as man until a later time; see, for example, the remarks for the comparable expression in line 16 of the conductus *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89); and, for more detailed information, the remarks on the text to the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2 and the references to the other pieces given there. **8,2:** on Jesus as light, see, e.g., John, 9:5,[8] and the similar passages in John, 8:12 and 1:4-5.[9] **9:** the association of Mary with grace is, of course, from Luke, 1:28.[10] **10:** cf. Isaiah, 11:1, for the prophecy of the rod (*virga,* i.e., Mary) sprouting from the stem or root *(styrps)* of Jesse,[11] recalled frequently within the conductus repertory (e.g. in *Fraude ceca desolato* [G4/133], lines 21-22); and note the opening line of the triplum from the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius eius* (vdW 647/648/O16), as well as its host chant, the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16).[12] **11,3;13,4:** notice the careful distinction in spelling here between these very similarly constructed words *(insitio, incisio),* apparently closely related in their sound but different in connotation. **17,3:** "complectitur" is a deponent verb, hence it is the star (Mary) that encircles the heavens (God as Christ).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 8,1:** Tt: F: noctis; reading from *W1,CH-Zz C.58/275.* **MUSIC:** The repeated-note si figures over a single syllable that end most of the lines throughout the settings in both *F* and *W1* (apparently indicating additional length) are denoted in the transcription by dashed ties; these may suggest – but not necessarily require – that the second note of the pair should not sound. It might also be argued that the appearance of these figures could suggest a modal-rhythmic reading of some of the applicable *cum littera* segments of this conductus. For the use of these figures in a similar context, see, for example, the conductus *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217) and *Vetus abit littera* (B3/379). **Line 8,3:** TD: F: the figures over "[gene]rat" in both voices are s,siP; T: *g*P*g*; D: *a*P*a;* the adopted reading that avoids the cadence on the major second comes from *W1.* **Final cauda:** T: for the last phrase *F* begins 4li=*defg;* the initial 3li that obviates the less satisfying opening sixth is supplied from *W1,* which gives 3li,4C,2i=*efg,agfe,f'g* for the entire passage; the D is the same in both MSS.

---

make immediately following.

[8]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").

[9]John, 1:4-5: "In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum: et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt" ("In him [the Word, Christ] was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.").

[10]Luke, 1:28: "Et, ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: 'Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus.'" ("and, coming in to her [Mary], the angel said 'Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you; blessed are you among women'").

[11]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.").

[12]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch, and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit. The branch [of Jesse] is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son.").

VIRGA YESSE REGIO – *W1* version

Conductus (I24/383)

W1, f. 166r (157r) (9,80) (= *F*, 7,46)*

I

D [Vir - ga yes - se re - gi - o flo - re de - co-ra - tur

T Vir - ga yes - se re - gi - o flo - re de - co-ra - tur

** the setting of these four words appears differently in each source, see at end

***F,Wood 591:* alternative readings for this phrase, see at end; *F* implies mode 3 throughout

dum ma - ri - a fi - li - o de - i fe - cun - da -

dum ma - ri - a fi - li - o de - i fe - cun - da -

***F,Wood 591:* alternative readings for this phrase, see at end

si si

- tur.

- tur.

Flos ad tem - pus a - ru - it a - re - fa - ctus flo - ru - it et fru - cti - fi - ca - vit
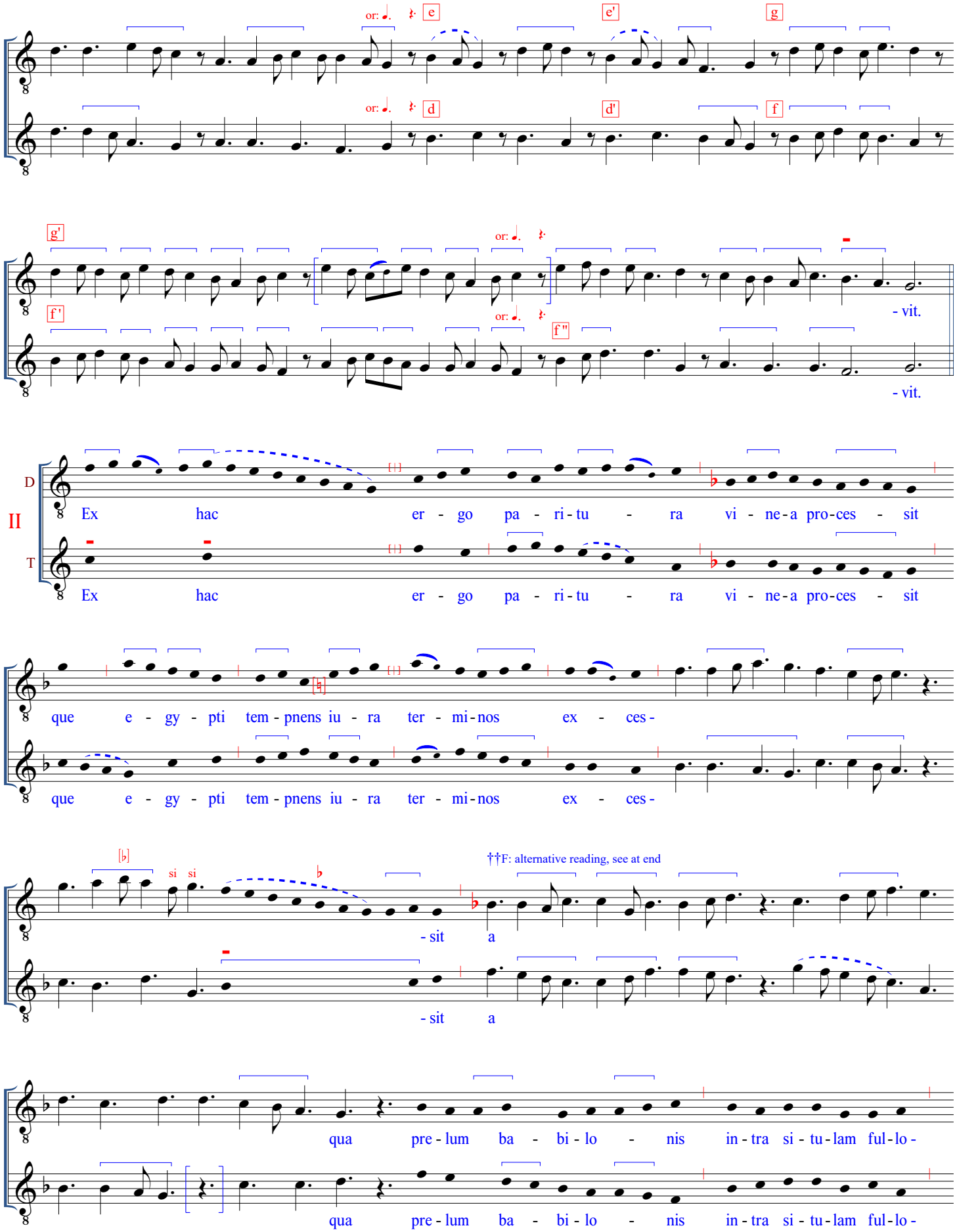
Flos ad tem - pus a - ru - it a - re - fa - ctus flo - ru - it et fru - cti - fi - ca - vit

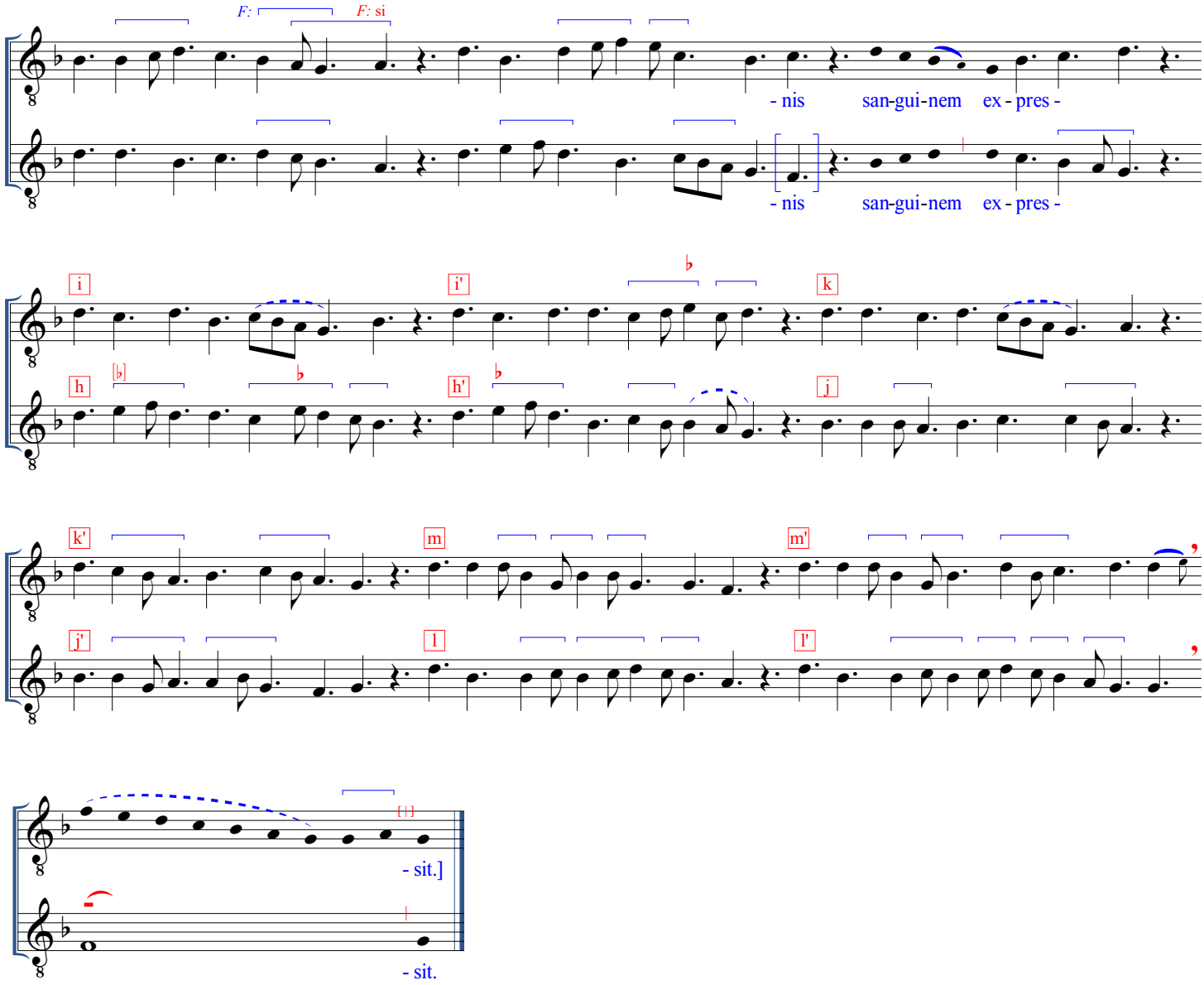
†*F:* alternative reading, see at end

chri-stus mo-ri vo-lu - it mo - ri - ens - que ge - nu - it quos pre-de - sti - na -

chri-stus mo-ri vo-lu - it mo - ri - ens - que ge - nu - it quos pre-de - sti - na -

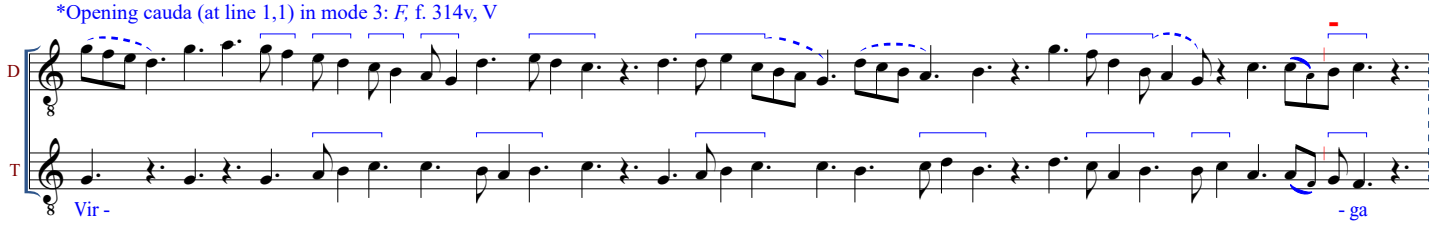
**F:* opening cauda in mode 3, see at end. See also the commentary for the use here of *W1* as the base source over *F*.


or:
e
e'
g
d
d'
f
g'
f'
f"
- vit.
- vit.
II
D
T
Ex hac er - go pa - ri - tu - ra vi - ne - a pro - ces - sit
Ex hac er - go pa - ri - tu - ra vi - ne - a pro - ces - sit
que e - gy - pti tem - pnens iu - ra ter - mi - nos ex - ces -
que e - gy - pti tem - pnens iu - ra ter - mi - nos ex - ces -
si si
- sit a
- sit a
††F: alternative reading, see at end
qua pre - lum ba - bi - lo - nis in - tra si - tu - lam ful - lo -
qua pre - lum ba - bi - lo - nis in - tra si - tu - lam ful - lo -



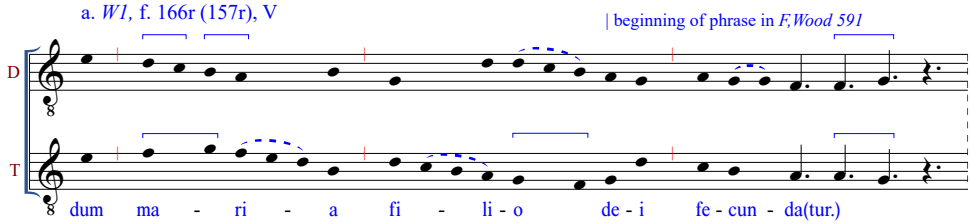
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Opening cauda (at line 1,1) in mode 3: *F,* f. 314v, V

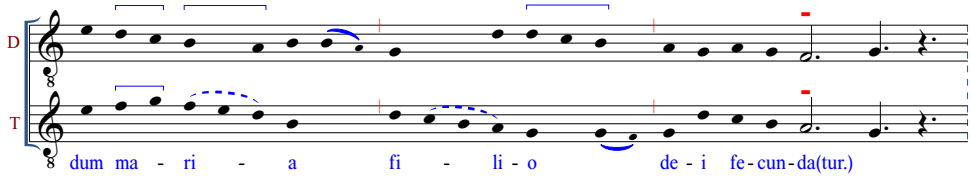


**Lines 3-4: the three differing settings compared

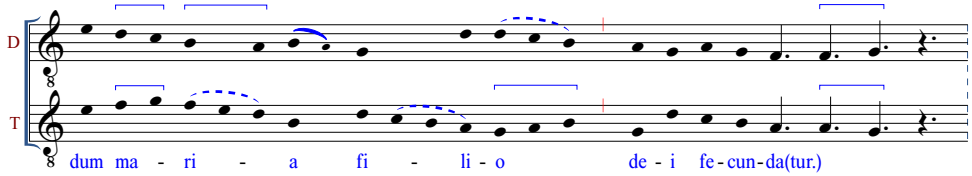
a. *W1,* f. 166r (157r), V



b. *F,* f. 314v, VI



c. *Wood 591,* f. 3r, V



***Cauda at line 4,2: *F,* f. 314v, VI-f. 315r, I (in mode 3); *Wood 591,* f. 3r, II: (differing pitches, ligations)

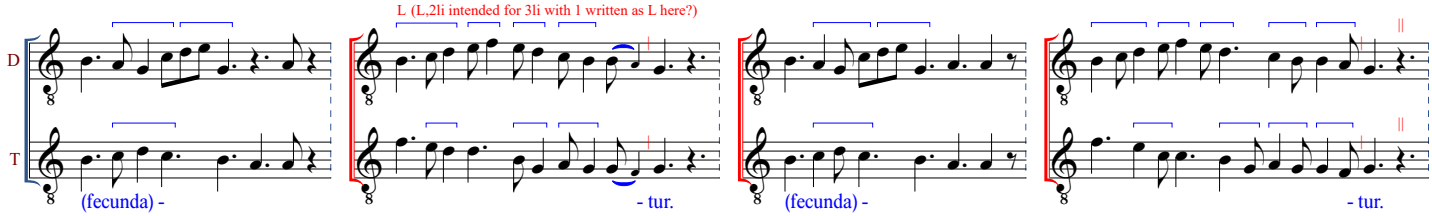
a. Second phrase, *F* (mode 3)

b. Last phrase, *F* (mode 3)

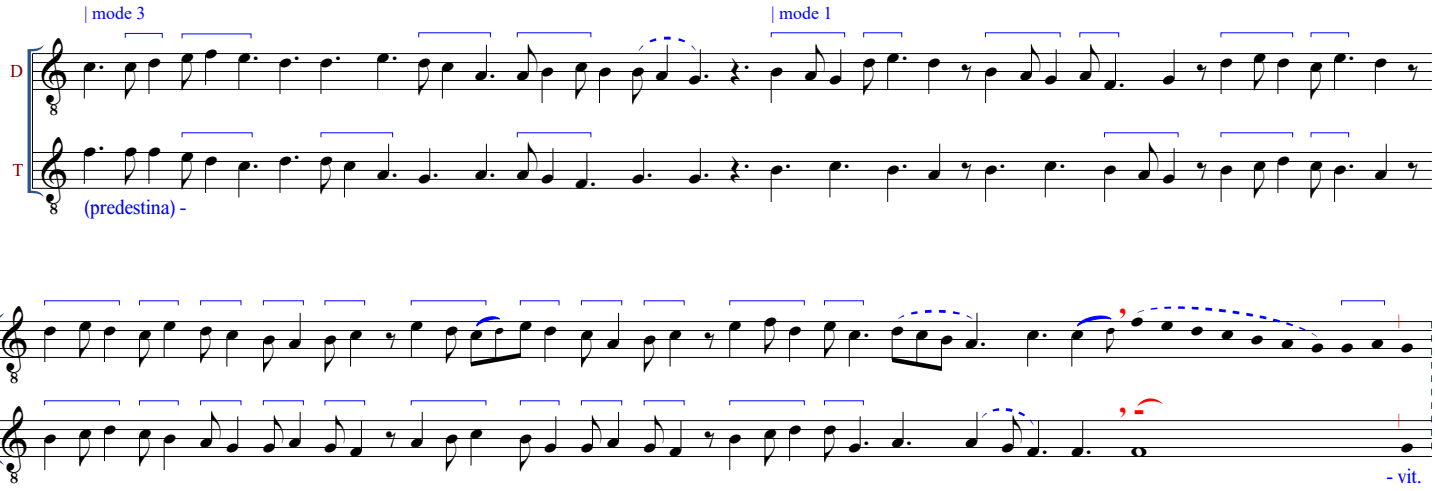
L (L,2li intended for 3li with 1 written as L here?)

c. Second phrase, *Wood 591*

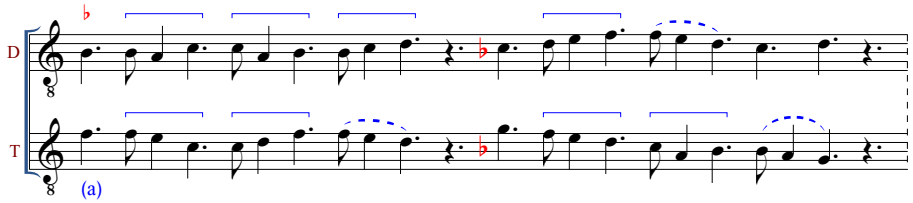
d. Last phrase, *Wood 591*



†Cauda at line 10,2 (closing Strophe II): *F,* f. 315r, III: opening phrase implies religation in mode 3 in comparison to *W1,* remainder in mode 1



††Cauda at line 15,1 (in mode 3): *F,* f. 315r, VI



VIRGA YESSE REGIO

Conductus (I24/383)

W1, f. 166r (157r) (9,80) (= *F*-7,46)

I Virga Yesse regio
flore decoratur
dum Maria filio
dei fecundatur.

Flos ad tempus aruit,
arefactus, floruit
et fructificavit.
Christus mori voluit,
moriensque genuit
quos predestinavit.

II Ex hac ergo paritura,
vinea processit,
que, Egypti tempnens iura,
terminos excessit,
a qua prelum Babilonis
intra situlam fullonis
sanguinem expressit.

The twig of Jesse is
adorned with a regal flower
when Mary is impregnated
with the son of God.

Over time, the flower withered,
dried up, then flourished again
and bore fruit.
Christ wished to die,
and in dying he brought forth
those he predestined.

Thus, out of this birth,
there issued a vineyard,
which, scorning the laws of Egypt,
departed from its territories,
and from it the winepress of Babylon
squeezed forth blood
into the fuller's vat.

SOURCES:

W1, fasc. 9, no. 80, f. 166r (157r): a2, Strophes I-II complete, indicated by painted initials and with an additional one opening line 5 not seen in the other sources (hence the added space in the text of Strophe I above); some of the caudae present rhythmic profiles differing from those in *F,* but agreeing for the most part with those in *Wood 591;* this, along with other features, has led to the choice of *W1* as the base source for the transcription presented here. For more on this reasoning, see the discussion below of the musical features of this piece.

F, fasc. 7, no. 46, f. 314v: a2, Strophes I-II complete, with II signaled by a conventional capital; some of the caudae offer different rhythmic profiles from the versions in both *W1* and *Wood 591;* these appear as alternative readings at the end of the score.

Wood 591 (GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Wood 591; OxWood), no. 7, f. 3r:[1] a2, fragmentary, with music and text extant from the opening of the piece through line 8,2, but with no additional omissions apparent, as the area of the writing block appears to be fully preserved. Since the present recto of this leaf was originally the verso, the piece does not continue on the other side. Most of the caudae in this source with rhythmic profiles differing from those in *F* agree with *W1;* these appear within the alternative readings at the end of the score. The marginal jotting at the bottom of the leaf is from the late sixteenth century: "on sunday the xxxth of July in the

[1]Images available from DIAMM here. Pieces are identified, numbered, and foliated according to the description in RISM. The folio numbering in RISM is not indicative of the original MS order; as it states in the RISM description on the DIAMM site: "... f. 1-2v is really f. 2v-1, since these pages are upside down in the source. Moreover, rectos are really versos and vice versa." The MS preserves 7 conductus, nos. 5-7 belonging to the Notre Dame repertory. Nos. 1-4 are English pieces. For an alternative presentation of the materials in this source that features high-quality printed images, a catalog, and description, but which employs a revised foliation system, 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), p. 29, plates 143-150.

yeare of oure Lord one thousand five hundred foure score and xii the xxxiiii[th] of quene elisabeth."[2]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** the flower is Christ, and the twig is Mary, with the name of Jesse connoting Jesus's royal lineage from him through King David. For the prophecy of the twig/rod/shoot/branch (*virga*) sprouting from the stem/root *(stirps/radix)* of Jesse, see Isaiah, 11:1;[3] and note the opening line of the triplum from the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius eius* (vdW 647/648/O16), as well as its host chant, the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16).[4] **5-7:** on the symbol of Christ as a flower that withered during the Passion and flourished again with the Resurrection, see Richard of St. Laurent's *De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis,* book 12, chap. 4, §2 of the cited edition.[5] See also the motet *Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat* (vdW 437/M34), lines 1-9, attributed to Philip the Chancellor. This explanation in the *De laudibus* effectively challenges my argument in *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 100, that the flower symbol in the motet is that of Mary, even though she is commonly associated with floral imagery herself (see, for example the notes to the opening lines of the texts of the conductus *In rosa vernat lilium* [H9/184] and *O lilium convallium* [F18/236]); rather it appears more likely that it is Christ. **8:** for Jesus's willingness to sacrifice his own life, see his words in John, 10:17-18.[6] Cf. also the Passiontide liturgical text: "Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis" ("Christ became obedient for our sake even unto death, the death on the cross"). **10:** for clarification, see Romans, 8:29-30.[7] Also cf. Ephesians, 1:5.[8] **11-17:** the second stanza of

---

[2]Despite some difficulty in making out the exact day of the month here – and assuming the writer is not mistaken – 30 July 1592 does correspond to a Sunday in the 34[th] year of the reign of Elizabeth I in the old Julian calendar (which England followed until 1752) and thus gives the most satisfactory result.

[3]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.").

[4]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch *[virga],* and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit. The branch is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son.").

[5]Richard 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 ...* , vol. 36, Auguste and Emile Borgnet, eds. (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1898).

[6]John, 10:17-18: "Propterea me pater diligit, quia ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso; potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo" ("Therefore the Father loves me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it up again. No man takes it away from me, but I lay it down by myself; I have the power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again. This commandment I have received from my Father").

[7]Romans, 8:29-30: "Nam quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis filii eius, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Quos autem praedestinavit, hos et vocavit; et quos vocavit, hos et iustificavit; quos autem iustificavit, illos et glorificavit" ("For those he [God] knew before [would be justified], he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his son, so that he [the son] might be as a firstborn among many brothers. Moreover, those he predestined, he also called; and those he called, he also justified; and those he justified, he also glorified").

[8]Ephesians, 1:5: "Qui praedestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum in ipsum, secundum propositum voluntatis suae" ("He [God] has predestined us for adoption as sons to himself through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will").

this conductus develops an extended discourse on: **a.** the figure of the vineyard (usually seen as the church or the body of the faithful, with Christ as the vine that produces it and God as its keeper), **b.** the pressing of blood from a winepress (a symbolic representation of the cross), and **c.** the image of a fuller's bucket or vat, an instrument used to clean and whiten clothes through the application of some bleaching agent such as urine or fuller's earth. The implication of whiteness here is a likely reference to purity, salvation, resurrection, and transfiguration; and the fuller's tub thus appears as a figure for a eucharistic chalice. Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xxx) gives an interpretation of the press as the cross and the vat as the chalice alongside a quotation from Jerome's commentary on Isaiah.[9] For specific discussions of the particular items in this portion of the conductus text, see the remarks on individual lines below. For an investigation into the multiple contexts of the winepress image in a study centered around the Latin *rondellus Vineam meam plantavi,* transmitted in the eleventh fascicle of *F,* f. 466v, see the article by Mary Channen Caldwell, " 'I Have Trodden the Winepress Alone': The Voice of Christ and the Mystic Winepress in a Thirteenth-Century Conductus," *Revue de musicologie,* 108 (2022): 1-37. **12:** on Christ as the true vine, see John, 15:1.[10] For biblical imagery that suggests the figurative association of the vineyard with the church, see Jesus's parable of the evil vinekeepers in, e.g., Matthew, 21:32-43, described in the notes to the text of the conductus *Excitatur caritas in Yerico* (F30/111), line 7. Also cf. the notes to lines 13-14 below, as well as Isaiah, 5:7,[11] Matthew, 21:40 (part of the above-mentioned parable),[12] and Jeremiah, 2:21.[13] **13-14:** in addition to the freeing of the Israelites from Egypt given in the book of Exodus (symbolic of the deliverance from worldly sin into salvation), see Psalm 79:9.[14] The negative associations allotted to Egypt here also apply to the invocation of Babylon in line 15 (q.v.). **15-17:** cf. the remarks to lines 13-14; like Egypt, Babylon figures as a land of sin (see, e.g., Revelation, 18:2-5). The image of a winepress producing blood as a symbol of the cross is suggested by the dialogue in Isaiah, 63:2-3.[15] See also Revelation, 19:13-15,[16] and

---

[9]Anderson in the place cited refers to the following Latin text from *PL,* 24: col. 635B (not col. 631f, as he gives it): "... et de utero virginali tantum candorem habuit, quantum nullus fullonum possit facere super terram, sanguine cruentares?" He translates this as: "From the virgin womb he was clothed in whiteness such as no fuller on earth can match; why do you besmirch it with blood?" See further the comments on line 16 with their quote from Mark, 9:3.

[10]John, 15:1: "Ego sum vitis vera, et pater meus agricola est" ("I am the true vine, and my Father is the vine keeper").

[11]Isaiah, 5:7: "Vinea enim domini exercituum domus Israhel, et vir Iuda germen delectabile eius; et expectavi ut faceret iudicium, et ecce, iniquitas; et iustitiam et ecce, clamor" ("For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the man of Judah is his pleasant planting; and I waited for him to make judgment, and behold, there was iniquity; and [I waited for him to do] justice, and behold there was a cry").

[12]Matthew, 21:40: "Cum ergo venerit dominus vineae, quid faciet agricolis illis?" ("Therefore when the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do with those vine keepers?").

[13]Jeremiah, 2:21: "Ego autem plantavi te vineam electam, omne semen verum; quomodo ergo conversa es in pravum, vinea aliena?" ("Yet I planted you as a chosen vineyard, all true seed; how then are you turned upon me into that which is good for nothing, O strange vineyard?").

[14]Psalm 79:9: "Vineam de Aegypto transtulisti; eiecisti gentes et plantasti eam" ("You have brought a vineyard out of Egypt; you have cast out the Gentiles and planted it").

[15]Isaiah, 63:2-3: " 'Quare ergo rubrum est indumentum tuum, et vestimenta tua sicut calcantium in torculari?' 'Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum; calcavi eos in furore meo, et conculcavi eos in ira mea, et aspersus est sanguis eorum super vestimenta mea, et omnia indumenta mea inquinavi' " (" 'Why then is your apparel red, and your garments like theirs that tread in the winepress?' 'I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the Gentiles there is not a man with me: I have trampled on them in my indignation, and have trodden them down in my wrath, and their blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my apparel.' ").

[16]Revelation, 19:13-15: "Et vestitus erat vestem aspersam sanguine, et vocatur nomen eius Verbum Dei." Et exercitus qui sunt in caelo, sequebantur eum in equis albis, vestiti byssino albo et mundo. Et de ore ejus procedit gladius ex utraque parte acutus, ut in ipso percutiat gentes. Et ipse reget eas in virga ferrea: et ipse calcat torcular vini furoris irae Dei omnipotentis. ("And he was clothed with

Revelation, 14:20.[17] There is also a related image in Lamentations, 1:15.[18] Additionally, the figure from Isaiah, 63:1-3, appears in the conductus *Circa mundi vesperam* (J54/63), lines 7-8, as an image of Christ.[19] **15,1-2:** the antecedent to which the phrase "a qua" refers is most likely the vineyard rather than the birth, given that wine is expressed from it; in this specific case the vineyard seems more to refer to Christ than his church. **16:** applicable biblical references to fulling and its results occur in Malachi, 3:2,[20] and Mark, 9:3.[21] The fact that the winepress (the cross) that produces the blood is placed within a fuller's vat, which is associated with the cleansing and whitening of garments (a symbol of salvation, as in Revelation, 3:5 and 19:8; and resurrection and transfiguration, as in the passages from Mark, 9:3, Matthew, 17:2 and 28:3, and Luke 9:29), suggests the connection of the fuller's vat with the chalice, which holds the transfigured wine (the resurrected Christ's blood) that provides cleansing from sin.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,2:** Wood 591: iesse. **3,2:** Wood 591: marie. **5,1:** A painted capital letter occurs at this point in *W1,* but not in *F* or *Wood 591;* the break is shown in the lineation of the poem above, but a new strophe is not advocated here. Both *F* and *W1* agree in a strophic division at line 11, while *Wood 591* breaks off before this point. **8,1:** Wood 591: looks like "χρc" (?), with a macron over the "ρ"; likely this abbreviated name was intended to employ Greek characters throughout, as "χρς." **8,2:** Wood 591: the remainder is lost following "mori." **11,4:** F: genitura, an equally correct, synonymous reading in comparison with the text in *W1.* **MUSIC: Caudae and rhythmic modes, base source:** *F* occasionally offers varied readings for its melismas, some with clear indications for iambic modal treatment. The transcription offered here relies on *W1* as the base source, since it, like *Wood 591,* favors mode 1 throughout and appears from comparison with *F* to suggest a more authoritative rendering of certain notational details. In particular, the cauda closing Strophe I at line 10,2 (over "[predesti]na[vit]") shows apparent religation in *F* of the opening of the D's first phrase that suggests mode 3 when compared to the mode-1 ligation at this point in *W1;* the choice of the iambic mode in *F* seems intentional here even in view of the repeated *c* that begins the D phrase (the opening D figures are given as si,3li,2li'=*c,cde,fe'* in *W1,* but as si,2li, 3li for the same pitch series in *F*). Following the end of the long first phrase in *F* (beginning at L16 in *W1* – see L15 in the alternative transcription supplied from *F*), *F* clearly seems to indicate mode 1, suggesting it has been partially converted from an earlier version disposed throughout in mode 1. Alternative versions of caudae, or portions thereof, from *F* and *Wood 591* are provided at the end of the transcription. **Opening cauda:** TD: F: the whole cauda is clearly ligated according to mode 3, as opposed to mode 1 in *W1* and *Wood 591;* the *F* version is given at the end of the transcription. T: W1: the stroke at L4 after the second *g* is omitted, taken from *F,Wood 591.* **Line 1,3:** D:

---

a garment sprinkled with blood, and his name is called the Word of God." And the armies that are in heaven followed him on white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth proceeds a sharp two-edged sword; that with it he may strike the nations. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treads the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of God the Almighty.). (2022): 3-40.

[17]Revelation, 14:20: "et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem, et exivit sanguis de lacu usque ad frenos equorum per stadia mille sescenta" ("And the press was trodden outside the city, and blood came out of the press, up to the horses' bridles, for one thousand six hundred furlongs.").

[18]Lamentations, 1:15: "torcular calcavit Dominus virgini filiae Iuda" ("The Lord has trodden the virgin daughter of Judah [i.e., Jerusalem] in the winepress.").
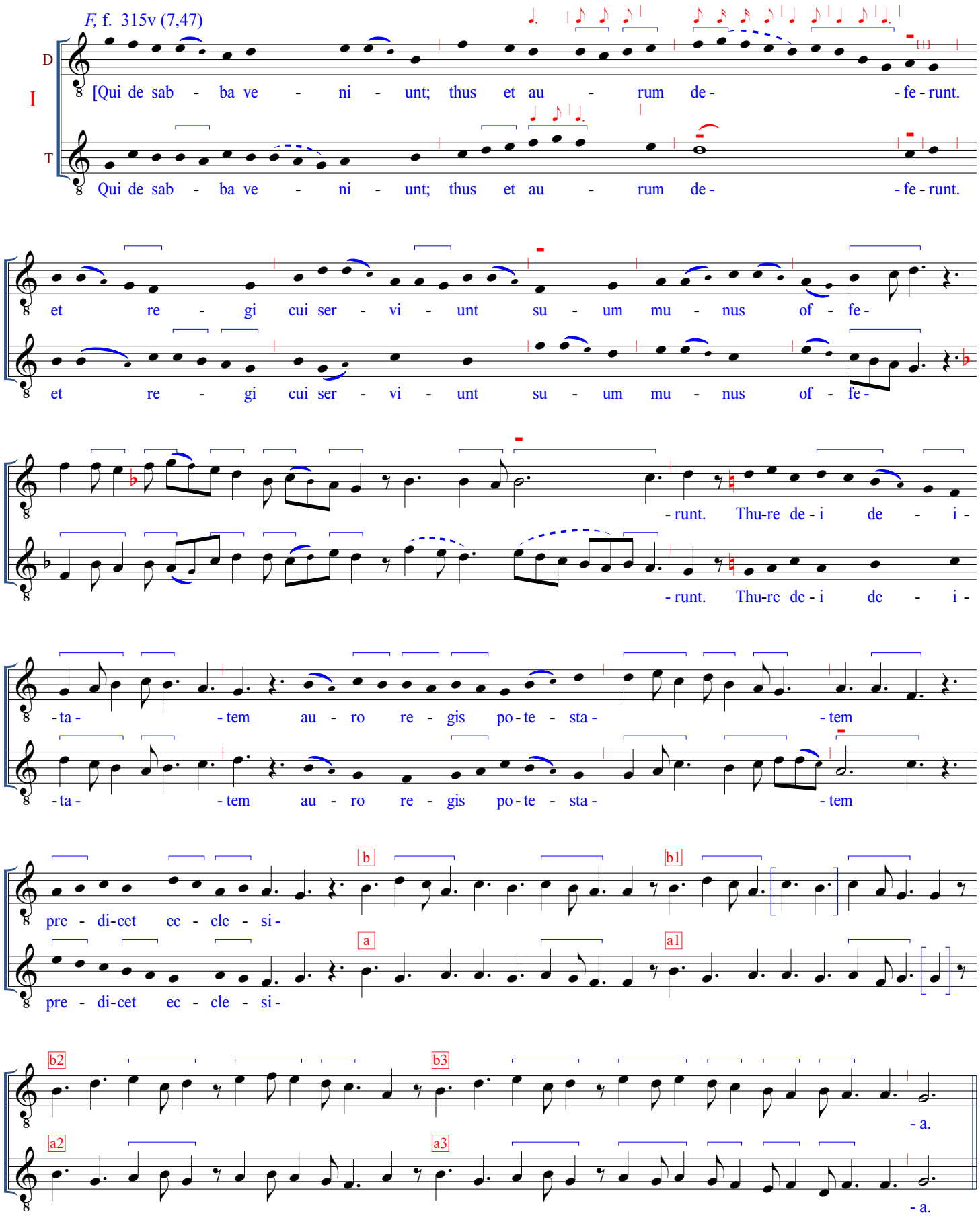
[19]On this point, see Caldwell, " 'I Have Trodden the Winepress,' " 8.
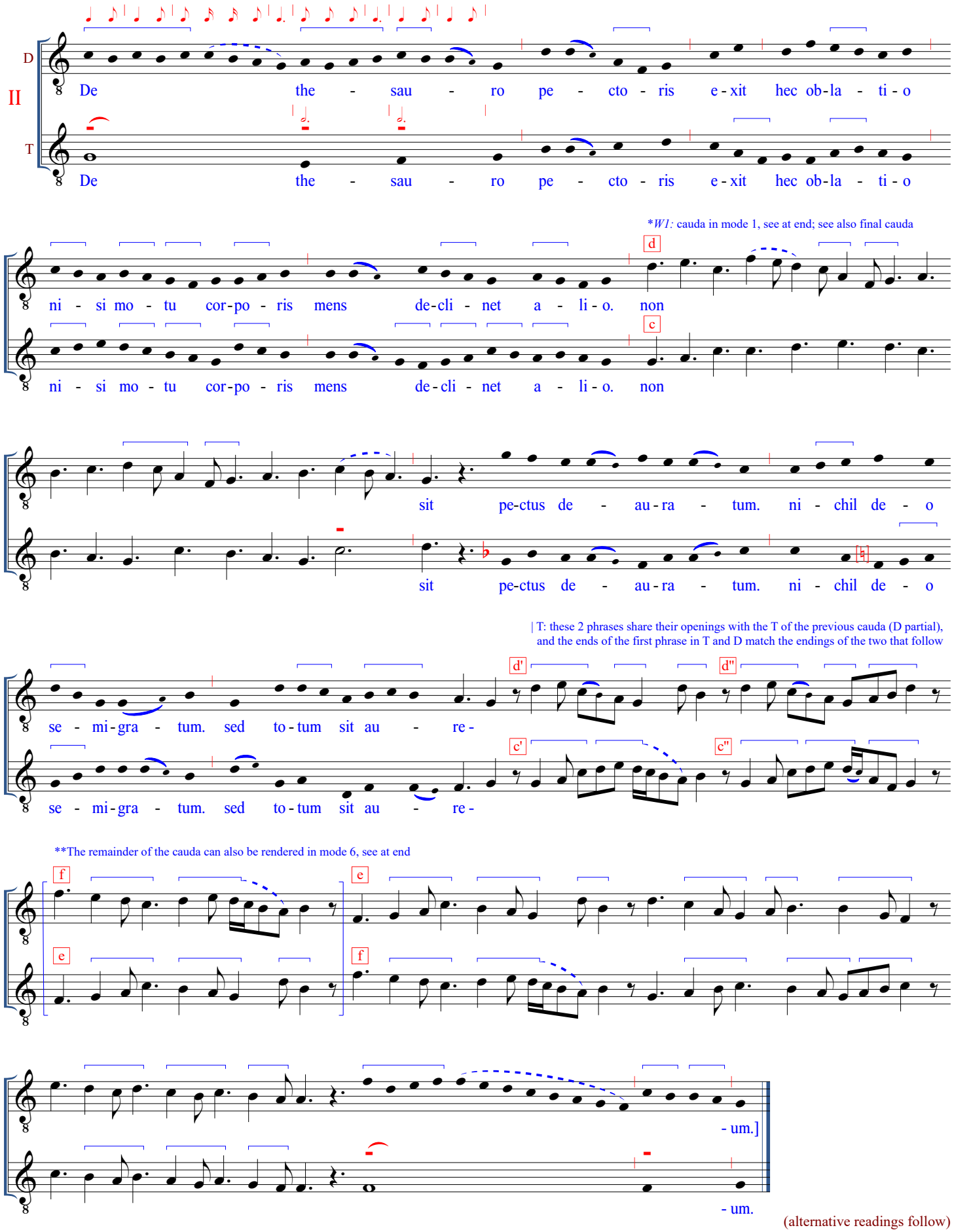
[20]Malachi, 3:2: "Et quis poterit cogitare diem adventus eius? Et quis stabit ad videndum eum? Ipse enim quasi ignis conflans et quasi herba fullonum" ("And who shall be able to think of the day of his coming? And who shall stand to see him? For he is like a refining fire, and like the fuller's herb.").

[21]Mark, 9:3: "Et vestimenta eius facta sunt splendentia, candida nimis velut nix, qualia fullo super terram non potest candida facere" ("And his [Jesus'] garments became shining, exceedingly white as snow, as no fuller upon earth can make white.").

F,Wood 591: siP,2li,2li+siP =*b*P*a,gf,ga*+*a*P*b*; T: F,Wood 591: si=*a'* for "[regi]o"; these readings effect a cadence on *a* rather than the *b* in *W1*. **3-4:** TD: W1,F,Wood 591: all sources show differing details in the setting of the two lines preceding the cauda at 4,2; each reading is offered for comparison at the end of the transcription. *W1* seems particularly distant from *F* and *Wood 591* in placing its vertical strokes of division. In *W1* these markers segment the two lines so that breaks occur within line 3 and after each of its two opening words ("dum | maria |); the final word of this verse ("filio") is then run together with the opening word of line 4 ("dei"), following it with a further vertical stroke before the three syllables that introduce the subsequent cauda ("filio dei | fecunda[tur]"). The atypical divisions here may at least partially be explained by the harmony of a second *(g/a)* moving to a fifth *(g/d)* that sets line 4,1 ("de-i"). By inserting the break within the line – following instead of preceding line 4,1 – the scribe of W1 masks somewhat the initial dissonance of a *g-a* second that results when the phrase begins with "dei," as it does in *F* and *Wood 591*. Instead, the phrase in *W1* barrels on through to conclude on "(de)i" with the *g/d* fifth, and, thanks to this enjambment, the dissonance is thus relegated to the penultimate sonority of the newly recast phrase. As a result, the preceding additional strokes could well have been entered to provide places for the singers to catch their breath. The scribe's apparent reconstitution of these phrases may also have resulted in the repeated and apparently unnecessary si=*g* that appears over the second syllable of line 4,2 ("fecundatur" – indicated by a dashed tie in the transcription), which is supported by no other source. **4,2:** as can be seen in the alternative versions provided at the end: for "[fecun]da[tur]" prior to the cauda: TD: F: DL,si=*a,g* (in T), *f,g*(in D); Wood 591: D: si,2li, 1 of 2 el; these readings prompt the elongations given here in the *W1* version. **Cauda at line 4,2:** TD: F,Wood 591: the variant readings of the second and last phrases of this melisma are given at the end of the transcription. *F* implies a mode-3 reading for the entire cauda, as the seeming opening 3li in the D of the last cauda phrase is written L+2li; this suggests L,2li was initially intended to open the melisma. For the end of the third phrase at L15-L16: T: F: DL; Wood 591: 2si=*a,a;* this justifies the elongation of the si in the *W1* version. Prior to the final syllable of "fecundatur" in line 4,2: D: W1: ' om, supplied from *F* and *Wood 591*. **Line 5:** D: Wood 591: 2si, 2li,si,siP,si,3li =*d,f,ef,f*(or *g*)*fe*P,*g,fed;* a slightly different melodic line that effects a cadence on a unison *d,* rather than the *g/d* fifth of *W1* and *F*. **8,2:** TD: Wood 591: remainder lost. **9,1:** T: F: music for the first three syllables 3 higher. **Cauda at line 10,2:** TD: F: there are different ligations in the first half (suggesting mode 3) and at other points of this melisma on "[predesti]na[vit]"; it also finishes with a different cadential phrase in the D and with the addition of a *punctus organi;* see at end for this version and above under "caudae and rhythmic modes" for further discussion of this melisma's rhythmic indications. D: W1: antepenultimate cauda phrase at L35-L39 om, supplied from *F*. **Line 11,2:** TD: W1: following strokes om, taken from *F* for clarity. **13,4:** D: W1: following stroke om, taken from *F*. **Cauda at line 14,2:** T: F: opens with 2si,2li,si=*b,b,ba,g*=L,L,BL,L; this justifies the 3L rhythm for the 3li employed in the *W1* reading. D: F: 2li for the 2si in *W1* at L11,2-L12, just prior to the fall of 7C before the cadence; this suggests the adopted rhythm of the edition. **Cauda at line 15,1:** TD: F: can also be rendered in mode 3; *F* presents some notably different readings, especially in its second phrase, see at end for this version, where the ficta *b-flats* in the D are verified by *W1;* T: W1: stroke at L16, 3L prior to cadence, om; from *F*. **Line 16,3 and following cauda:** T: W1: the note over the second syllable of "fullonis" and the first phrase of the succeeding cauda are written 3 lower; corrected via *F*. TD: F: a mode-3 rendering throughout is likely for the succeeding cauda. D: W1: the apparently erroneous ligation of the end of the first cauda phrase at L5-L8, which creates an uncharacteristically harsh-sounding pre-cadential dissonance of a semitone (*b-flat* over *a*), is avoided in *F* through re-ligation. The implied rhythm from the *F* variant has been adopted here to mode 1 and the varied ligation noted in the score. T: W1: the last note of the cauda *(f)* surmounting the final syllable of "fullonis" at L15 is om. As with the previous instance, this likely error is corrected and the result rhythmicized according to the reading in *F* of 4C=*cbag* from L13-L14. **Final cauda (at line 17):** TD: F: the entire melisma may be rendered in mode 3, but 2li figures ending several phrases suggests mode 1 is more likely; *e-flat* sigs in both parts occur at 9L of the cauda, valid until end. D: W1: the om stroke prior to the final syllable comes from *F*.

QUI DE SABBA VENIUNT
Conductus (I20/281)
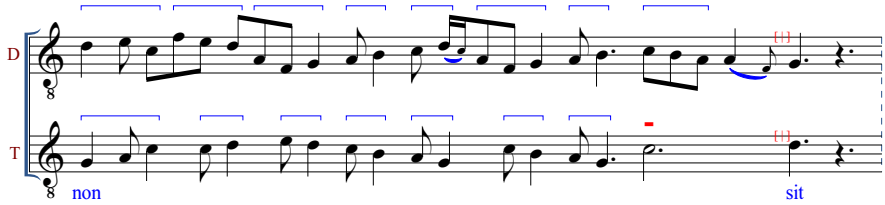




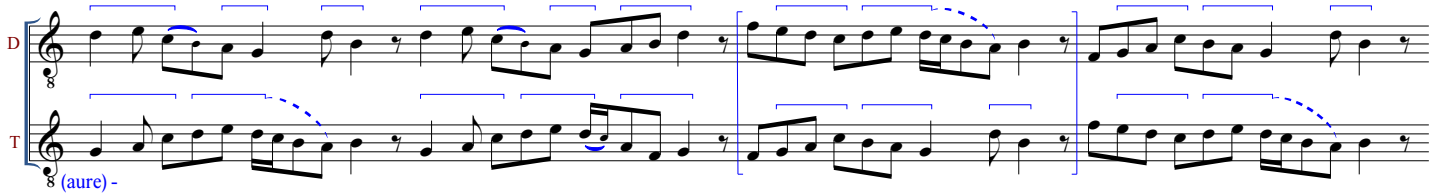
(alternative readings follow)

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

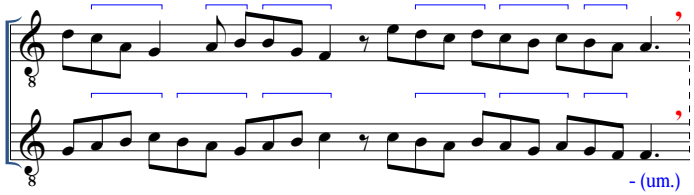
*Cauda on line 12,1-2, mode-1 reading from *W1* (mode 5 in *F*): *W1*,f. 157v (148v), VI



**Final cauda, with the faster rhythmic reading implied by the opening two phrases used throughout: *F,* f. 316r, V



| T: W1: 3li=*gcb* for *gabcb*



QUI DE SABBA VENIUNT

Conductus (I20/281)

F, f. 315v (7,47)

I	Qui de Sabba veniunt	Those who come from Sheba
	thus et aurum deferunt,	bear frankincense and gold,
	et regi cui serviunt	and offer their tribute
	suum munus offerunt.	to the king they serve.
	Thure dei deitatem,	Let the church proclaim
	auro regis potestatem,	the deity of God in the frankincense,
	predicet ecclesia.	and the power of a king in the gold.
II	De thesauro pectoris	From the treasury of the heart
	exit hec oblatio,	this offering goes forth,
	nisi motu corporis	unless the mind should turn elsewhere
	mens declinet alio.	through an impulse of the body.
	Non sit pectus deauratum	Let not the heart be a gilded
	nichil, deo semigratum;	nothing, parted from God;
	sed totum sit aureum.	let it rather be a golden whole.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 47, f. 315v: a2; Strophes I-II, complete; capital letters divide Strophe I after line 4 (hence the added space above) and indicate Strophe II at line 8. This is the final work in a nearly unbroken series of primarily through-composed pieces that has been in force since the start of *F*-7. Some of these have strophic texts and through-composed music, some are through-composed both textually and musically, and all bear relatively substantial cauda sections.[1] For details on the musical-poetic structural features of the subsequent segment of the fascicle, see the source report on the *F* transmission (= setting II) of the following work, the strophic *A deserto veniens* (I29/1), at *F*-7,48.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 73, f. 157v (148v): a2; Strophes I-II, complete, indicated by painted initials, with no special distinction given to line 5.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem explores a number of images that evoke the biblical accounts

[1]Besides the non-strophic sequence form of *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185) at *F*-7,39 (f. 308r) and the prose text of *Ave Maria* (G7/29) at *F*-7,18 (f. 284v) – the latter designated as *Ave Maria* II on the CPI website, and as *Ave Maria* I in Anderson's catalog and edition) – 24 pieces transmit strophic poems with through-composed music, different for each stanza, 4 are questionable or ambiguous as to their strophic stature (e.g., a through-composed setting where the poem conceivably could constitute a single stanza), while the remaining 17 presumably multi-stanzaic works are through-composed in both their text and music. The only earlier work in *F*-7 that is analogous visually to the strophic formatting of *A deserto* is *In terram Christus expuit* (see above), whose three supplementary versicles are entered at the end of each corresponding stanza. Additionally, the emphasis on through-composed settings in this first part of the fascicle cuts across the partition at f. 299r, signaled by the historiated initial that heads *Austro terris influente* (G1/26) at *F*-7,31. In the case of *Austro terris,* the division signals a switch to works more widely transmitted than the seven pieces that precede it.

of the Epiphany, as well as the liturgical feast that commends it, celebrated on 6 January. These include the account of the visit of the Magi to the infant Jesus (Matthew, 2:1-12) and Old Testament prophecies and narratives that were seen to prefigure the event. Given the emphasis on gifts and offerings that appear in Strophe II of this conductus text, it is also possible that a nod is intended towards the offering ceremony within the liturgy of the Mass. **1-4:** these lines may be translated equally well by using the subjunctive forms for 2,4 and 4,3 that appear in *W1* (see the textual variants listed below): "May those who come from Sheba carry ... and let them offer their tribute ... ." Poetically, the primary difference that results is that the sound of the final syllable is uniform throughout the opening quatrain of *F,* but is disposed into abab couplets in *W1.* For the biblical and liturgical references contained in this passage, see Isaiah, 60:6.[2] This prophetic text appears numerous times in the Epiphany liturgy; it serves, for instance, as the respond section of the Epiphany gradual *Omnes de Saba. Surge et illuminare* (M9), set as a two-part organum in the *Magnus liber organi* in *F, W1,* and *W2.*[3] **1,3:** the kingdom of Sheba *(Saba),* located in the southwest portion of the Arabian peninsula, was celebrated for its production of spices. In the biblical accounts in 1 Kings, 10:1-13, and 2 Chronicles, 9:1-12, the Queen of Sheba visits King Solomon with a large convoy of spices and gold (see also her supposed mention in the very similar language of Matthew, 12:42, and Luke, 11:31).[4] This story was often interpreted as a typological prefiguration of the adoration of the Magi. Note also Psalm 71:10.[5] **5-7:** for an early authority that ascribes the same symbolic meanings to the gifts as noted in the conductus, see Origen, *Contra Celsum,* book 1, chap. 60: "These gifts were symbols, the gold being offered as to a king, the myrrh for one who would die, and the frankincense to God."[6] The omission of myrrh in the conductus text is interesting, as the particular focus on the Epiphany in this poem avoids any consideration of the Christ's death. For the wide variety possible in medieval interpretations of the Magi's gifts, see Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxiv, note 2, who quotes Bede's exposition of the gospel of Matthew, cited from *PL,* 92: col. 13C, in reference to Matthew, 2:11,[7] in which four different representations are presented.[8] **7,1:** "predicet" ("declare/preach") is in the subjunctive mood; its

---

[2]Isaiah, 60:6: "... omnes de Saba venient aurum, et tus deferentes et laudem domino adnuntiantes" ("... all shall come from Sheba, bringing gold and frankincense and announcing praise to the Lord").

[3]On the differences in the Latin spelling of the kingdom of Sheba that occur here, see the observations on the verbal text below.

[4]Luke, 11:31: "Regina austri surget in judicio cum viris generationis hujus, et condemnabit illos: quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis: et ecce plus quam Salomon hic" ("The queen of the south shall rise in the judgment with the men of this generation, and shall condemn them: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold more than Solomon here.").

[5]Psalm 71:10: " Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent; reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" ("The kings of Tarshish and the islands shall offer presents: the kings of the Arabians and of Sheba shall bring gifts").

[6]Taken from Origen, *Contra Celsum,* Henry Chadwick, transl. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 55.

[7]Matthew, 2:11: "Et intrantes domum, invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre ejus, et procidentes adoraverunt eum: et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham" ("And entering into the house, they [the wise men] found the child with Mary his mother, and falling down they adored him; and opening their treasures, they offered him gifts; gold, frankincense, and myrrh.").

[8]From *PL,* 92: col. 13C: "In auro regalis dignitas ostenditur Christi; in thure, ejus verum sacerdotium; in myrrha, mortalitas carnis; aliter: in auro spiritalis sensus, in thure olfactus virtutum, in myrrha mortificatio corporis designatur, quae quotidie omnia ab ista Ecclesia in tribus partibus mundi dispersa Domino offeruntur. Alii tres species philiosophiae in his muneribus intelligere volunt: physicam, ethicam, logicam, quas post fidem ad laudem Dei iste mundus obtulit, cum antea inani studio impendit. Alii in auro allegoriam, in myrrha historiam, in thure anagogen, dicunt insinuari." This is translated by Anderson as follows (from *NDRC,* 4: xxiv, note 2): "In gold is shown the natural dignity of Christ; in frankincense, his true priesthood; in myrrh, the mortality of his flesh. This may otherwise be interpreted: in gold is the spiritual sense, in frankincense, the odour of Virtues; and in the myrrh, the mortification of the flesh; daily all these things are offered to God by the Church dispersed in three parts of the world. Some wish to understand in these three gifts three systems of philosophy: Physics, Ethics, and Logic, which the world offered in praise of God when faith was received, in contrasts to its previous inane zeal. Others see in gold, allegory; in myrrh, history; and in frankincense, spiritual

infinitive is "pr(a)edicare"; this is a different conjugation from the root "dico/dicere" ("speak/say"). **8-14:** there may be a possible reflection in this strophe of Jesus's story of the poor widow who gave only two small coins – all that she possessed – to the temple treasury. He praises her generosity, and contrasts her gift with those of wealthy donors who gave much more money, but proportionally less of their assets. For the narrative, see Mark, 12:41-44, and Luke, 21:1-4. **8:** see the language of the equivalent passages in Matthew, 6:21, and Luke, 12:34: "Ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum" ("For where your treasure is, there is your heart also."). **8-11:** the expression "treasury of the heart," and its proposed inclination to exude sincere generosity in order to bring one's heart closer to God's favor (as in lines 11-13), may perhaps recall Luke, 6:45.[9] **10-11:** on the (lowly) body turning the (more exalted) mind away from actions that may lead towards salvation, see Romans, 7: 23;[10] cf. also Romans, 7:25, 6:13, and 6:19. **11,3:** "alio" functions here as an adverb. **12,3:** a participial form of the verb "semigro/semigrare." The translation does its best to convey the witty antithetical juxtaposition that results from the proximity of this word to "totum": hence "part" vs. "whole."

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,3:** W1: saba; F: the spelling with two "b"s from *F* is retained here; it also occurs in other medieval Parisian musical documents; see, e.g., the noted breviary *F-Pn lat. 15181,* f. 154v[b], which contains the responsory *Omnes de Sabba. Reges Tharsis.*[11] **2,4:** W1: deferant; see the above notes on the text for lines 1-4. **3,3:** F,W1: "cui" is treated as a monosyllable in both the poem and its musical setting. **4,3:** W1: offerant; see the above notes on the text for lines 1-4. **14,1:** W1: set. **MUSIC: Line 1,1:** T: W1: the note shape over the first syllable of the text is elongated; the D is decorated with a five-note ornamental figure recollective of the *principium ante principium,* a type of opening formula seen in many Notre Dame organa: 3li (with 2 el), si,R=*gfg,g,g.*[12] These features from *W1* might argue for extending the first two notes in addition to the remainder of the syllables in the line – thanks to their emphasis on compound notational figures – in a performance of the piece from *F.* **2,4:** D: F: the notes over "[servi]unt" are written 2 higher as si,2li=*b,ba; W1* has si=*a;* the reading of *F* has been transposed here to reflect the consonant reading offered by *W1.* **Cauda on line 7,2 (closes Strophe I):** note the use of the same opening motive in both parts for all but one of the five phrases of this passage; also, the series of parallel fifths starting the closing phrase here is complemented by the parallel thirds used throughout the last phrase of the final cauda in the piece prior to the *punctus organi.* The notes omitted in the second phrase in *F:* D: 2si=*c,b* (at L12-L13), T: si=*g* (at L16), all supplied from *W1.* **Cauda on line 12,1-2:** TD: W1 in mode 1, as opposed to (mostly) mode 5 in *F;* this reading is given at the end of the transcription; see also the remarks for the final cauda, which recalls some of the music from this melisma. **Final cauda (at line 14,4):** see also the remarks for the caudae at lines 7,2 and 12,1-2. T: F,W1: the initial two phrases from L3 to L10 share their opening pitches with the previous cauda at line 12,1-2; the first three notes

---

instruction."

[9]Luke, 6:45: "Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum: et malus homo de malo thesauro profert malum. Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur" (" A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure brings forth that which is evil. For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.").

[10]Romans, 7: 23: "Video autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati quae est in membris meis." ("But I see another law in my [body's] members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin that is in my members.")
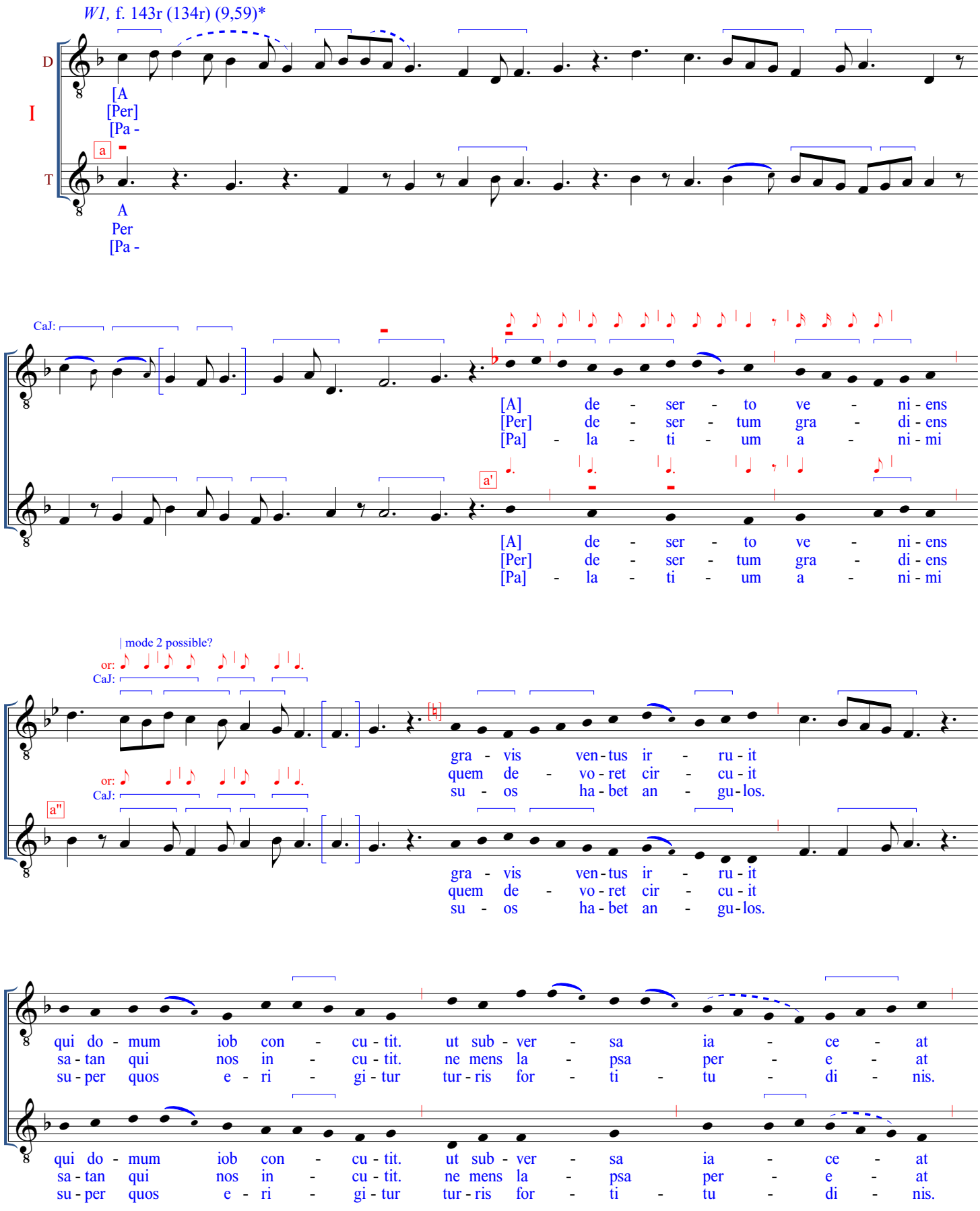
[11]However, in my transcription of the two-voice organum, *Omnes de Saba. Surge et illuminare* (M9), in *F*-4, 9 (f. 105r), the chant source used to supply the choral portion of the organum is the late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth-century noted Parisian gradual *F-Pn lat. 1337,* f. 22v, which gives "saba." The earlier Parisian missal from the 1220s, *F-Pn* lat. 1112, f. 22v (XIIII[v]), for instance, gives "sabba,"

[12]On the decorative gesture, see Edward H. Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," *Early Music*, 7 (1979): 174-189, at 178, who quotes the theorist Anonymous 4. For the latter's Latin text, see Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4,* 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1: 86, 88.
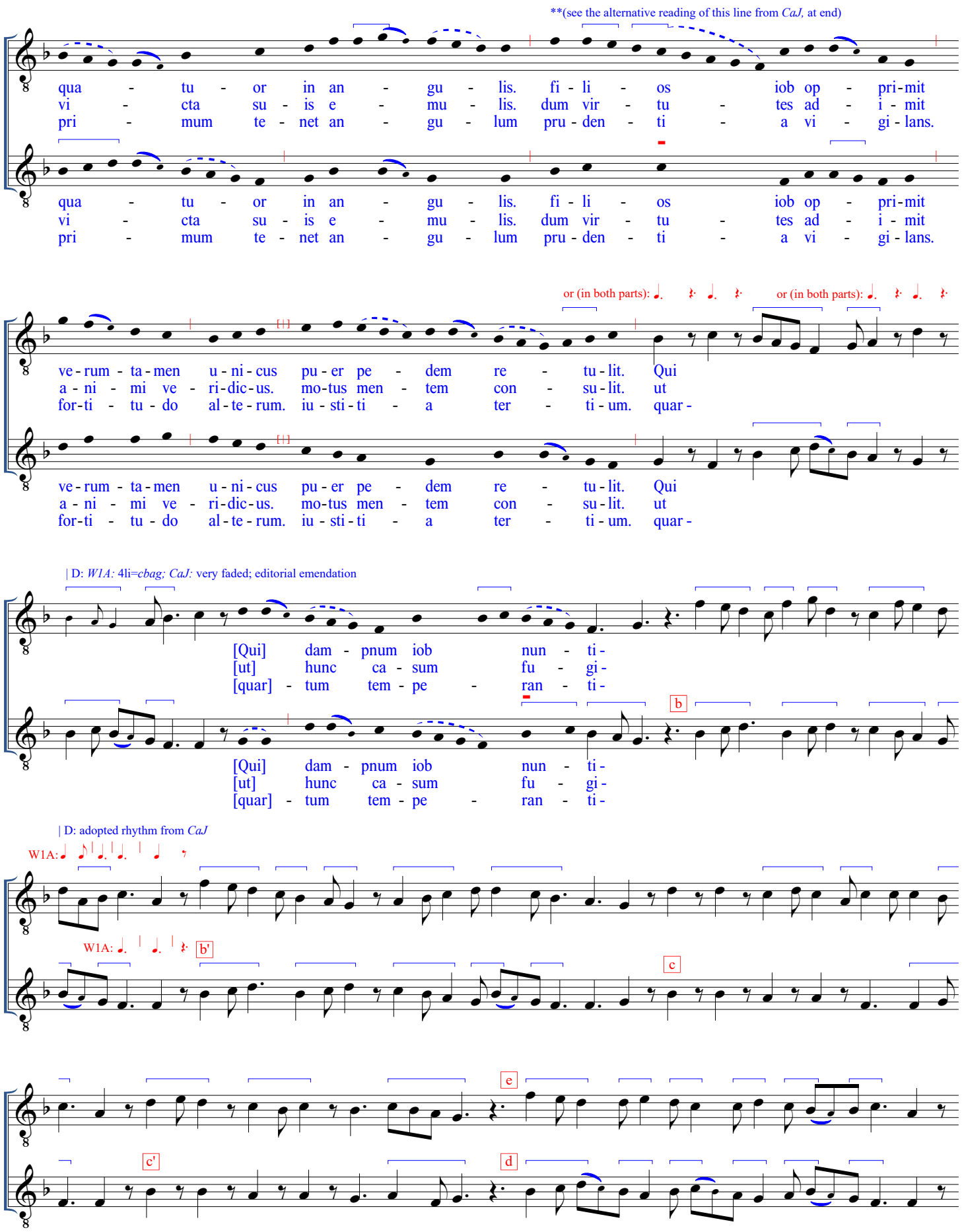
of the D are also identical. TD: F: on top of its other similarities, in the sections of the cauda from L11-L20, the concluding half of each of these two exchanged phrases is equivalent in both voices to the same segments of the initial phrase at L3-L6. Furthermore, beginning with the cauda phrase at L11, this melisma can be rendered in faster values akin to mode 6. This version (which *W1* seems to favor, based on its use of a 3li=*gcb* for the *gabcb* in the T of *F* at L23-L26,1) is supplied at the end of the transcription. TD: F: the om section in this cauda from L11-L16, which features exact voice exchange with the following phrase, L17-L22, has been included, thanks to its appearance in *W1;* the ligation here is reproduced from the subsequent gesture in *F,* due to fact that these two phrases are identical in their slightly differing ligation in *W1*. D: F: the 1 of 3li=*b* at L27 looks more like *a;* W1 clearly shows the adopted *b.*
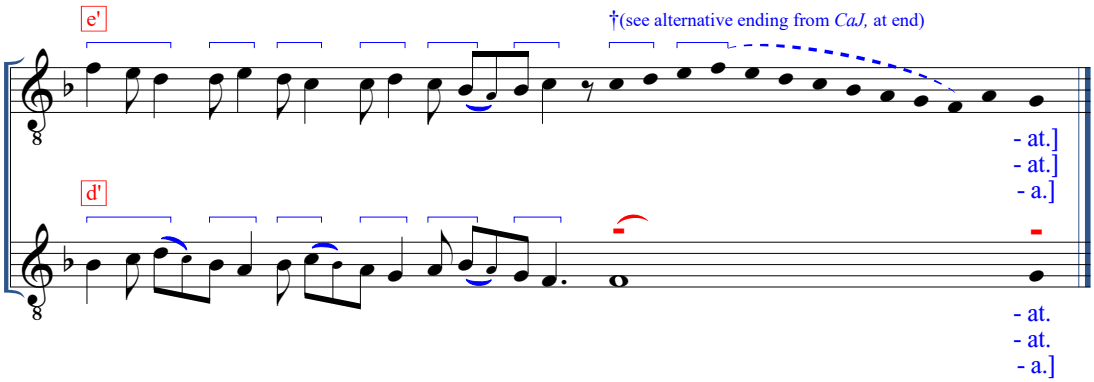
A DESERTO VENIENS – settings I *(W1A)* and II *(F)*

(Conductus J3/1)



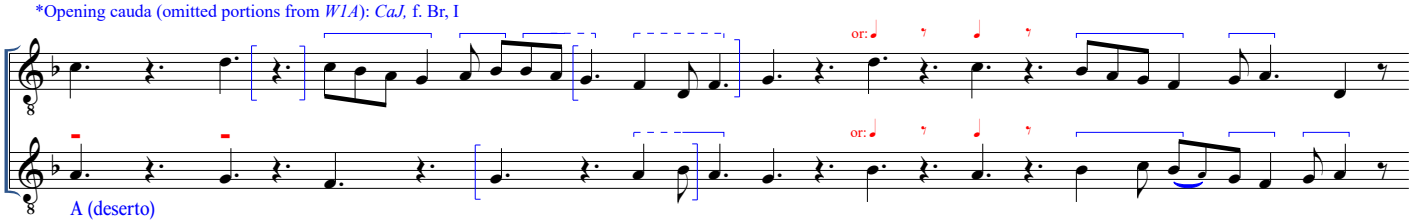
*see the alternative reading of the opening cauda from *CaJ*, at the end of this transcription.
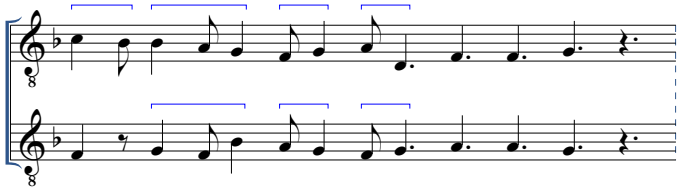

**(see the alternative reading of this line from *CaJ*, at end)
qua - tu - or in an - gu - lis. fi - li - os iob op - pri-mit
vi - cta su - is e - mu - lis. dum vir - tu - tes ad - i - mit
pri - mum te - net an - gu - lum pru - den - ti - a vi - gi - lans.
or (in both parts):
or (in both parts):
ve - rum - ta - men u - ni - cus pu - er pe - dem re - tu - lit. Qui
a - ni - mi ve - ri - dic - us. mo - tus men - tem con - su - lit. ut
for - ti - tu - do al - te - rum. iu - sti - ti - a ter - ti - um. quar -
| D: *W1A:* 4li=*cbag; CaJ:* very faded; editorial emendation
[Qui] dam - pnum iob nun - ti -
[ut] hunc ca - sum fu - gi -
[quar] - tum tem - pe - ran - ti -
b
| D: adopted rhythm from *CaJ*
W1A:
W1A:
b'
c
e
c'
d



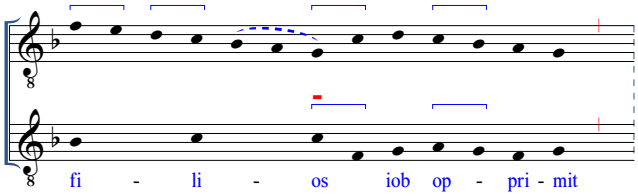
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Opening cauda (omitted portions from *W1A*): *CaJ,* f. Br, I

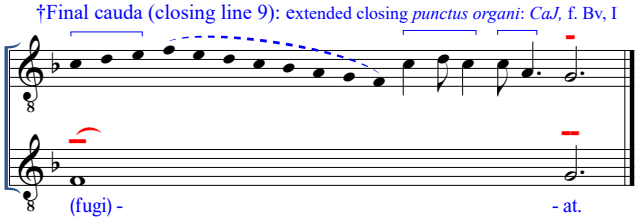




**Line 6: *CaJ,* f. Br, III-IV



†Final cauda (closing line 9): extended closing *punctus organi*: *CaJ,* f. Bv, I

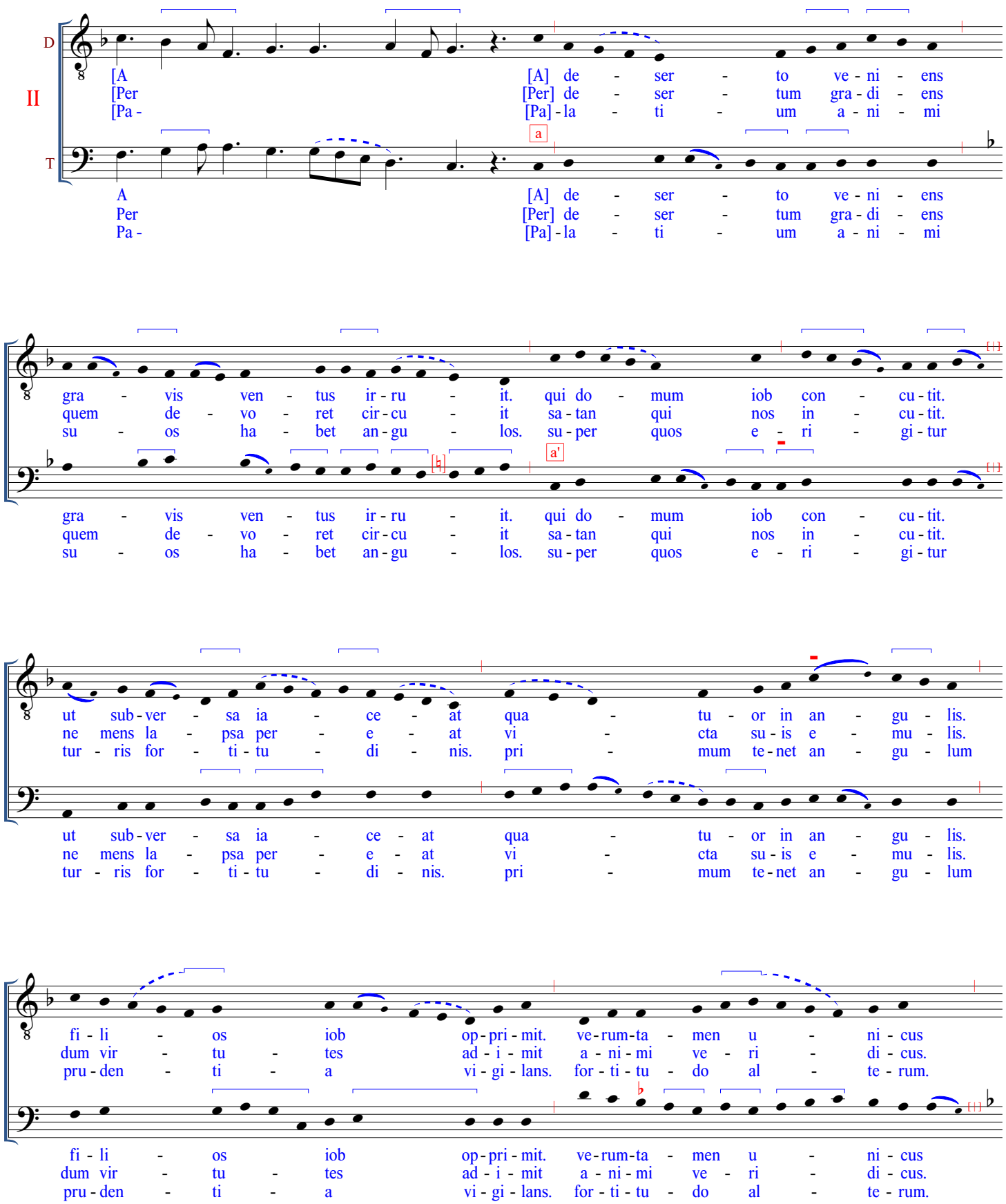


(VERSION II FROM *F*-7,48 FOLLOWS)

A DESERTO VENIENS (II) – *F* version

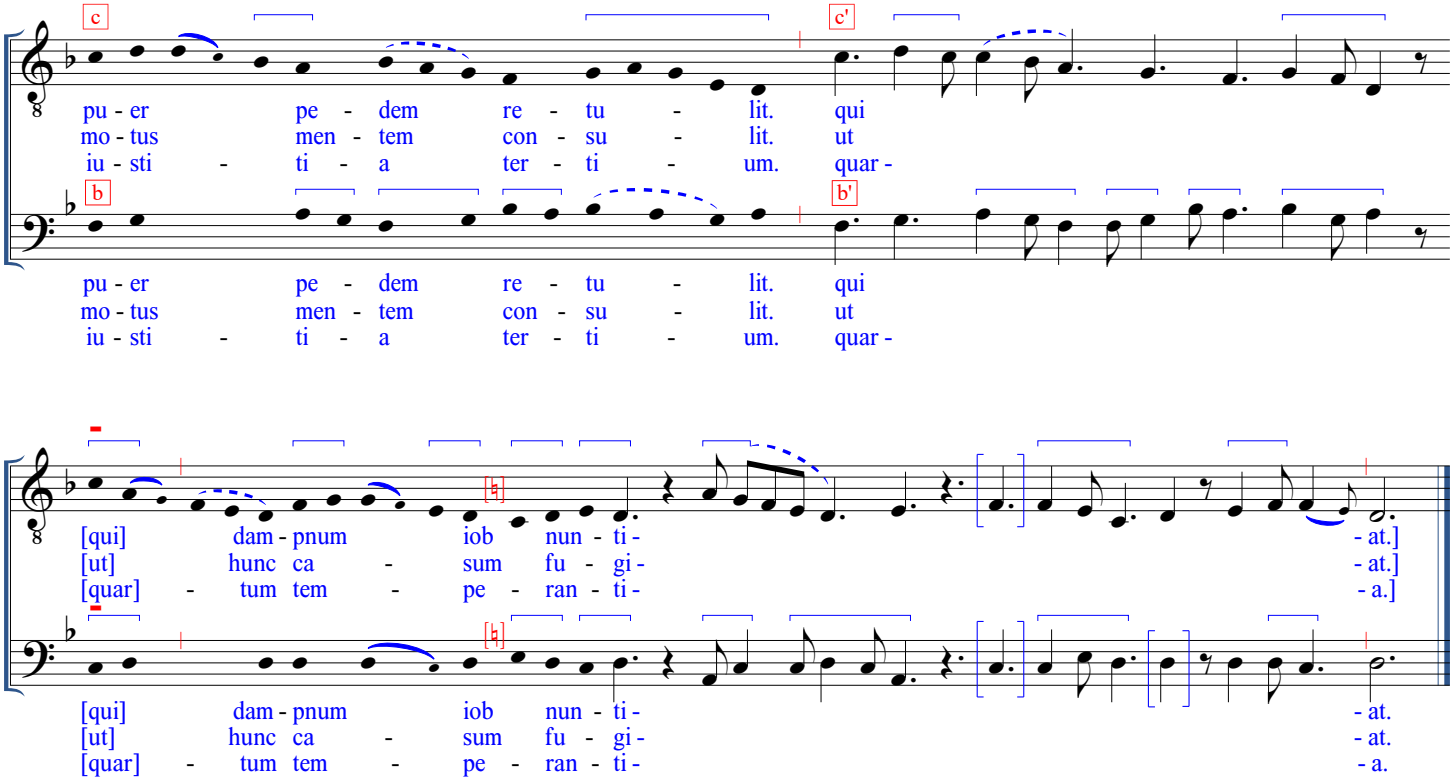
Conductus (I29/1)

F, f. 316r (7,48)*



*All caudae in F allow for realization in iambic rhythms (modes 2 and 3); these alternative versions appear at the end of this transcription. Also, alternative readings from *W1B* of the opening cauda and the one at line 9,1 appear at the end under **.

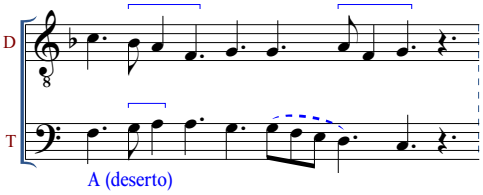
**W1B shows slightly different ligations, see at end



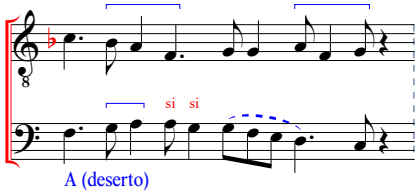
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Caudae in *F* in iambic modal readings (modes 2,3):

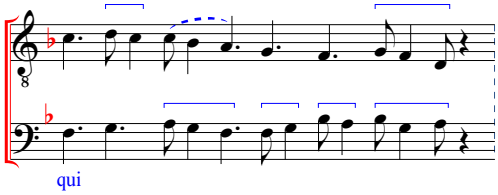
a. opening cauda: *F,* f. 316v, I
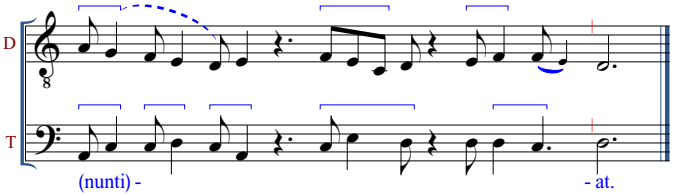


b. the same, in partly faster values



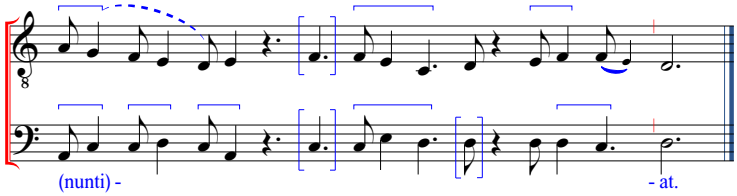
c. cauda at line 9,1: *F,* f. 316v, IV



d. final cauda (closing line 9), as it stands: *F,* f. 316v, V
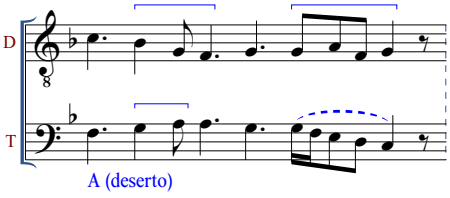


e. The same, with conjectured omissions supplied from *W1B*

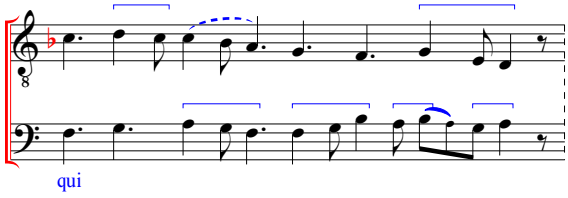


**Caudae in *W1B* with slightly different ligations from *F:*

a. opening cauda: *W1B,* f. 174r (165r), VI



b. cauda at line 9,1: *W1B,* f. 174v (165v), III



A DESERTO VENIENS – settings I *(W1A)* and II *(F)*

Conductus (J3/1 [I], I29/1 [II])

F, f. 316v (7,48): Strophes I-III; base source for the verbal text of both settings

I	A deserto veniens,	Arising from the desert,
	gravis ventus irruit,	a heavy wind rushes in,
	qui domum Iob concutit	which so strikes the house of Job
	ut subversa iaceat,	on all four corners
	quatuor in angulis.	that it lies upended.
	Filios Iob opprimit,	It crushes Job's sons,
	verumtamen unicus	and yet a single
	puer pedem retulit,	boy returned,
	qui dampnum Iob nuntiat.	who reported the damage to Job.
II	Per desertum gradiens,	Advancing through the desert,
	quem devoret circuit,	Satan, who strikes against us,
	Satan, qui nos incutit.	circles what he would devour,
	ne mens lapsa pereat,	in case a lapsed mind should perish,
	victa suis emulis.	subdued by its jealousies.
	Dum virtutes adimit,	When [Satan] snatches away one's virtues,
	animi veridicus	the truth-telling impulse
	motus mentem consulit	of the soul counsels the mind
	ut hunc casum fugiat.	to flee this misfortune.
III	Palatium animi	The palace of the soul
	suos habet angulos,	has its own corners,
	super quos erigitur	over which is erected
	turris fortitudinis.	a tower of Fortitude.
	Primum tenet angulum	The first corner watchful
	prudentia vigilans,	Prudence maintains,
	fortitudo alterum,	Fortitude the second,
	iustitia tertium,	Justice the third,
	quartum temperantia.	and Temperance the fourth.

SOURCES:

This same text is found within *W1* in two completely different musical settings, the second of which corresponds to the version in *F.* These are delineated respectively as settings I and II below, which reflects the way they are differentiated in both Anderson's conductus catalog and on the CPI website. Falck's catalog includes both settings under the same entry number: 1. This is the only time such substantially musically different settings of the same conductus text appear within the four main Parisian conductus sources *F, W1, W2,* and *Ma.* Both versions of this piece, beginning with that of setting I from *W1A,* are given here for comparison.

<u>Setting I (J3/1) – *W1A/CaJ* version</u>:

W1, fasc. 9, no. 59, f. 143r (134r): a2; Strophes I-II only, with painted initials at the start of I and at the opening of line 9, the last of the stanza. Strophe II appears on f. 143v (134v), in a single line of very small script and beginning with a lower case abbreviation; it runs down the entire left margin at a 90-degree angle to the rest of the content on the page (which includes the start of the setting of *Resurgente domino* [H18/306]). The presence of the second stanza is not reported in Anderson's edition. This version is collated here as *W1A.*

CaJ (GB-Cjec QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1), Fragment A, no. 11, f. Br:[1] a2; a reconstituted leaf made up originally of the strips 35r, 14r, 16r, 15v (from left to right) according to the foliation on the binding fragments themselves;[2] Strophe I only, with no indication of further text or space provided for it; an elaborate filigreed initial appears at the start and no additional distinctions are indicated within the extant portions of the poem. The reconstructed page preserves most of the piece with only minor illegible segments or lost portions resulting from gaps between the extant strips. Although not presently reported by the CPI website, the piece continues onto f. Bv.[3]

Setting II (I29/1) – *F/W1B* version:

F, fasc. 7, no. 48, f. 316v: a2; Strophes I-III complete, with the texts of II-III (each headed by capitals) entered in an empty space provided for them within the writing block at the end of the last system to contain the piece. This is the first work in *F*-7 to feature a strophic musical setting (as opposed to a through-composed one) for a strophic text. *A deserto* (*F*-7,48) also inaugurates a series of works that are either strophic in form, or which transmit only single stanzas, that extends up through *F*-7,62 (*In novas fert animus formas* [J14/177]). Here, though, the actual inclusion of additional stanzas only obtains for this and the next three pieces[4] – the only exception to this is the strophic sequence form of *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298), at F-7,53.[5] Furthermore, of the works now transmitted in this portion of the MS, nearly all have empty space, devoid of staff lines, at their ends that could accommodate extra strophes, whether they exist or not.[6] Beginning with the through-composed *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106) at *F*-7,63 (f. 324r), occasional through-composed pieces reappear (in addition to two examples of *metra*[7] and a single sequence form),[8] but single-strophe (and occasional verifiably strophic) works are still well represented up to *F*-7,77, at which point the through-composed *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85) begins an apparently new partition of *F*-7 at f. 336r with its historiated initial. Even so, no other piece in *F*-7 after *Redit etas* supplies any additional text at all – whether space is provided for it or not –

---

[1]Images of this source available here via DIAMM. "Br" is the foliation given in Anderson's catalog and edition, the CPI database, and the DIAMM inventory, but the leaf is indicated as "reconstructed fol Bv" in the image's description in DIAMM." Because *A deserto veniens* continues onto the other side of the leaf, it is clear that the recto and verso indications of Anderson and CPI, as well as DIAMM's inventory, reflect the original disposition of this folio.

[2]The image of this folio as reconstructed in DIAMM is incomplete: its rightmost strip (15v) is omitted and another (13v) is in its place.

[3]For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[4]The three are: *Cortex occidit littere* (I6/69), *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220), and *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83). For more information on the inclusion of additional strophes in *F-7,* see the discussion in the source reports on the *F* version of *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/31), at *F*-7,52 (f. 318r). For details on the poetic and musical characteristics of the previous 47 works in *F*-7, see the remarks on the conductus *Qui de Sabba veniunt* (I20/281), transmitted in *F* immediately prior to *A deserto.*

[5]In *F,* this work supplies the additional text for the second of its two paired versicles (IIb), but not the first (Ib), despite space having been provided for it.

[6]The single piece without such an accommodation, *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), presents a rather long single stanza with empty staves extending to the right margin of its final system. Its poetic irregularity and spare, syllabic musical style – akin to a prosula or motet – suggests it was not conceived as a strophic form.

[7]The two metrical texts, both in dactylic hexameter, are *Alma redemptoris mater* (I32/13), *Celorum porta* (J19/55).

[8]*Nulli beneficium* (H7/229) shows three paired versicles of varying poetic construction; only the first member of each pair is transmitted in *F,* and, of all its six extant sources, only *W1* transmits the whole poem.

until the appearance of *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/354), at *F*-7,90. This trait, interestingly, cuts across the two major divisions of the fascicle implied by the historiated initials of *Deduc Syon uberrimas* and *Artium dignitas* (I4/20), at *F*-7,77 and 88, respectively.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 88, f. 174r (165r): a2, Strophes I-II only, beginning with a filigreed initial for Strophe I, a painted one for II, and with the text of II entered in discrete clumps within the wider margin area opposite each system (whether left or right), in line with and roughly correlative to the text of I that is underlaid to the music in that same system. This version is collated here as *W1B.*

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Verse structure:** the stanzas are notable for their lack of an internal rhyme scheme, yet the same rhyme sounds of Strophe I recur in Strophe II. This suggests the possibility that at least one additional stanza may originally have existed to complete a further pair of stanzas along the line of *coblas doblas* (as suggested by Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:iv, note 4). However *F,* the only source to preserve the third stanza, does not leave room to accommodate an additional strophe. **Textual notes: 1-9:** from an incident related in Job, 1:19;[9] the speaker in the biblical passage is the boy referred to in line 8. **8:** the idiom "pedem referre" normally means "to return" or "to go back," and is so rendered here. **10-12:** cf. 1 Peter, 5:8.[10] Here Satan is associated with the desert wind that destroys Job's house in Strophe I. The indirect correlation of Satan with the lion through the citation of 1 Peter in this poem is also implied in the final strophe; see the remarks to lines 19-27. Note also that, like the wind that destroyed Job's house, the leonine Satan also circles his prey on all sides in the poem. **19-27 (Strophe III):** here the four cardinal virtues – as depicted in the Bible (Wisdom, 8:7)[11] and described by Cicero (*De officiis,* I,ii,5), Ambrose (*De officiis ministrorum,* I,xxiv-xxv; *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam,* 5,62-67), and Augustine (*De moribus ecclesiae,* chap. 15), among others – form the pillars or cornerstones of the temple of the soul. The fact that the tower erected over these virtues is dedicated specifically to Fortitude (Courage) appears significant with the recognition that a frequent visual attribute of Fortitude is a conquered or subdued lion[12] – here synonymous with Satan, as demonstrated in Strophe II (see the remarks above on lines 10-12).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *F* is the only source to preserve all stanzas of the poem, it is used

---

[9]Job, 1:19: "Repente ventus vehemens inruit a regione deserti, et concussit quattuor angulos domus, quae corruens oppressit liberos tuos et mortui sunt; et effugi ego solus ut nuntiarem tibi." ("Suddenly a violent wind rushed in from the area of the desert, and shook the four corners of the house, which, falling upon your children, crushed them and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell you").

[10]1 Peter, 5:8: "Sobrii estote, vigilate: quia adversarius vester diabolus, tamquam leo rugiens, circuit quaerens quem devoret." ("Be sober and keep watch: because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, goes about seeking whom he may devour").

[11]Wisdom, 8:7: "Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes: sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et justitiam, et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus." ("And if a man love justice: her labors have great virtues; for she teaches temperance, and prudence, and justice, and fortitude, which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in life").

[12]See, for example, the illustrations in some of the late-thirteenth-century MSS of the *Somme le Roi,* such as those in *London, British Library, Add. 54180*, f. 91v; or *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 938,* f. 69r. These present full-page illuminations depicting the four cardinal virtues. In both of these sources, Fortitude *(Force)* is depicted at the bottom left of the illustration as a woman holding a small circular shield or roundel with an image of a lion on it.

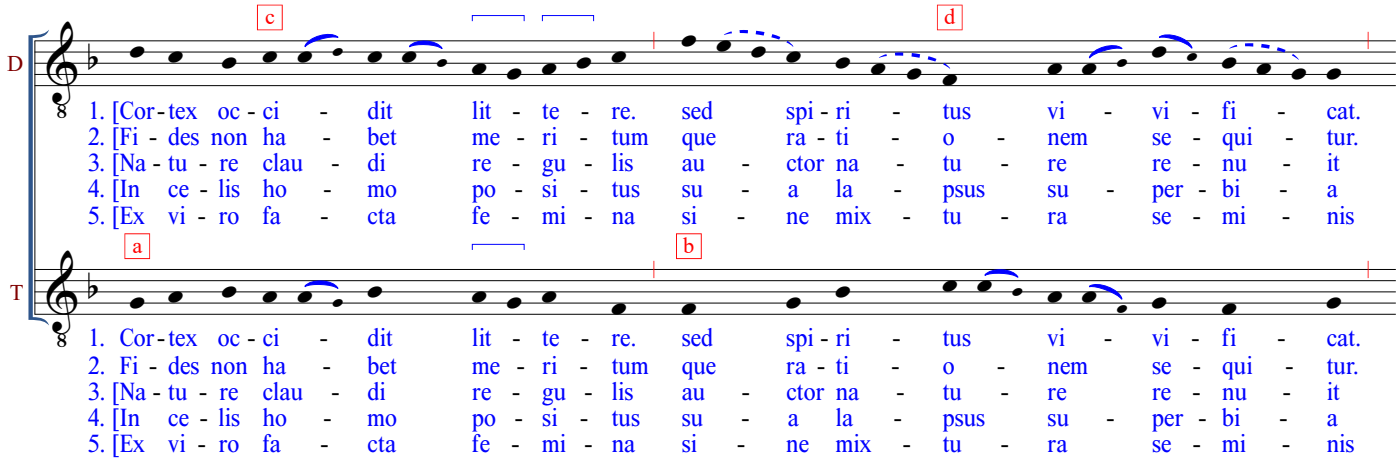
here as the base manuscript for the text of both musical versions. **3,4:** W1A,CaJ: conterit; the synonymous reading in *F,W1B* ("concutit" – "shake, knock") is preferred, due to its replication of the rhyme at the same place in Strophe II (line 12,3: "incutit" – "strike, hit, shatter"). **6,2:** W1A: loth (?). **7,1:** W1A,W1B,CaJ: verumptamen. **9,1:** CaJ: et (an acceptable alternative reading). **9,3:** CaJ: ȝob. **11,3-12,1:** W1B: sathan circuit (these two words exchanged). **13,1:** W1A,W1B: ut; this reading could also suffice: "... encircles what he would devour, *so that* a lapsed mind might perish, subdued by its jealousies." **MUSIC: Setting I *(W1A):* Syllabic/ melismatic identity: 1.** the T of the initial phrases of the opening cauda "A [deserto]" (line 1,1) = **1a.** the similar T of the following texted section "[A] deserto veniens" (line 1), which also = **1b.** the T in the first phrase of the following cauda on "[A deserto veni]ens," (line 1,3); the differences in the quotations here consist of added or omitted opening or closing notes. **Opening cauda:** as Anderson observes (*NDRC*, 5:112), the opening cauda in *W1A* appears to be corrupt in places; thus the setting in *CaJ* has helped establish certain details of this passage (which nonetheless differ from Anderson's version; the ligature designations of *CaJ* appear above the score for reference); the reading of *CaJ* as it stands is supplied at the end of the transcription for the sake of comparison. D: W1A: the om portion of the third phrase at L19-L20 comes from *CaJ.* **Cauda following line 1:** TD: W1A: the ligatures of *CaJ* (added for comparison above the staff) supply the adopted rhythms of the transcription; a conceivable mode-2 version is also rendered above the staff, although the ligature sequence, beginning with a si in both parts, seems to argue against it, as well as the harmonic sixth that would begin L3 of the cauda. The penultimate notes of the cauda, om in *W1A,* are from *CaJ.* **Line 2,2:** D: W1A: 2si=*c,c* over "[ven]tus." **6:** see the varied treatment of this verse in *CaJ,* supplied as an alternative at the end of the transcription. **7,2:** TD: W1A: the strokes that conclude the phrase om, supplied from *CaJ.* **Cauda following line 9,1:** D: W1A: 4li=*cbag* begins the fifth phrase at L7; *CaJ:* very faded, but high magnification does suggest the adopted editorial emendation for better consonance. **Final cauda (closing line 9):** D: W1A: the end of the third phrase of the cauda (from L9-L12) closes with 2R,2li,2si=*d,d,ab,c,a,* its implied rhythm is given above the staff, its ligation is retained in the score (note that the *W1A* rhythmic reading requires the TL closing rest in the T under the final *a* in the D, and would be the only phrase in the final cauda where the T and D do not cadence exactly together). The adopted rhythm is implied by *CaJ,* where the D phrase ends 2li,si=*bc,a,* but unfortunately the previous few notes corresponding to the opening series *dda* in *W1A* are cut away in *CaJ*. The adoption of the *CaJ* phrase ending here provides a cadence corresponding to the rhythms of all following phrases that close with 2li,si=*bc,a* in both *W1A* and *CaJ* (see, for example, the close of the D phrases overlaid to the segments indicated with the letters "c" and "d" above the T staff in the transcription at L28-L29 and at L45-L46). On the other hand, the implied *W1A* rhythm as it stands would render the second through fifth phrases as a 4L+6L pair (from L4-L22); either version thus has its logic. **Final cadence:** the *punctus organi* conclusion is extended slightly in *CaJ,* which inserts a brief 3L mode-1 phrase just prior to the final sonority; the *CaJ* version appears at the end of the transcription. Also, the pitches making up the conjunctura descent in the D are somewhat unclear in *W1A,* as the gesture is written – for lack of space – in the right margin without extending the stafflines; it appears to include a full octave fall from *f* to *f.* Since reading the figure as it stands in *W1A* would cause the final two D notes after the run of conjuncturae to be rendered as *g,f* (the heightening of these final pitches with those notes in the prior conjunctura run seems clear) – which would not correspond with an expected final on *g* – the last two si notes of the cadence are presented as *a,g.* Anderson's edition, in contrast, presents the initial four ascending notes prior to the fall as 2li,2li=*cd,eg,* which also gets rid of the problem, but which seems unusual for this stock figure set over an *f* note in the T; Anderson's interpretation also conflicts with the information in *CaJ,* which is otherwise identical to *W1A* until right after the descent. **Setting II *(F):* Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T of "puer pedem retulit" (line 8, penultimate line of strophe) = **1a.** similar T (and part of D) in the first phrase of the cauda immediately following on "qui [dampnum]" (line 9,1, last line of Strophe I). **General remarks:** in the occasional places where *F* and *W1B* disagree, *W1B* frequently provides better readings in terms of consonance and clearer rhythm in its cauda segments. As a result, *W1B* has sometimes served to amend certain segments in the base source, *F;* all variants from *F* are indicated in the notes below. **Caudae:** all caudae in *F* allow for realization in iambic rhythms (modes 2 and 3) – some better than others; alternative versions appear at the end of the transcription.

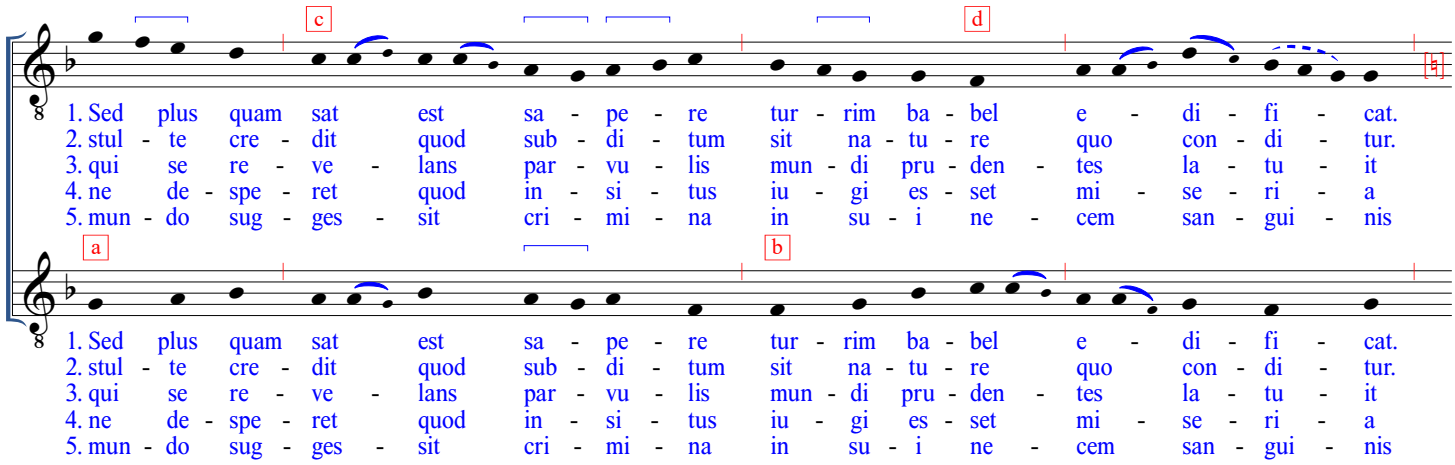
Similarly, two of the caudae in *W1B* show occasional ligations contrasting with *F;* these also appear at the end as alternatives. **Line 6,3:** T: F: si=*d* over "op[primit]"; the adopted 2li=*ed* from *W1B.* **8,3:** D: F: 3li=*age* for "[re]tu[lit]"; adopted reading from *W1B.* **9,1:** D: F: 2li,siP=*dc,*P*c* for the (bracketed) repeat of the syllable "qui" following the cauda on 9,1, conceivably compounded with the transposition error evident in line 9,2; adopted reading from *W1B:* 2liP (with 1 el)=*ca*P. **9,2:** D: F: *agf,aba*P over "dampnum," mistakenly written 3 higher; adopted reading from *W1B.* **Final cauda (closing line 9):** T: F: the lack of a closing 3li or other signifier in the opening phrase of the cauda suggests "upbeat" mode 1 is preferable; the 4li at the end of this same phrase appears as 2li,2li in *W1B,* which helps justify the adopted rhythm; for a (less satisfactory) reading of this cauda in mode 2, see the alternative readings at the end. TD: *F:* in the penultimate phrase of the cauda (at L10), at least a final si=*d* appears to be wanting in the T, supplied from *W1B;* since *W1B* also gives additional pitches in both voices at L7 that duplicate the first notes of the following 3li, these are included in the *F* transcription as well, although their insertion could be considered optional.

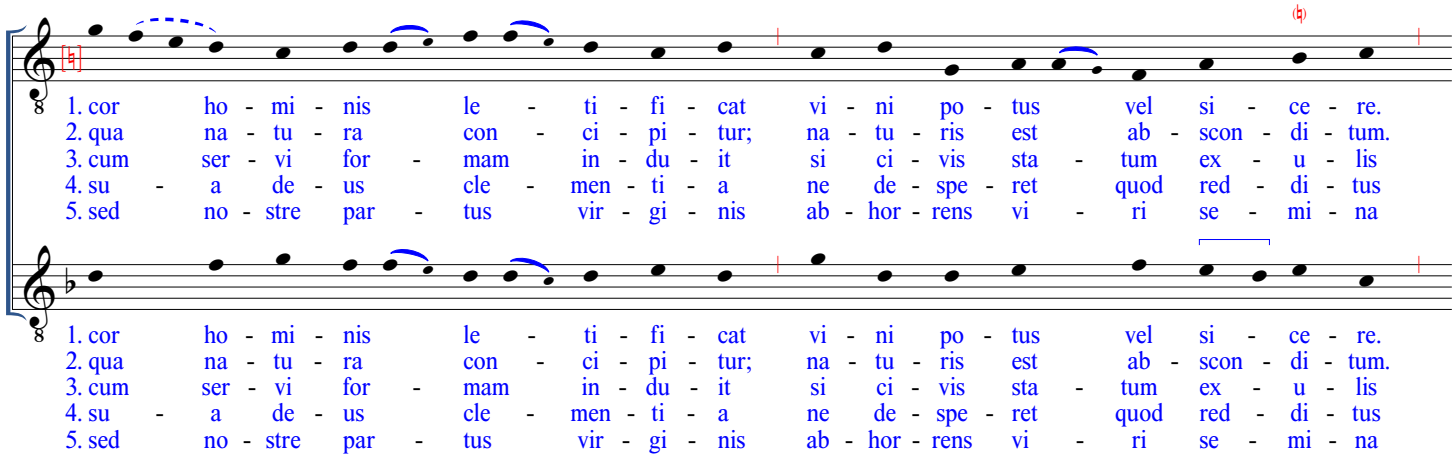
CORTEX OCCIDIT LITTERE

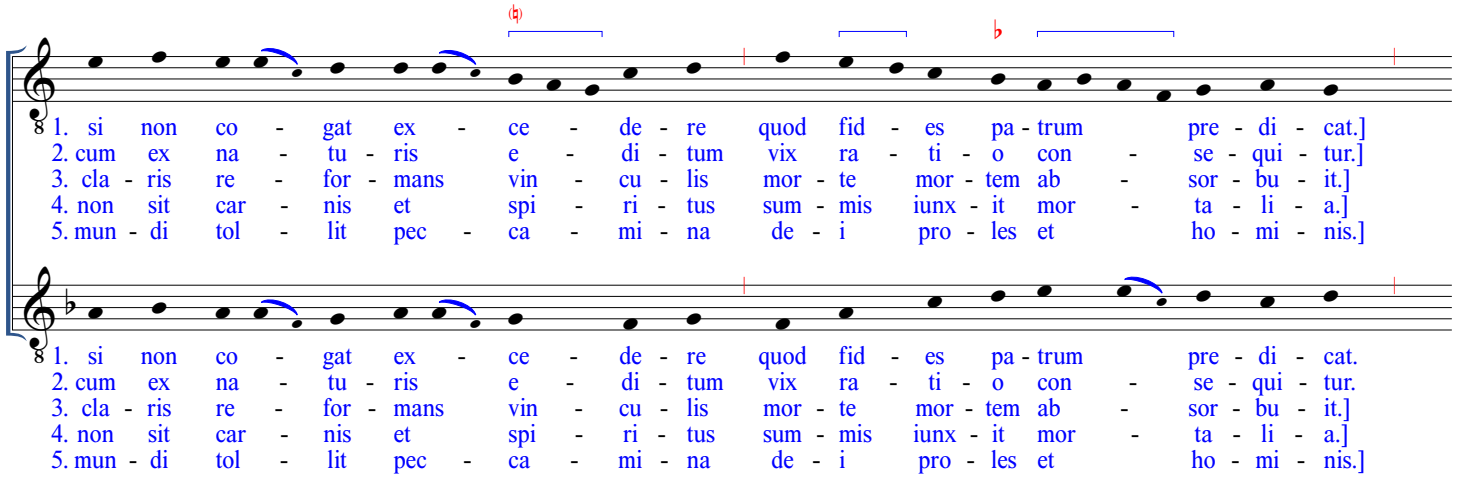
Conductus (I6/69)

F, f. 316v (7,49): Strophes I-II; *W1,* f. 109r (100r) (9,17): Strophes III-V
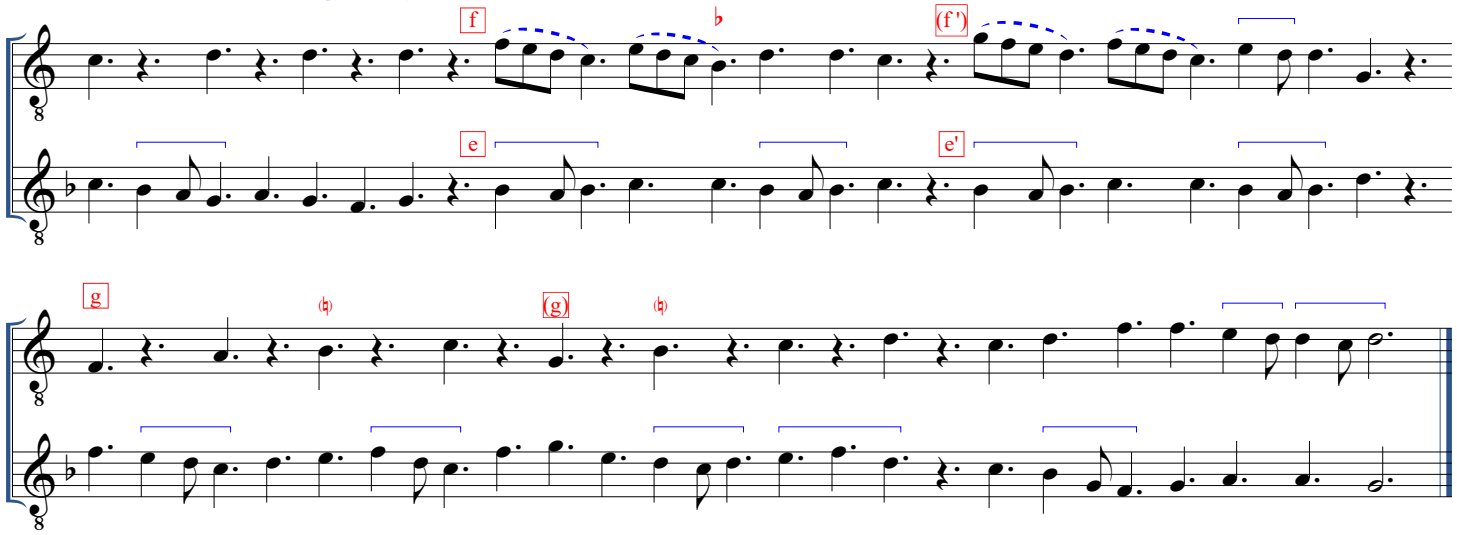








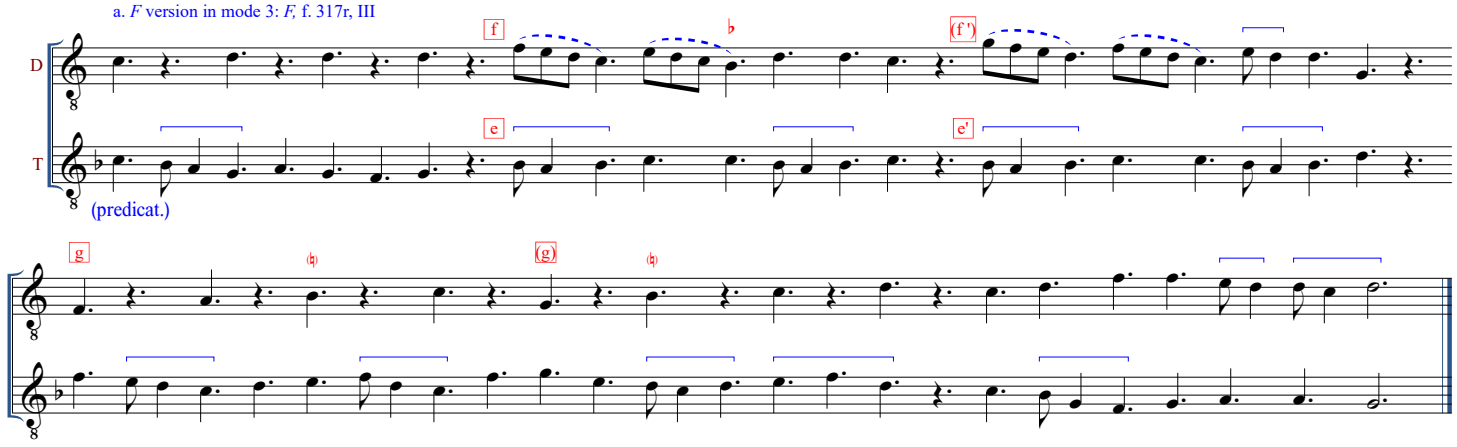
**F:* a realization in mode 3 is equally likely; *W1:* the cauda is written in faster values, see alternatives at end



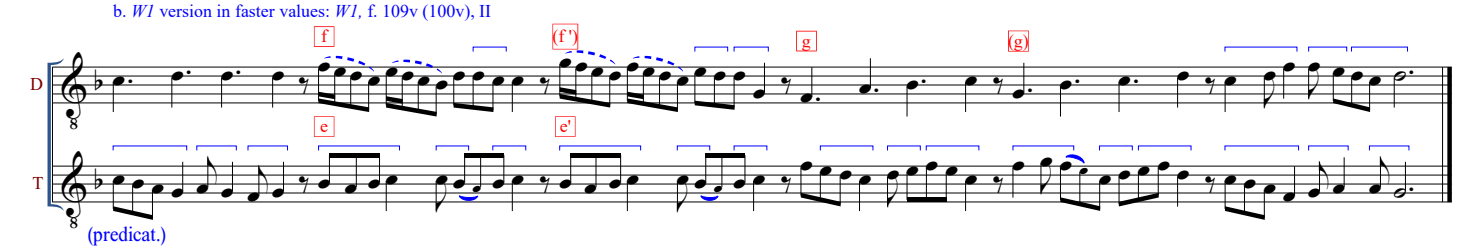
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Final cauda:

a. *F* version in mode 3: *F,* f. 317r, III



b. *W1* version in faster values: *W1,* f. 109v (100v), II



CORTEX OCCIDIT LITTERE

Conductus (I6/69)

F, f. 316v (7,49): Strophes I-II; *W1,* f. 109r (100r) (9,17): Strophes III-V

I Cortex occidit littere,
sed spiritus vivificat.

Sed plus quam sat est sapere
turrim Babel edificat.
Cor hominis letificat
vini potus vel sicere,
si non cogat excedere
quod fides patrum predicat.

II Fides non habet meritum
que rationem sequitur.
Stulte credit quod subditum
sit nature quo conditur
qua natura concipitur.
Naturis est absconditum,
cum ex naturis editum,
vix ratio consequitur.

III [Nature claudi regulis
auctor nature renuit.
Qui, se revelans parvulis,
mundi prudentes latuit.
Cum servi formam induit,
sic civis statum exulis
claris reformans vinculis,
morte mortem absorbuit.

IV In celis homo positus,
sua lapsus superbia.
Ne desperet quod insitus
iugi esset miseria,
sua Deus clementia,
ne desperet quod redditus
non sit carnis et spiritus,
summis iunxit mortalia.

V Ex viro facta femina,
sine mixtura seminis,
mundo suggessit crimina,
in sui necem sanguinis.
Sed nostre partus virginis,
abhorrens viri semina,
mundi tollit peccamina:
dei proles et hominis.]

The shell of the Old Law kills,
but the Spirit gives life.

And yet, thinking more than is necessary
erects a Tower of Babel.
A drink of wine or spirits
cheers a man's heart,
as long as it does not compel him to go beyond
what the faith of the Fathers proclaims.

Faith that follows after
reason has no merit.
One believes foolishly that what may be
subject to nature is established by what
is conceived by that nature.
Reason scarcely follows
when what comes forth from natural laws
is not revealed by natural laws.

The author of nature rejects being
confined by the rules of nature.
He is the one who, while revealing himself to children,
lay hidden from the sages of the world.
When he took on the form of a servant,
he swallowed up death with death,
thereby restoring the state of the exiled
citizen in plain bondage.

Man, placed in the heavens,
fell from it, thanks to his pride.
Lest he despair that he was
implanted with the hardship of a yoke,
God, in his mercy, joined mortal
things with those on high, lest man
despair that his restoration
might not be of both flesh and spirit.

Woman, created out of man
without the mingling of seed,
heaped sin upon the world,
even unto the destruction of her own lineage.
But the offspring of our Virgin,
scorning the seed of man,
takes away the world's sins:
he is the progeny of God and mankind.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 49, f. 316v: a2; Strophes I-II only, with a capital letter beginning line 3, shown by extra space in the above text; Strophe II, opening with a capital, is entered in the empty compartment provided for it at the end of the first system of the following piece in *F*-7, *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220); there is very little room to accommodate more than roughly four more lines of text.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 17, f. 109r (100r): a2; Strophes I-V, complete. The residual stanzas II-V (each signaled by capitals) are entered in run-on fashion on the subsequent leaf, f. 109v (100v), starting in the left margin aligned at about the center line of the D staff of the last (sixth) system on the folio. This is the third system to contain the following work, the conductus *O quotiens [vos] volui* (J1/244, uniquely preserved in *W1*-9). The text continues down from where it begins and then spills into the bottom margin below the writing block, thereafter extending across nearly the entire leaf, from left to right. This continuation of the poem is thus separated somewhat from the end of *Cortex occidit* itself, which concludes above at the end of the second system on the page.

Text only:

CH-Zz C.58/275 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C.58/275): no. 329 (no. 2),[1] f. 147v: text only of Strophe I. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details stem from *NDRC* and the CPI website.

Music only:

Contrafacts:

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** this poem is notable for the number of frequently confronted topics it packs within five stanzas that meditate overall on the miracle of the Incarnation. These include: **a)** the conflict between the Old and New Laws, **b)** the conflict of faith over reason, **c)** God's power over natural law, **d)** Christ humbling or demeaning himself in becoming incarnate, **e)** the death of death through the Incarnation, **f)** the fall of mankind and original sin offset by the Incarnation, **g)** Eve as the instigator of original sin, and **h)** the Virgin Mary overturning the woe caused by Eve. **Textual notes: 1-2:** deriving from 1 Corinthians, 3:6.[2] In both the Bible and the conductus, the letter is the Mosaic Law; the spirit represents the grace of the new covenant offered by Christ. See also the remarks on the conductus *Circa mundi vesperam* (J54/63), lines 3-4. **3:** see Romans, 12:3.[3] Paul's injunction here, by warning that one should not think themselves to be wiser than they actually are, is to warn of pride, the ill effects of which populate the rest of this stanza and the following strophe. **4:** the well-known story of the Tower of Babel occurs in Genesis, 11:1-9. In verse 9, the name Babel is glossed as

---

[1]The numbering of the pieces in *Zz C.58/275* is that of Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1905). Werner's numbers occasionally split or combine various poems, but this does not apply for the Parisian conductus in this source (nos. 328-335 – although no. 331 is *Virgo deum generat* from *St Gall 383*). The numbering as in Anderson, *NDRC,* which apparently only applies to the conductus portion, is given afterwards in parentheses.

[2]1 Corinthians, 3:6: "qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti: non littera, sed Spiritu: littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat." ("[God,] who also has made us fit ministers of the new testament, not in the letter, but in the spirit. For the letter kills, but the spirit quickens.").

[3]Romans, 12:3: " Dico enim per gratiam quae data est mihi, omnibus qui sunt inter vos, non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem: et unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei" ("For I say, by the grace that is given me, to all that are among you, not to be more wise than it behooves to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety, and according as God has divided to every one the measure of faith").

"confusion,"[4] and patristic writings echo this significance, connecting it as well to Babylon, and asserting that the leader of the effort was king Nimrod, although he is not actually named in the biblical account. The story is generally framed as an example of pride and overreach on the part of mankind against God. For examples of these interpretations, see Augustine, *City of God,* 16:4, and the references from the *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* (1,9,1) of Isidore of Seville, given in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:vi, note 3, cited from *PL,* 83: col. 237C. **5-8:** as Anderson relates (*NDRC,* 4:vi, note 8), moderation in drinking is used here in comparison to exercising moderation in the pursuit or practice of knowledge: one should take the pronouncements of the Church Fathers as authorities, rather than pursue investigation with no guidance. This metaphor sets up the following stanza, where faith and reason are placed in opposition to each other in explaining Christ's incarnation. **5-6:** a possible nod to Psalm 103:15[5] and Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 40:20,[6] as well as Proverbs, 31:6.[7] **9-16 (Strophe II):** this stanza expresses an 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 18 and 23-24, for some further examples of this conceit, and also the remarks on the related concepts broached in lines 17-18, below. **9-10:** this expression argues the folly of those who would seek to reverse the terms of Augustine's statement "faith precedes reason" ("fides praecedat rationem").[8] As he lays out in his letter to Consentinus (no. 120),[9] one should consider matters of salvation according to faith before subjecting them to rational argument. Augustine supports this with a citation of a portion of Isaiah, 7:9, according to the Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint text: "nisi credideritis, non intelligetis" ("unless you believe, you will not understand"), showing the necessity of the proper sequence of actions. **11-13:** in essence, this complex formulation suggests that certain phenomena of nature may not be explicable by natural laws themselves. This is a point taken up at the start of Strophe III, at line 17: that God, in creating natural laws, has ultimate command over them and may bend them to his will; see the remarks on lines 17-18 that follow, and note also the problems with Anderson's edition in the observations on the text below for line 13. **17-18:** following from the arguments laid out in Strophe II (lines 9-16, and especially 11-13) this passage deals with the principle that, since it was God (the "author of nature") who established natural laws, he is likewise able to contravene them; see the remarks for lines 9-16, above, for some further instances of this maxim in the Notre Dame musical repertory. **19-20:** in the nearly identical expressions given in both Matthew, 11:25, and Luke, 10:21,[10] Jesus here indicates that he has revealed his gift of grace more directly to humble, simple children than to those more learned or important, such as the oft-reviled scribes and Pharisees (for these, see, e.g., the account

---

[4]Genesis, 11:9: "Et idcirco vocatum est nomen ejus Babel, quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae: et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem cunctarum regionum" ("And therefore the name thereof was called Babel, because there the language of the whole earth was confounded: and from thence the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all countries").

[5]Psalm 103:15: "et vinum laetificet cor hominis. ..." ("And that wine may cheer the heart of man. ...").

[6]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 40:20: "Vinum et musica laetificant cor: et super utraque dilectio sapientiae" ("Wine and music rejoice the heart, but the love of wisdom is above them both.").

[7]Proverbs, 31:6: "Date siceram moerentibus, et vinum his qui amaro sunt animo" ("Give strong drink to them that are sad: and wine to them that are grieved in mind").

[8]See the analogous maxims associated with Anselm of Canterbury (1033/4–1109), from his *Proslogion* (written 1087-1088): "Credo ut intelligam" ("I believe so that I may understand") and "fides quaerens intellectum" ("faith seeking understanding").

[9]See the text in *PL,* 33: col. 453, chapter 3.

[10]From Luke, 10:21: "In ipsa hora exsultavit Spiritu Sancto, et dixit: Confiteor tibi Pater, Domine caeli et terrae, quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis. Etiam Pater: quoniam sic placuit ante te." ("In that same hour, he [Jesus] rejoiced in the Holy Ghost, and said: I confess to you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so it has seemed good in your sight.").

in Luke, 11:37-54, although there are even more woes recounted against them in each of the other three gospels). There may also be a nod towards the actions in Matthew, 19:13-15, where Jesus invites a number of children to pray with him and is initially rebuked by his disciples.[11] **21:** The familiar image of Christ as a servant reflects God's humbling of himself when he adopted human form; see Philippians, 2:7-8.[12] For additional appearances of this image within the Notre Dame repertory, see the remarks on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. **22:** the irony of Christ surmounting death with his own death is a common theme in the conductus repertory and beyond. This passage most specifically recalls the language of 1 Corinthians, 15:54.[13] For Christ conquering death, see Isaiah, 25:8; 1 Corinthians, 15:26 and 15:54-55; 2 Timothy, 1:10; Hebrews, 2:14; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* 27 (note to lines 136-137). **23-24:** the exiled citizen in chains is presumably mankind, after its fall and before the promise of Christ's grace; perhaps the expression may reflect Ephesians, 2:19.[14] **25-26:** mankind's fall from God's grace, due to pride, and his expulsion from the paradise of Eden (represented figuratively here as a fall from heaven), as related in Genesis, 3. **29-32:** without the saving intervention of the spirit, mankind was doomed to death in the flesh. Christ's incarnation, fusing mortal flesh with the spirit of God, restored the possibility that mankind could achieve salvation. See, for reflections of these ideas, 1 Thessalonians, 5:23, Romans, 8, especially 8:6, 8:13, Galatians, 5:17, John, 3:6.[15] **33-34:** Eve – here cast in a typical role as an inverted figure for the Virgin Mary – was created, not by sexual procreation, but by God fashioning her from out of Adam's body; see Genesis, 2:20-23.[16]

---

[11]Matthew, 19:13-15: "Tunc oblati sunt ei parvuli, ut manus eis imponeret, et oraret. Discipuli autem increpabant eos. Jesus vero ait eis: Sinite parvulos, et nolite eos prohibere ad me venire: talium est enim regnum caelorum. Et cum imposuisset eis manus, abiit inde" ("Then were little children presented to him, that he should impose hands upon them and pray. And the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said to them: Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me: for the kingdom of heaven is for such. And when he had imposed hands upon them, he departed from thence.").

[12]Philippians, 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.").

[13]1 Corinthians, 15:54: "Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo, qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoria" ("And when this mortal hath put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: Death is swallowed up in victory.").

[14]Ephesians, 2:19: " Ergo jam non estis hospites, et advenae: sed estis cives sanctorum, et domestici Dei" ("Now therefore you [new Christians] are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and the domestics of God.").

[15]The above references are provided here collectively: 1 Thessalonians, 5:23: "Ipse autem Deus pacis sanctificet vos per omnia: ut integer spiritus vester, et anima, et corpus sine querela in adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi servetur" ("And may the God of peace himself sanctify you in all things; that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ"). Romans, 8:6: "Nam prudentia carnis, mors est: prudentia autem spiritus, vita et pax" ("For the wisdom of the flesh is death; but the wisdom of the spirit is life and peace"); Romans, 8:13: "Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini: si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis" ("For if you live according to the flesh, you shall die: but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live"). Galatians, 5:17: "Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem: haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis" (" For the flesh lusteth against the spirit: and the spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary one to another: so that you do not the things that you would"). John, 3:6: "Quod natum est ex carne, caro est: et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est" ("That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit.").

[16]Genesis, 2:20-2: "Appellavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia, et universa volatilia caeli, et omnes bestias terrae: Adae vero non inveniebatur adjutor similis ejus. Immisit ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam: cumque obdormisset, tulit unam de costis ejus, et replevit carnem pro ea. Et aedificavit Dominus Deus costam, quam tulerat de Adam, in mulierem: et adduxit eam ad Adam. Dixitque Adam: Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea: haec vocabitur Virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est" ("And Adam called all the beasts by their names, and all the fowls of the air, and all the cattle of the field: but for Adam there was not found a helper like himself. Then the Lord God cast a deep sleep upon Adam: and when he was fast asleep, he took one of his ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman: and brought her to Adam. And Adam said: This now is

This passage echoes not only the conception of Jesus by Mary, but also the doctrine of Mary's own immaculate conception; see, for example, the conductus *Beate virginis* (H15/43), lines 5-8. **35-36:** Because Eve succumbed to the serpent's temptation, plucked the fruit, and offered it to Adam (Genesis, 3:6), she is here accorded the blame for bringing original sin upon all of mankind to follow; for some biblical passages bearing on this point, see 1 Timothy, 2:13-14;[17] Romans, 5:12, 15, 17-19.[18] **37-38:** I presume the phrase "who scorns the seed of man" refers to Mary. **39:** reflective of John the Baptist's exclamation to Jesus (John, 1:29),[19] as well as the *Agnus dei* of the Mass liturgy.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *W1* supplies the text for Strophes III-V, its text variants as well as those of *F* are collated throughout. **1,3:** Tt: W1: litere. **2,1:** Tt: W1: set. **3,1:** Tt: W1: set. **6,4:** Tt: F: cicere; adopted reading from *W1,Ch-Zz C.58/275;* the spelling "sicere" is preferred here to avoid possible confusion with the homonym "cicer" ("chickpea"). **13:** in addition to several typos elsewhere in the poem, Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:vii) omits this entire line in his edition of the Latin text, yet translates it in the opposite column while leaving out a translation for line 12. As a result, his line numbering of the poem is off by one unit for the remainder of the text. The line, however, *is* present in the extra listed strophes that follow his edition of the music (*NDRC,* 4:13). **13,1:** Tt: F: quo; from *W1.* **18,3:** Tt: W1: tenuit; emended after Anderson's edition and *AH,* 20, p. 41, no. 8. **22,1:** Tt: W1: si; emended after Anderson and *AH.* **31,5:** Tt: W1: abbreviated spϛ (i.e., closing with a Greek sigma), with a macron over the last two letters. **MUSIC: Line 6,4:** D: F: a *b-natural* on "[si]ce[re]" is implied here by the absence of a sig at the start of the system, and because the *b* sits under an *e* in the T; in *W1* a *b-flat* sig is operative. **7,3-4:** D: F: si+siP,3li,3si=*d*+P*d,bag,c,d,d* for "[co]gat excedere"; the adopted reading from *W1* seems better (the shape indications of the figures are retained from *F,* as the error involves an apparent shift of pitch overlay); *F* makes less sense, as it apparently omits the figure over syllable 2 of 7,3 ("[co]gat"), continues the rest of phrase over the wrong notes (creating a dissonance, then a sixth over "ex[ce]de[re]"), and adds a repeated last note *(d)* to supply the missing pitch. **7,4:** D: W1: a *b-flat* sig is operative, none in *F.* **8,3:** D: *b-flats* implied by sig in W1. **Final cauda:** *F* presents this melisma in slower values than *W1,* and may be realized with equal legitimacy in mode 3; the alternatives appear at the end of the score. Because the version in *F* closes its penultimate phrase in the T with a 3li where 3si would seem called for (see L37-L40), and since the second and third notes of the final D phrase *(d,f)* at L42-L43 seem written as if the scribe initially intended to ligate them – or, in another way of looking at it, the *f* seems as if it might have been

---

bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.")

[17]1 Timothy, 2:13–14: "Adam enim primus formatus est: deinde Heva: et Adam non est seductus: mulier autem seducta in praevaricatione fuit" ("For Adam was first formed; then Eve. And Adam was not seduced; but the woman being seduced, was in the transgression.").

[18]Romans, 5:12: "Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt" ("Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned.") Romans, 5:15: "... si enim unius delicto multi mortui sunt: multo magis gratia Dei et donum in gratia unius hominis Jesu Christi in plures abundavit" ("For if by the offence of one, many died; much more the grace of God, and the gift, by the grace of one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many."). Romans, 5: 17–19: "Si enim unius delicto mors regnavit per unum: multo magis abundantiam gratiae, et donationis, et justitiae accipientes, in vita regnabunt per unum Jesum Christum. Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem: sic et per unius justitiam in omnes homines in justificationem vitae. Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis, peccatores constituti sunt multi: ita et per unius obeditionem, justi constituentur multi" ("For if by one man's offence death reigned through one; much more they who receive abundance of grace, and of the gift, and of justice, shall reign in life through one, Jesus Christ. Therefore, as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation; so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life. For as by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners; so also by the obedience of one, many shall be made just.").

[19]John, 1:29: : "Altera die vidit Joannes Jesum venientem ad se, et ait: 'Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi' " ("The next day, John saw Jesus coming to him, and he said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sin of the world' ").

squeezed in over the *d* as an afterthought – it would appear that the faster *W1* version has some claim of priority. Even so, *W1* exhibits some erasures in its second and third T phrases, and the penultimate T phrase that begins at L17 of the alternative transcription starts uncharacteristically with a harmonic seventh *(g/f)*.

NOBILITAS ANIMI
Conductus (J8/220)

F, f. 317r (7,50)

D
[No -
[Proh

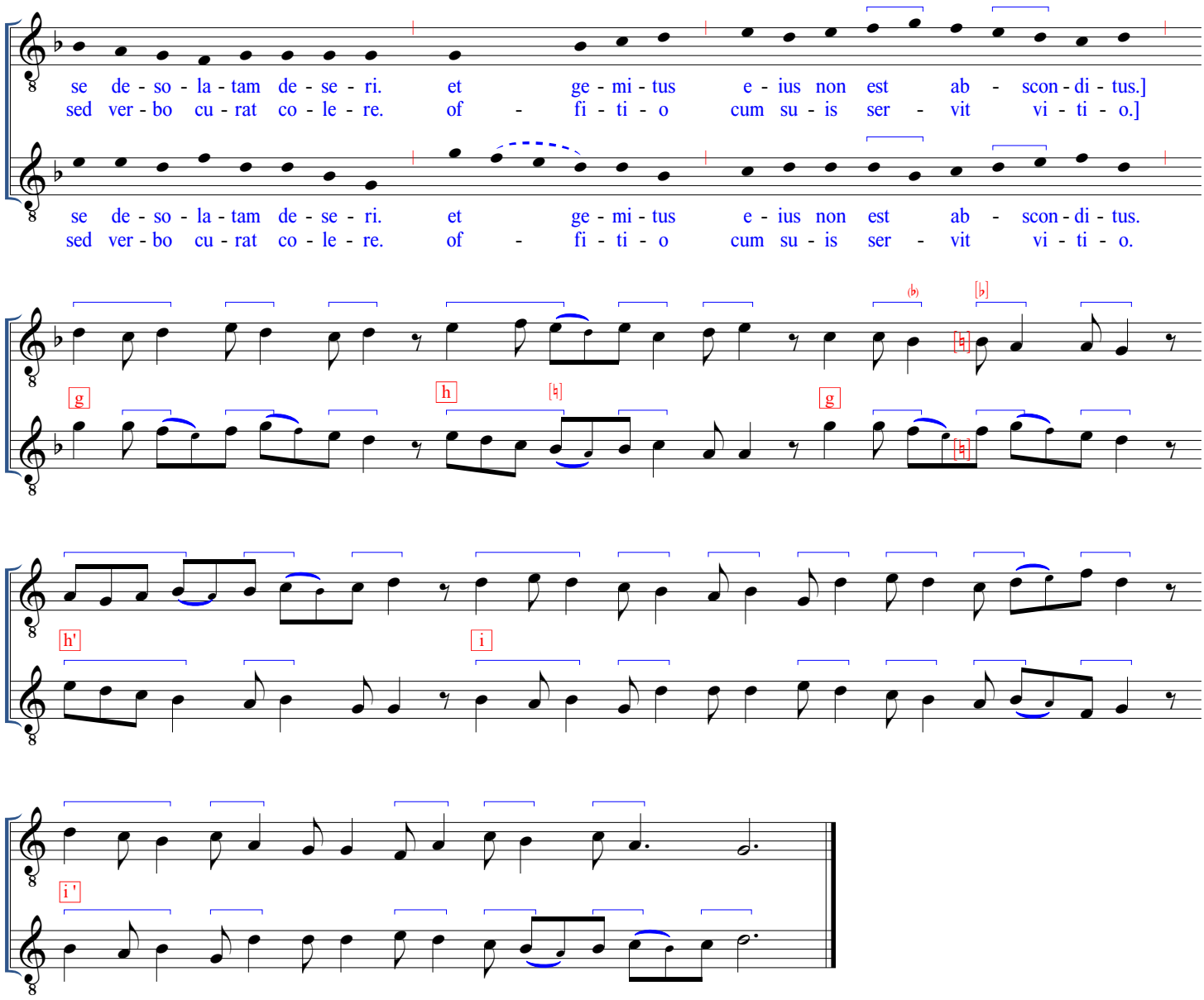
T
No -
Proh

[No] - bi - li - tas a - ni - mi so - la est ac u - ni - ca.
[Proh] do - lor pro - di - ti - o sum - ma ra - dix cri - mi - num

vir - tus do - let op - pri - mi. fu - it fu - it pu - bli - ca.
pro - dit in hoc pre - li - o vul - tum ge - rens ge - mi - num,

mo - do so - la re - lin - qui - tur. sub tri - bu - to re - di - gi - tur.
si - mu - la - trix iu - sti - ti - e pri - ma vi - de - tur fa - ci - e

Se - [Se] - dens ge - mit se con - te - ri.
fa - [fa] - ve - re quam non o - pe - re


se de - so - la - tam de - se - ri. et ge - mi - tus e - ius non est ab - scon - di - tus.]
sed ver - bo cu - rat co - le - re. of - fi - ti - o cum su - is ser - vit vi - ti - o.]
se de - so - la - tam de - se - ri. et ge - mi - tus e - ius non est ab - scon - di - tus.
sed ver - bo cu - rat co - le - re. of - fi - ti - o cum su - is ser - vit vi - ti - o.
g
h
g
h'
i
i '

NOBILITAS ANIMI
Conductus (J8/220)

F, f. 317r (7,50)

I	Nobilitas animi	Nobility of the mind
	sola est ac unica.	is forlorn and alone.
	Virtus dolet opprimi.	Virtue grieves in being oppressed.
	Fuit, fuit publica;	She was – *was* – prevalent;
	modo, sola, relinquitur;	now, alone, she is forsaken;
	sub tributo redigitur.	she is placed under tribute.
	Sedens, gemit se conteri,	Languishing, she laments being worn down,
	se desolatam deseri,	that she is left desolate;
	et gemitus	and yet her sighing
	eius non est absconditus.	has not been silenced.
II	Proh dolor! Proditio,	Oh, the pain! Treachery,
	summa radix criminum,	the deepest root of evil,
	prodit in hoc prelio,	advances in this battle,
	vultum gerens geminum.	presenting a double face.
	Simulatrix iustitie,	As an impersonator of Justice,
	prima videtur facie	with her first face she seems
	favere quam, non opere	to favor what she takes care
	sed verbo, curat colere.	to cultivate, but with words, not deeds.
	Offitio	In the exercise of her duties she
	cum suis servit vitio.	serves her own minions with vice.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 50, f. 317r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with line 7 opening with a capital letter, signified by the extra space in the text above; Strophe II, also headed with a capital, is entered in the empty space provided for it within the writing block at the end of the last system of this piece, with no room for further stanzas; *Nobilitas animi* presents a unique textual and musical setting, so far only the second such piece in *F*-7 since *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305) at *F*-7,25. Settings unique to *F*-7 become more frequent with *Heu he heu quam subditis* (J9/154) at *F*-7,55.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem, a critique of the loss of virtue and the increase in treacherous behavior, is the first piece in *F*-7 not to feature explicit sacred content. It also serves to inaugurate a series of conductus featuring mostly critical texts, *planctus,* and in one case an invocation to the eternal city (*Roma gaudens iubila* [I9/312]); most of these (*Roma gaudens* excepted) also shy away from explicit sacred subjects or imagery. Furthermore, the evocation of classical literature in *Nobilitas animi,* and in a number of the poems

that follow it,[1] is additionally noteworthy, as is the fact that all the references to outside texts that I have been able to identify in *Nobilitas animi* are more paraphrastic than literal. This feature stands in contrast to the cluster of texts with frequent classical citations that appears between *F*-6,20-26. **Textual notes: 1-3,1:** the opening of the poem suggests a clear nod to Juvenal, *Satires,* 8,20: "/ ... nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus." ("virtue is the one and only nobility"). Juvenal's intent in his satire is to question the idea that virtue is gifted to those with distinguished family pedigrees. It opens with the phrase: "Stemmata, quid faciunt?" ("Just what are your family trees worth?") The expression alluded to in the conductus gained further currency thanks to its inclusion in the twelfth-century *Moralium dogma philosophorum,* attributed variously to William of Conches, Walter of Châtillon, Alan of Lille, and others.[2] Here and in other instances, Juvenal's phrase was filled out – and its meaning reshaped – as "nobilitas *animi* sola est atque unica virtus" ("nobility *of mind* is the one and only virtue") in order to complete a dactylic hexameter, since Juvenal's verse began with the three-syllable word *atria,* carried over from the previous line through enjambment. This latter expression is the form of the maxim that, for example, Dante invoked in his *Monarchia* (2,3,4). Furthermore, the punctuation in *F,* as well as the phrasing of the music here, suggests that line 3 begins a new syntactic unit, and that the sentiment of the medieval form of the maxim (i.e., in the *Moralia dogma*) is ironically recalibrated in the conductus poem, just as the rendering in the *Moralium* differs in its own nuance from the phrase as used by Juvenal. This therefore suggests that the medieval transmission of this expression comprehended it from a different perspective than the one invested by the Roman poet. For additional classical correspondences, see the remarks for line 4; and for a further nod to the supremacy of virtue over noble birth, see lines 23-25 of the conductus *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229). **4:** although the verbal series "fuit fuit" here may seem to be an error, *AH,* 21:131, no. 187, retains the reading as it stands. Against Anderson's correction to "olim" (*NDRC,* 5:viii) – or to something else like "prius" – there is a demonstrable correspondence to Cicero's first oration against Catiline (within the third or fourth paragraph), where the repetition serves for rhetorical emphasis: "Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent" ("There was – *was* – once virtue in this republic, such that valiant men would keep a pernicious citizen in check with punishments harsher than the bitterest enemy."). Along with the almost certain reference to Juvenal in lines 1-3, this would present a further nod to a classical source. Most interestingly, Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220–1294, guardian and possible teacher of Dante) brings the Juvenal and Ciceronian references together in his *Li Livres dou Trésor,* (2,114,2-3), that he wrote while exiled in France from 1261-1268. In this passage, Latini notes that those who like to call attention to their noble heritage, but who act without virtue, bring shame upon themselves; he then follows immediately thereafter with the example of Catiline, who touted his pedigree as he planned his conspiracies against Rome.[3] Furthermore, following quickly thereafter, Latini invokes the saying of Juvenal that appears in *Nobilitas animi,* but here ascribes it (apparently mistakenly) to Horace.[4] **5-6:** cf.

---

[1]These include, in addition to *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220, at *F*-7 50), *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83, *F*-7,53), *Rege mentem et ordina* (I33/299, *F*-7,54), and *Heu he heu quam subditis* (J9/154, F-7,55).

[2]See the edition of John Holmberg, *Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches: lateinisch, altfranzösich und mittelniederfränkisch,* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1929, 54; an online version is available at: http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0662/. The text is also available, here ascribed to Hildebert of Lavardin in *PL,* 171, with the Juvenal quote at col. 1043C (not 1073 as sometimes reported).

[3]See Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure,* Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, trans., Garland Library of Medieval Literature, vol. 90, ser. B (New York and London: Garland, 1993), 261: "If those who delight in the nobility of great lineage and boast of having noble ancestors do not do virtuous things, they do not realize that the praise of their parentage will turn more to their shame than to their esteem; for when Catiline was conspiring secretly in Rome and doing only bad deeds, and spoke before the senators of the goodness of his father and the nobility of his lineage and the good that his family had done for the commune of Rome, he was indeed expressing more his shame than his honor."

[4]Ibid.: "But concerning true nobility, Horace says that it is only in virtue."

Lamentations, 1:1.[5] **7-10:** conceivable echoes of Isaiah, 47:1, directed there towards Babylon.[6]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **3,1:** note that *virtus* is feminine. **MUSIC:** no variants. **Repetition:** this conductus is notable for the concentrated amount of musical repetition it displays. Only the *cum littera* setting of its final four lines, along with their preceding cauda, show no apparent re-use of musical material. The opening melisma is interesting in its frequent use of the two-note motive *f-g* (here represented by a boxed letter "a" above the staff), separated by phrases that generally involve varying gestures that open with some type of descent from *b-flat* to *f* (here signaled as "b"), followed by a brief conclusion. A further stepwise, falling-and-rising motive (shown here as "c") is also prominent and seen in various transpositions, such as its successive use in the D of the setting of lines 5-6, while at the same time the T presents a series of related motives that all begin with the same *f, g, a* pitch series (marked "f" and "f ' "). **Motivic sharing with other works:** the first and third T phrases in the final cauda (marked above the staff in the score with a boxed letter "g") present a case of a musical gesture that appears multiple times throughout the conductus repertory, in both melismatic and syllabic contexts. These are all listed here in the order they occur in *F:* **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 caudae of *Ave Maris stella virgo* (D1/34) – a3 – *F*-6,17; **c)** T in the opening motive of the penultimate phrase in the 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 the first and third phrases in the final cauda of *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220) – a2 – *F*-7,50; **f)** opening phrase of the Tr in *Omni pene curie* (I34/252) – a2 – *F*-7,99. **Final cauda:** it seems worthy to mention that the T closes the entire work by ascending to an upper *d,* while the D performs the more typical function of the T by closing on the *g* final.

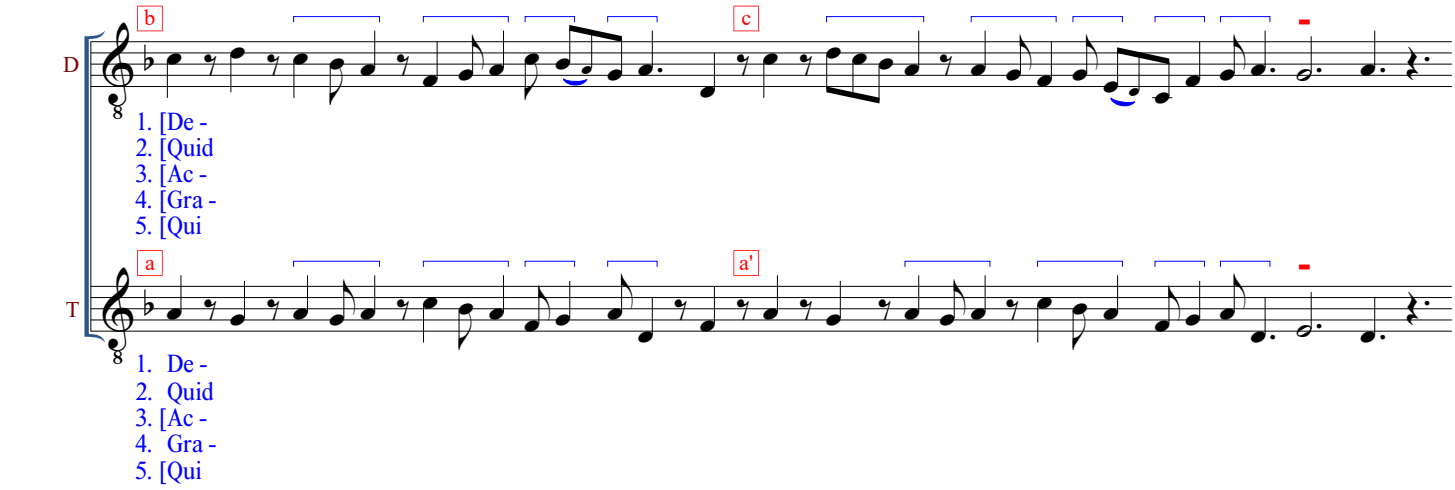
[5]Lamentations, 1:1: "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo!" ("How does the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!").

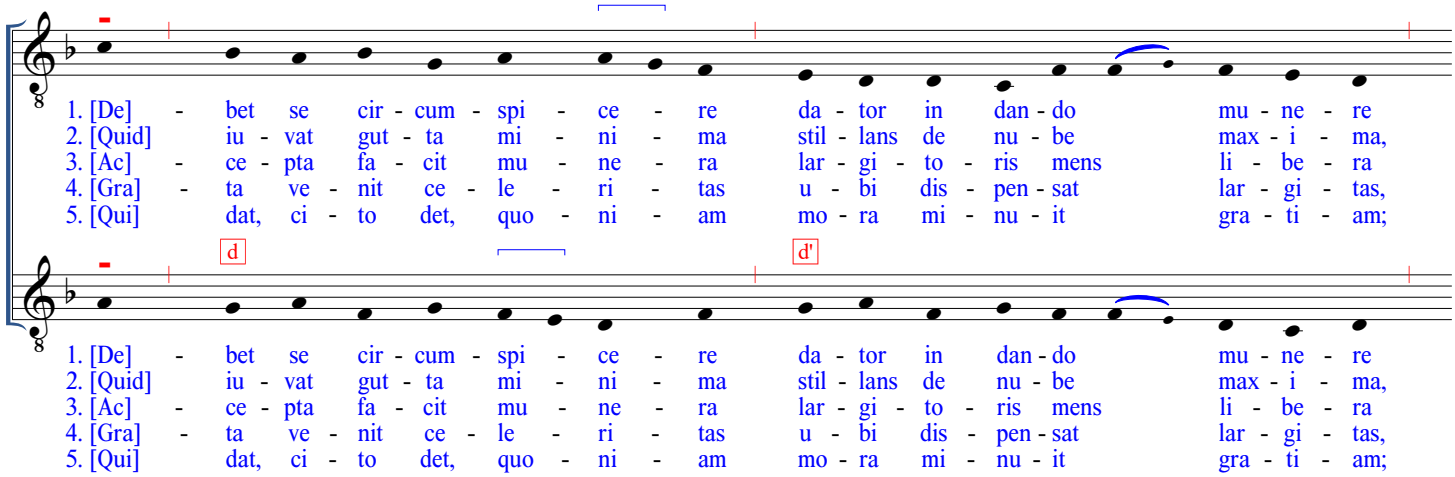
[6]Isaiah, 47:1: "Descende, sede in pulvere, virgo filia Babylon: sede in terra; non est solium filiae Chaldaeorum, quia ultra non vocaberis mollis et tenera" ("Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne for the daughter of the Chaldeans, for you shall no more be called delicate and tender.")

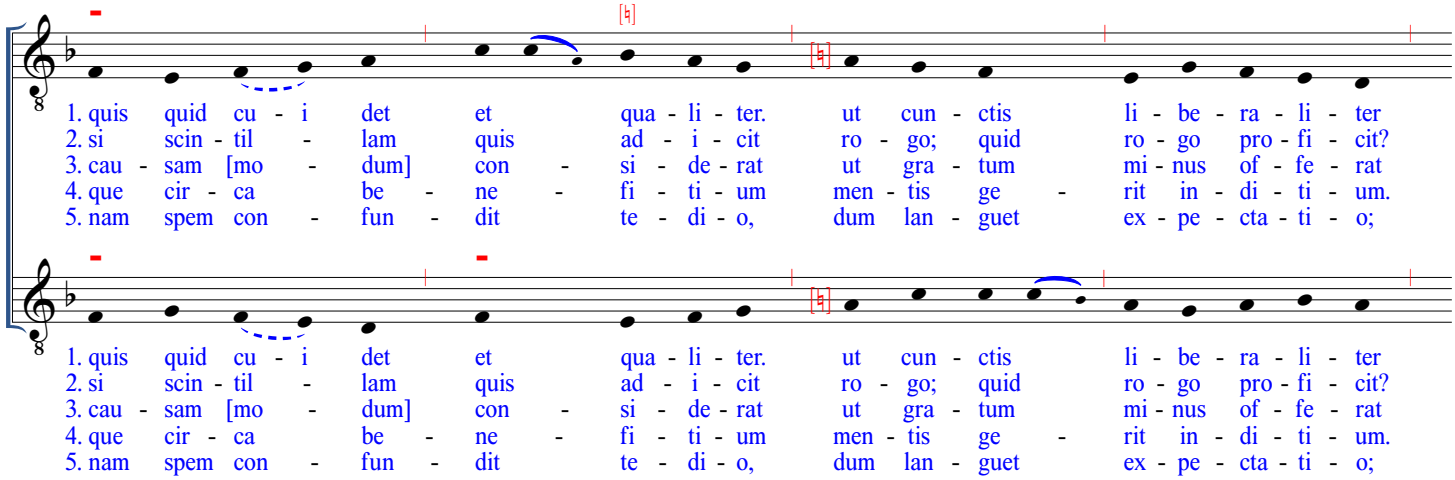
DEBET SE CIRCUMSPICERE

Conductus (I10/83)

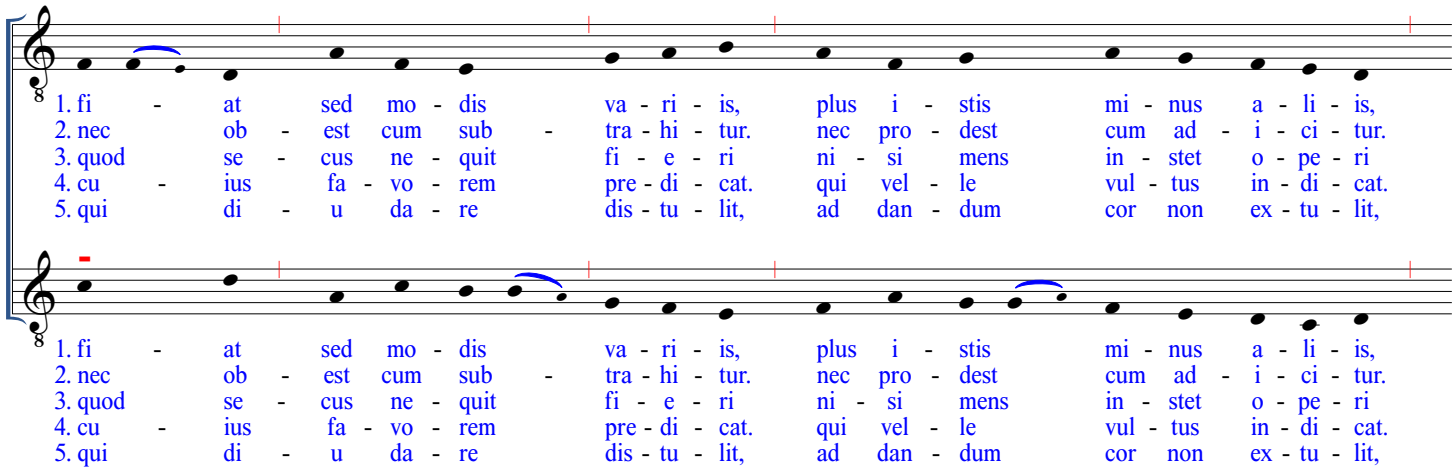
F, f. 317v (7,51): Strophes I-II, IV; *W1,* f. 116v (107v) (9,29): Strophe III; *OxRawl,* f. 236r (7r) (no. 9): Strophe V*

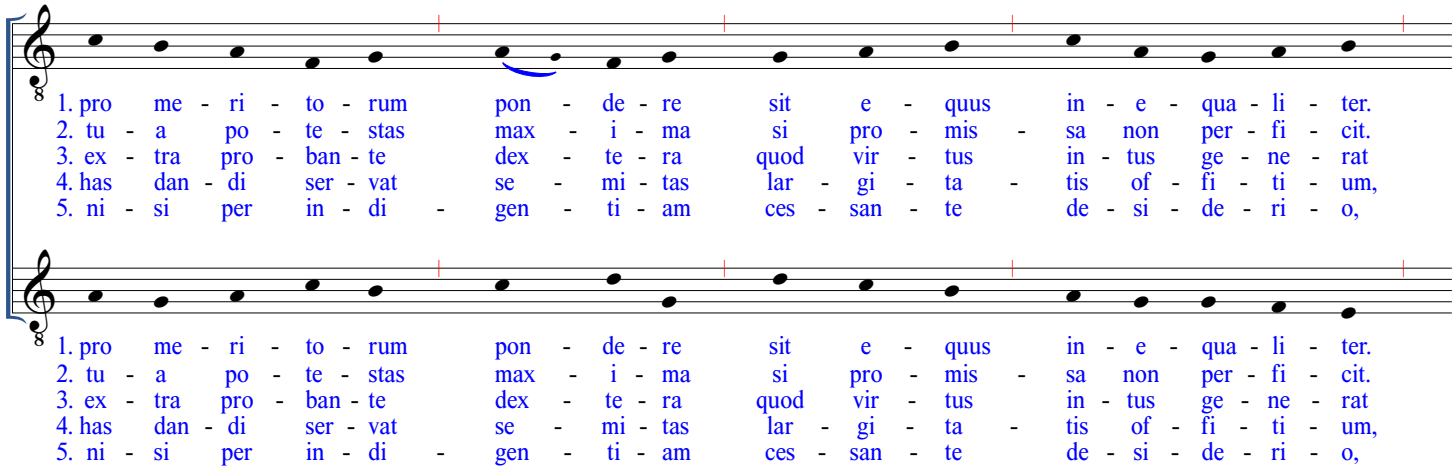


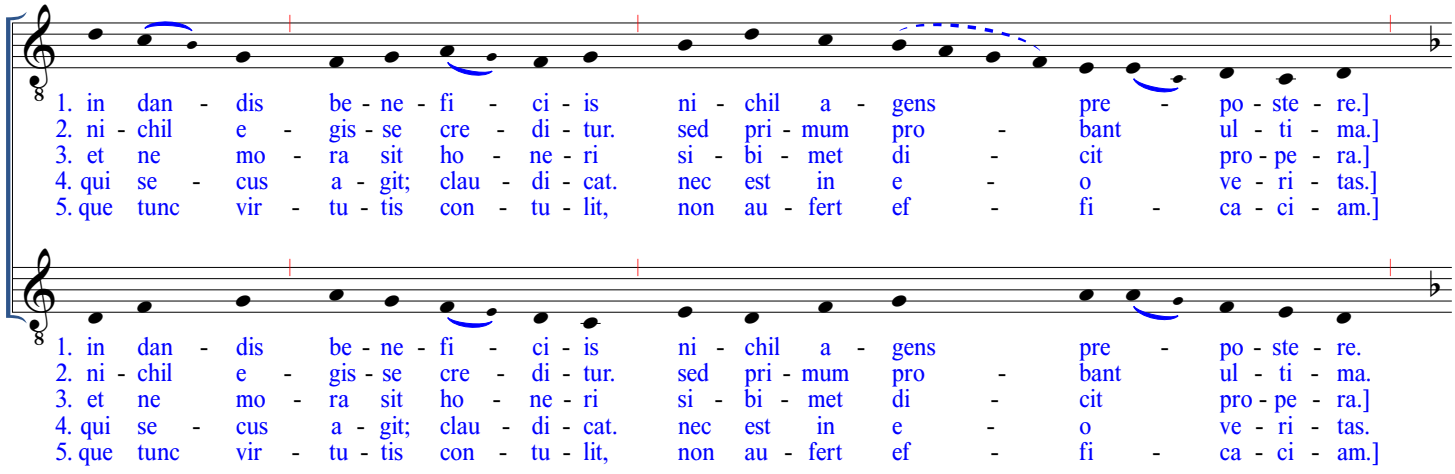




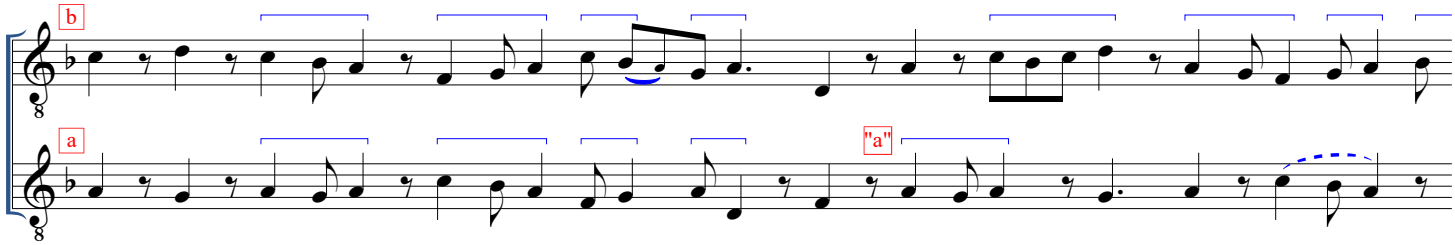
*The music of the opening cauda reappears in the final melisma, with an added, intervening segment that refashions the T melody.

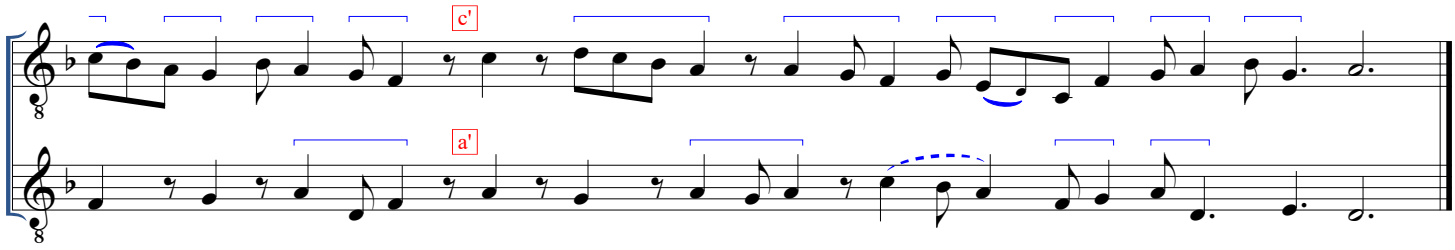






| repeats the entire opening cauda, with an added, intervening section that restates the T melody with different rhythms, while D insert = rhythms of final D phrase




c'
a'

DEBET SE CIRCUMSPICERE

Conductus (I10/83)

F, f. 317v (7,51): Strophes I-II, IV; *W1,* f. 116v (107v) (9,29): Strophe III; *OxRawl,* f. 236r (7r) (no. 9): Strophe V

I Debet se circumspicere,
dator in dando munere,
quis quid cui det, et qualiter,
ut cunctis liberaliter
fiat, sed modis variis:
plus istis, minus aliis,
pro meritorum pondere.
Sit equus inequaliter.
in dandis beneficiis,
nichil agens prepostere.

A giver, in giving a gift,
obliges himself to consider
who may give what to whom, and how,
so that his giving may be done generously
for all, but with different allotments:
more to some, and less to others,
according to the weight of what they deserve.
A giver should be equitable by
granting benefits unequally,
doing nothing the wrong way around.

II Quid iuvat gutta minima,
stillans de nube maxima,
si scintillam quis adicit
rogo? Quid, rogo, proficit?
Nec obest cum subtrahitur,
nec prodest cum adicitur.
Tua potestas maxima,
si promissa non perficit,
nichil egisse creditur;
sed primum probant ultima.

What good is the smallest raindrop,
squeezed from the largest cloud,
if someone puts a spark to a
bonfire? What, I ask, does that accomplish?
It neither hinders when it is withdrawn,
nor benefits when it is added.
The grandest of all your powers,
if it is not carried through as promised,
is considered to have done nothing;
for the ends determine the beginning.

III [Accepta facit munera
largitoris mens libera.
Causam, [modum] considerat,
ut gratum minus offerat.
Quod secus nequit fieri,
nisi mens instet operi
extra probante dextera,
Quod virtus intus generat.
Et ne mora sit honeri,
sibimet dicit: "Propera!"]

A giver's open mind makes
his gifts welcome.
He takes into account their occasion and their measure,
so that he might offer something gratifying, even if
to a lesser degree. This could not be done otherwise,
unless the mind perseveres in the deed
without the right hand's approval,
because virtue issues from within.
And in order that there be no delay to the task,
it says to itself: "Hurry!"

IV Grata venit celeritas
ubi dispensat largitas
que circa benefitium.
Mentis gerit inditium
cuius favorem predicat.
Qui velle vultus indicat.
Has dandi servat semitas
largitatis offitium.
Qui secus agit, claudicat,
nec est in eo veritas.

Rapidity comes to be pleasing
when generosity pays out
what pertains to a gift.
It bears the mark of the mind
that commends the favor.
Such an appearance discloses what it wants.
The practice of generosity
maintains these paths of giving.
One who does otherwise falters,
and there is no truth in him.

V [Qui dat, cito det, quoniam

One who does give, should give promptly, since

mora minuit gratiam;
nam spem confundit tedio,
dum languet expectatio,
Qui diu dare distulit
ad dandum cor non extulit.
Nisi per indigentiam
cessante desiderio,
que tunc virtutis contulit,
non aufert efficaciam.]

delay diminishes the favor;
for it confounds hope with harm,
as the expectation grows weak.
One who puts off giving for long
has not elevated his heart towards giving.
Unless his desire is
lapsing due to want,
then he claims no advantage to
whatever he has virtuously bestowed .

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 51, f. 317v: a2; Strophes I-II, IV, only, with II and IV entered into a dedicated space for the extra stanzas at the end of the last system of the piece and headed by capitals. This is the last of the strophic works in *F*-7 to supply text for its residual stanzas, even though the stanzaic pieces that follow provide dedicated areas within the writing block at the end of their musical settings for including more text. This is the case, also, for items where no extra strophes survive.[1] The single exception is the partial provision of an additional versicle for the strophic sequence form of *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298), at F-7,53.[2] Pieces in strophic format extend up through *F*-7,62 (*In novas fert animus formas* [J14/177]), where they are interrupted structurally by the through-composed *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106) at *F*-7,63 (f. 324r). *Debet se circumspicere* and the following work in *F, Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/312), are also together in *W1,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 29, f. 116v (107v): a2; Strophes I-III, only, with II-III entered below the setting in the bottom area outside the writing block in an unbroken series of lines from the left to the right margin; a painted initial heads each extra stanza in addition to the first, with their placement signaled by fully visible guide letters. An erased piece of writing appears near the midpoint of the left margin of the folio; it looks like it once read "pater noster qui es in celis," but the first several words are difficult to make out for certain. This piece and the previous work in *W1, Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/312), are also together in *F,* but in reverse order.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 9, f. 236r (7r): text alone of Strophes I-III, V, only; rubric: "De modo dandi; qualiter dandum est" ("On the manner of giving; how one should give"). The folio of *OxRawl* that preserved this piece is now missing, although its complete text was collated before the loss; see the remarks in Hans Walther, "Die poetische Anthologie des cod. Oxford Rawl. C. 510," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 3 (1966), 218-227, at 218. Walther's publication has provided the text for Strophe V above and the variants below for the other stanzas; the modern punctuation and capitalization of Strophe V here and in the musical score is reproduced from his article.[3]

---

[1]The one piece without such an accommodation, *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), at *F*-7,56, presents a rather long single stanza with empty staves extending to the right margin of its final system. Its poetic irregularity and spare, syllabic musical style – akin to a prosula or motet – suggests it was not conceived as a strophic form.

[2]In *F,* this work supplies the additional text for the second of its two paired versicles (IIb), but not the first (Ib), despite space having been provided for it.

[3]Since the folio containing *Debet se circumspicere* is now missing from *OxRawl*, and, in giving the text for Strophe V of the poem, Hans Walther does not supply the rubric for this particular piece in his cited article (although he does include the rubrics for most of the other poems), the text of this rubric is taken directly from William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae: partis quintae, fasciculus secundus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, J.C.D. ...* (Oxford: E Typographeo Clarendoniano [i.e., from the Clarendon Press], 1878), col. 274. Both Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:93) and the CPI website mistakenly give

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem, which treats charitable giving, is similar in topic to the conductus *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), which appears just a few pieces later as *F*-7,56, and *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), transmitted much earlier in the MS as *F*-6,22; see also the conductus *Premii dilatio* (E3/270), at *F*-6,6. Quite a number of the expressions in *Debet se cicumspicere* evoke the tone of common or proverbial sayings, apparently stemming from a variety of resources, but with most of them deriving from ancient Roman moralistic writings. The reliance on classical Roman authors is prevalent in the pieces in this section of *F*-7, beginning with the previous piece, *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220), at *F*-7,50 and extending to *Heu he heu quam subditis* (J9/154), at *F*-7,55). The most likely authorities for the references here, Seneca's *De beneficiis* and the earlier *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (also ascribed at one time to Seneca), tread over ground similar to *Debet se circumspicere,* but do not necessarily offer direct linguistic echoes for this poem. As a result, there are potentially many more such allusions and intermediary sources to be discovered beyond the ones suggested in these textual notes. **Strophic inclusion and order:** No one source preserves all the extant stanzas of this poem, and one may readily question both the ordering of the stanzas as presented here and whether the five-strophe version of the text as given above ever existed as a complete entity. Strophes I-III are given in the order above because they appear so in both *W1* and *OxRawl;* Stanza IV, unique to *F,* follows, because this stanza seems to offer a direct continuation of the sentiments that arise at the end of Strophe III. Strophe V, the single remainder, unique to *OxRawl,* concludes and offers a suitable ending to the poem, as it continues the emphasis on rendering gifts in an expedient manner. Such a conceit not only closes Strophe III, but furnishes the main argument of Stanza IV. Even so, the final two stanzas might easily be exchanged, or either one – or both – omitted in performance. **Textual notes: 3:** Lucius Annaeus Seneca ("the Younger" – ca. 4 BCE-65 CE) offers similar sentiments in his *De beneficiis,* 2.16.2.[4] See also the slight correspondence in the text of the conductus *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), line 27: "cui des, et quando" ("[observe] those to whom you should give, and when"), and the connection of this reference to the *Distichs* of Cato. Language comparable to this passage is employed in connection with the study of rhetoric in the *Ars loquendi et tacendi* [or *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi*] of Albertano of Brescia (ca. 1195-ca. 1251), from 1245, which offers the following leonine hexameter after its opening sentences: "Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur, quomodo, quando, requiras" ("You should investigate who, what, and to whom you should speak, why, how, and when"). An expression corresponding to that of Albertano arises in Ambrose's *De officiis,* 1.10.35.[5] **5-10:** possibly evocative of Seneca's statements in *De beneficiis* (2.16.2) on the worthy practice of properly tailoring the size of one's gift to the qualities of both gift and giver.[6] More of this sentiment arises in lines 23-25. **20:** redolent of

---

the second word of the rubric as "modi."

[4]Seneca, *De beneficiis,* 2.16.2: "Nihil enim per se quemquam decet; refert, qui det, cui, quando, quare, ubi, et cetera, sine quibus facti ratio non constabit." ("Nothing is by itself a becoming gift for anyone: all depends upon who gives it, to whom he gives it, when, for what reason, where, and so forth, without which details it is impossible to argue about it."). The translations here and elsewhere from this work is that of Aubrey Stewart, trans., *L. Annaeus Seneca: On Benefits: Addressed to Aebutius Liberalis*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887); for this one, see p. 33.

[5]Ambrose, *De officiis*, 1.10.35: "Sapiens ut loquatur, multa prius considerat, quid dicat, aut cui dicat, quo in loco, et tempore" ("When a wise man speaks, he first considers a number of things: what he is to say, or to whom he is to speak, and in what place and at what time."). For the Latin text, see, e.g., *PL:*16, col. 37C.

[6]*De beneficiis,* 2.16.2: "Habetur personarum ac dignitatium portio et, cum sit ubique virtus modus, aeque peccat, quod excedit, quam quod deficit" ("There should be a proportion between men's characters and the offices they fill; and as virtue in all cases should be our measure, he who gives too much acts as wrongly as he who gives too little."). Translation from Stewart, *Seneca: On Benefits,* 33.

Aristotle's principle of ultimate or final causality, which teaches that whatever occurs last in a chain of events is actually the first in conception.[7] See also, for some similar expressions, Isaiah, 46:10.[8] **21-22:** cf. Seneca, *De beneficiis,* 1.1.8;[9] and in the alphabetically arranged *Sententiae* of the epigrammatist Publilius Syrus (first-century B.C.E.): "Bis gratum est, quod datum opus est, ultro si offeras" ("Twice pleasing is that gift that is needed, if you offer it voluntarily").[10] Significantly, medieval sources of Publilius's *Sententiae* regularly ascribe them to Seneca. The idea of generosity expressed in the freedom of the giver's character or spirit *(mens)* appears throughout this conductus (e.g., lines 34-40) and in Seneca's *De beneficiis.* Also cf. 2 Corinthians, 9:7.[11] **23-25:** see the remarks for lines 5-10. **27:** a recollection of Matthew, 6:3.[12] **31-33:** similar to another reference often, but mistakenly, attributed to Publilius Syrus: "Beneficium celeritas gratius facit" ("Speed makes a gift more gracious"). The idea of giving quickly, without hesitation or delay, occupies much of the remainder of the conductus poem. For further instances of this conceit, see the remarks for lines 41-50. Note also the main argument of the conductus *Premii dilatio* (E3/270), especially evident in its lines 1-2 and 9-12, which criticizes those who delay the granting of a promised reward. **36:** cf. Cicero, *De legibus,* 1.27.[13] I am construing the infinitive form "velle" in 36,2 as a substantive here, see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/velle, *DMLBS,* 8. **41-50 (Strophe V):** more treatment of the virtue of rendering a benefit without delay, earlier broached in lines 31-33: the first line recalls the proverbial phrase "bis dat qui cito dat" ("he who gives quickly gives twice"), transmitted, for instance, in the *Adagia* of Erasmus (who ascribes it to Seneca), and in comparable form in Publilius Syrus's *Sententiae,* which appears to be its earliest Latin incarnation: "Inopi beneficium bis dat, qui dat celeriter ("One gives aid twice to the needy, who gives it quickly.").[14] For Seneca's

---

[7]See, for example, Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* 1a2ae1,1: "... finis, etsi sit postremus in executione, est tamen primus in intentione agentis. Et hoc modo habet rationem causae.. ." ("... an end, even if it is last in execution, is nonetheless first in the intention of the agent. And in this manner it has the force of a cause").

[8]Isaiah, 46:10: "Annuntians ab exordio novissimum, et ab initio quae necdum facta sunt ..." ("[I am God] who shows from the beginning the things that shall be at last, and from ancient times the things that as yet are not done ... .").

[9]Seneca, *De beneficiis,* 1.1.8: "Eodem animo beneficium debetur, quo datur" ("A benefit is received in the same temper in which it is given"). Translation from Stewart, *Seneca: On Benefits,* 2.

[10]For this maxim, which occurs in varying formulations, see the critical edition: Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae,* ed. Roandeau Albert Henry Bickford-Smith (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1895), p. 4, line 54.

[11]2 Corinthians, 9:7: "Unusquisque, prout destinavit in corde suo, non ex tristitia, aut ex necessitate: hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus." ("Every one [should give] as he has determined in his heart, not with sadness, or of necessity: for God loves a cheerful giver.").

[12]Matthew, 6:3: "Te autem faciente eleemosynam, nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua." ("But when you do alms, let not your left hand know what your right hand does").

[13]Cicero, *De legibus,* 1.27: "... et is qui appellatur uultus, qui nullo in animante esse praeter hominem potest, indicat mores," ("... and what is called the countenance, which can exist in no animate being besides the human being, indicates character."). The English rendering is from David Fott, transl., *Marcus Tullius Cicero: On the Republic and On the Laws* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), 139.

[14]Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae,* ed. Bickford-Smith, p. 17, line 6. On this adage, see the study of Anette Erler, "Zur Geschichte des Spruches 'Bis dat, qui cito dat,' " *Philologus,* 130 (1986): 210-220.

actual advice on this point, see his *De beneficiis,* 2.1.1-2;[15] as well as his similar statements at 2.5.4.[16] This latter passage shows some connections as well to the sentiments in lines 45-46. See also Proverbs, 3:27 for another possible connection.[17] **45-46:** see the remarks for lines 41-50, above, with their citation of Seneca's *De beneficiis,* 2.5.4. **45:** another apparently proverbial expression; see its similar occurrence in *Zelo tui langueo virgo speciosa,* the so-called *Canticum amoris,* a Marian lyric attributed to the fourteenth-century hermit and mystic Richard Rolle (ca. 1290-1349), whose third line gives the phrase: "diu dare distulit, diva generosa" ("the generous goddess [the Virgin Mary] has held off giving for a long time").[18]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *F* provides the base source for Strophes I, II, and IV, *W1* supplies the text for Strophe III, and *OxRawl* for V, the variant verbal readings of all extant sources are collated for each of the surviving strophes. **3,2:** W1: quicquid. **3,3:** F,W1: "cui" is regarded as a monosyllable in terms of the poem's verse structure (10x8pp lines/strophe), but as bisyllabic in the musical setting; see also the observations on this place, below, for its effect on the music. **5,1:** OxRawl: si det. **8,2:** W1: equs; F: this word in the presentation of the main text should not be confused with "equus" ("horse"). **13,3:** W1,OxRawl: quid for "quis," an equally valid reading. **13,4:** F: addicit, the spelling of which differs in meaning from the adopted form "adicit," supplied by *W1,OxRawl;* as a result is it preferred here to the small orthographical discrepancy in *F;* cf. the comment to line 16,4, where the same verb is used. **14,3:** W1,OxRawl: rogus, which obviates the witty conceit of the homonym at 14,3. **15,4:** W1: subtraitur. **16,4:** F: addicitur; the adopted "adicitur" (without the double "d") comes from *W1,OxRawl;* cf. the remarks to line 13,4 on the same verb. **17,3:** W1: plurima for "maxima." **18,4:** W1: proficit for "perficit." **23,2:** W1: om; "modum" supplied from *OxRawl.* **23,3:** OxRawl: consideret; rejected due to non-correspondence with the rhyme scheme of the poem, which requires the adopted "considerat," present in *W1.* **31,3:** F: sceleritas; the accepted reading, "celeritas," is presented as an editorial emendation by Dreves in *AH,* 21, p. 160, no. 228; it seems much more likely and logical, and therefore is used here, since, in opening Strophe IV, it follows the treatment of hastening the giving of a gift that closes Strophe III. **32,1:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xi) and the CPI website give "nisi" for the unique transmission in *F,* but the form of the abbreviation seems to favor the reading here ("ubi" – also given in *AH,* 21, *ibid.*), since the shortened word is here represented as a single letter (with a superscript "i" hovering over it) that seems closer in form to "u" than "n." **39,4:** F: cladicat; corrected editorially, following *AH,* 21, *ibid.,* since the word as it stands does not seem to exist in Latin. **40,4:** F: the adopted form of "eo" looks somewhat more like "et" in this singular MS transmission, since the letter "o" is apparently not fully closed. **41-50 (Strophe V):** the unique source for this stanza, *OxRawl,* has lost its applicable folio; the presentation of this stanza derives directly from Walther, "Poetische Anthologie," 218, and reproduces his modern punctuation and capitalization in the musical transcription. **MUSIC: Caudae:** This piece has the unusual property of repeating a substantial amount of material in its two caudae. The closing melisma restates with near exactitude all of the content from the one

---

[15]Seneca, *De beneficiis,* 2.1.1-2: "Sic demus, quomodo vellemus accipere. Ante omnia libenter, cito, sine ulla dubitatione" ("Let us therefore give in the manner we would like to receive: before all freely, quickly, and with no hesitation."). Translation from Stewart, *Seneca: On Benefits,* 21

[16]Seneca, *On Benefits,* 2.5.4: Omnis benignitas properat, et proprium est libenter facientis cito facere; qui tarde et diem de die extrahens profuit, non ex animo fecit ("Kindness is always eager to do good, and one who acts by love naturally acts at once; he who does is good, but does it tardily and with long delays, does not do so from the heart."). Translation from Stewart, *Seneca: On Benefits,* 25.).

[17]Proverbs, 3:27: "Noli prohibere benefacere eum qui potest: si vales, et ipse benefac" ("Do not withhold him from doing good, who is able: if you are able, do good yourself also."). For a translation of this biblical passage that stands a little closer to the sentiment of the conductus text, see that of the Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition: "Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in your power to do it."

[18]The triplum text of the fourteenth-century motet *Zelo tui langueo* / [T *Omnes de Saba*] / *Reor nescia,* which opens with the same expression as Rolle's *Canticum amoris,* does not contain this phrase.

that opens the piece, but it inserts a 10L section between its first 9L segment and the last (here expanded by the cadence notes to 11L). In addition, and even more fascinating, the T of these repeated sections is restated in the middle portion of the final cauda (marked with an "a" in quote marks in the score), but now over a different set of rhythms that form an interlocking LL, LBL pattern that echoes the values in both voices of the opening phrases in both caudae. Lastly, the D melody of this inserted gesture states the same rhythmic values (disregarding the plicas) as the closing D segment (here marked "c' ") that follows it, and the first five notes of the D in the initial phrases of both caudae (here "b") correspond to those that open the closing sections (here "c"), again with rhythmic differences. The short length of the rests throughout both melismas is prompted by *W1,* which sometimes omits the strokes that appear in *F.* Perhaps significantly, a stroke in the D at L8 is erased in the final cauda from *F,* thus corresponding with the absence of such a stroke in the opening cauda of this piece. ***Cum littera* segments:** The musical setting of the text of the first strophe in *F* is frequently broken up by strokes within many of the poem's lines. This practice occurs in *W1* also, but to a much lesser extent. Since such signs in subsequent stanzas can occur at apparently inopportune moments (for instance when they bisect words), it seems as though the scribe of *F* was concerned with indicating patterns of declamation that were appropriate chiefly for the first stanza. Performers who wish to reflect these interlinear strokes in their delivery of Strophe I may therefore consider modifying their delivery in later stanzas. See the related remarks below for line 3,3. **Remarks: Line 3,3:** F,W1: "cui" is considered a monosyllable in terms of the poem's verse structure (10x8pp lines/strophe), but it is set as two syllables in the musical settings in both *F* and *W1.* As the same ambiguity of syllable count never obtains for any of the other stanzas, this "extraneous" note is accommodated to the delivery of the syllables in the subsequent stanzas by a dashed slur extending from below the note pair. Such a distinction in Strophe I suggests that its musical setting was executed without consideration for the differences at this point in the subsequent stanzas. This is analogous to the proliferation of interlinear strokes throughout the music, especially in *F;* see the above remarks on the music of the *cum littera* segments. **7,2:** D: F: for "meri[torum]": written 2 lower=*a,g;* corrected from *W1.*

ROMA GAUDENS IUBILA

Conductus (I9/312)

F, f. 318r (7,52)

I

D [Ro - [Ro] - ma gau - dens iu - bi - la

T Ro - [Ro] - ma gau - dens iu - bi - la

men - tis pro - cul nu - bi - la splen - dor ex - pel - lat ho - di - e. splen - dor

men - tis pro - cul nu - bi - la splen - dor ex - pel - lat ho - di - e. splen - dor

pa - cis et glo - ri - e fi - de - li - bus lu - gen - ti - bus or -

pa - cis et glo - ri - e fi - de - li - bus lu - gen - ti - bus or -

[or] - tus de tu - o prin - ci - pe. sy - on er - go fi - li - a

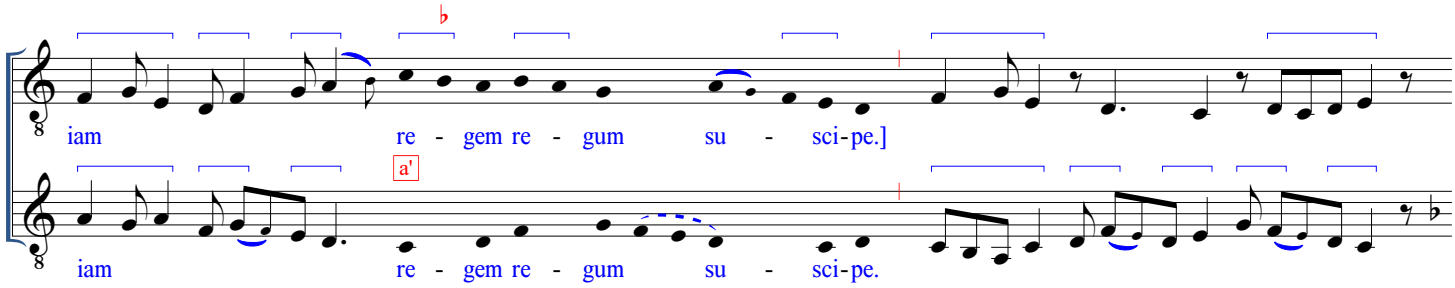
[or] - tus de tu - o prin - ci - pe. sy - on er - go fi - li - a

sur - - ge de tri - sti - ti - a. sa - lu - tis ad - est do - mi - nus

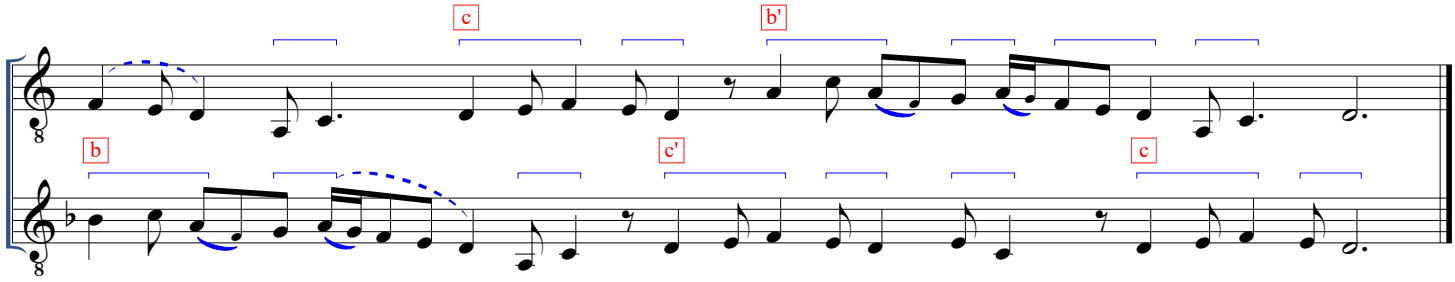
sur - - ge de tri - sti - ti - a. sa - lu - tis ad - est do - mi - nus

ut tu - o fi - at ter - mi - nus ex - i - li - o. cum gau - di - o

ut tu - o fi - at ter - mi - nus ex - i - li - o. cum gau - di - o



| T: W1: *a* for opening *b-flat* (corresponds more closely with later D phrase) – optional alternative



ROMA GAUDENS IUBILA

Conductus (I9/312)

F, f. 318r (7,52)

I	Roma, gaudens, iubila!	Rome, rejoicing, shout in triumph!
	Mentis procul nubila	Today let brightness banish
	splendor expellat hodie,	the mind's clouds far away,
	splendor pacis et glorie	a brightness of peace and glory,
	fidelibus lugentibus,	for the grieving body of the faithful,
	ortus de tuo principe.	arising from your prince.
	Syon, ergo, filia,	Therefore, daughter of Zion,
	surge de tristitia.	rise up from your sadness.
	Salutis adest dominus,	The lord of salvation is at here
	ut tuo fiat terminus	to make an end of your
	exilio. Cum gaudio	exile. Receive now the
	iam regem regum suscipe.	king of kings with joy!

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 52, f. 318r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no internal capitals or other means to signal further divisions within the stanza. There is an area of completely empty space within the writing block that follows the last system of this work. This may have been intended to contain further stanzas, but none are extant here or elsewhere. *Roma gaudens iubila* is the first ostensibly single-strophe work to occur in *F*-7 (with the possible exception of the non-stanzaic prose text for *Ave Maria II* [G7/29] seen earlier at *F*-7,18). It stands as the fifth work since the start of the series of strophic pieces that began at *F*-7,48 with *A deserto veniens* (I29/1), and is the first item in this segment of the MS to lack any additional text stanzas known from elsewhere. The apparent provision, though, of leaving completely empty space within the writing block for additional strophes – even if none are extant – appears in all the other pieces that follow, up to *F*-7,63, *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), where through-composed works begin to return; the only exception is the somewhat unusual *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132) at *F*-7,56.[1] *Roma gaudens* and the previous work in *F, Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), are also together in *W1,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 28, f. 116r (107r): a2; Strophe I, complete, with no internal capitals or other means to signal further divisions within the stanza. The additional writing entered at the bottom of the opening leaf is the fifth stanza of the conductus *Gratuletur populus* (H6/147), which concludes at the end of the system at the top of the page. This and the following work in *W1, Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), are also together in *F,* but in reverse order.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Poetic structure and strophic organization:** As indicated in the above section on sources, both *F* and *W1* present the text as though it is a single stanza. *F,* additionally, is rather spare with its punctuation, offering only a single period within the first half of the text (after line 3), and nothing at all to

[1] In this lattermost case, the music ends with a significant amount of space at the right of its final system, but this is covered with empty staff lines that extend to the right margin of the writing block.

suggest separating the poem into the two identically formulated stanzas of six lines as presented in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:x). *W1,* for its part, and characteristically, employs punctuation (a period) only at the end of the entire poem. As a result, this text is here interpreted conjecturally as a single stanza of twelve lines. Further discrepancies here with Anderson's version arise in presenting lines 5 and 11 as 8pp verses with internal rhyme (4pp+4pp), rather than splitting them in half. This way they correspond to the similarly constructed 8pp verses that surround them. **Textual notes: 1:** The appearance of an apostrophe to Rome at this particular place in *F*-7 seems fitting, as several of the pieces, beginning with *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220) at *F*-7,50, include nods to classical literature, even though these seem withheld from *Roma gaudens.* In the poem given here, Rome appears to be invoked as a figure for the collective church or Christendom, perhaps recollecting passages in the Psalms that call for the whole earth, or all of humankind, to sing, as in Psalms 46:2[2] and 97:4,[3] as well as the similar language in Psalms 65:1, 80:2, and 99:2. Conceivably, Rome might even stand here for heaven, or a heavenly city analogous to Augustine's *City of God.* For this latter symbol, in addition to the remarks on Zion and Jerusalem given below for lines 7-8, see Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167), *Sermones,* 3.2.220, glossing Psalm 86:3.[4] **4:** the brilliant light is that of the grace that comes through Christ from God; see Hebrews, 1:3.[5] **6:** as the biblical associations in line 4 and the poem's statements in lines 9-12 confirm, the prince here is Christ. **7-8:** as Anderson remarks in his notes to the conductus *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385), quoting the *Glossa ordinaria* from the text given in *PL,*113: col. 1057D (*NDRC,* 5:ix, note 2), the daughter or daughters of Zion, or of Jerusalem, symbolize the larger body of the faithful that is the church.[6] Biblical instances of these images in contexts similar to the conductus poem (i.e., rising up from grief, rejoicing in exaltation, or praising a king) appear in Isaiah, 52:2;[7] Zephaniah, 3:14;[8] Zechariah, 2:10;[9] Zacharias, 9:9 (also recalled in

---

[2]Psalm 46:2: "Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus; jubilate Deo in voce exsultationis" ("O clap your hands, all ye nations: shout unto God with the voice of Joy.").

[3]Psalm 97:4: "Jubilate Deo, omnis terra; cantate, et exsultate, et psallite" (" Sing joyfully to God, all the earth; make melody, rejoice and sing.").

[4]Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167), *Sermones,* 3.2.220: " 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei.' Hec civitas merito potest appellari Roma, id est excelsa" (" 'Glorious things are spoken of you, city of God.' This city deservedly can be called Rome, that is exalted"). For this text, see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/Roma, under the *DMLBS* heading, no. 2.

[5]Hebrews, 1:3: "... qui cum sit splendor gloriae, et figura substantiae ejus ..." ("... [God's son,] who being the brightness of his glory, and the figure of his substance ... .").

[6]*PL,* 113: col. 1057D, reportedly quoting Augustine, glossing Psalm 136:8, which refers to the daughter of Babylon: "Per successionem, facta est filia Babylonis civitas malorum, sicut Ecclesia: Jerusalem scilicet, civitas bonorum per successionem filia Sion" ("Through succession, the daughter of Babylon becomes the city of evil; just as the church – that is to say, Jerusalem – through succession the daughter of Zion becomes the city of good.").

[7]Isaiah, 52:2: "Excutere de pulvere, consurge; sede, Jerusalem! solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion" ("Shake yourself from the dust, arise, sit up, O Jerusalem: loose the bonds from off your neck, O captive daughter of Sion.").

[8]Zephaniah, 3:14: "Lauda, filia Sion; jubila, Israel: laetare, et exsulta in omni corde, filia Jerusalem" ("Give praise, O daughter of Sion: shout, O Israel: be glad, and rejoice with all your heart, O daughter of Jerusalem.").

[9]Zechariah, 2:10: "Lauda et laetare, filia Sion, quia ecce ego venio, et habitabo in medio tui, ait Dominus" ("Sing praise, and rejoice, O daughter of Sion: for behold I come, and I will dwell in the midst of you: saith the Lord.").

Matthew, 21:5);[10] and Isaiah, 62: 11.[11] **9:** the phrase "dominus salutis" does not appear as such in the Bible, but for the closely related expression "God of [my] salvation," see 2 Samuel, 22:47; Psalm 17:47; Psalm 37:23; Psalm 50:16; Psalm 87:2. **12,2-3:** on Christ as the king of kings, see 1 Timothy, 6:15; Revelation, 17:14; Revelation, 19:16.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 5,2:** W1: lugentibus; this reading is preferred here in place of "ingentibus" that appears in *F;* this seems appropriate, given the prior sentiment in lines 2-3 of banishing the clouds of the mind. Nevertheless, the *F* reading can work equally well if understood in the sense of "vast," or "great in number"; cf. the similar situation with line 6,1. Anderson's edition of the text (*NDRC,* 4:x) gives the *F* reading in the Latin version, but uses the *W1* reading in both the translation and music (4:17), and reports none of these discrepancies in the commentary (4:93). **6,1:** W1: ortus; as with line 5,2, the reading from *W1* is preferred here to that of *F* ("orto"), yet the *F* reading again can easily suffice if wished. What sways my decision here is that, in my opinion, the ablative absolute construction in *F* ("having arisen from your prince") sounds less preferable in translation than the adopted participial phrase. **6,4:** the period that closes this major syntactic unit is, uncharacteristically, omitted in *F;* it is added editorially in the musical transcription. **8,3:** W1: tristicia: the only remaining textual variant between the two sources, a minor, alternative spelling. **MUSIC: Repetition:** the recollection of earlier material is not especially prominent in this piece, but the few cases are interesting. For one, the D of the opening *cum littera* portion (line 1) is closely echoed by the T melody of the *cum littera* segment of the final line (12). Also, the final cauda shows some particularly taut construction in terms of repeated phrases, indicated above the respective staves; for more information on the repetition here, see the remarks below on this segment. **Line 4,4:** T: F: over "glorie," the initial 2li=*dc* om, thus leaving the first syllable unset; furthermore, the subsequent *e* on the last syllable is written as *c* (3 too low – possibly prompted by the initial omission of the *dc* 2li earlier); both corrected from *W1.* **Cauda on 8,1:** T: rest stroke om, supplied from *W1.* **Final cauda:** in *W1,* the second phrase of the T voice (L7-L11) begins with *a;* if adopted, this would make this phrase identical to the final gesture in the D with the exception of only its last note; it would also reproduce the same harmonic context (an *f/a* third) between the voices in both places. I have hesitated to change the *F* reading of *b-flat* in favor of *W1* primarily because of the *b-flat* sig that is inscribed right at the start of the T phrase in *F.* As this is the only appearance of this pitch for the remainder of the piece, it thus implies it is not likely to be an error. Nevertheless, performers should feel free to make the phrases match if they so wish.
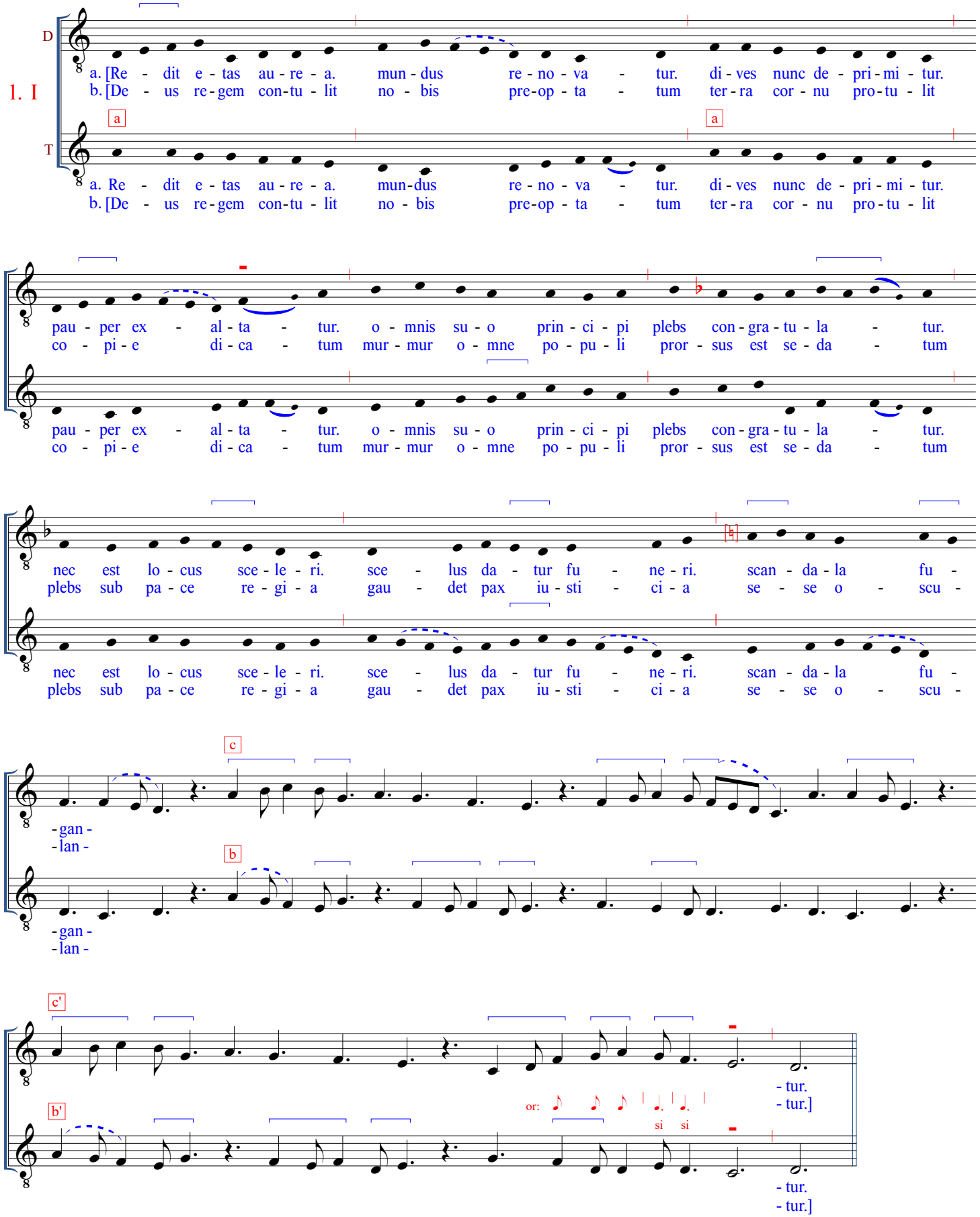
[10]Zacharias, 9:9: "Exsulta satis, filia Sion; jubila, filia Jerusalem: ecce rex tuus veniet tibi justus, et salvator: ipse pauper, et ascendens super asinam et super pullum filium asinae" ("Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion, shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy king will come to thee, the just and saviour: he is poor, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.").
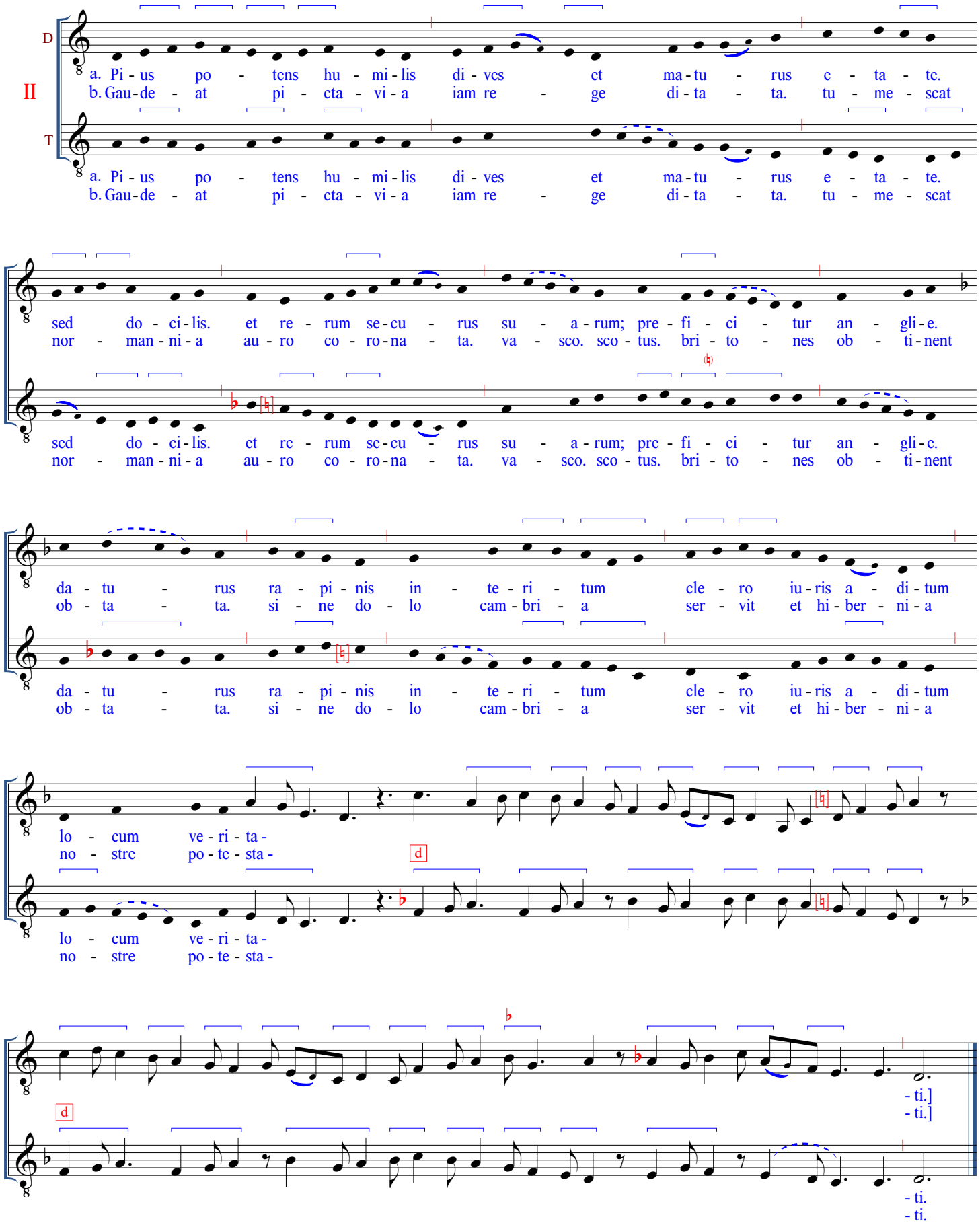
[11]Isaiah, 62: 11: "Ecce Dominus auditum fecit in extremis terrae: Dicite filiae Sion: Ecce Salvator tuus venit; ecce merces ejus cum eo, et opus ejus coram illo" ("Behold the Lord has made it to be heard in the ends of the earth, tell the daughter of Sion: Behold your Saviour comes: behold his reward is with him, and his work before him.").

REDIT ETAS AUREA – *F* and *Fauv (Floret fex favellea)* versions

Conductus (I8/298)
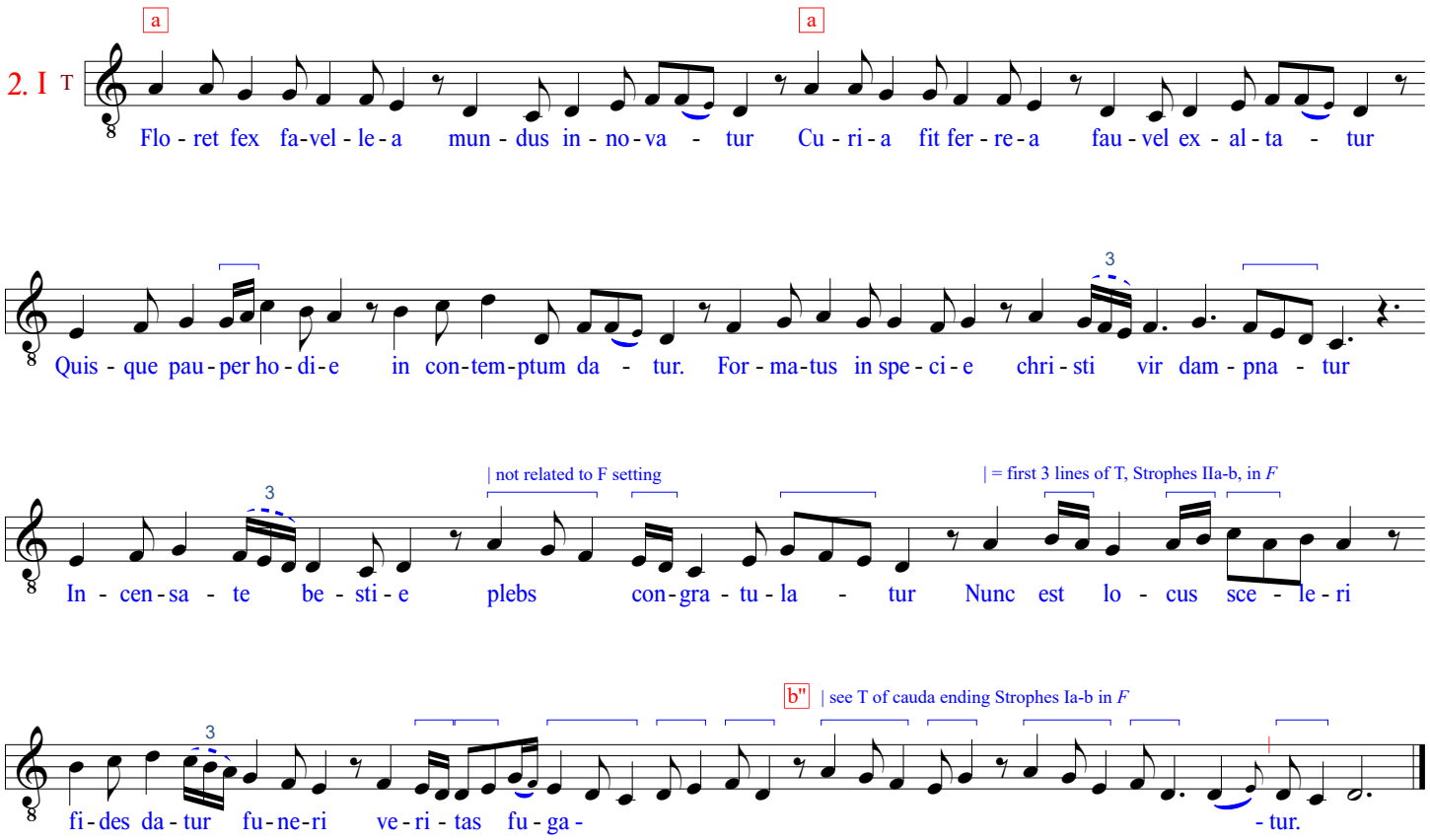
F, f. 318v (7,53): Strophe Ia, IIa-b; *OxRawl,* f 237v (8v) (no. 16): Strophe Ib.





(*Fauv* version follows)

Fauv, no. 13, f. 4vb
| = T of *F* version, lines 1-9



REDIT ETAS AUREA – *F* and *Fauv* versions *(Floret fex favellea)*

Conductus (I8/298)

F, f. 318v (7,53): Strophes Ia, IIa-b; *OxRawl,* f. 237v (8v) (no. 16): Strophe Ib.

Ia Redit etas aurea,
mundus renovatur.
Dives nunc deprimitur,
pauper exaltatur.
Omnis suo principi
plebs congratulatur,
nec est locus sceleri;
scelus datur funeri.
Scandala fugantur.

The golden age returns,
the world is renewed.
The rich man is cast down,
the poor man is raised up.
All the people
rejoice in their prince,
and there is no place for crime;
crime is given over to the pyre.
Scandals are put to flight.

Ib [Deus regem contulit
nobis preoptatum.
Terra cornu protulit
copie dicatum.
Murmur omne populi
prorsus est sedatum.
Plebs sub pace regia
gaudet. Pax, Iusticia
sese osculantur.]

God has conferred the king
we've so longed for.
The earth has brought forth the
one blessed with the horn of plenty.
The people's every complaint
is instantly resolved.
The populace rejoices under
a regal peace. Peace and
Justice kiss each other.

IIa Pius, potens, humilis,
dives, et maturus
etate, sed docilis
et rerum securus
suarum, preficitur
Anglie. Daturus
rapinis interitum,
clero iuris aditum,
locum veritati.

Righteous, powerful, humble,
rich, and mature
in age, but amenable
and certain of his own
affairs, he is put in charge
of England. He will
abolish plundering,
grant the clergy access to their rights,
and provide a place for truth.

IIb Gaudeat Pictavia
iam rege ditata.
Tumescat Normannia,
auro coronata.
Vasco, Scotus, Britones
obtinent obtata.
Sine dolo Cambria
servit, et Hibernia,
nostre potestati.

Poitou should rejoice,
now enriched with a king.
Normandy should swell with pride,
as it is crowned with gold.
The Gascon, the Scot, the Bretons
obtain what they desire.
Without deceit Wales
renders service, as does
Ireland, to our ruler.

The following stanza shows the reworked version of the text as presented in *Fauv.*

Fauv, no. 13, f. 4v[b]

I Floret fex favellea.
Mundus innovatur

Fauvel's scum is flourishing.
The world is transformed.

Curia fit ferrea.		The curia becomes like iron.
Fauvel exaltatur.		Fauvel is extolled.
Quisque pauper hodie	5	Whoever is poor
in contemptum datur.		today receives scorn.
Formatus in specie		A man fashioned in the semblance
Christi, vir dampnatur.		of Christ is condemned.
Incensate bestie		The people fawn over
plebs congratulatur.	10	the perfumed beast.
Nunc est locus sceleri,		There is now a place for crime.
Fides datur funeri.		Faith is given over to the pyre.
Veritas fugatur.		Truth is put to flight.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 53, f. 318v: a2; with text of Strophes Ia, IIa-b, only. Empty space is left within the writing block at the end of the setting of Stanza Ia on the first system of f. 319r, presumably to accommodate the single missing versicle (Ib), since the text of IIb appears in the corresponding place at the end of the setting of IIa four systems later. No further piece in *F*-7 shows any additional text – whether space is provided for it or not – until *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/354), at *F*-7,90.[1] Each subsequent stanza begins with capitals. This is the second piece in *F*-7 to present multiple versicles in the manner of the sequence; the first was *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185) at *F*-7,39.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 20, f. 110v (101v): a2; Strophes Ia-b, IIa-b, complete, with the secondary versicles entered outside the writing block in the left margin and halfway down the page (for Ib), and with that of IIb beginning in the right marginal area right after the music concludes and then running below the last system at the bottom of the leaf, extending fully across the page; Strophes Ia, IIa are indicated by painted initials; Ib, IIb by capital letters. The previous piece in *W1* is *Eclypsim patitur* (I7/105), which also treats the English royal family (cf. the report on *OxRawl* below).

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 16, f. 237v (8v): text only of Strophes Ia-b, IIa-b, complete, with the first letters of each subsequent versicle headed by pilcrows; rubric: "Cuiusdam commemoratio" ("A commemoration of someone"). For the last three lines of each stanza as given above, the penultimate verse is entered below the antepenultimate, with both aligned at the left margin, but the concluding line is written flush with the right margin of the writing block and vertically aligned with the antepenultimate line. A shape similar to an asymmetrical sideways caret (>), connects the ends of the penultimate and antepenultimate verses to the final line of the stanza by having the caret shape point to the start of the closing line.[2] The next piece in *OxRawl* is *In occasu syderis* (I11/178), which also treats the English royal family (cf. the report on *W1* above).

---

[1]This trait cuts across the two major divisions of the fascicle implied by the historiated initials heading *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85) and *Artium dignitas* (I4/20), at *F*-7,77 and 88, respectively.

[2]A similar format is apparent in distinguishing the tercets that make up the stanzas of the work that immediately precedes *Redit etas* in *OxRawl,* the conductus *Per partum virginis* (P2/-). For a study that examines the ways that *OxRawl* presents its poetic contents, see Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, "Conductus *sine musica:* Some Thoughts on the Poetic Sources of Latin Songs," *Ars Antiqua: Music and Culture in Europe c. 1150-1330,* Gregorio Bevilacqua and Thomas B. Payne, eds., 205-226, Speculum Musicae, no. 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), at 211-217.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

Floret fex favellea (I8/298):

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146), no. 13, f. 4v[b]: a1 (T), in mensural notation; a "fauvelized" parody of *Redit etas aurea,* consisting of one 13-line stanza that expands its model by inserting four additional lines (two 7pp+6p couplets) between verses 6 and 7 of *Redit etas,* For details on the musical correspondences between *Redit etas aurea and Floret fex favellea,* see the observations below on the music of the latter piece. The adaptation from *Fauv* – music and text – is included here after the *F* redaction for comparison.

***Notes on the Text*: *Redit etas aurea:* Dating and Attribution:** this poem is a commemoration of the accession to the crown by King Richard I of England ("Richard the Lionheart," "Richard Coeur de Lion"). Richard lived from 8 September 1157 to 6 April 1199 and ruled from 1189 to his death. Much of the discussion in the literature on this poem dates *Redit etas aurea* to 1189, assuming that it is prompted by Richard's coronation in that year on 3 September. On the other hand, a second conceivable date arises for the composition of this poem, since Richard underwent a second coronation in England on 11 March 1194, soon after his release from captivity by Duke Leopold V of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI. These two rulers variously held Richard prisoner from approximately Christmas of 1192 to 4 February 1194, capturing him as he was returning from the Third Crusade in the Holy Land.[3] David A. Traill has published an analysis of *Redit etas* that has informed many of the observations presented here; see this work for additional citations from the literature treating the events involved in this poem.[4] In his study Traill argues that Philip the Chancellor is the likely poet of *Redit etas,* based on its placement in *W1* and *OxRawl* next to other poems that Traill believes are also by Philip,[5] as well as similarities in verse structure and certain linguistic and topical echoes with Philip's other poems. At present Traill's attribution has not seen wide confirmation. **Rhyme scheme and the words of the opening line:** Christopher Page, in his liner notes to the audio CD recording of *Redit etas* by the ensemble Gothic Voices,[6] notes that the opening quatrain as it stands in all the MS sources does not exhibit the same abab rhyme sequence that appears in the other three stanzas. He proposes changing the first line to "Etas auri reditur" to rectify the situation, a suggestion also followed by Traill. Such a modification is indeed a conceivable alternative for performance and presentation, but is not adopted here. Reasons for this stance include the fact that all the sources for the text give the first line as shown here. Even the contrafact version in *Fauv,* although it does present an abab rhyme scheme in its opening quatrain, echoes the end rhyme of line 1 of *Redit etas* in its own first line: *Floret fex favellea.* Lastly, it should be noted that, although each of the nine-line stanzas besides Ia does offer an alternating abab rhyme for their first four lines, all stanzas then proceed with a scheme in which the fifth and last lines of each stanza remain unrhymed, while line 6 rhymes with 2 and 4, and 7 and 8 rhyme with each other (see the related discussion of the variants of lines 9 and 27,2 below). The one anomaly, though, is that in Strophe IIb, its seventh and eighth lines (34-35) recall the "-ia" rhyme of its first and

---

[3]On some impressive musical features in *Redit etas aurea,* which might suggest a slight preference for the later date of 1194, see Thomas B. Payne "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151, at 134-136.

[4]"Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart," *The Journal of Medieval Latin,* 28 (2018), 1-13; all references in the discussion here are to page 7.

[5]These are *O quotiens [vos] volui* (J1/244), unique to *W1, Eclypsim patitur* (I7/105), and *In occasu syderis* (I11/178).

[6]Gothic Voices, directed by Christopher Page, *Music for the Lion-Hearted King* (Hyperion CDA 66336: London, 1989); see page 13 of the accompanying booklet.

third lines (28 and 30), a recurrence not seen elsewhere throughout the poem. This slight deviation may further suggest a certain looseness might be entertained in assessing the strictness of the rhyme scheme across the entire poem. **Textual notes: 1:** a reference to the earliest and most idealized age of mankind, as delineated in Greek and Roman mythology and transmitted to medieval Europe. In addition to Hesiod's *Works and Days,* from which the concept originally sprang, other classical sources for the idea include Virgil's *Eclogues,* 4,4-10, a poem that was frequently seen as a proto-Christian messianic prophecy,[7] and Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 1,89-90.[8] Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:ix, note 1) gives several other references to the image, drawn from the *In Rufinum* of Claudian (1,51-52) and the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus ab Insulis (9,384-386), a work that invokes Claudian's name in its title. For an additional reference to the *In Rufinum,* see the notes on the text to the opening lines of the conductus *Heu he heu quam subditis* (J9/154). For a possible comparison of the golden age to that of iron, see the remarks about line 3 of the contrafact *Floret fex favellea,* below. **3-4:** see 1 Samuel (1 Kings), 2:7,[9] and cf. Luke, 1:52-53 (from the Magnificat).[10] **7-9:** Traill suggests that there is a possible reference in these lines to the misdeeds of Richard's father, King Henry II, who had made Richard's betrothed, Alys, countess of Vexin and daughter of Louis II of France, his mistress. A common rumor of the time was that Henry had fathered a child by Alys. The connection of this event to the poem is certainly possible, but there are a large number of other incidents that surrounded Richard's accession to his rule that could be equally characterized as crimes or scandals, whether in 1189 or 1194. These include multiple revolts by Richard and his brothers against their father,[11] as well as conniving by Richard's brother John (his successor in 1199) and Philip Augustus of France during his imprisonment, among a host of other incidents. **12-13:** a likely authority for the well-traveled image of the "horn of plenty" is Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 9,1-97, which recounts the struggle between Hercules and the river god Achelous over the Calydonian princess Deianira, whom they both hope to wed. During their conflict Hercules grabs one of the horns of Achelous, who at this point in the conflict has shape-shifted into the form of a bull, and breaks it off. Achelous's detached horn was delivered to the Naiads, who endowed it with powers to supply plentiful food. **16-17,1:** Traill suggests this reference to "royal peace" may refer to an alliance between Richard and Philip Augustus, but as with lines 7-9 it may conceivably bring many other matters into the mix. For instance, on July 4 1189, just two days before Henry II's death, Richard and Philip Augustus had successfully joined forces against Richard's father. Their triumph over Henry's army at Ballans in central-west France resulted in Henry finally declaring Richard as his successor.[12] Similarly, in 1194 after his imprisonment,

---

[7]Virgil, *Eclogues,* 4,4-10: "Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas; / magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo: / iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna; / iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. / Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, / casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo" ("Now is come the last age of Cumaean song; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do you, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall at last cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world! Your own Apollo now is king!"). 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), 49.

[8]Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 1,89-90: "Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo, / sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat" ("Golden was that first age, which, with no one to compel, without a law, of its own will, kept faith and did the right. "). Translation 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: 9.

[9]1 Samuel (1 Kings), 2:7: "Dominus pauperem facit et ditat, humiliat et sublevat." ("The Lord makes the poor and makes the rich, he humbles and he exalts.").

[10]Luke, 1:52-53: "Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes" ("He [the Lord] has put down the mighty from their seat, and has exalted the humble. He has filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he has sent empty away.").

[11]See, for example, the remarks on the conductus *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228), lines 25-30.

[12]For additional information, see the notes on the text to *In occasu syderis* (I11/178) concerning its subject and date.

Richard forgave his brother John, who had earlier revolted against him with the help of Philip Augustus, and named John as his heir to the throne. **17,2-18:** see Psalm 84:11.[13] **19-27 (Strophe IIa):** the amount of enjambment that appears in this stanza is notable; it contrasts greatly with the lack of such a device in IIb (line 35 excepted) and does not seem to be reflected at all in the musical setting. **19,1:** as Traill suggests, Richard's greatest claim to piety was likely his taking up of the cross and his efforts during the Third Crusade from 8 June 1191 to October 9 1192. **20,3-21,1:** Richard was 31 years of age at his first coronation, 36 at his second. **26:** the reference to restoring the rights of the clergy could refer to the unusual practice that they, as well as the laity, were subject to the onerous taxes that were levied to meet Richard's ransom during his imprisonment (see the above remarks on dating and attribution). **28-36 (Strophe IIb):** all of these localities are regions over which Richard held sway in some fashion.[14] He became Count of Poitou in June 1172 in a ceremony held in the capital city of Poitiers and, thanks in no small part to his father's earlier military successes, Richard acceded to the title of Duke of Normandy along with control over Brittany, Wales, and part of Ireland upon his succession to the crown. Richard also ruled the Aquitanian and Gascon regions as duke beginning in 1170, thanks to the legacies and efforts of his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine; and he released King William I ("the Lion") of Scotland from his oath of allegiance – a result of William's failure in the 1173-74 revolt against Richard's father – prior to his setting out on crusade (see the above remarks to lines 7-9). ***Floret fex favellea*: 3:** the reference to iron here was probably intended to provoke comparison with the mention of the golden age that appears in line 2 of *Redit etas.* As implied by the quote from Virgil above, the age of iron (representing the decadent and corrupt present day)[15] will give way to a new golden age. In the case of the *Fauv* poem, the return to the age of gold is confounded by the papal curia or royal court becoming increasingly more like iron.

Observations and Variants:* TEXT: *F* version *(Redit etas aurea): Since *OxRawl* supplies the text of Strophe Ib, missing from *F,* all variants from these two sources are recorded here, with several readings from *W1* included for additional context. **6,1:** OxRawl: "plebs" written "ples," with the missing "b" added as a superscript above the word and an insertion mark below indicating its placement. **9:** OxRawl: scandalum fugatur, which could serve equally well as the plural forms of the same words adopted here; *W1* gives "scandala fuga," omitting the last syllable, likely due to the interruption caused by the cauda. As the last line of each stanza in the poem as a whole is not consistent in rhyming with other verses in the strophe, the *F* reading has been allowed to stand. This choice also allows the final line in each of the two strophic pairs to rhyme (see the remarks for line 27,2 below). **27,2:** F: veritatis; both *OxRawl* and *W1* give the adopted reading "veritati," a choice that is not only grammatically correct, but which furnishes the same rhyme as the end of Strophe IIb (see the remarks for line 9 above). **30,2:** OxRawl: Normannia (capitalized). **32,1:** W1: vasce (?). **32,2:** OxRawl: scottus. **33:** OxRawl: optinent optata (cf. the analogous, contrasting spelling of line 11,2 in the poem, where *OxRawl,* not *F,* is the source); W1: obtinent optata. **34:** OxRawl: sine dolo kambria; W1: fine (?) dolos cambria, or dolo scambria (?). **35,3:** W1: ybernia; OxRawl: hybernia. ***Fauv* version *(Floret fex favellea):* 7,1:** Fauv: Formatur (capitalized), emended editorially. **MUSIC: *F* version *(Redit etas aurea):* Cauda closing Strophe I (line 9):** T: F: an alternative rhythmic interpretation is given above the staff for the closing phrase. Both F and W1 have the same reading in both parts, but the chosen rendering allows at least the opening of this

---

[13]Psalm 84:11: "Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; justitia et pax osculatae sunt" ("Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed.").

[14]For details on the following points, see the references supplied by Traill in the notes to "Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart," 7.

[15]See the description in Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 1:127-131: "... De duro est ultima ferro. / Protinus inrupit venae peioris in aevum / omne nefas: fugere pudor verumque fidesque; / in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque / insidiaeque et vis et amor sceleratus habendi" ("The harsh iron age was last. Immediately every kind of wickedness erupted into this age of baser natures: truth, shame and honour vanished; in their place were fraud, deceit, and trickery, violence and pernicious desires"). The translation here is by Anthony S. Kline, trans., *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (Anne Arbor, MI: Borders Classics, 2004), p. 14.
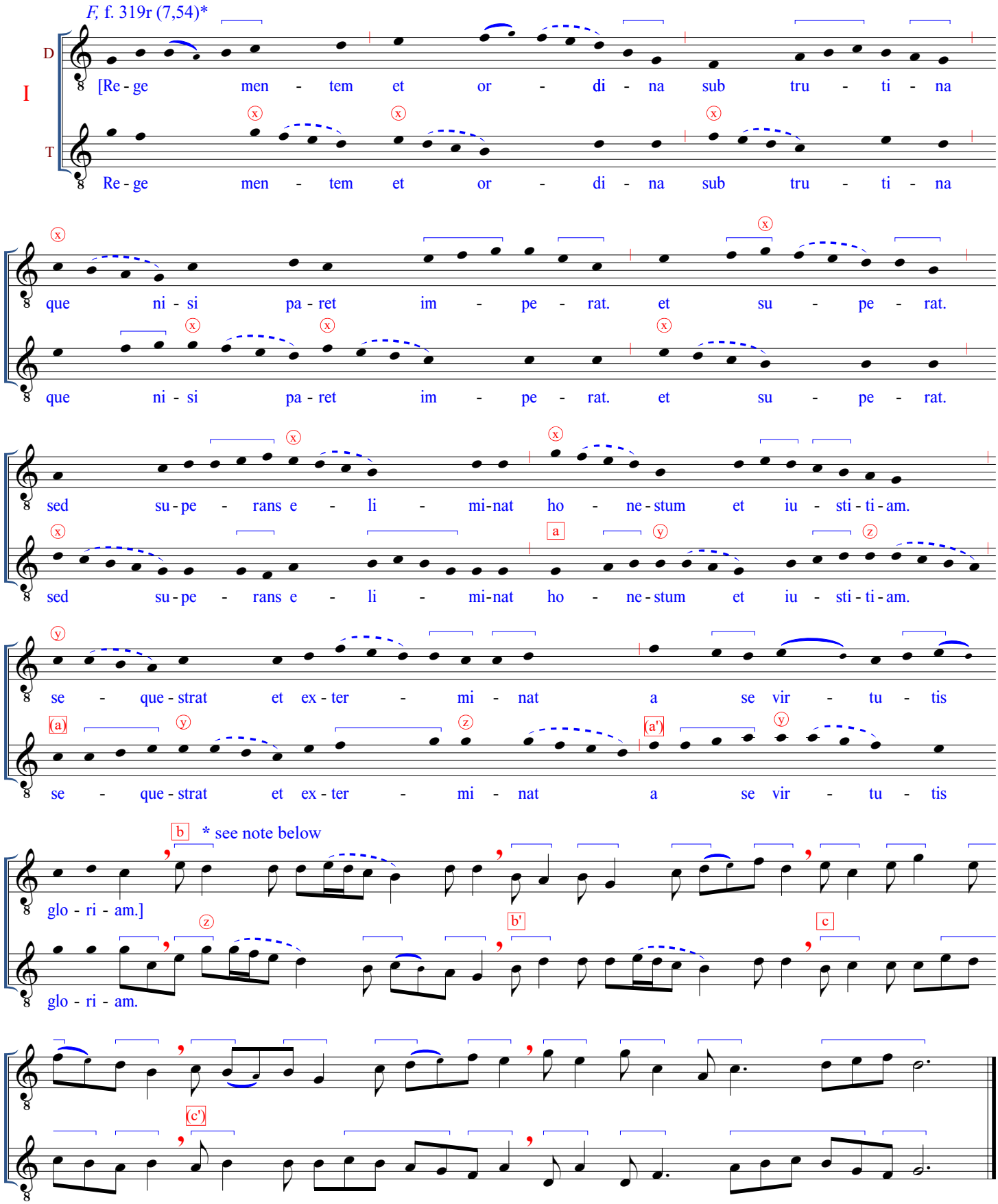
phrase in the T to correspond with the similar gesture three phrases prior. Reading the T phrase *ut stat* as L,LB,4L (without a penultimate DL in the T) prior to the last note provokes a strong antepenultimate as well as penultimate dissonance with the inclusion of the D voice, the former of which seems rather harsh in this particular context and is therefore avoided here. ***Fauv* version *(Floret fex favellea):* Musical correspondences:** The music in *Fauv* generally agrees with the T of the first strophic pair (Ia-b) in the *F,W1* version up through line 9 without interruption. At this point, unrelated material appears for line 10 ("plebs congratulatur"), while the remainder from lines 11-13 uses the opening three phrases from the second stanzaic pair (Strophe IIa-b) in *F,W1.* These identities are noted in the score. The cauda that closes the strophe in *Fauv* is also reworked and shortened, using a single motive (here marked "b" ") from the cauda closing Ia-b in *F,W1.* **Observations:** in a few places within the transcription, the *Fauv* version shows some rhythmic extensions that depart from what might be an expected first-mode pattern; these can be found at lines 8,2-3 ("vir dampnatur," including the following L rest) and 10,1 ("plebs"). These departures have been rendered without modification.[16] **Closing cauda:** The penultimate figure of the entire setting, the *cum proprietate, sine perfectione* 2li = *dc* is here interpreted as *brevis recta, brevis altera,* which also disrupts the mode-1 rhythmic configuration that otherwise applies to this piece. I take the stroke that appears in *Fauv* above and just before this ligature to be a *divisio syllabarum.* This factor prompted my placement of the final syllable under the 2li figure, while the very short tractus that precedes the final *d* pitch is considered here as a *signum perfectionis* or *divisio modi,* since similar instances of this use appear earlier in the piece, e.g. before the plicated figure at "[inno]va[tur]" at line 2,2 and the corresponding place in line 4.

[16]See, in contrast, the example of the Tischler/Rosenberg edition, which maintains a stricter LB modal pattern throughout in these places and does not report completely its departures from the MS: Hans Tischler, and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 20-21.

REGE MENTEM ET ORDINA

Conductus (I33/299)

F, f. 319r (7,54)*



*Husmann, "Grundlegung," 20-21, sees possible syllabic/melismatic identity between the opening T phrase on "mentem et ordina" and the repetition of short motives in both T and D throughout the closing cauda on "[glori]am"; the repetitive and sequential play of these and other phrases and motives (shown by boxed and circled letters, respectively) with the latter outlining falling fourths and thirds is rife throughout this piece.

REGE MENTEM ET ORDINA

Conductus (I33/299)

F, f. 319r (7,54)

I Rege mentem et ordina
sub trutina,
que nisi paret, imperat
et superat.
Sed superans, eliminat
honestum et iustitiam;
sequestrat et exterminat
a se virtutis gloriam.

Restrain your temper and keep it
in balance,
for unless it is held in check, it takes charge
and gains the upper hand.
Yet as it takes over, it drives out
morality and justice;
it separates and banishes
from itself the glory of virtue.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 54, f. 319r: a2, Strophe I, complete, although empty space is left within the writing block at the end of this transmission, even extending down into the right segment of the first system apportioned to the following piece, all of which strongly suggests that this work was laid out with the intention of entering additional strophes that no longer survive.[1]

W2, fasc. 7, no. 24, f. 143v: a2, Strophe I, complete. The final bit of text from line 7,2 to the end is entered over what looks like an apparent erasure extending under the whole final staff system in what may be a different copyist's hand. This context suggests that this final bit of text might originally have extended to the system margin, but was then cleared and re-entered upon the subsequent entry of the music. Reasons for the rectification could include the need to make room for the final cauda, or possibly to correct a mistake; it is very difficult to make out the text that was erased, as what is now mainly visible is the bleedthrough from the other side of the leaf showing the opening lines of the conductus *Omni pene curie* (I34/252).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-3:** as with *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220) at *F*-7,50 and two other nearby pieces that follow, *Rege mentem et ordina* is beholden to classical Roman literature.[2] See Horace, *Epistulae:* 1,2,62-63: "Ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui nisi paret, / imperat" ("Anger is a brief madness: rule your temper; if it is not subject to you, it lords it over you."). **5-6:** cf. Augustine, *De Libro Arbitrio:* 3,31: "Nihil ei extorquens violento dominatu, sed superans eum lege iustitiae" ("in no way torturing him [the devil] by violent domination, but conquering him with the law of justice") – the text is available in *PL,* 32: col. 1286, par. 31. **6,1:** this is the neuter noun "honestum" ("honorable conduct, morality, virtue"), not an adjective.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **7:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xxxvii) splits this into two lines with

[1]For further information on how additional stanzas may be accommodated by the layout of most of the other apparently single-stanza pieces in this segment of F-7, see the source reports on *F* for *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1), f. 316v (at *F*-7,48) and *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/31), f. 318r (at *F*-7,52). Along with *Rege mentem et ordina,* no other piece in *F*-7 from this point forward supplies any additional text – whether space is provided for it or not – until the appearance of *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/354), at *F*-7,90.

[2]These include, in addition to *Nobilitas animi* and *Rege mentem, Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83, *F*-7,53) and *Heu he heu quam subditis* (J9/154, F-7,55).

internal rhyme and uses the form "sequesterat" for 7,1. As this reading is not borne out in Anderson's transcription of the music and in his commentary (*NDRC,* 4:85, 104-105), this change therefore appears to be a typo. **MUSIC:** The alignment of text syllables and single notes with the ends of ligatures seems to work exceptionally well here to provide a more consonant polyphony throughout. A notable exception is the figures over "[ex]ter[minat]," which also features a curious *d/e* second for the si figures over the prior syllable "ex-." This *d/e* sonority is validated by both *F* and *W2,* but makes for a rather grating continuation if the ligatures over the next syllable "-ter-" are aligned in the same way that others are treated throughout this rendering, hence the inconsistency at this particular point in the transcription. **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** Husmann, "Grundlegung," 20-21,[3] sees possible syllabic/melismatic identity between the opening T phrase on "mentem et ordina" and the repetition of short motives in both T and D throughout the closing cauda on "[glori]am." The repetitive and sequential play of these and other phrases and motives (shown by boxed and circled letters, respectively), with the latter outlining falling fourths (x,z) and thirds (y) is rife throughout this piece. **Lines 6-8:** T: the music for line 6 is repeated in varied fashion for line 7 a fourth higher, and then an additional fourth higher at the beginning of line 8; this is shown as "a, (a), (a')" in boxes above the staff. **Final cauda:** the final cauda has been rendered in an "upbeat" mode 1, due to the lack of a concluding 3li at the end of phrases.

[3]Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 9 (1952): 3-26.

HEU HE HEU QUAM SUBDITIS

Conductus (J9/154)

F, f. 319v (7,55)

I

D [He - u he he - u quam sub - di - tis cau - sis per - e - unt in - gen - ti - a.

T He - u he he - u quam sub - di - tis cau - sis per - e - unt in - gen - ti - a.

va - cant ho - mi - nes il - li - ci - tis. ce - ci vi - dent ba - cha - na - li - a.

va - cant ho - mi - nes il - li - ci - tis. ce - ci vi - dent ba - cha - na - li - a.

neu - trum no - tant ter - mi - num vi - te pon - dus cri - mi - num.

neu - trum no - tant ter - mi - num vi - te pon - dus cri - mi - num.

blan - di - un - tur te - me - re si - bi sem - per vi - ve - re.

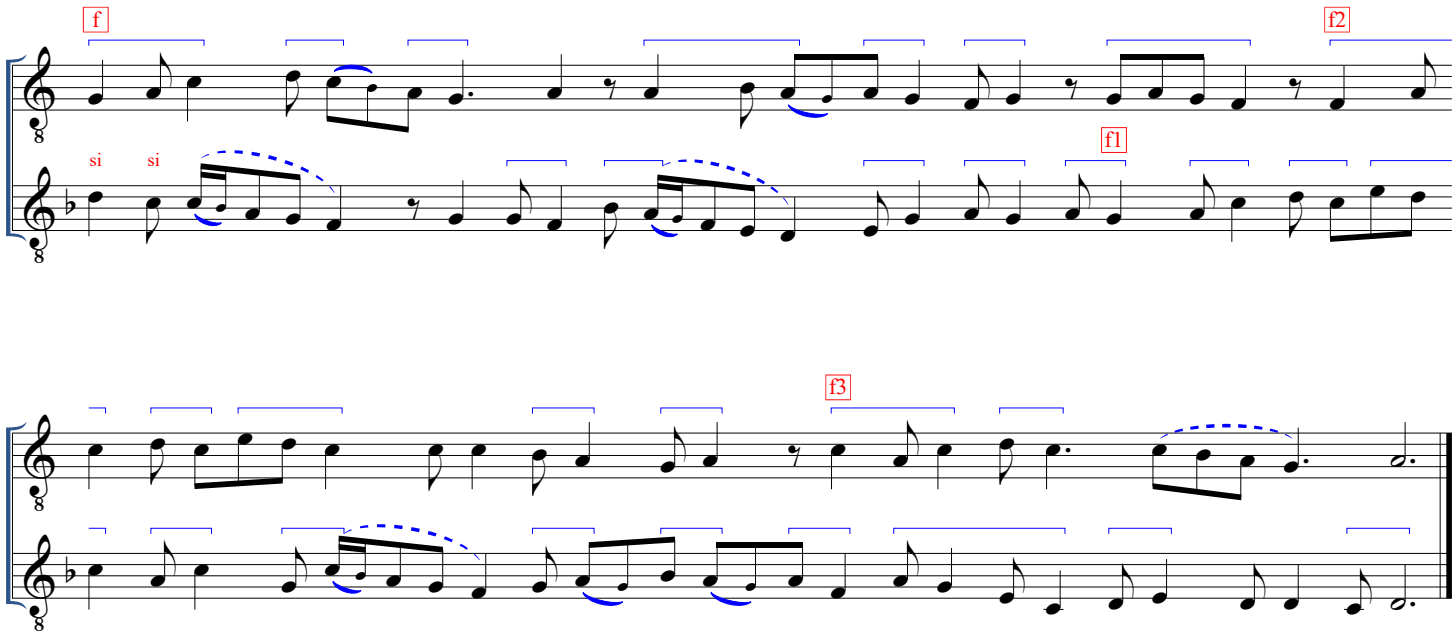
blan - di - un - tur te - me - re si - bi sem - per vi - ve - re.

ho - mo cur am - ple - cte - ris ster - co - ra pro cro - ce - is? mi - ser qua - re

ho - mo cur am - ple - cte - ris ster - co - ra pro cro - ce - is? mi - ser qua - re

de - se - ris au - re - a pro lu - te - is.]

de - se - ris au - re - a pro lu - te - is.


f
f2
si
si
f1

f3

HEU HE HEU QUAM SUBDITIS

Conductus (J9/154)

F, f. 319v (7,55)

I	Heu! – he! – heu! quam subditis	Alas! – ah! – alas! how great
	causis pereunt ingentia.	affairs perish due to humble causes.
	Vacant homines illicitis;	Men give themselves over to unlawful things;
	ceci vident bachanalia.	those who look upon debaucheries are blind.
	Neutrum notant terminum	They ascertain neither the end
	vite, pondus criminum.	of life nor the weight of sins.
	Blandiuntur temere	They recklessly flatter themselves
	sibi semper vivere.	that they live forever.
	Homo, cur amplecteris	Man, why do you embrace
	stercora pro croceis?	dung instead of saffron?
	Miser, quare deseris	Wretch, why do you forsake
	aurea pro luteis?	golden things for ones of clay?

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 55, f. 319v: a2; a unique musical/textual setting of a single extant strophe, a feature that now begins to occur somewhat more frequently in this fascicle, until the return to wider transmission patterns with *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), at *F*-7,63. As with the two previous conductus in *F*-7 that transmit single stanzas (*Roma gaudens iubila* [I9/312] and *Rege mentem et ordina* [I33/299]), the likely intention that further strophes were destined for inclusion is suggested by the areas of empty space left within the writing block, in this case occupying as much as two-thirds of the concluding system.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** the opening expression is drawn from Claudian, *In Rufinum,* 2,49: "Eheu, quam brevibus pereunt ingentia fatis" ("Alas, how great affairs perish in quick destruction."). For another possible nod to this work of Claudian elsewhere in the conductus repertory, see the textual notes for the opening lines of *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298) that appears two pieces earlier in *F*-7. A similar threefold exclamation like that in line 1 – "Heu! heu! heu!" – is encountered in the Bible several times, as in Jeremiah, 4:10 and 32:17; as well as in Ezekiel, 9:8, 11:13; and 2 Kings, 6:15. See lines 9-10 for a further biblical nod to Jeremiah. **9-10:** see Lamentations, 4:5: "Qui vescebantur voluptuose, interierunt in viis; qui nutriebantur in croceis, amplexati sunt stercora" ("They that were fed delicately have died in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet have embraced the dung."). **10,1:** the nominative singular form of the word is "stercus."

***Observations and Variants:* TEXT: 1-4:** the opening quatrain of the stanza is composed of 9pp verses with a regular caesura only after the second syllable. The 9pp line is a rather unusual formation in the four main MSS of the Parisian conductus repertory; it appears elsewhere, according to my count, only in *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351) in lines 15-16, to close Strophe II (divided 3x3pp); *Excitatur caritas in Yericho* (F30/111), as the third and fifth lines in each 6-line stanza (divided 5pp+4pp); in the first three and penultimate lines of the six-line

[1]For further information on the apparent provision for additional strophes in those works in *F*-7 that transmit single stanzas, see the source reports on *F* for *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1), f. 316v (at *F*-7,48) and *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/31), f. 318r (at *F*-7,52).

strophes of *Veterem merorem pellite* (M39/378); and singly in the closing line of *Relegata vetustate* (H23/303), which includes the text of the BD ("sic *Benedicamus domino*"). **5,2:** F: notam, which makes no sense in this context; the reading is adopted from Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:ix. **10:** F: a question mark appears in the MS as punctuation at the end of this line; the following question in the closing line 12 uses a period. **MUSIC: Form:** this highly syllabic text setting features extensive successive repetition in the T (less so in the D), with the disposition: aa'aa'bb'bb'cc'cc',' a form echoed by the verse structure and its semantic content. The closing cauda, although it has a few reiterated motives, does not rise to the same level of repetition as the *cum littera* portion of the stanza; it also shows – with one exception at L4 – consistent overlap of phrases throughout. For further discussion of how musical, textual, and discursive elements may interact within this piece, see Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, "Notre Dame Conductus and the Renewal of Speech at the Turn of the 12th and 13th Centuries: the Sonorous Framing of the Congregation," *Musica Disciplina,* 58 (2013): 265-286, at 274-279.

FRATER IAM PROSPICIAS

Conductus (I31/132)

F, f. 320r (7,56)

I

D [Fra - ter iam pro - spi - ci - as ut ab - i - ci - as has de - li - ci - as. que te va - ri - as

T Fra - ter iam pro - spi - ci - as ut ab - i - ci - as has de - li - ci - as. que te va - ri - as

tra - hunt ad in - e - pti - as. fra - ter ne la - sci - vi - as ob di - vi - ti - as.

tra - hunt ad in - e - pti - as. fra - ter ne la - sci - vi - as ob di - vi - ti - as.

im - mo re - cor - da - re. chri - stus in - ops anx - i - as quot tu - lit an - gu - sti - as.

im - mo re - cor - da - re. chri - stus in - ops anx - i - as quot tu - lit an - gu - sti - as.

et me - men - to qua - re. res si re - si - gna - re non - dum ve - lis pro - pri - as;

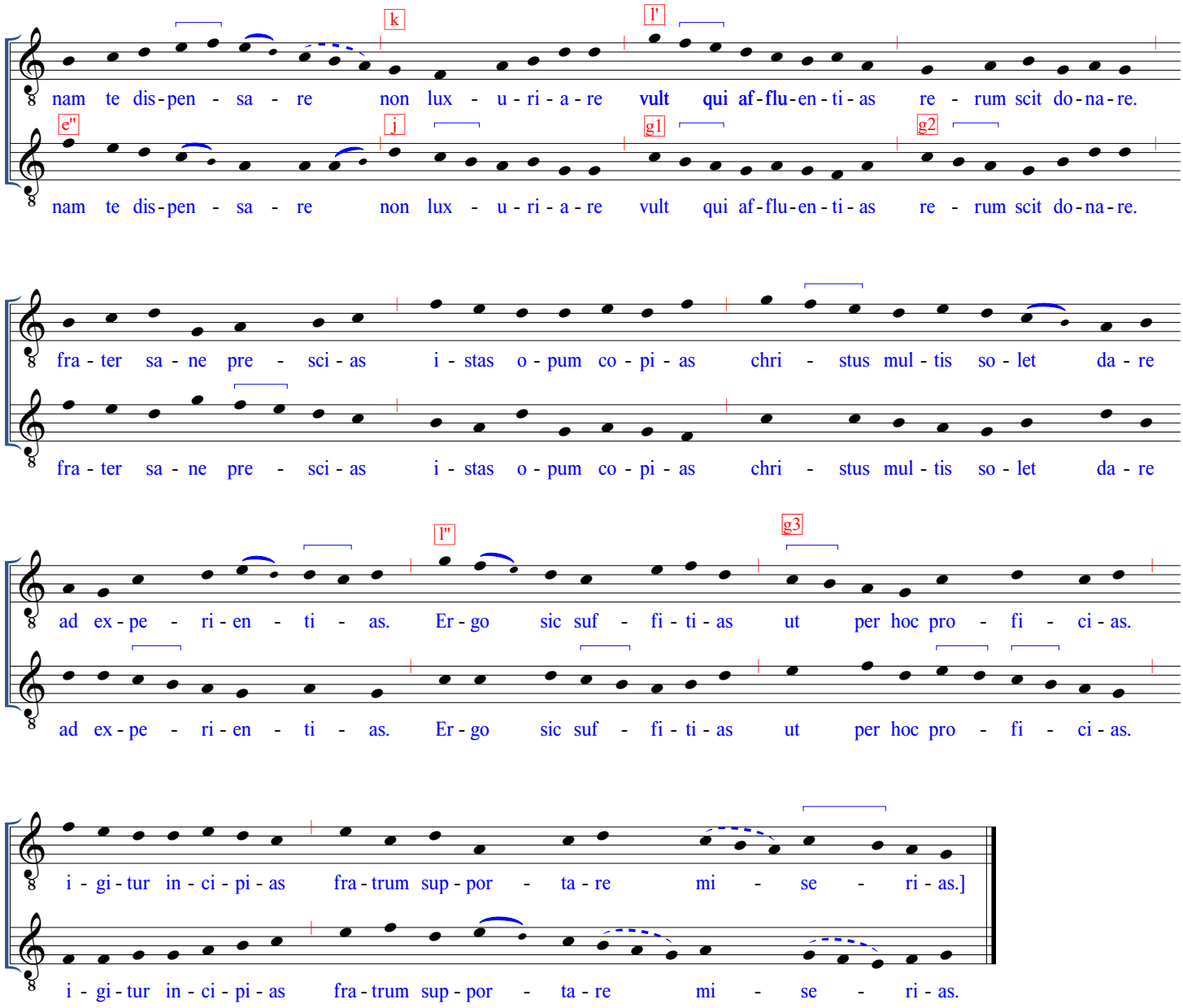
et me - men - to qua - re. res si re - si - gna - re non - dum ve - lis pro - pri - as;

cau - te con - tem - pla - re ut ad in - mun - di - ti - as re - bus non u - ta - re. di - scas ha - bun - da - re

cau - te con - tem - pla - re ut ad in - mun - di - ti - as re - bus non u - ta - re. di - scas ha - bun - da - re

ut non cor - rum - pa - re si res vis ser - va - re; in cau - sas non im - pi - as de - bes e - ro - ga - re.

ut non cor - rum - pa - re si res vis ser - va - re; in cau - sas non im - pi - as de - bes e - ro - ga - re.


k
l'
nam te dis-pen - sa - re non lux - u - ri - a - re vult qui af-flu-en-ti-as re - rum scit do-na-re.
e"
j
g1
g2
nam te dis-pen - sa - re non lux - u - ri - a - re vult qui af-flu-en-ti-as re - rum scit do-na-re.
fra - ter sa - ne pre - sci - as i - stas o - pum co - pi - as chri - stus mul - tis so - let da - re
fra - ter sa - ne pre - sci - as i - stas o - pum co - pi - as chri - stus mul - tis so - let da - re
l"
g3
ad ex - pe - ri - en - ti - as. Er - go sic suf - fi - ti - as ut per hoc pro - fi - ci - as.
ad ex - pe - ri - en - ti - as. Er - go sic suf - fi - ti - as ut per hoc pro - fi - ci - as.
i - gi - tur in - ci - pi - as fra - trum sup - por - ta - re mi - se - ri - as.]
i - gi - tur in - ci - pi - as fra - trum sup - por - ta - re mi - se - ri - as.

FRATER IAM PROSPICIAS

Conductus (I31/132)

F, f. 320r (7,56)

I	Frater, iam prospicias,	Now see to it, brother,
	ut abicias	that you renounce
	has delicias,	these allurements, the
	que te varias	ones that draw you into
	trahunt ad ineptias.	various types of nonsense.
	Frater, ne lascivias	Brother, don't even
	ob divitias,	think of pleasures
	immo recordare.	with regard to riches.
	Christus inops anxias	Remember, poor as he was,
	quot tulit angustias,	how many arduous afflictions
	et memento quare.	Christ endured – and why.
	Res si resignare	If you do not yet desire to
	nondum velis proprias,	give over your own possessions,
	caute contemplare	consider carefully
	ut ad inmunditias	not to use your
	rebus non utare.	assets for sordid ends.
	Discas habundare	You should learn how to be rich
	ut non corrumpare,	without becoming corrupted,
	si res vis servare.	if you wish to maintain your riches.
	In causas non impias	You should not invest
	debes erogare,	in wicked causes,
	nam te dispensare,	for the one who knows that
	non luxuriare	you offer the abundance of
	vult, qui affluentias	your goods, he wants you to disburse
	rerum scit donare.	them, not wallow in them.
	Frater, sane prescias	Brother, certainly you should already know
	istas opum copias.	about the opportunities wealth affords.
	Christus multis solet dare	Christ was accustomed to give to many
	ad experientias.	according to their situation.
	Ergo sic suffitias	And so you should be sufficient
	ut per hoc proficias.	enough to succeed in this endeavor.
	Igitur, incipias	In short, start shouldering
	fratrum supportare	your brothers'
	miserias.	afflictions.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 56, f. 320r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with a capital beginning line 30 (indicated by the extra space in the text above), and with room available at the end of the last system of the piece which conceivably could accommodate extra text. Unlike the previous redactions of single-strophe conductus in *F*-7, though, this piece has staff lines extending through the unused portion up to the right margin of the writing block, which could indicate either that any additional lyrics were unknown, not immediately available, or never actually existed. *Frater iam prospicias* is the first work in *F*-7 to have no caudae whatsoever; the next work with such a feature is *Virtus moritur* (J12/384), three pieces later at *F*-7,59. See the remarks below on attribution and versification for some other features these pieces share.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 1, f. 66r: a2; Strophe I complete, with an illuminated, filigreed initial for the opening of the piece (begun at the top recto of the folio), but no further graphical distinctions to indicate any other type of division within this long text. The presence of initials entered in the spaces provided for them is fairly uncommon in *Ma,* although this portion of the MS is better supplied than others. As is typical of this MS, there is no provision for additional strophes.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem, which treats charitable giving, is comparable in topic to the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), which occurs just five pieces earlier at *F*-7,51; see also the conductus *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119) and *Premii dilatio* (E3/270), both of which appear in *F*-6, for treatment of related issues. The invocation of classical Roman authors is noteworthy for the pieces in this section of *F*-7, beginning with *Nobilitas animi* at *F*-7,50. For the possible influence of classical authorities on *Frater iam prospicias*, such as Seneca's *De beneficiis* and the earlier *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (also ascribed at the time to Seneca), see the textual notes to *Debet se circumspicere.* Most of the above ancient authors that treat this topic tread over ground similar to *Frater iam prospicias* and *Debet se circumspicere,* but do not necessarily offer direct linguistic echoes for these poems. As a result, there are likely many more allusions and intermediary sources to be discovered for the conductus that treat giving. **Attribution and versification:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xxxvi, note 2) proposes that Philip the Chancellor might be the author of this text based on its style and substance. The censorious tone of the poem and its focus on aiding the poor are indeed redolent of Philip, but Anderson also remarks how the musical setting offers characteristics similar to a number of Philip's organum and conductus prosulas. Like *Frater iam prospicias,* these prosulas typically feature short, uneven text lines set to the musical phrases of a previously existing melisma and tend to have no caudae; they also tend to delight in wordplay such as *annominatio* and may present segments that harp upon just a few rhymes as they prolong the sound of the syllable that underlies the original melisma. Some similar features also apply to the conductus *Virtus moritur* (J12/384), transmitted just three pieces later in *F*-7. Despite its length, *Frater iam prospicias,* with its irregular patterning of five different poetic line patterns (7pp, 5pp, 6p, 8p, 4pp) and its confinement to only two different rhyme sounds ("-ias," "-are"), certainly does seem to fit this bill, but as of yet no melismatic concordance has surfaced. Perhaps as a result, Anderson's suggestion for Philip's authorship has not found much traction. **Textual notes: 1-5:** The opening address to a brother, as well as the emphasis in the poem of divesting oneself of one's riches in order to do good work for one's fellow brothers, opens the possibility that this poem may allude to one of the mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans or Dominicans. **3-4:** see Titus, 3:3: "Eramus enim aliquando et nos insipientes, increduli, errantes, servientes desideriis, et voluptatibus variis, in malitia et invidia agentes, odibiles, odientes invicem" ("For we ourselves also were some time unwise, incredulous, erring, slaves to diverse desires and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another"). This reference is misprinted as "Ritus" in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxxvi, note 1. **13,3:** "proprias" here modifies the plural form "res" in line 12,1. **18,3:** "corrumpare" here presents the second-person singular present passive subjunctive form of the verb, rather than the infinitive (which would be "corrumpere"). **19:** the use in *F* of a semicolon as punctuation at the end of this line, and with nothing to conclude line 18, suggests line 19 continues the previous clause, rather than starts a new sentence, as given in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxxvi, and *AH,* 21, p. 200, no 25.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,1:** F: quo; from Ma. **5,3:** F: inopias; from Ma. **MUSIC: General remarks:** the music is composed of fairly short phrases that use a number of recurring motives. Some of the more obvious melodic correlations among phrases are signaled by boxed letters above the staves, with the

certainty that further relationships may be posited for some of the phrases that are not so labeled. **Line 13,1:** TD: FMa: in both sources and at the same place, faint but visible *b-natural* sigs appear, almost certainly in a different hand from the main scribe in both sources. Then in *F* there are *b-flat* sigs in both parts prior to the very next word, line 13,2 ("velis"), which begins the following system. These flat signs appear to be reconfigured in the MS as *b-natural* sigs, again by a different hand, through an added, faint vertical stroke descending from the right of the flat sign. They therefore correspond to the indications presented in *Ma* and, as a result, *b-naturals* are proposed here for the remainder of the transcription. No further sigs appear in either source, so any succeeding *b/f* tritones are not softened by editorial ficta.

QUOT VITE SUCCESSIBUS
Conductus (J10/297)

F, f. 321r (7,57)

I

D [Quot

T Quot

[Quot] vi - te suc - ces - si - bus no - stra sors pre - flo - ru - it;

a

[Quot] vi - te suc - ces - si - bus no - stra sors pre - flo - ru - it;

tot mor - tis e - ven - ti - bus pec - can - do suc - cu - bu - it.

(a') (a")

tot mor - tis e - ven - ti - bus pec - can - do suc - cu - bu - it.

vi - tam de - dit gra - ti - a. mor - tem con - tu - ma - ti - a.

b

vi - tam de - dit gra - ti - a. mor - tem con - tu - ma - ti - a.
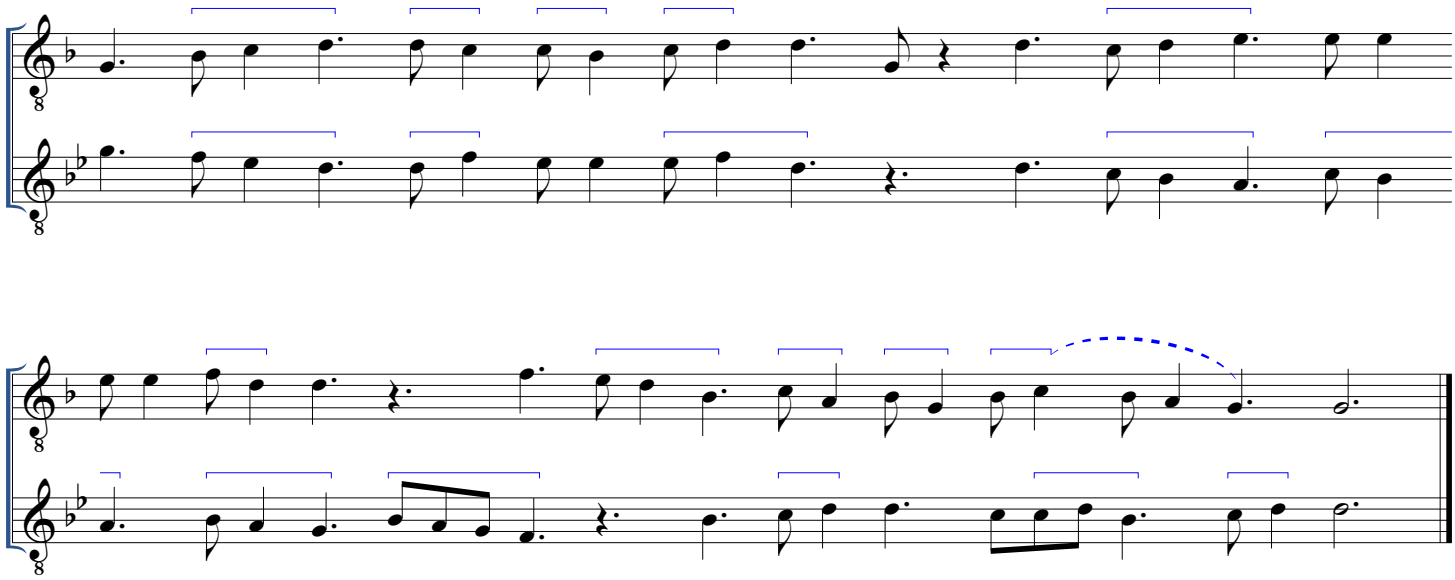
fit vi - a tunc pre - vi - a. nunc in - vi - o de - vi - a

fit vi - a tunc pre - vi - a. nunc in - vi - o de - vi - a

for - me de - for - ma - ti - o mor - tis in - for - ma - ti - o.]

b'

for - me de - for - ma - ti - o mor - tis in - for - ma - ti - o.



QUOT VITE SUCCESSIBUS

Conductus (J10/297)

F, f. 321r (7,57)

I Quot vite successibus
nostra sors prefloruit,
tot mortis eventibus
peccando succubuit.
Vitam dedit gratia;
mortem, contumatia.
Fit via, tunc previa,
nunc invio devia.
Forme deformatio,
mortis informatio.

Our destiny flourishes just as much
due to our successes in life
as, through sinning, it fails, thanks to
the misfortunes of death.
Grace gave life;
obstinacy, death.
The road, once showing the way, becomes
now an unmarked track in the wilderness.
The deformation of form
is the formation of death.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 57, f. 321r: a2; Strophe I, complete; a unique transmission of music and text, which continues to occur somewhat more frequently at this point in the fascicle, until the return to wider transmission patterns with *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), at *F*-7,63. Empty space without staves appears at the end of the last system of the piece that could accommodate further strophes that were never entered, a feature also seen in several of the surrounding works in *F*.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 5-6:** cf. Romans 6:23.[2] **7-8:** see Proverbs 12:28,[3] and cf. Isaiah, 40:3;[4] the same passage or similar expressions appear in Matthew, 3:3, Mark, 1:3, John, 1:23, Luke, 3:4; **8,2:** for this meaning of "invio," see Psalm 106:40: "in invio" ("where there was no passing"); Isaiah, 43:19: "in invio" ("in the wasteland"); Isaiah, 43:20: "in invio" ("in the wilderness"). **9-10:** the translation attempts to communicate the *annominatio* in these final two lines. The content of this distich helps to elucidate the entropy metaphor in the prior couplet.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Caudae:** the series of ligatures throughout the two caudae in this piece suggest realization in iambic mode 3.

---

[1]For further information on the apparent provision for additional strophes in those works in *F*-7 that transmit single stanzas, see the source report on *F* for *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/312), at *F*-7,52.

[2]Romans 6:23: "Stipendia enim peccati, mors. Gratia autem Dei, vita aeterna, in Christo Jesu Domino nostro" ("For the wages of sin is death. But the grace of God, life everlasting, in Christ Jesus our Lord.").
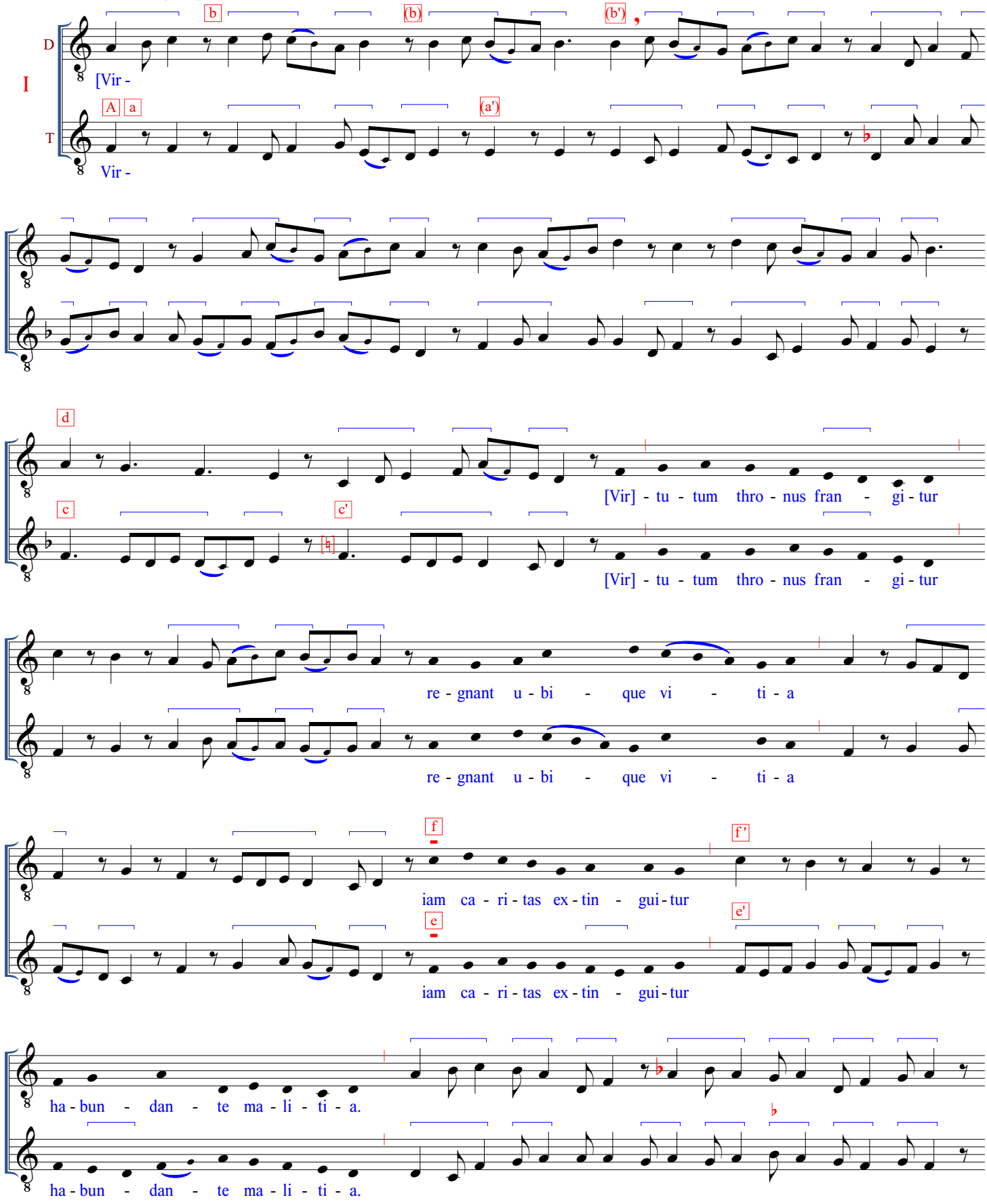
[3]Proverbs 12:28: "In semita justitiae vita; iter autem devium ducit ad mortem" ("In the path of justice is life: but the by-way leads to death.").

[4]Isaiah, 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.").
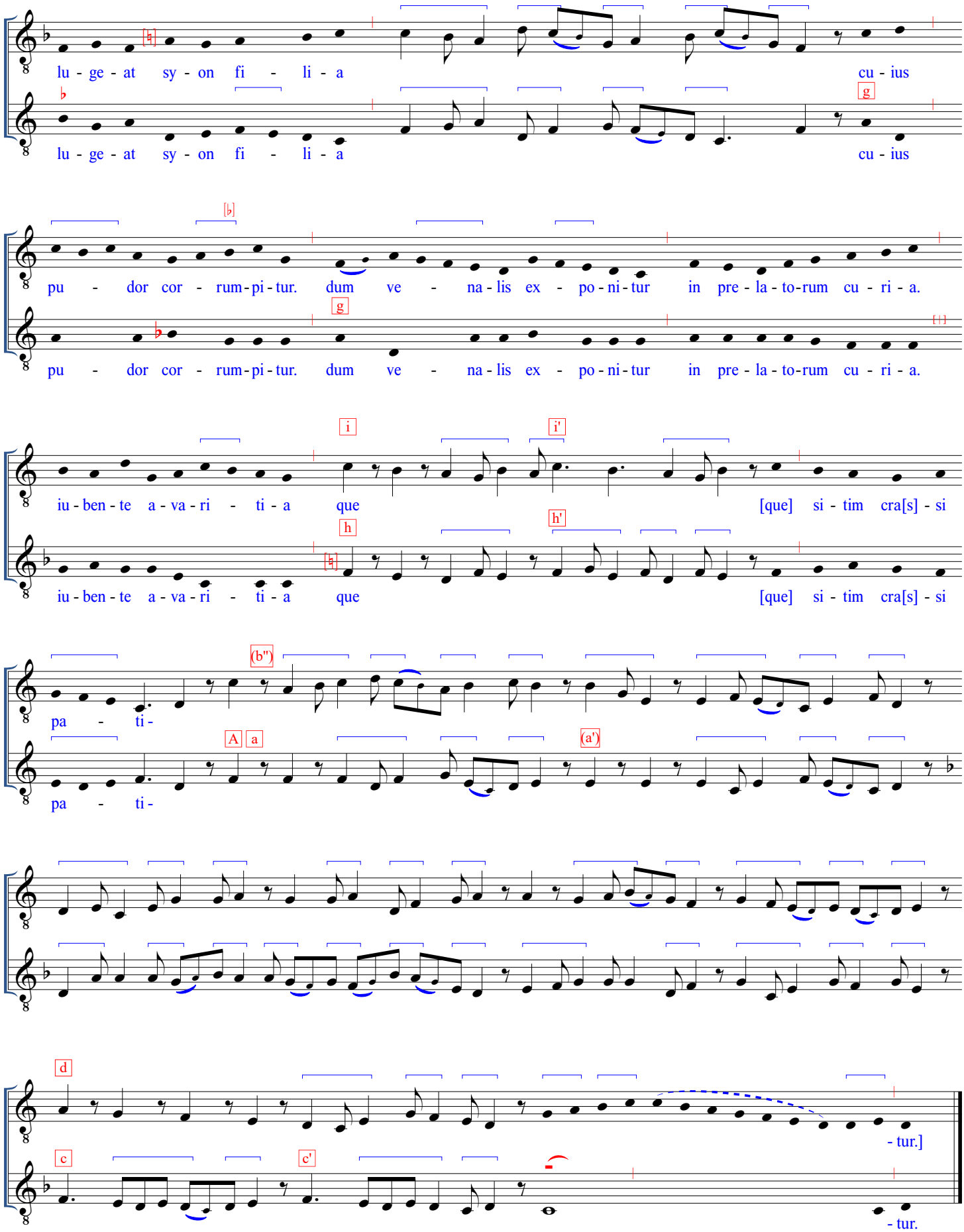
VIRTUTUM THRONUS FRANGITUR

Conductus (J11/385)

F, f. 321v (7,58)*



*Unusually, the T melodies of the entire opening and closing caudae in this piece are essentially identical.


lu - ge - at sy - on fi - li - a cu - ius
lu - ge - at sy - on fi - li - a cu - ius
pu - dor cor - rum - pi - tur. dum ve - na - lis ex - po - ni - tur in pre - la - to - rum cu - ri - a.
pu - dor cor - rum - pi - tur. dum ve - na - lis ex - po - ni - tur in pre - la - to - rum cu - ri - a.
iu - ben - te a - va - ri - ti - a que [que] si - tim cra[s] - si
iu - ben - te a - va - ri - ti - a que [que] si - tim cra[s] - si
pa - ti -
pa - ti -
- tur.]
- tur.

VIRTUTUM THRONUS FRANGITUR

Conductus (J11/385)

F, f. 321v (7,58)

I	Virtutum thronus frangitur;	The throne of the Virtues is broken;
	regnant ubique vitia.	everywhere the Vices reign.
	Iam caritas extinguitur	Charity is now snuffed out
	habundante malitia.	by Malice in abundance.
	Lugeat syon filia,	Zion's daughter, whose decency
	cuius pudor corrumpitur,	is corrupted, should mourn,
	dum venalis exponitur	as long as bribery is on show
	in prelatorum curia	in the prelates' court
	Iubente avaritia,	and Avarice is in charge,
	que sitim Cra[s]si patitur.	who suffers the thirst of a Crassus.

SOURCES:

F: fasc. 7, no. 58, f. 321v, a2; a unique musical and textual transmission of the single extant strophe, like the piece before it (*Quot vite successibus* [J10/297]) and several that follow, until the return to wider transmission patterns with *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), at *F*-7,63. A small space is available for the inclusion of a possible further stanza at the end of the last system of the setting, as is common for the single-stanza transmissions at this point in *F*-7. The following piece in F, *Virtus moritur* (J12/384), also deals with virtue and vice.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 3-4;9:** unlike the figures of Charity in line 3 and Avarice in line 9, either of which appears, as appropriate, in the most familiar enumerations of the seven principle virtues and vices associated with Christianity, Malice is not typically recognized as one of the seven deadly (or capital) sins.[1] It appears scores of times in the Bible, but not in direct opposition to Charity. For more information on the virtues, see the notes on the conductus *Veni creator ... recreator* (E13/361), lines 17-20, and *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1), lines 19-27 (Strophe III). For treatments of the vices and virtues contending together, see the text of Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Vitia virtutibus* (L4/388), and the anonymous *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66). Expansive lists of various virtues and vices also pepper Philip's Latin lai *Veritas equitas* (K62/375); see especially lines 1-53 and 146-151. **5:** as Anderson remarks in his notes on the text to this conductus (*NDRC,* 5:ix, note 2), quoting the *Glossa ordinaria* from the text given in *PL,*113: col. 1057D, the daughter or daughters of Zion, or of Jerusalem, symbolize the larger body of the faithful that is the church.[2] **10,3:** Marcus Licinius Crassus (ca. 112-53 B.C.E.),

---

[1]The most common listing of the seven deadly sins was prompted by Pope Gregory I in his *Moralia in Job,* 31,45,87 (for the text, see *PL,* 76: col. 621A), who gives vainglory, envy, wrath, sadness, avarice, gluttony, and lust *(inanis gloria, invidia, ira, tristicia, avaritia, ventris ingluvies, luxuria).* Later enumerations modified or relabeled a few of these candidates to form the typical list of vices: pride *(superbia),* avarice, lust, envy, gluttony *(gula),* wrath, and sloth (*acedia* or *accidia).*

[2]*PL,* 113:1057D, reportedly quoting Augustine, glossing Psalm 136:8, which refers to the daughter of Babylon: "Per successionem, facta est filia Babylonis civitas malorum, sicut Ecclesia: Jerusalem scilicet, civitas bonorum per successionem filia Sion" ("Through succession, the daughter of Babylon is made the city of evil; just as the church, namely Jerusalem, the Daughter of Zion is through

nicknamed *Dives* ("The Rich"), was a famous Roman statesman and military commander. A member of the first triumvirate with Julius Caesar and Pompey (60 B.C.E.), and instrumental in quelling the revolt of Spartacus (73-71 B.C.E.), he was known for his greed and his accumulation of wealth, and died in Carrhae in Mesopotamia during his unprovoked campaign against the Parthians. According to some authors, molten gold was poured down the throat of his decapitated head, which was subjected to further indignity by being used as a prop in a production of Euripides' *Bacchae*. See the reference to him in Philip the Chancellor's conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante,* line 44, and his sketch in Plutarch's *Lives.* The story of molten gold stems from the accounts of Cassius Dio (*Roman History,* 40,27,3) and Lucius Florus Annaeus (*Epitome,* 1,46,10).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 3,3:** F: exterminat; the lack of a corresponding rhyme throughout the rest of the stanza and the absence of clear sense in the text as it stands suggest this is an error; it has been corrected accordingly; Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:ix, offers "deciditur." Note that, with the erroneous reading of line 3,3, this phrase corresponds exactly with line 3 ("caritas exterminat") of the motet *Mens fidem seminat / In odorem* (vdW 495/M45) attributed by modern scholars to Philip the Chancellor, see the discussion in *Motets and Prosulas,* 123. **10,3:** F: crasi. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** T(D) of "[cari]tas extinguitur [MS: exterminat]" (l. 3) = **1a.** T(D similar) of end of first phrase of following cauda on "[extingui]tur" (l. 3). This correspondence includes only the last 6 cadential pitches of the T at the end of the phrase: *g,g,fe,f,g* and the basic contour of the D; this is therefore rather minor and formulaic in terms of correspondence. **MUSIC: Opening and closing caudae:** Note that the complete T melodies of these two melismas (marked with a boxed capital "A" in the score) are – unusually – essentially the same; for the slight difference, see the remark that follows. T:F: for the opening cauda the first 3 pitches of the eighth T phrase at L21-L22 (opening *fga* in the transcription) appear 2 lower as *efg* both here and in the final melisma (at L23-L24); following Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:19, measure 11, and 5:20, measure 79), the first series is raised 2 higher; the other is left as it is. T:F: the second pitch of the ninth (antepenultimate) T phrase in both caudae, *c* (at L25,2 and L27,2 in each, respectively), may conceivably be *d,* allowing for a lack of space for the ligature to indicate the rise to *e* after the dip to the lower pitch from *g.*

succession the city of good." – Anderson's translation).

VIRTUS MORITUR
Conductus (J12/348)

F, f. 322r (7,59)

I

D [Vir - tus mo - ri - tur. vi - vit vi - ti - um. fi - des tru - di - tur in ex - i - li - um.

T Vir - tus mo - ri - tur. vi - vit vi - ti - um. fi - des tru - di - tur in ex - i - li - um.

iam ius co - gi - tur ad si - len - ti - um. do - lus o - ri - tur. et fraus co - li - tur.

iam ius co - gi - tur ad si - len - ti - um. do - lus o - ri - tur. et fraus co - li - tur.

in - cur - rit lex dis - pen - di - um. o - mne ve - ti - tum cen - set li - ci - tum

in - cur - rit lex dis - pen - di - um. o - mne ve - ti - tum cen - set li - ci - tum

ce - ca di - vi - tum mens cu - pi - di - ne. non in nu - mi - ne fi - dens a - li - o

ce - ca di - vi - tum mens cu - pi - di - ne. non in nu - mi - ne fi - dens a - li - o

quam de - na - ri - o. cu - ius gra - ti - a fit pro - pi - ti - a ro - me cu - ri - a.]

quam de - na - ri - o. cu - ius gra - ti - a fit pro - pi - ti - a ro - me cu - ri - a.

ALTERNATIVE READING:

Fauv, f. 3v[b]: added closing material, modifying and expanding last line in *F* (line 19)

T O - mnis cu - ri - a pre - vi - a fal - vel - li ma - li - ci - a

VIRTUS MORITUR

Conductus (J12/348)

F, f. 322r (7,59)

I	Virtus moritur,		Virtue is dead,
	vivit vitium,		Vice lives,
	fides truditur		Faith is forced
	in exilium.		into exile.
	Iam ius cogitur	5	Justice is now compelled
	ad silentium.		to silence.
	Dolus oritur		Trickery arises
	et fraus colitur.		and Fraud is encouraged.
	Incurrit lex dispendium.		The Law incurs a loss.
	Omne vetitum	10	The mind, blind
	censet licitum,		in its lust for riches,
	ceca divitum		deems everything
	mens cupidine.		forbidden as licit.
	Non in numine		It trusts in
	fidens alio	15	no authority
	quam denario,		other than coin,
	cuius gratia		thanks to which the papal
	fit propitia		court at Rome is becoming
	Rome curia.	19	favorably disposed.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 59, f. 322r: a2; Strophe I, complete, based on comparison with the other sources, none of which offers additional stanzas. As with other single-stanza items in this section of *F,* though, at the end of the piece there is some empty space remaining at the right edge of the writing block (partially though not completely taken up with empty staves) that could accommodate further text. Interestingly, the previous piece in F, *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385), also deals with virtue and vice. *Virtus moritur* is, furthermore, only the second piece in *F*-7 to present no caudae whatsoever, a feature seen earlier in *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132) at *F*-7,56. See the notes on the text below for some other features these pieces may share.

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146 [Roman de Fauvel]), no. 11, f. 3v^{b}: a1 (T), in mensural notation; Strophe I, complete, with an added, "fauvelizing" segment following an extended final line 19 with new music and text: "... omnis curia / previa / falvelli malicia" ("... every court is becoming favorably disposed, with Fauvel's malice leading the way"). This addition appears as an alternative reading following the main transcription. The last musical system for this piece intrudes into the area of the "c" column of the writing block at the bottom of the leaf.

Text only:

OxAdd (GB-Ob Add. A. 44), no. 78 (with "lxxvi" entered in the right margin, apparently twice, in two different shades of ink), f. 126r: text only of Strophe I, complete; rubric: "Contra avaritiam romane curie" ("Against the greed of the Roman curia").

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

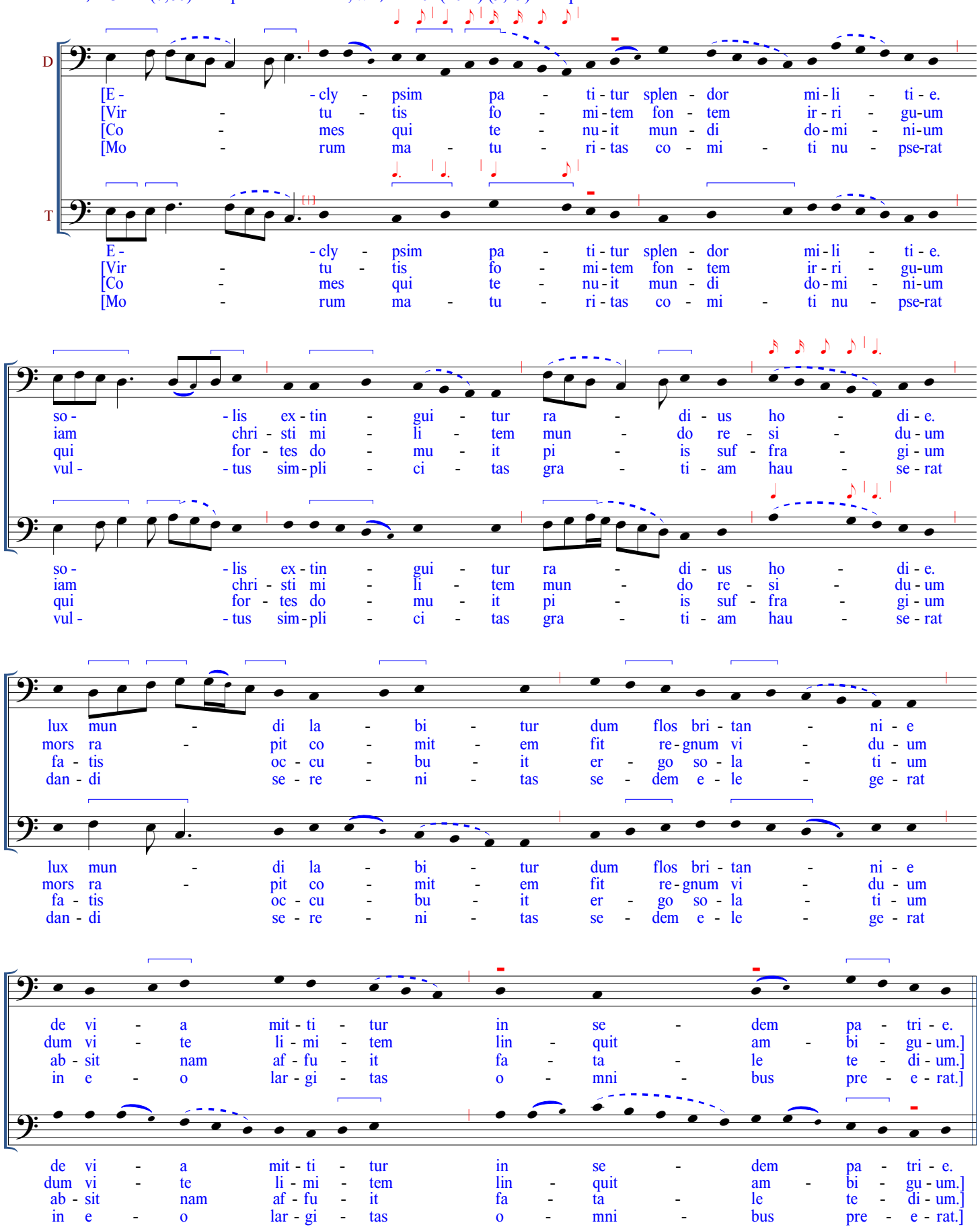
***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem features common topics within the Parisian conductus repertory in its criticism of morals, greed, the evil of monetary riches, and the corruption of the papal curia. Similar themes appear as recently as the previous piece in *F*-7, *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385); for examples of some other conductus that invoke the evils of the papal court in particular (which appears rather prominently at the end of *Virtus moritur*), see the conductus *Non habes aditum* (J29/221) and Philip the Chancellor's *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), as well as his conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (L5/53). **Style and versification:** Although different in some key ways, the style and poetic techniques of *Virtus moritur* echo somewhat the features of *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), transmitted just three pieces earlier in *F*-7. In addition to recalling some of the criticism of money and riches seen in *Frater iam, Virtus moritur* presents short text lines set to nearly completely syllabic musical phrases and it contains no caudae. These latter features might also suggest, as was proposed for *Frater iam,* that *Virtus moritur* may possibly have originated as a prosula to an originally melismatic section of a composition. On the other hand, *Virtus moritur* seems slightly more expansive in containing six different rhyme sounds in its 19 lines ("-itur," "-ium," "-itum," "-ine," "-io," and "-ia"), and it also departs from the expectation that a prosula, like a motet, would favor uneven text lines, since the entire poem is disposed into 5pp verses, except for the centrally placed line 9, which offers 8pp. Its transmission in *F* in two parts, rather than as a monody, might also seem to separate it from the typical characteristics of the prosula repertory associated with Notre Dame; the most notable exception to this is the three-part transmission of *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) at *F*-6,35. All of these elements together suggest that although the derivation of *Virtus moritur* from a melismatic source is conceivable, it seems rather less likely than the case of *Frater iam prospicias.*

***Observations and Variants:* TEXT: 10,2:** F: vitium, from *Fauv,OxAdd.* **MUSIC:** no variants. **General remarks:** It seems rather remarkable that the melodic content of this piece, which is given over nearly completely to five-syllable phrases that feature a significant number of similarly shaped motives, appears from my reckoning never to repeat a full phrase exactly, in either part, throughout its entire course. There is, however, exact sequential correspondence in contour between the T of lines 7 and 12, the T of 15 and 19, the D of 10 and 12, and the D of 6 and 19, all unmarked here.

ECLYPSIM PATITUR

Conductus (I7/105)

F, f. 322v (7,60): Strophe I and refrain; *W1,* f. 110r (101r) (9,19): Strophes II-IV



[Refrain]

Refr.

mors [mors] sor - tis a - spe - re

mors [mors] sor - tis a - spe - re

cun - ctis e - qua non no - vit par - ce -

cun - ctis e - qua non no - vit par - ce -

| a reading of this cauda in mode 3 and conceivably 6 is also possible

- re.]

a (a')

- re.

ETERNO SERVIET
(J13/107)

F, f. 323r (7,61)

I

D [E - ter - no

T E - ter - no

a ser - vi - et qui par - vo ne - sci - et u - ti com - mer - ti - o.

ser - vi - et qui par - vo ne - sci - et u - ti com - mer - ti - o.

a e - ter - num sen - ti - et iu - gum cui pa - ri - et pro - lem am - bi - ti - o

b c e - ter - num sen - ti - et iu - gum cui pa - ri - et pro - lem am - bi - ti - o

c a' vi - pe - ra - rum ge - ni - mi - na ma - ter - na rum - punt in - gui - na.

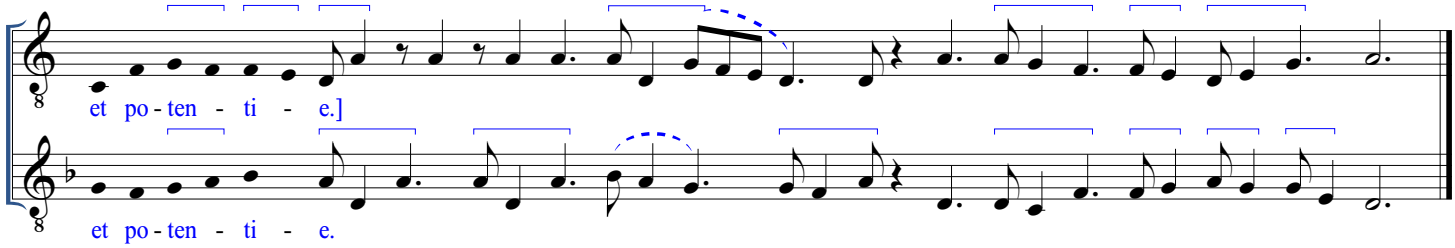
b vi - pe - ra - rum ge - ni - mi - na ma - ter - na rum - punt in - gui - na.

[♭] sic sic mo - tus quem con - ci - pit va - ne li - bi - do ♭

sic sic mo - tus quem con - ci - pit va - ne li - bi - do

glo - ri - e dis - ten - dit in - flat di - ri - pit. men - tem - que fla - tum su - sci - pit am - bi - tus

glo - ri - e dis - ten - dit in - flat di - ri - pit. men - tem - que fla - tum su - sci - pit am - bi - tus


et po - ten - ti - e.]
et po - ten - ti - e.

ETERNO SERVIET

Conductus (J13/107)

F, f. 323r (7,61)

I	Eterno serviet	One who doesn't know how
	qui parvo nesciet	to profit in small business
	uti commertio.	will forever be enslaved.
	Eternum sentiet	The one to whom ambition
	iugum cui pariet	bears offspring will endure
	prolem ambitio.	an eternal yoke.
	Viperarum genimina	A brood of vipers bursts
	materna rumpunt inguina.	from her maternal loins.
	Sic, sic motus quem concipit	Thus, thus is he aroused,
	vane libido glorie,	the one whom the lust for vainglory
	distendit, inflat, diripit;	seizes, stuffs, bloats, and bursts;
	mentemque flatum suscipit	and he takes on the puffed-up temperament
	ambitus et potentie.	of ostentation and power.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 61, f. 323r: a2; a unique transmission of music and text. There is space at the end of this piece for additional strophes (as there is for the works that surround it in *F*-7), though none exist. The likelihood of missing additional stanzas is strongly supported, since this blank area comprises not only space after the final system, but it also encroaches upon a significant portion (about one third) of the area at the right margin of the first system of the following piece.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 3-5:** for an idea of the opposite of ambition, see the remarks about Charity in 1 Corinthians, 13:4-7.[1] Several of these expressions run counter to the language used near the end of the poem to characterize its unfortunate subject. **7:** the image of a brood of vipers appears several times in the gospels as a metaphor for haughtiness and greed; see, for example, Matthew, 3:7, 12:34, 23:33; Luke, 3:7. **10:** vainglory is one of the seven deadly sins as enumerated by Pope Gregory I in his *Moralia in Job* (31,45,87 – there termed *inanis gloria*).[2] For additional information, see the textual notes to *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385), lines 3-4, and 9.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 5,2:** "cui" is considered a monosyllable here, as both the music and the poetic form attest. **13,3:** concluding period omitted (a rare occurrence); supplied editorially. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** T: F: I am assuming the omission of a stroke at L14 after the first *c* (written very like an L

[1] 1 Corinthians, 13:4-7: "Caritas patiens est, benigna est. Caritas non aemulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quaerit quae sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitate, congaudet autem veritati: omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet" ("Charity is patient, is kind: charity envies not, deals not perversely; is not puffed up; is not ambitious, seeks not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinks no evil; Rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices with the truth; Bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.").

[2] The text is available in *PL,* 76: col. 621A

figure) in order to render the conjunctura groups and rest strokes with analogous rhythms. The use of an iambic division of the Long for the cauda appears to be the most likely interpretation at first glance and also provides better consonance in some places, yet the frequent repeated notes, the use of a first-mode pattern beginning the second phrase at L5 in the D (rendered iambically here), and the prominent 3-note ligatures and conjuncturae allow various ways to realize the rhythms of this melisma. Since the later caudae in this piece also seem to favor an iambic mode interpretation, it is employed here as well.

IN NOVAS FERT ANIMUS FORMAS

Conductus (J14/177)

F, f. 323v (7,62)

I

D [In [In] no - vas fert a - ni - mus

T In [In] no - vas fert a - ni - mus

for - mas ver - sum ho - mi - nem di - ce - re quem no - vi - mus

for - mas ver - sum ho - mi - nem di - ce - re quem no - vi - mus

fa - ctum ad y - ma - gi - nem de - i. quem cre - a - ti - o

fa - ctum ad y - ma - gi - nem de - i. quem cre - a - ti - o

pri - ma si - ne vi - ti - o fe - cit vas e - gre - gi - um.

pri - ma si - ne vi - ti - o fe - cit vas e - gre - gi - um.

nam ci - ster - na sor - di - um pri - mam for - mam ex - u - it.

nam ci - ster - na sor - di - um pri - mam for - mam ex - u - it.

pe - re - gri - nas in - du - it.]

pe - re - gri - nas in - du - it.

IN NOVAS FERT ANIMUS FORMAS

Conductus (J14/177)

F, f. 323v (7,62)

I	In novas fert animus	The spirit moves me
	formas versum hominem	to speak of a man turned into new
	dicere, quem novimus	forms, the one we learned
	factum ad ymaginem	was made in the image
	dei, quem creatio	of God, whom the first
	prima sine vitio	creation fashioned without
	fecit, vas egregium;	blemish, a distinguished vessel;
	nam, cisterna sordium,	but now, as a pit of filth,
	primam formam exuit,	he has cast off his initial form
	peregrinas induit.	and clothed himself in strange ones.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 62, f. 323v: a2; a unique musical and textual transmission. As is usual for this part of *F,* empty space is available at the end of the final system that could readily accommodate further stanzas, but none survives. *In novas fert animus formas* ends a nearly unbroken series of strophic or single-stanza pieces that begins with *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1) at *F*-7,48 (f. 316v). It is succeeded by *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), the first multi-stanzaic, through-composed piece to be transmitted in *F*-7 since *Qui de Sabba veniunt* (I20/281) at *F*-7,47 (f. 315v), which itself was the last of a nearly uninterrupted succession of through-composed works that launched the fascicle. The only exceptions to these formal groupings are the prose text of *Ave Maria II* (G7/29) at *F*-7,18 (f. 284v), along with the paired-versicle sequence forms of *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185) at *F*-7,39 (f. 308r) and *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298) at *F*-7,53 (f. 318v). For further details on all these points, see the source reports on *F* for *Qui de Sabba veniunt, A deserto veniens,* and *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/31 at *F*-7,52, f. 318r).

Text only: none. The incipit is similar to the conductus *In nova fert animus via gressus* (K29/176), preserved in a monophonic setting in *F*-10,29 (f. 427v). A text-only transmission of a different poem in *OxAdd (GB-Ob Add. A .44)* on f. 65v, also begins in the same way: "In nova fert animus mutare querimoniam."

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** these lines are a non-metrical paraphrase of the opening statement from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I:1-2,1): "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora" ("The spirit compels me to tell of forms changed into new bodies."). The line was frequently quoted, parodied, or paraphrased over time, sometimes with the variant "novas," as seen in line 2,1 of this conductus text. This variant slightly recalibrates the sense as to whether the forms are being changed into new bodies, or the bodies into new forms. **3,2-7,1:** the metaphor of Christ as a new Adam, born without sin, but who will eventually assume the sufferings of the world, appears, for example, in *Salvatoris hodie – Novus Adam* (C5/315), lines 14-17; see as well 1 Corinthians, 15:45, and 15:47.[1] **4-5,1:** for man made in the image of God, see Genesis, 1:27, 9:6; 1 Corinthians, 11:7; and 2 Corinthians, 4:4. **10:** see Zephaniah, 1:8: "et erit in die hostiae domini, visitabo super principes, et super filios

[1] 1 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").

regis, et super omnes qui induti sunt veste peregrina" ("And it shall come to pass in the day of the victim of the Lord, that I [Jehovah] will visit upon the princes, and upon the king's sons, and upon all who are clothed with strange apparel.").

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** In the *cum littera* sections of this piece, the T makes use of a small number of motives, sometimes slightly varied or transposed. These are indicated above the T staff with letters. **5,2-3:** T:F: *g,a* for the adopted editorial revision *a,b* over "quem cre[atio]" taken from line 7,2-3.

EGO REUS CONFITEOR – *F* and *Metz* versions

Conductus (H20/106)

F, f. 324r (7,63)

1. I

D [E -

T E -

[E] - go

[E] - go

re - us con - fi - te - or de - [de] - o. sem-per-que

re - us con - fi - te - or de - [de] - o. sem-per-que

vir - gi - ni ma - tri ma - ri - e do - mi - ni. san -

vir - gi - ni ma - tri ma - ri - e do - mi - ni. san -

b b'
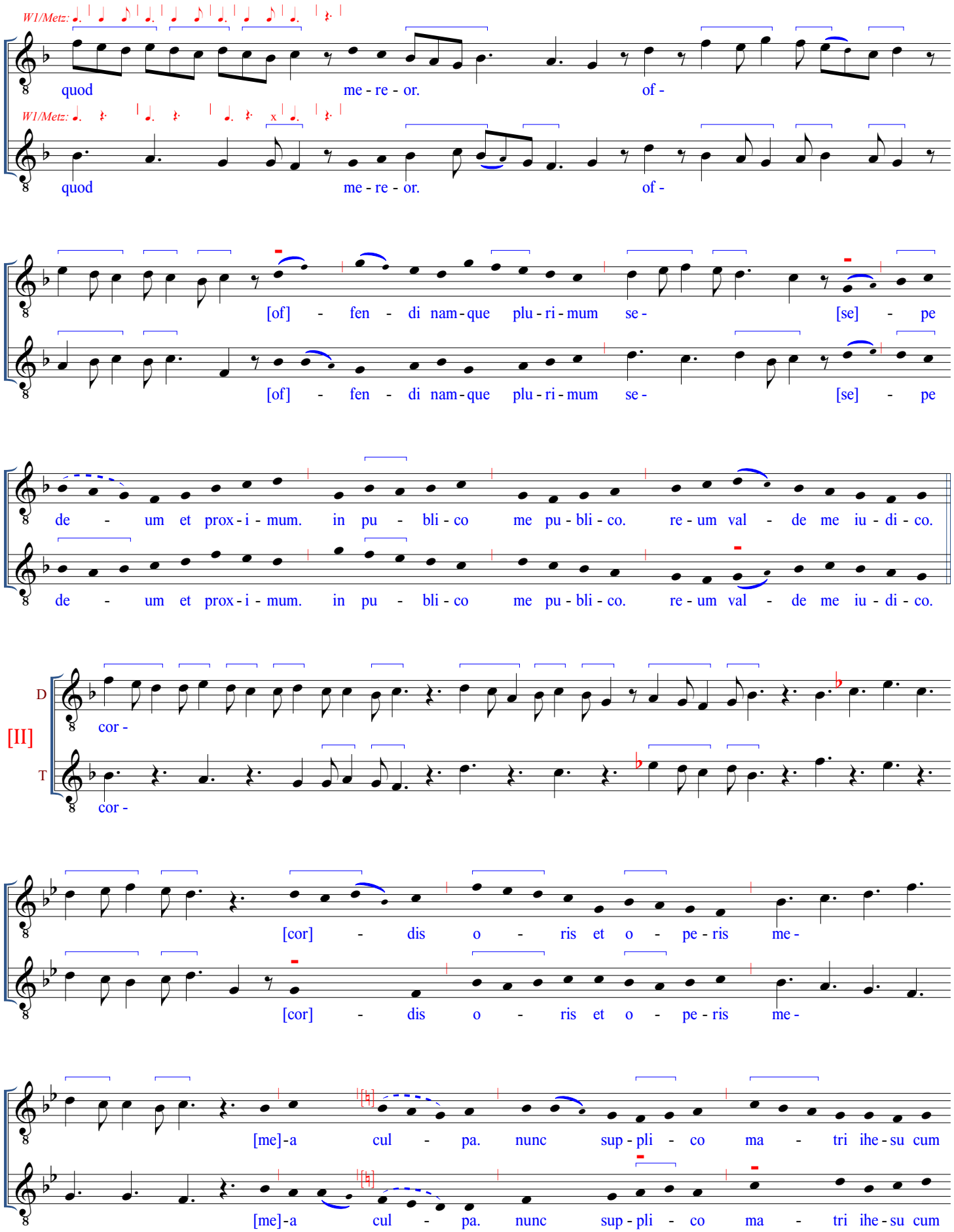
[san] - ctis - que cun-ctis fa - te - or ad -
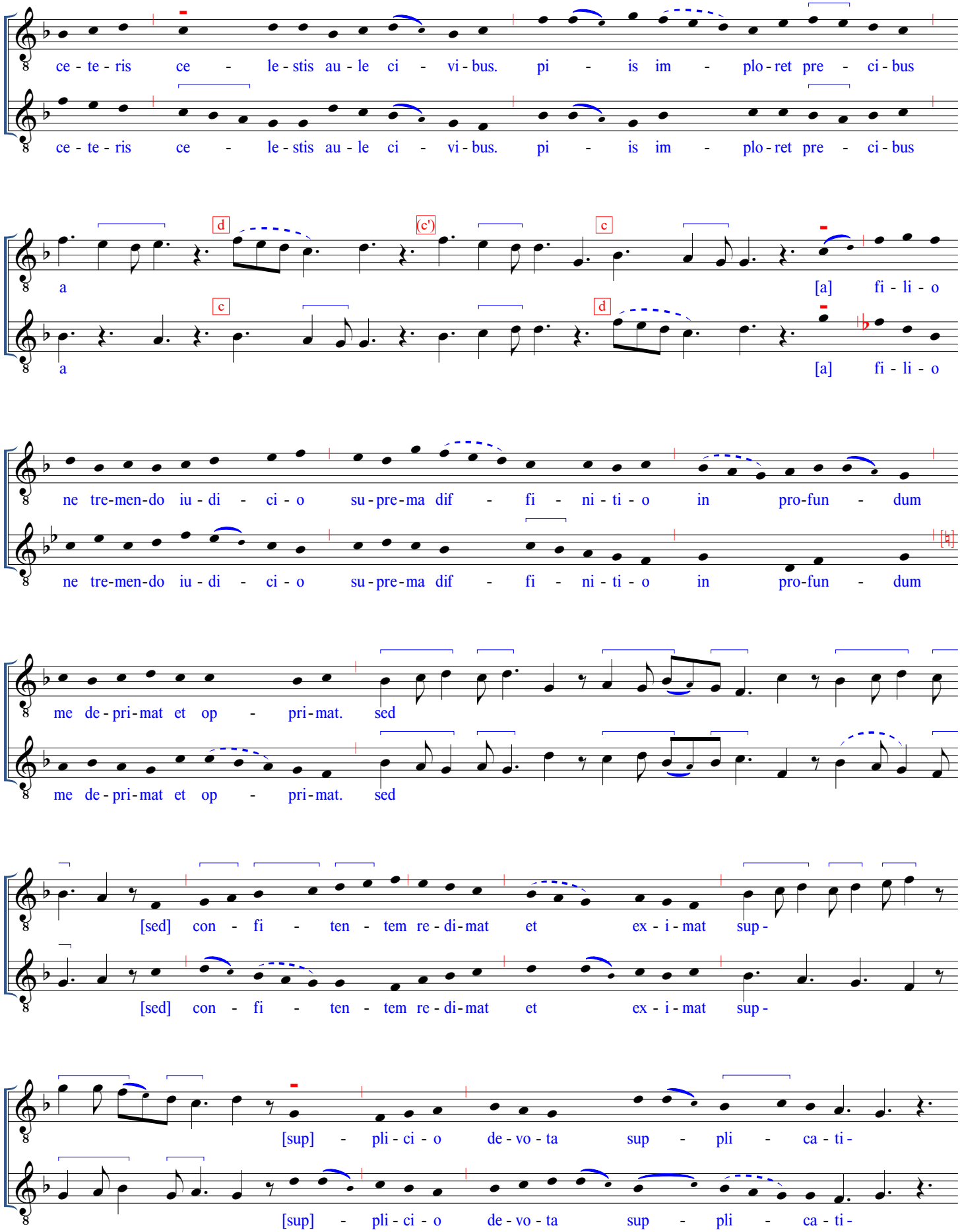
a a'
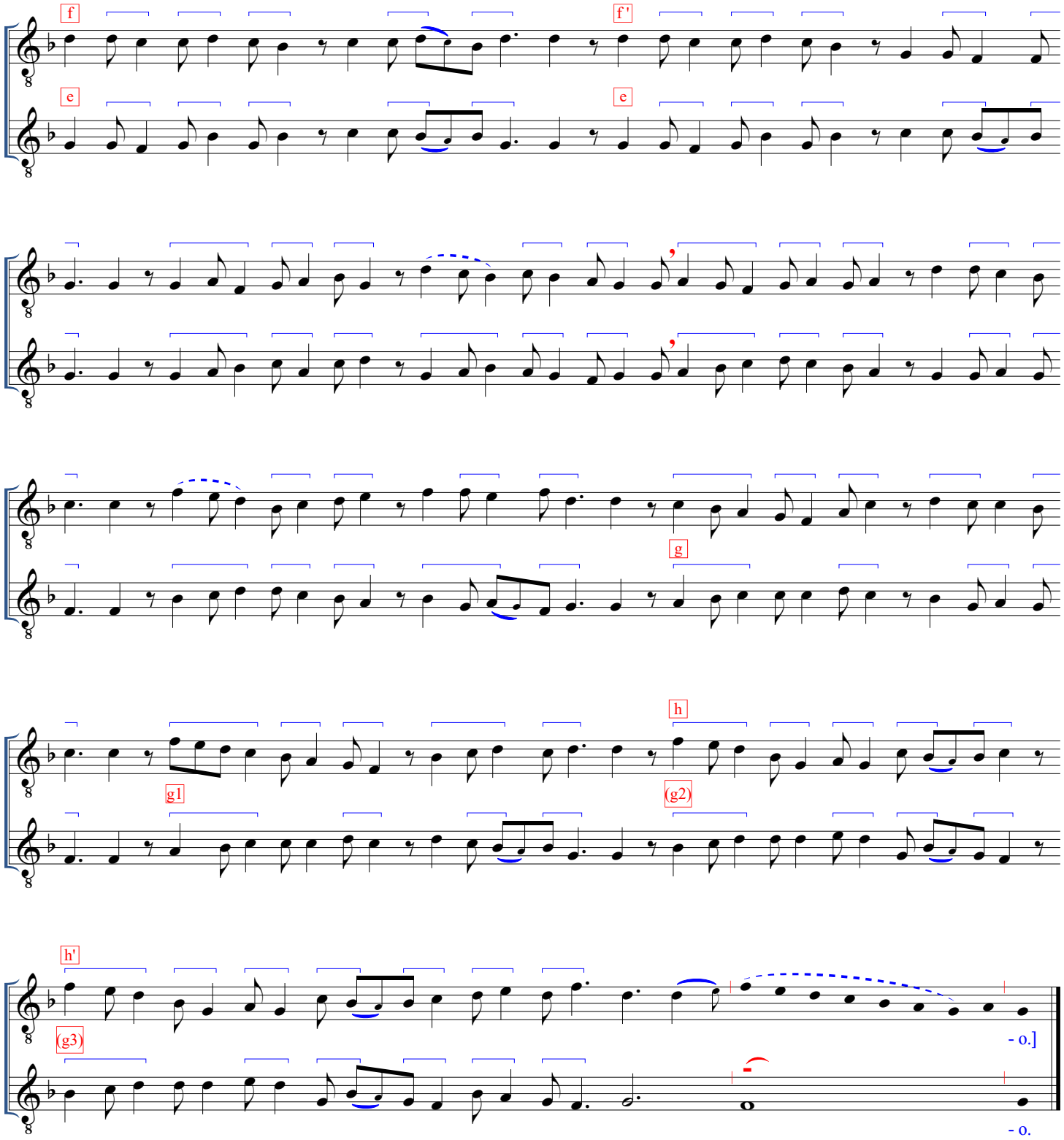
[san] - ctis - que cun-ctis fa - te - or ad -

[ad] - di - ctus pe - ne te - ne - or et ve - re - or

[ad] - di - ctus pe - ne te - ne - or et ve - re - or


W1/Metz:
quod me - re - or. of -
W1/Metz:
quod me - re - or. of -
[of] - fen - di nam - que plu - ri - mum se - [se] - pe
[of] - fen - di nam - que plu - ri - mum se - [se] - pe
de - um et prox - i - mum. in pu - bli - co me pu - bli - co. re - um val - de me iu - di - co.
de - um et prox - i - mum. in pu - bli - co me pu - bli - co. re - um val - de me iu - di - co.
[II]
D
cor -
T
cor -
[cor] - dis o - ris et o - pe - ris me -
[cor] - dis o - ris et o - pe - ris me -
[me] - a cul - pa. nunc sup - pli - co ma - tri ihe - su cum
[me] - a cul - pa. nunc sup - pli - co ma - tri ihe - su cum


ce - te - ris ce - le - stis au - le ci - vi - bus. pi - is im - plo - ret pre - ci - bus
ce - te - ris ce - le - stis au - le ci - vi - bus. pi - is im - plo - ret pre - ci - bus
d
(c')
c
a
[a] fi - li - o
c
d
a
[a] fi - li - o
ne tre-men-do iu - di - ci - o su - pre - ma dif - fi - ni - ti - o in pro-fun - dum
ne tre-men-do iu - di - ci - o su - pre - ma dif - fi - ni - ti - o in pro-fun - dum
me de - pri - mat et op - pri - mat. sed
me de - pri - mat et op - pri - mat. sed
[sed] con - fi - ten - tem re - di - mat et ex - i - mat sup -
[sed] con - fi - ten - tem re - di - mat et ex - i - mat sup -
[sup] - pli - ci - o de - vo - ta sup - pli - ca - ti -
[sup] - pli - ci - o de - vo - ta sup - pli - ca - ti -
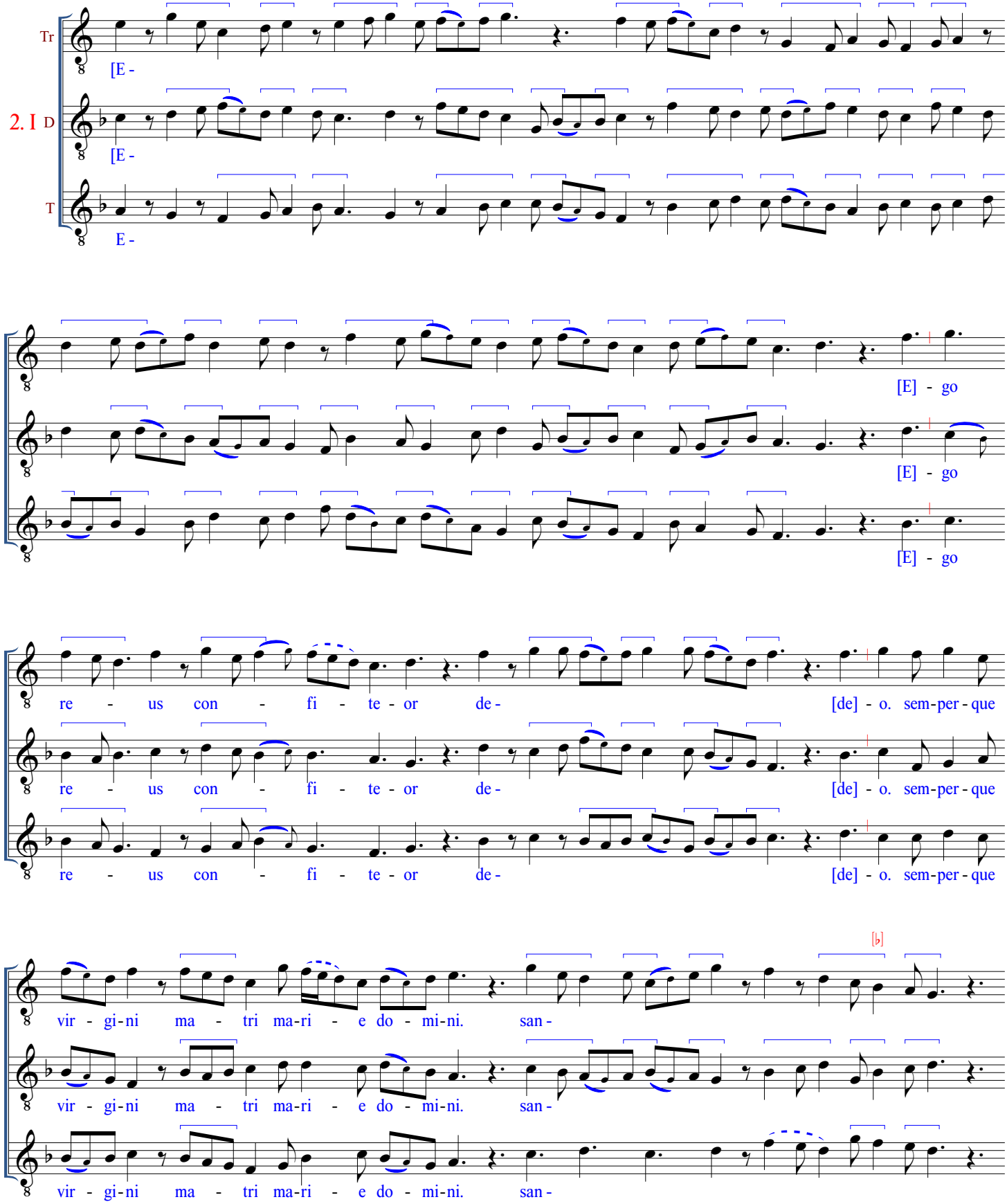


(*Metz* version a3 follows)
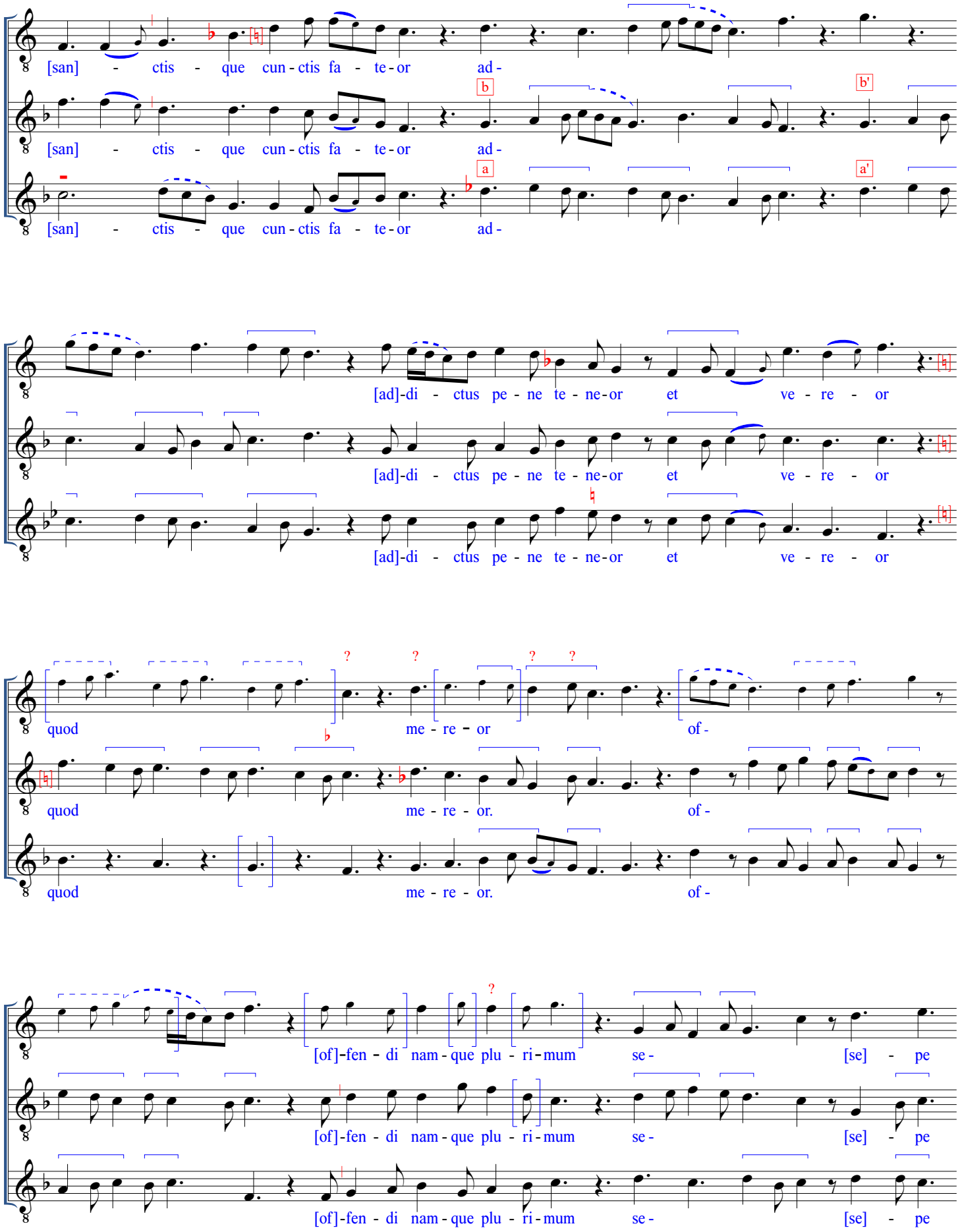
EGO REUS CONFITEOR – *Metz* version a3 (fragmentary)
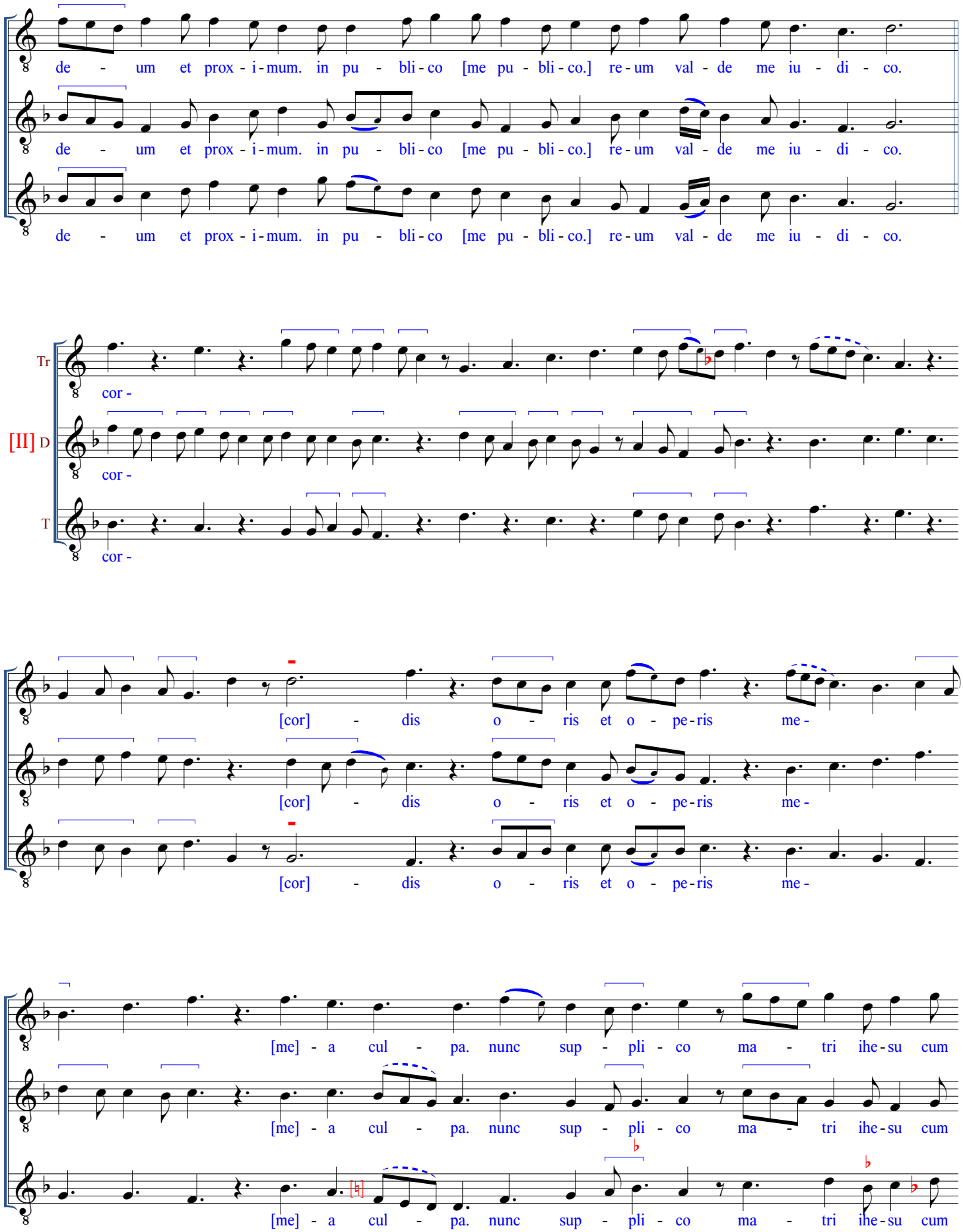
Conductus (H20/106)
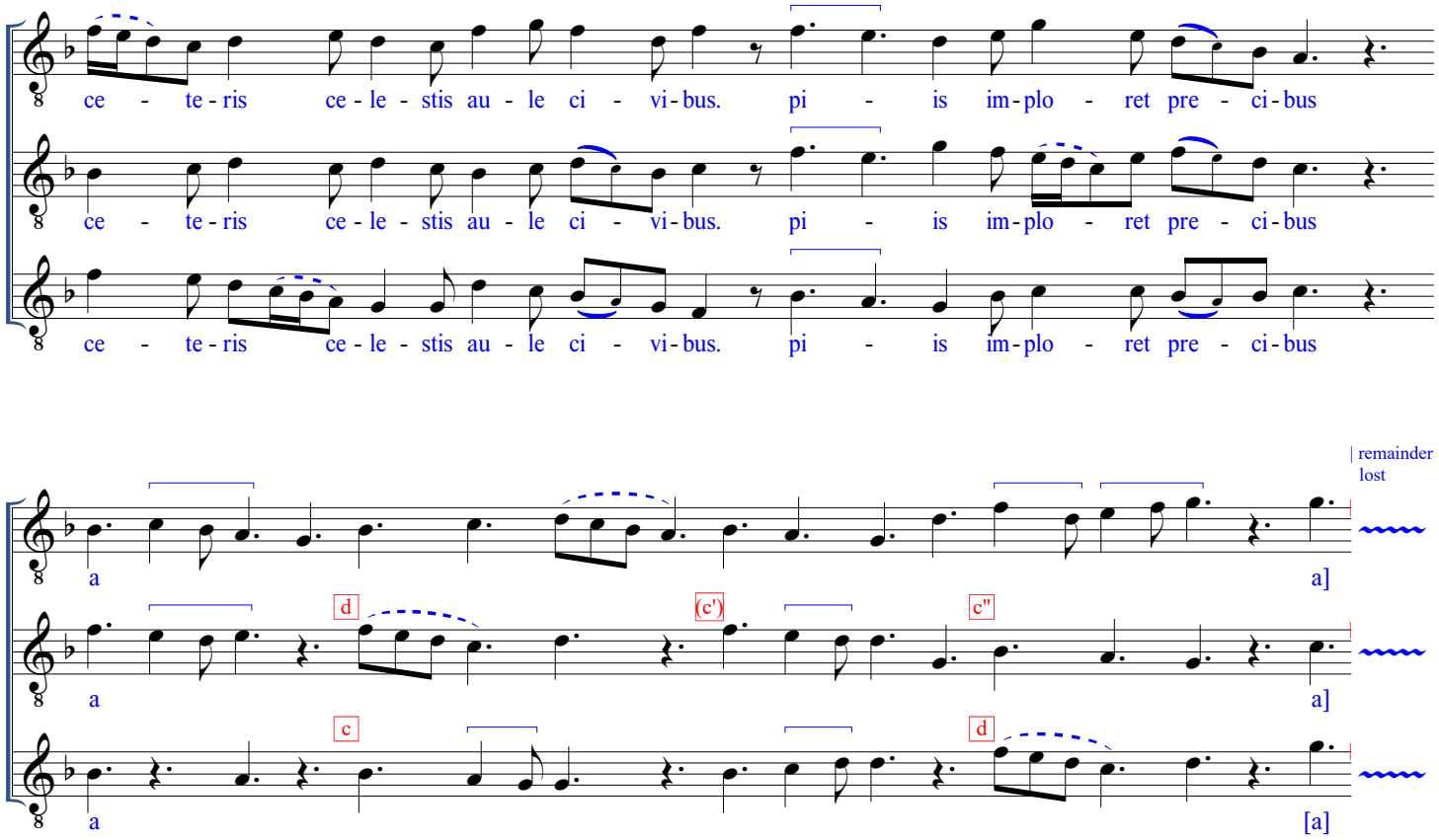
Metz (F-ME 732bis/20), f. 2r (no. 4)*



*In this source, the *cum littera* sections supply mensural values for both simple and ligated notational figures. Rest strokes are likewise distinguished as longer or shorter by their length. The caudae, on the other hand are in modal notation throughout.


[san] - ctis - que cun - ctis fa - te - or ad -
[san] - ctis - que cun - ctis fa - te - or ad -
[san] - ctis - que cun - ctis fa - te - or ad -
b
b'
a
a'
[ad]-di - ctus pe - ne te - ne - or et ve - re - or
[ad]-di - ctus pe - ne te - ne - or et ve - re - or
[ad]-di - ctus pe - ne te - ne - or et ve - re - or
quod me - re - or of -
quod me - re - or. of -
quod me - re - or. of -
[of]-fen - di nam - que plu - ri - mum se - [se] - pe
[of]-fen - di nam - que plu - ri - mum se - [se] - pe
[of]-fen - di nam - que plu - ri - mum se - [se] - pe


de - um et prox - i - mum. in pu - bli - co [me pu - bli - co.] re - um val - de me iu - di - co.
de - um et prox - i - mum. in pu - bli - co [me pu - bli - co.] re - um val - de me iu - di - co.
de - um et prox - i - mum. in pu - bli - co [me pu - bli - co.] re - um val - de me iu - di - co.
Tr
cor -
[II] D
cor -
T
cor -
[cor] - dis o - ris et o - pe - ris me -
[cor] - dis o - ris et o - pe - ris me -
[cor] - dis o - ris et o - pe - ris me -
[me] - a cul - pa. nunc sup - pli - co ma - tri ihe - su cum
[me] - a cul - pa. nunc sup - pli - co ma - tri ihe - su cum
[me] - a cul - pa. nunc sup - pli - co ma - tri ihe - su cum


ce - te - ris ce - le - stis au - le ci - vi - bus. pi - is im - plo - ret pre - ci - bus
ce - te - ris ce - le - stis au - le ci - vi - bus. pi - is im - plo - ret pre - ci - bus
ce - te - ris ce - le - stis au - le ci - vi - bus. pi - is im - plo - ret pre - ci - bus
remainder lost
a
a]
d
(c')
c"
a
a]
c
d
a
[a]

EGO REUS CONFITEOR

Conductus (H20/106)

F, f. 324r (7,63)

I	Ego reus confiteor	I, a sinner, confess
	deo semperque virgini	to God and to the ever-virgin
	matri Marie domini;	Mary, mother of the Lord;
	sanctisque cunctis fateor,	and to all the saints I admit that,
	addictus, pene teneor,	as one condemned, I am held for punishment,
	et vereor quod mereor;	and I fear what I deserve;
	offendi namque plurimum	for indeed very often have I
	sepe deum et proximum.	vexed God and my neighbor.
	In publico me publico.	I declare myself in front of everyone.
	Reum valde me iudico.	I judge myself guilty indeed.
[II]	Cordis, oris, et operis	I now beseech that the
	mea culpa nunc supplico	mother of Jesus, along with the rest
	matri Jhesu, cum ceteris	of the dwellers in the heavenly palace,
	celestis aule civibus	may appeal my sins of heart, word, and deed
	piis imploret precibus	through devout prayers
	a filio;	to her son;
	ne, tremendo iudicio,	lest, in frightful judgment,
	suprema diffinitio	the final reckoning
	in profundum me deprimat	cast me into hell
	et opprimat.	and crush me.
	Sed confitentem redimat	But still devout atonement
	et eximat	may redeem one who confesses,
	supplicio	and deliver them
	devota supplicatio.	through supplication.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 63, f. 324r: a2; Strophes I-[II], complete, with no indication that a different stanza might begin at line 11, as is suggested by both *W1* and *Ma,* but not by *Metz* (hence the above indication of the second strophe in brackets, reflecting its disposition in *F*); nor is there any space at the end of the piece here, or in any of the other applicable sources, that might accommodate further stanzas.[1] Ending the nearly unbroken series of strophic or single-stanza pieces that begins with *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1) at *F*-7,48 (f. 316v), *Ego reus confiteor* is the first multi-stanzaic, through-composed piece to be transmitted in *F*-7 since *Qui de Sabba veniunt* (I20/281) at *F*-7,47 (f. 315v), which itself was the last of a nearly uninterrupted succession of similarly constructed works that launched the fascicle.[2] The single, minor exception to the formal groupings from *F*-7,48-62 is the strophic-sequence form of *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298) at *F*-7,53 (f. 318v). For further

[1] *Ma* does have space with empty staff lines at the end of the last system to contain this piece, but supplying additional conductus stanzas is regularly avoided throughout this source. Additionally, as the source report for *Ma* shows, the last text syllable of the final cauda of *Ego reus* is inscribed nearly flush with the right margin of the final system in *Ma,* after the music above it has concluded, further suggesting (as do all other sources) that no extra stanzas existed. On the regular provision of leaving empty space in the previous subdivision of MS *F* for the possible accommodation of additional strophes, see the source reports on this MS for *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/312, at *F*-7,52, f. 318r).

[2] The sole structural outliers from *F*-7,1-47 are the non-strophically organized sequence form of *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185) at *F*-7,39 (f. 308r) and the prose text of *Ave Maria II* (G7/29) at *F*-7,18 (f. 284v).

details on all these points, see the source report on *A deserto veniens* (setting II, the *F/W1B* version). Caudae, as well, are now more extensive and elaborate beginning with *Ego reus;* it is also the first piece in *F*-7 to be preserved in three of the main Parisian-repertory MSS *F, W1,* and *Ma* since *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (H27/201) at *F*-7,44 (f. 313r), a detail that also applies to the following three pieces in *F*-7. What is more, *Ego reus* and the next two compositions in *F* happen to appear in the same order in *Ma.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 64, f. 147v (138v): a2; Strophes I-[II], complete, with provision for a painted initial that was never entered at line 11,1, thus supporting the conjectured strophic division reflected in the layout of the poetic text above; this same stanzaic indication applies to the transmission in *Ma,* but not to the concordances in *F* or *Metz*. Due to a need for extra space, the close of the final cauda in *W1* is inscribed at the end of the final system on newly extended staff lines that reach beyond the writing block to the extreme right margin of the page. As a result, the final figures in both voices of the melisma, as well as the entire *punctus organi* that concludes the work, are presently obscured by the binding and are no longer easily visible

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 12, f. 87r: a2; Strophes I-[II], complete, with the opening initial never entered and the first word appearing as "[E]rgo." Like *W1* there is provision for an unexecuted initial to begin line 11, thus signaling a new strophe. The piece ends with the music of the final cauda concluding well before the last text element is entered, as the closing syllable "o" is placed near the right margin of the writing block. In *Ma* and *F* this and the following two pieces appear in the same order.

Metz (*F-ME 732bis/20; Metz, Médiathèque Verlaine-Pontiffroy-732 bis/20; (olim) Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Réserve précieux, MS 732bis/20;"Metz fragment"),* no. 4, ff. 2r-2v: a3; fragmentary; with a Tr part found in no other source and with significant portions of this voice missing from lines 6,3 ("quod") through line 7,3 ("plurimum"), thanks to trimming and wear of the top system of f. 2v.[3] Even so, most of the Tr music set to the first three syllables of line 8 ("sepe de[um]"), which follow immediately and conclude this same trimmed system in *Metz,* is preserved, thanks to the lower tessitura of this passage. Otherwise, *Metz* offers the piece from its beginning up through the pitches over the repeated (but unentered) syllable of the setting of line 16,1 that immediately follows its cauda; the last figures on the staves are *custodes* that point to what would have been the first notes on the following leaf, set to the first syllable of line 16,2. Like *F,* there is no special treatment of the initial for strophe [II], in contrast to *W1* and *Ma.* For mensural properties and other characteristics of the notation used in this source, see the observations on the music, below. For comparison, the remains of the *Metz* rendering of *Ego reus confiteor* are supplied as an independent item following the presentation of the *F* version.[4]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Liturgical associations:** This conductus poem paraphrases much of the content of the *Confiteor* of the Mass, this being a smaller component within a series of usually Ordinary prayers that were

[3]The addition of a Tr voice that occurs only in *Metz* also obtains for the otherwise two-part conductus *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343).

[4]A study of the Metz fragments with all applicable 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 photographs available here through the Metz library only include a single side of the bifolio 1v-2r, thus supplying merely the beginning of *Ego reus* up through its *cum littera* setting of line 6,2.

spoken at the foot of the altar by the celebrant and his assistants prior to opening the Mass service with the Proper chant of the Introit.[5] The canonical text of the *Confiteor* was in flux up through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; a recognized early formulation appears in the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* of Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), available in *PL,* 151: col. 992C. Bernold's rendering opens with what becomes the customary declaration: "Confiteor deo omnipotenti," and then asks that all saints, as well as God and a brother, attend to his subsequent general confession.[6] Later versions of the *Confiteor,* in a manner reflected by the conductus poem, regularly include an appeal to the Virgin after the opening petition to God, and may often follow this up further with a list of assorted individual saints prior to the invocation of them all as a group. Significantly, a few opening formulas for the *Confiteor* preserved in medieval French liturgical books actually use the same opening expression as the conductus;[7] and at least one thirteenth-century missal for the use of Paris (*F-Pn 9441,* f. 84r), specifically gives "Ego reus confiteor" as the prompt for the remainder of the text.[8] **Public and private confession and penance:** In addition to its liturgical affiliations with the ceremony of general confession linked most prominently with the opening of the Mass, certain passages in *Ego reus confiteor* suggest relationships with other medieval sacramental rituals of confession and penance. Further pieces in the Parisian conductus repertory that deal with these issues include *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229) and *Age penitentiam* (H31/11). Notably, Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (beginning "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis") formally instituted a requirement that every member of the faithful who had reached the age of discretion[9] should individually confess their sins to their own priest at least once a year, and perform whatever acts of penance the priest should impose. Additionally, each soul was enjoined to receive the Eucharist at Easter, with the threat that failure would forbid them to enter a church and would deny them a Christian

---

[5]For a description of the numerous and various components of this segment of the ceremony, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), item nos. 201, 503, 741, 927.

[6]*PL,* 151, col. 992C: "Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, istis Sanctis et omnibus Sanctis et tibi, frater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, in locutione, in opere, in pollutione mentis et corporis. Ideo precor te, ora pro me" ("I confess to omnipotent God, to those saints and to all saints and to you, brother, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, towards the defilement of mind and body. Hence, I pray you, pray for me.").

[7]See, for example, the instance of the *Confiteor* from the Ordo of the Mass in a thirteenth-century missal from Noyon, *Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 7,* f. 138r *(F-AB 7)*. The transcription of this text derives from Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,* 4 vols. (Paris: s.n., 1924), 2:109: "*Ego reus confiteor* Deo omnipotenti et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis, fratres, quia ego peccator peccavi nimis in cogitatione, locutione, in consensu et opere, mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa; propterea precor te, virgo semper Maria, et vos omnes sancti Dei, et vos, fratres, ut oretis pro me peccatore ad Dominum Deum nostrum omnipotentem misereatur mei [italics mine]" ("I, a sinner, confess to almighty God and blessed Mary, and to all the saints, and to you, brothers, that I, a sinner, have sinned greatly in thought, word, complicity, and in deed, through my fault, my fault, my most grievous fault. Consequently I beseech you, the ever-virgin Mary, and all you saints of God; and you, brothers, that you may pray for me, a sinner, to our almighty Lord God, that he may take pity on me.").

[8]For some further instances, in addition to *F-AB 7* and *F-Pn 9441,* of the phrase *Ego reus* as an opening for various formulations of the *Confiteor,* see, Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels,* 1: 326; 2: 186, 310; and 3: 69. Within other Parisian missals I have consulted, *F-Pn lat. 15615,* f. 138v, shows the more prevalent expression, *Confiteor deo,* as the prompt for the confessional segment, while *F-Pn lat. 830,* f, 118v, on the other hand, does not offer a precise text, whittling down the opening ceremony as a whole only to its starting phrase: "Hic introibo ad altare dei. et cetera." *F-Pn lat. 1112,* unfortunately, is missing two leaves (originally placed between what are now ff. 102v and 103r) that likely contained the relevant portion of this segment of the Mass ceremony; but some other occurrences of the prompt "Confiteor" elsewhere in the MS (at ff. 95v and 102r, for instance) suggest that *F-Pn lat. 1112* most likely employed the more common formulation.

[9]The council's directives do not specify what age this might be. Various interpretations have ranged from approximately seven years to around fourteen. For some historical stipulations of the age of discretion, see Paul Turner, *Ages of Initiation: The First Two Christian Millennia* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 50.

burial.[10] The council's directive essentially made mandatory a confessional practice that was already employed widely at the time, but its formal instigation at Lateran 4 is often seen as the starting point for a greater emphasis on private confession over more public rituals in the history of the development of medieval penance.[11] Nonetheless, rituals of public confession and penance were still ingrained and practiced in thirteenth-century France and elsewhere, and were demarcated into two primary types. One variety, frequently described as "public" and "solemn," was enacted annually by the bishop, and was usually reserved for particularly serious offenses. This type featured a liturgical service of flexible components that was executed over Lent beginning on Ash Wednesday. It typically involved the expulsion of penitents as a group from the church until Maundy Thursday, after which they were re-admitted, but routinely continued to perform the (often protracted) obligations required by their penance. The other form of public penance was designated as a non-solemn observance that could be enacted by priests, and which was conducted without specific ceremony and designated for typically lesser offenses. Its common result was the imposition of a pilgrimage.[12] In terms of some expressions in this poem which seem to lean more towards the idea of public as opposed to private confession and penance, see the remarks for line 8 and 9. **Versification:** The reasons for the division of this poem into two strophes are given in the source reports above. The layout of its various lines follows that of Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:xxvii, rather than what appears on the CPI website. Since lines 6 and 9 as presented above feature internal rhyme, they could rightfully be considered as pairs of distinct 4pp verses. Nevertheless, the preference for 8pp lines throughout the majority of the entire poem, as well as the ability to pair the 4pp units in Strophe I, argues for subsuming them into a single verse. In Strophe [II], however, lines 16, 20, and 22-23 cannot be paired in the same manner and thus are presented as individual 4pp lines, each of which rhymes with another verse elsewhere in the poem. **Textual notes: 8:** classifying and evaluating sins and penalties in terms of how they affected penitents' relationships with God, their neighbors, and sometimes also the Church, was common in the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Offenses that involved one's neighbors typically required the offender ask forgiveness from the affected party, thus bringing these crimes more into the public sphere (see Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners,* 41-49). **9:** note here the striking example of *annominatio,* effected by the two closely grouped homographs of "publico" ("*I declare* myself *openly*"). This choice also suggests that the emphasis in this poem is more closely associated with the context of the general communal confessions associated with the *Confiteor* of the Mass service, or with the solemn or non-solemn public penance rituals described above in the general remarks on the text. This is in contrast to any evocations of private confession that were promulgated by the Fourth Lateran Council (again, see above in the initial notes on the text). **11:** the familiar tripartite division of sins into those of thought, word, and deed is queried and defended by Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica,* 1a2ae,72,7) with reference to Jerome's *Commentary on Ezekiel*.

---

[10]Latin texts and English translations of the Fourth Lateran Council's canons appear in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils,* 2 vols., Norman P. Tanner, S.J., ed. and transl. (London: Sheen and Ward; Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:230-271. For the injunctions on confession and penance in Canon 21, see 1:245 of Tanner's edition.

[11]For example, around the year 1200, bishop Eudes de Sully (reg.1196–1208), in a set of statutes for the diocese of Paris, enjoined his parishioners to confess frequently, particularly at the start of Lent, while one of his slightly later successors, William of Seignelay (reg. 1220–1223), made this directive more forceful, saying that parishioners should confess annually before Palm Sunday, or be barred from confession until after the octave of Easter and forced to continue refraining from eating meat, just as they had during Lent. Some evidence suggests that the "Omnis utriusque" canon *per se* was not widely propagated in France until some time following Lateran 4 – an act of omission that was completely contrary to the instructions within the canon itself that commanded its active dissemination – and that Eudes's earlier statutes on confession were the ones more regularly applied until that time. Similarly, the annual reception of the Eucharist, also enjoined by Canon 21, was not stipulated in regulations observed by medieval French churches until the middle of the thirteenth century. For these various details, see Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 68-70.

[12]On the often fluctuating and diverse distinctions of these types of penance as practiced in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners,* particularly the details given on pp. 21, 29-30, 92-93, 106, and 167. See also the similar findings on the persistence of public penance into the twelfth century in Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe: 600-1200* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Ezekiel, 43:23-27, describes the ceremonies for the consecration of the altar as part of the prophet's vision of a rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem. The actions portrayed in the scriptural passage call for a daily offering of an unblemished male goat, a young bull, and a ram for seven straight days as a purificational rite. The part of Jerome's work that treats this section describes these sacrificial victims as allegorical symbols of the three divisions of the confessional classification of sin, where the ram, goat, and bull correspond respectively to the sins of thought, word, and deed.[13] For a biblical counterpart, cf. 2 Thessalonians, 2:17.[14]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 7,1:** F: of-ffendi (divided by a short cauda). **9,3-4:** Metz: Tt om, with no loss of music. Curiously, the exact same situation obtains in *W1* and *Ma,* which might be explained by the nearly identical language in each half of this line that could have caused a scribe to skip over its last two words. It seems less likely, in my view, that this was originally a four-note cauda to which some other actor added text. The supposed omission is supplied from *F,* its unique source. **15,2:** Metz: implorat; adopted reading appears in all other sources. **16,1:** Metz: this is the last surviving element of verbal text in the fragment. **MUSIC: Mensural properties of the notation in the Metz version:** In the *cum littera* portions of this piece in *Metz, simplex* figures are distinguished notationally as L and B, and a number of the ligatures show *sine proprietate* and *sine perfectione* mensural modifications to their shapes (some apparently faultily, as reported in the observations below). Long rests are distinguished by full-staff strokes (indicated above the staves in the supplementary transcription), while the caudae assert modal notation throughout. *Conjunctura* groups of 4 notes typically end, as well as begin, with si shapes, while those of 3 are most often written R,R,si (the two 3R outliers are recorded below at lines 3,2 and 14,1). **Line 1,1:** D: F: written 3 lower for "Ego"; corrected with recourse to *W1,Ma,Metz.* **1,2-3:** T,D,Tr: Metz: the 3li in each voice over the first syllable of "re[us]" is written *sine proprietate, cum perfectione* (i.e., *sine-cum*), which corresponds with the LBL reading given in the transcription. The 3li figures on "con[fiteor]," though, appear to be *cum-cum* (=BBL) although the plica strokes ending the 3li in all voices have affected the positioning of the third note in the T and Tr so that these two voices seem to show *cum-sine* (=BBB); the D is a plicated 3li in typical *cum-cum* fashion. All the figures at line 1,3 here have been read in the same manner as that of the 3li over "re[us]," (=LBL) for consistency. **Line 3,1:** T,D,Tr: Metz: the 3li in each voice on "ma[tri]" written *cum-sine* without P; read BBB as appropriate. **6,1:** T,D,Tr: Metz: the 3liP figures here over "et [vereor]" are *cum-cum* (BBL), read here as LBL, as with the figures over "con[fiteor]" at line 1,3 (q.v.). **3,2:** Tr: Metz: the C group over "[ma]ri[e]" written as 3R; elsewhere such figures typically close with a si shape (see also 14,1). **Cauda on 6,3:** TD: W1,Metz: these MSS give extended rhythmic values for this short melisma on "quod [mereor]"; the readings of these sources appear above the staves in the *F* version, with the additional possibility of casting this portion in rhythmic mode 3; the "x" indication here above the T shows an omitted note found only in *F* and *Ma.* Additionally, the D reading in *Ma* for this passage is si, 3(3li), which could also be rendered according to the readings in *W1* and *Metz,* with possible rhythmic extension in the T if read irregularly. **Lines 6,3-7,3:** for the supplementary transcription from *Metz,* the missing portions of the unique Tr from lines 6,3-7,3 are supplied editorially in small notes; pitches

---

[13]Jerome writes near the end of his thirteenth chapter (the text comes from *PL,* 25: col. 427B): "In hirco autem, et vitulo, et ariete tria generalia delicta demonstrantur, quibus omne mortalium subjacet genus. Aut enim cogitationibus, aut sermone, aut opere peccamus. Cogitatio refertur ad arietem, quae prima est omnium peccatorum, et ex qua alia duo peccata nascuntur. Haedus autem, sive hircus, ad eloquium sìve sermonem, qui semper de excelsioribus disputat. Opera vero proprie vitulo deputantur: quoniam vomeri et labori et terrenis operibus mancipatus est. Haec igitur immaculata per septem dies veri sabbati atque perfecti Deo offerre debemus, et expiare altare, ut oratio nostra munda perveniat ad Deum" ("And in the male goat, the young bull, and the ram are shown the three general offenses to which every type of mortal sin is subject. For we sin either by thought, word, or deed. 'Thought' refers to the ram, for it is the first of all sins, and the one from which the two other sins are born. The kid, or male goat, though, [refers] to speech or discourse, which always argues about loftier matters. 'Deeds,' however, are properly ascribed to the young bull, for he is assigned to the plow, to labor, and to the working of the land. Therefore we are beholden to offer these unblemished things during the seven days of a true and perfect sabbath, and to purify the altar, so that our unsullied speech may reach towards God.").

[14]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.").

that are visible, but which raise some doubt as to their actual identity are regular in size, but topped with question marks above the staff. 8,2: T,D,Tr: Metz: the 3li on "deum" in each part is written *cum-sine;* read BBB as appropriate. **9,3-4:** see the remarks on the text in this place. **11,2:** T,D,Tr: Metz: 3li on "o[ris]" in each part written *cum-sine;* read BBB as appropriate. **12,4:** T,D,Tr: Metz: 2li in all parts written *cum-cum;* read BL as appropriate and shifted the text syllable to fall on the 2 of the 2li. **14,1:** T: Metz: C figure on "ce[lestis]" written as 3R; text syllable shifted to fall on the third note (see also 3,2). **15,1:** T,D,Tr: Metz: 2li in all parts written *sine-cum;* read LL as appropriate.

SCRUTATOR ALME CORDIUM – *F, W1,* and *Fauv* (motet) versions

Conductus (H22/319)

F, f. 325r (7,64)

1. I
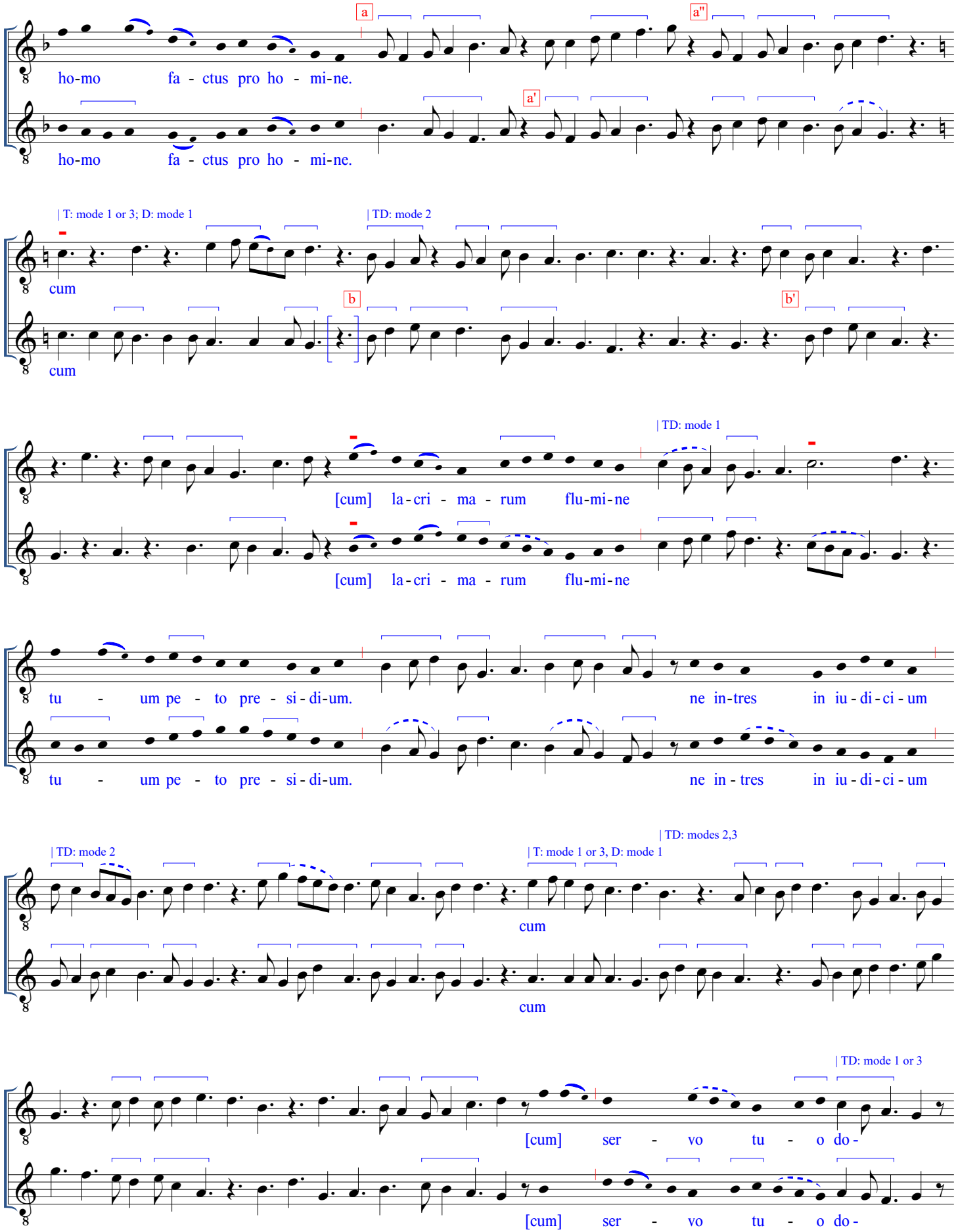
D: [Scru -
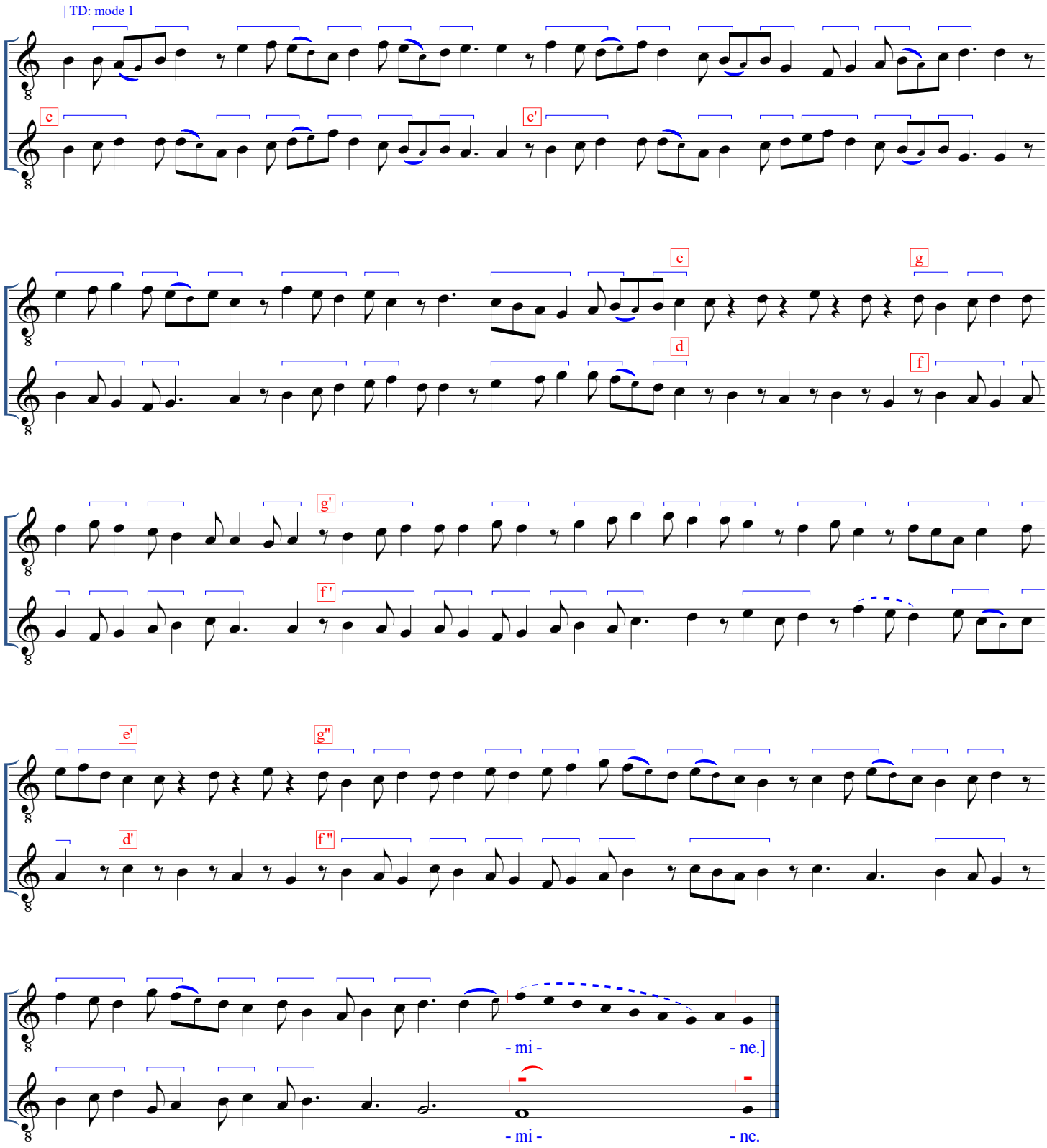
T: Scru -

[Scru] - ta - tor al - me cor - di - um

lu - men ve - rum de lu - mi - ne.

re - dem - ptor et fi - de - li - um.


a
a"
ho-mo fa - ctus pro ho - mi-ne.
a'
ho-mo fa - ctus pro ho - mi-ne.
| T: mode 1 or 3; D: mode 1
| TD: mode 2
cum
b
b'
cum
| TD: mode 1
[cum] la-cri - ma - rum flu-mi-ne
[cum] la-cri - ma - rum flu-mi-ne
tu - um pe - to pre - si-di-um.
ne in-tres in iu-di-ci-um
tu - um pe - to pre - si-di-um.
ne in - tres in iu - di - ci - um
| TD: mode 2
| T: mode 1 or 3, D: mode 1
| TD: modes 2,3
cum
cum
| TD: mode 1 or 3
[cum] ser - vo tu - o do -
[cum] ser - vo tu - o do -


| TD: mode 1
c
c'
e
g
d
f
g'
f'
e'
g"
d'
f"
- mi -
- ne.]
- mi -
- ne.

W1, f. 149v (140v) (9,59)

2. I

D [Scru -

T Scru -

[Scru] - ta - tor al - me cor - di - um
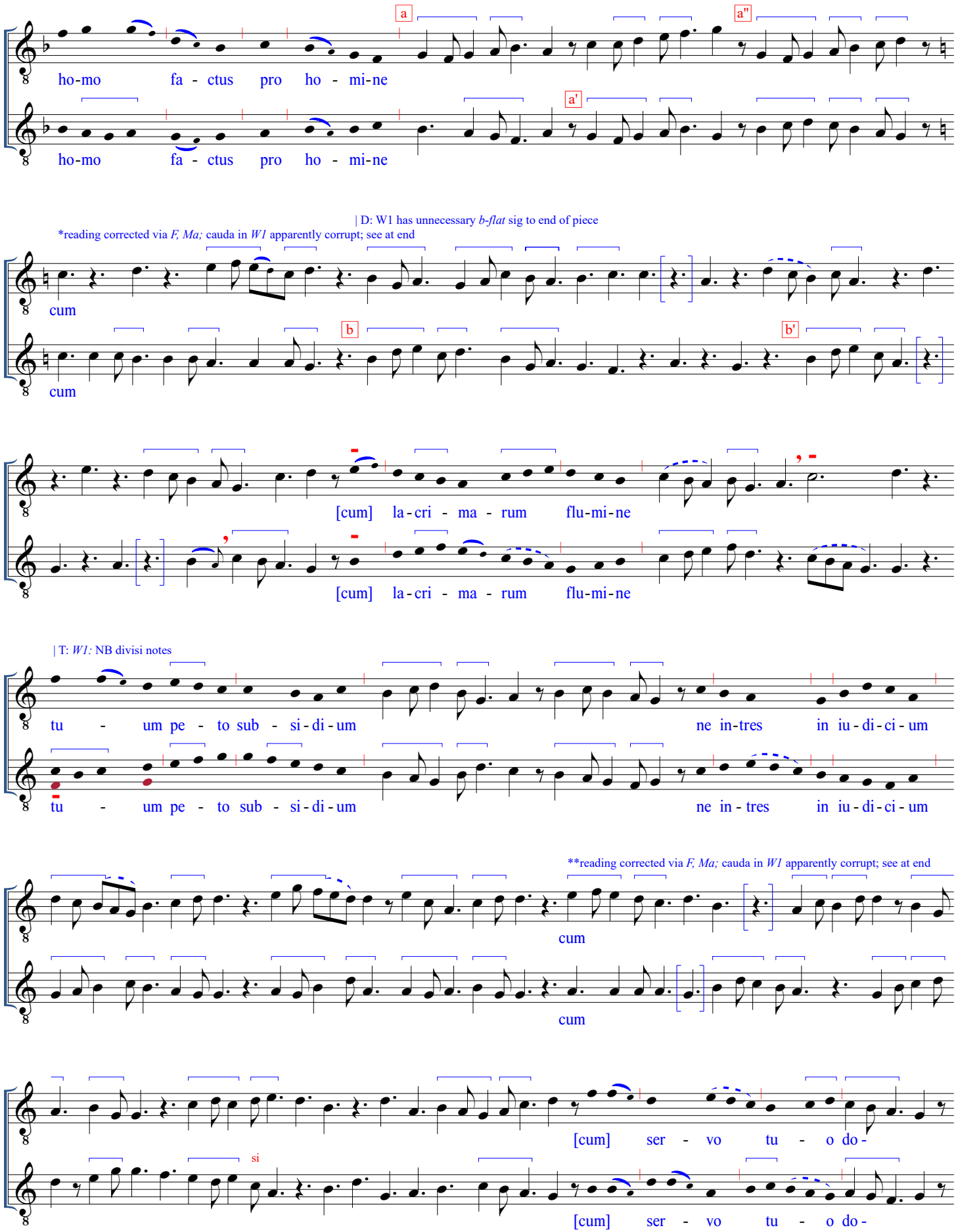
[Scru] - ta - tor al - me cor - di - um
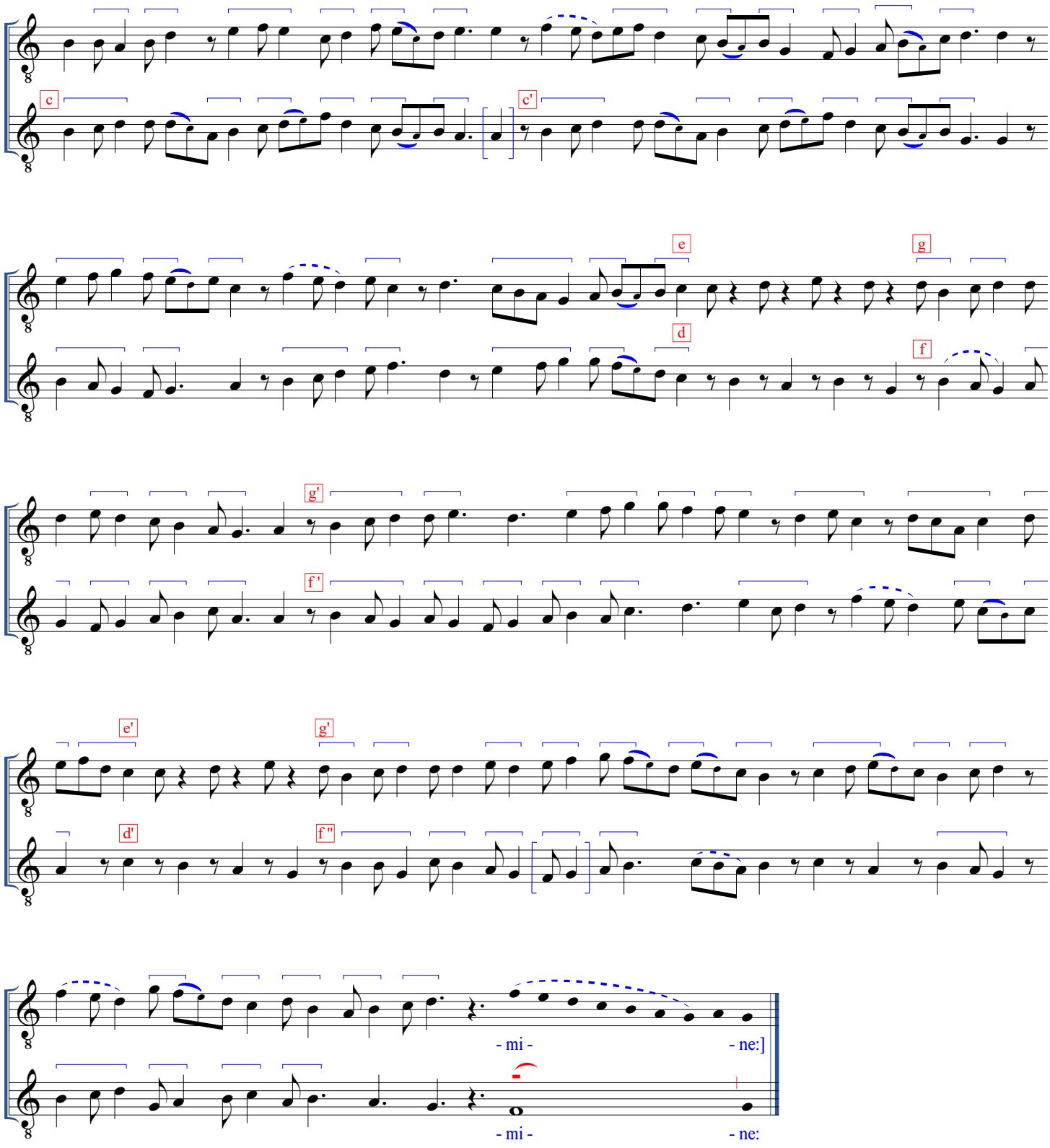
lu - men ve - rum de lu - mi - ne

lu - men ve - rum de lu - mi - ne

re - dem - ptor et fi - de - li - um

re - dem - ptor et fi - de - li - um

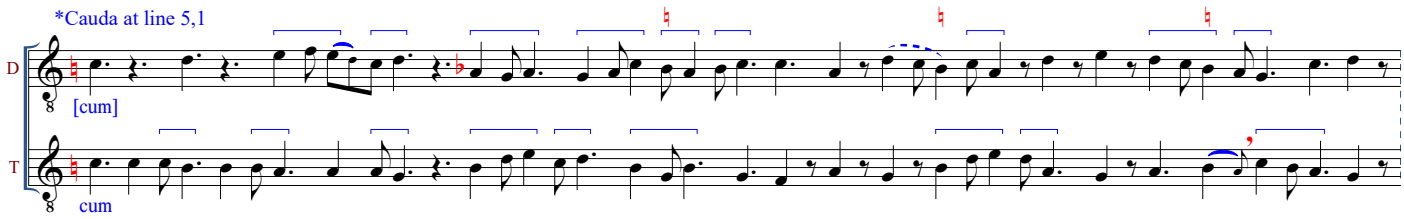

a
a''
a'
ho-mo fa - ctus pro ho - mi-ne
ho-mo fa - ctus pro ho - mi-ne
| D: W1 has unnecessary *b-flat* sig to end of piece
*reading corrected via *F, Ma;* cauda in *W1* apparently corrupt; see at end
cum
b
b'
cum
[cum] la-cri - ma - rum flu-mi-ne
[cum] la-cri - ma - rum flu-mi-ne
| T: *W1:* NB divisi notes
tu - um pe - to sub - si-di-um ne in-tres in iu-di-ci-um
tu - um pe - to sub - si-di-um ne in - tres in iu-di-ci-um
**reading corrected via *F, Ma;* cauda in *W1* apparently corrupt; see at end
cum
cum
[cum] ser - vo tu - o do-
si
[cum] ser - vo tu - o do-



(alternative readings and *Fauv* version follow)
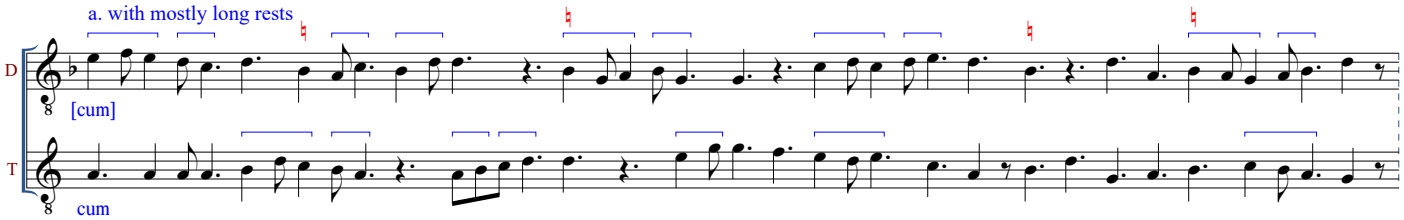
SOME LITERAL READINGS OF THE TWO PROBLEMATIC CAUDAE FROM *W1:*

*Cauda at line 5,1

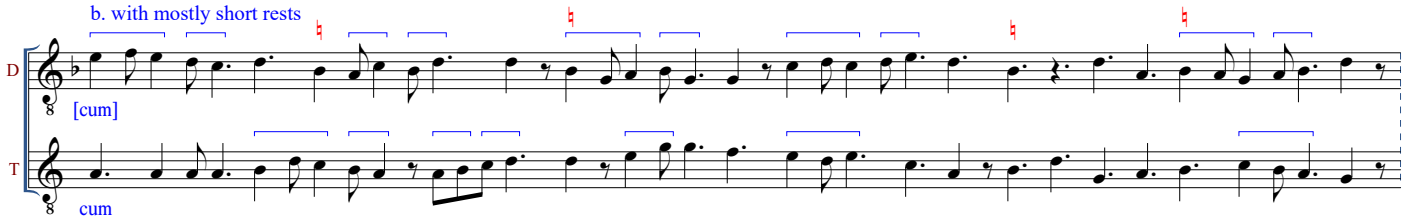


**Cauda at line 8,1:

a. with mostly long rests
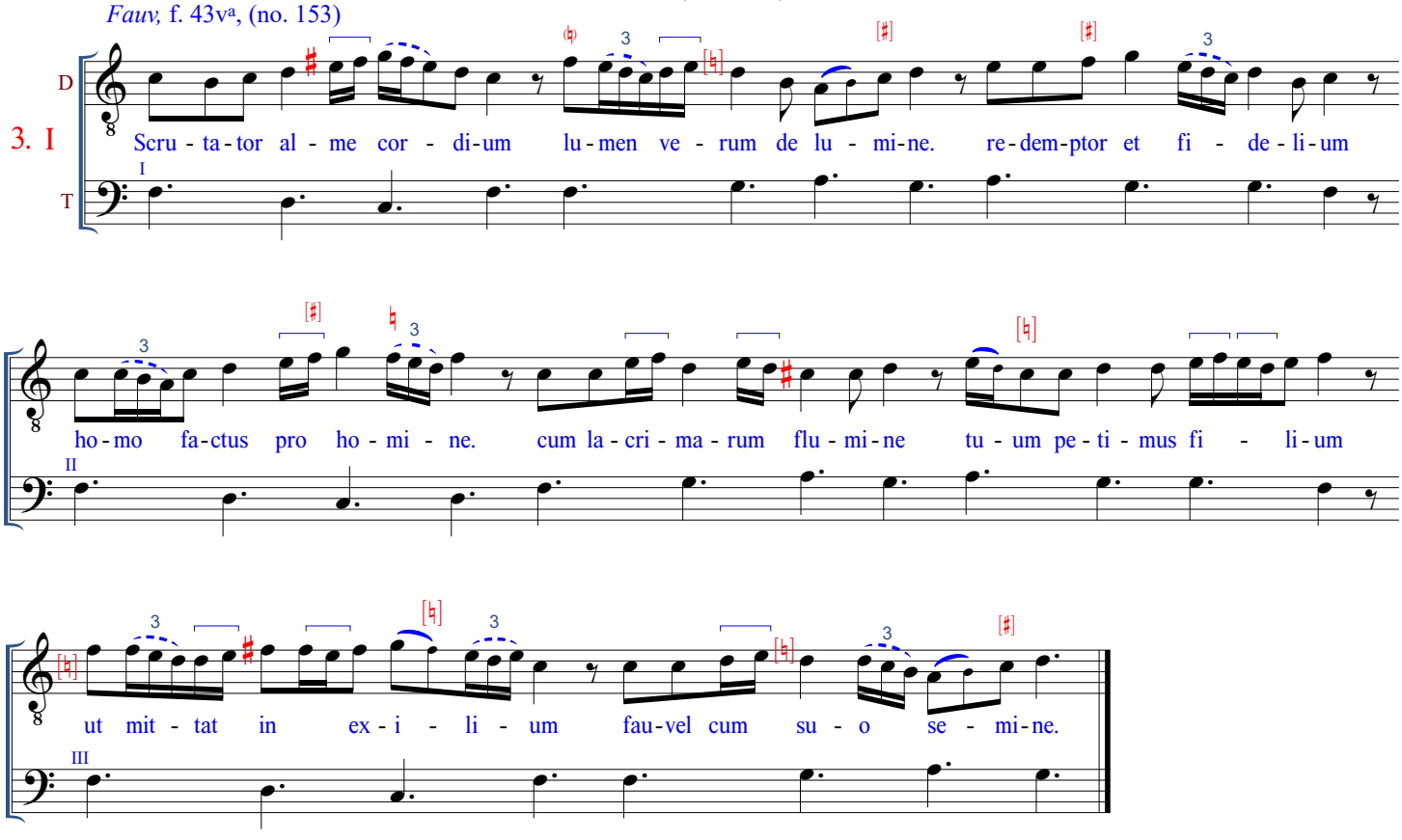


b. with mostly short rests



SCRUTATOR ALME CORDIUM / [TENOR: Neuma VI toni] – *Fauv* motet version

Motet (vdW 936/-)

Fauv, f. 43v[a], (no. 153)



SCRUTATOR ALME CORDIUM – *F, W1,* and *Fauv* (motet) versions

Conductus (H22/319 – *Fauv* motet version: vdW 936/- [Neuma VI toni])

F, f. 325r (7,64)

I	Scrutator alme cordium,		Kind searcher of hearts,
	lumen verum de lumine,		true light from light,
	redemptor et fidelium,		and redeemer of the faithful,
	homo factus pro homine:		a man made for mankind:
	cum lacrimarum flumine	5	with a river of tears,
	tuum peto presidium.		I seek your protection.
	Ne intres in iudicium		Enter not into judgment
	cum servo tuo, domine.		with your servant, O Lord.

The *Fauv* version of the text varies the closing lines 6-8:

	...		...
	tuum petimus filium	6a	we beseech your son
	ut mittat in exilium		to send Fauvel into exile
	Fauvel cum suo semine.	8a	along with his seed.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 64, f. 325r: a2; Strophe I, complete; as is typical for the single-strophe works in *F,* there is a small bit of completely empty space at the end of the last system that could accommodate extra text, but since no other source implies the possibility of additional strophes, the likelihood of omitted text is minimal. As with *Ma,* the *F* version of this piece implies a mixture of trochaic and iambic rhythms for some of its caudae, in contrast to W1, which emphasizes mode-1 rhythms throughout. This piece and the ones immediately surrounding it are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 66, f. 149v (140v): a2; Strophe I, complete; this setting tends to favor trochaic, mode-1 rhythms throughout for its caudae, as opposed to the mixtures of iambic and trochaic divisions prompted by both *F* and *Ma.* The endings of the opening and closing caudae in *W1,* as well as a small portion near the start of the concluding melisma, are inscribed at the ends of the first, final, and penultimate systems, respectively, on newly drawn staves that extend beyond the writing block to the extreme right margin of the page. The opening folio of this piece additionally shows a series of three, partially erased textual entries – appearing to have nothing to do with the conductus setting or each other – in a later, cursive hand inscribed in the left margin. The respective entries are aligned with the first, second, and fourth systems on the leaf, with some words still visible.[1] The *W1* version of this piece is supplied as a separate reading following the redaction in *F.*

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 13, f. 89r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with the opening initial never entered into the space provided for it. The caudae in this redaction of the piece correspond with *F* in showing both trochaic and iambic rhythms; this contrasts with the preponderance of trochaic, mode-1 rhythms presented in *W1.* This piece and the ones immediately surrounding it are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.*

---

[1]The remains of these three erasures (reading from top to bottom) are transcribed by Martin Staehelin as 1) "Si capias hastam ?" ("If you should grasp a spear" across from the last system of *Rex eterne glorie mundo* [H21/309], q.v.) – 2) "Iste salmus debebat stare miserere mei" ("This [P]salm ought to stand for [?] *Miserere mei*") – 3) "Si vis provideri ad defectus magnos ("If you want to be provided for due to great hardships" [?])." (see 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], p. 44).

Text only:

Fauv, no. 153, f. 43v[a]: a2; Strophe I, complete; the poem is set as the D of a uniquely preserved motet (vdW 936/-), set to music differing completely from the other sources, with its with its subsequently notated, untexted T identified as "Neuma VI toni" in the CPI database and in Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:219 – unidentified in VdW); the ending lines 6-8 are newly configured to fit the context of the *Fauvel* poem (presented above as lines 6a-8a). The *Fauv* motet is supplied for comparison following the *W1* version of *Scrutator alme cordium.*[2]

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1:** see Wisdom, 1:6: "... quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus ..." ("... for God is the witness of his [mankind's] innermost thoughts, and he is a true searcher of his heart ..."). See also the Lententide Vespers hymn *Audi benigne conditor,* whose second strophe begins with the same line as the conductus,[3] as, e.g. in *F-Pn lat 15181,* f. 223r (CCXIIIr). **2:** for one of many biblical passages that refer to God or Christ as light, cf. I John, 1:5.[4] Cf. also this portion of the Nicene Creed, used in the Credo of the Mass: "Deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero" ("God of God, light of light, true God of true God."). **5:** cf: Psalm 118:136;[5] note also the analogous expression in Lamentations, 1:16, 2:18. **7-8:** see Psalm 142:2.[6]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 6-8:** *Fauv* replaces these lines with different text, supplied above as 6a-8a. **6,3:** W1: subsidium; since "presidium" occurs in both *F* and *Ma,* the latter reading is adopted for the text above; the former appears in the *W1* redaction of the work. Either word is acceptable, as they are essentially synonyms. **8,4:** W1: this source punctuates the last line with an apparent colon, retained in the separate transcription of this MS version of the piece. W1: The text was inscribed first, and not enough space was allotted for the music of the final cauda that continues into the right margin of the folio (see the source report on *W1* above), so the last two syllables of this final word appear at the right border of the writing block, underneath the music that occurs just prior to the second hocketing section of the cauda; the underlay used here has been suppled from *F* and *Ma.* **MUSIC: Rhythm:** Due to the contrasting rhythmic approaches among the sources for this piece, both the *F* and *W1* readings of *Scrutator alme* are presented here, as well as the completely different music of the *Fauv* motet version. As reported above, the caudae in the *W1* setting are largely in rhythmic mode 1 throughout. *F* and *Ma,* in contrast, favor mostly the iambic modes 2 and 3, with some occasional phrases and nearly all of the final cauda presented in mode 1. Those few places where *W1* also gives mode-2 ligations (i.e., in the T at middle and end of opening cauda, for several phrases following line 2 in the D, and after line 8,1 in both parts), as well as *W1*'s corrupted transmission of the caudae for lines

---

[2]Images of *Fauv* are available here.

[3]As reported in Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:xxviii.

[4]I 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").

[5]Psalm 118:136: "Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei, quia non custodierunt legem tuam" ("My eyes have sent forth springs of water: because they have not kept your law.")

[6]Psalm 142:2: "et non intres in iudicio cum servo tuo: quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens" ("And enter not into judgment with your servant: for in your sight not every man living shall be justified.").

5,1 and 8,1, strongly suggest that the *W1* scribe was attempting – with mixed success – to redact a mixed-mode exemplar like *F* and *Ma* completely into mode 1. He appears to have been particularly challenged by the hocket sections in these two caudae, as these show the most serious errors. Such a detail could imply a certain lack of familiarity with this piece. The claim for scribal redaction of *W1* is further supported by the observation that its final cauda (in mode 1 in all the conductus sources) evinces a much lesser degree of corruption than the other hocketing caudae. In this edition the problematic caudae of lines 5,1 and 8,1 from *W1* are presented in alternative literal transcriptions following the complete *W1* version so that their variants with *F* and the edition of the *W1* redaction may be assessed. Shifts in mode in the transcription from *F* are signaled above the system for clarity. The occasional mode-2 ligations in *W1* are accommodated here to mode 1, since that was the apparent objective of the scribe. The use of single versus double strokes in the transmission in *Ma* (also seen in the opening caudae in *F* and *W1*) has influenced the choice of the length of rests throughout much of this transcription (further details on this usage appear in the notes below).
Signatures: *W1* and *Ma* open with *b-flat* sigs in both T and D; these are in force up to the start of the cauda beginning line 5,1. At this point *W1,* like *F,* cancels the accidentals with sig quads on *b (b-naturals)* in both T and D, while *Ma* begins a new system with no signatures in either voice. No further sigs appear in *Ma* or *F,* whereas *W1* restores a *b-flat* sig following the third rest in the D (at L8) during the cauda at line 5,1; this flat sig remains in force on several systems throughout the rest of the piece, although it does not seem particularly applicable or even justifiable, given the frequent simultaneous occurrences of *b*'s in both T and D throughout the rest of the piece. Hence, this particular sig has been omitted from the W1 transcription and its presence indicated by a comment in the score. **Opening cauda:** TD: F,W1: the use here of double strokes to indicate TL rests is consistently applied in *F* and *Ma;* in *W1* they occur when required in the D (with the exception of the penultimate phrase), but not consistently in the T (to illustrate, the disposition of both types of strokes throughout the opening cauda is shown above the staves in the *W1* transcription). As a result I have chosen not to lengthen (to a TL each) the note and rest values that conclude this cauda, so that they reflect the use of the single stroke (in the D) or lack of a stroke (in the T) at this point in *Ma.* T: W1: the stroke after *c* at L11 (in the third T phrase) is obscured by the following si=*b,* as if in error; this is omitted in the transcription. D: W1: the pitches of the om phrase in the middle of the cauda from L41-L45 come from *F* and *Ma,* with a conjectural mode-1 ligation given in dashed brackets to correspond to what the *W1* scribe might conceivably have entered at this point. D: W1: in the penultimate phrase of the cauda, at L56-L57, the 1 of the 3li=*g*↓*c*↑*f* is written as *e,* corrected after *F,Ma.* **Cauda after line 2:** D: W1: the omitted *c* at the start of the third phrase at L9 is supplied from *F,Ma.* **Cauda after line 4:** D: W1: the final *a* at L4 of the first phrase is written as *g;* from *F,Ma.* **Cauda for line 5,1:** TD: F,W1,Ma: for a description of the changes in sigs that appear prior to this cauda, see the separate discussion above. TD: W1: the omitted strokes and faulty note readings in this cauda are corrected via *F* and *Ma;* for the questionable reading from *W1,* see the literal version of the cauda that follows the *F* transcription. TD: Ma: the double strokes that appear here throughout this cauda propose the TL rests adopted here. T: F: rest stroke at the end of the first T phrase at L8 om, from *W1,Ma.* D: W1: on the decision to omit the apparently unnecessary *b-flat* sig in the transcription from this source, see the discussion of signatures above. D: W1: the 1 of the 3li=*bde* following the system change and sig is written *a* rather than *b,* likely due to lack of space prompted by the preceding *b-flat* sig. **Line 6,1:** T: W1: note the highly unusual presence of divisi voices here, providing an added (or optional) lower line not seen in *F* or *Ma.* This could indicate an alternative melody for the two syllables here, or perhaps imply a splitting of lines if the work were sung with more than one performer on the T. **Caudae for lines 7,4 and 8,1:** TD: F: the use of double strokes in *Ma* has prompted the use of most of the TL rests at these points. **Cauda for line 8,1**; TD: W1: as with the cauda of line 5,1, the faulty *W1* version of this melisma has been corrected with recourse to *F* and *Ma,* with the few occurrences of mode-2 ligation in *W1* rendered trochaically here; two different attempts to make sense of the *W1* reading as it stands are given at the end of the transcription, where its variants with *F* and the corrections to the edited version of *W1* may be compared. T: F: there is a stroke in this cauda just after the *d* in the final T phrase at L20 that appears to be partially erased ; it occurs only in this source and is omitted in the transcription. **Final cauda (at line 8,4):** TD: W1: in contrast to the corrupted versions of the

caudae at lines 5,1 and 8,1, the closing cauda is notably free from error (the minor omissions in the *W1* T near its start and close at L12 and L65-L66 have been supplied by *F* and *Ma*). This feature further suggests that the *W1* redaction of this piece was rearranged from a mixed-mode version like those in *F* and *Ma;* see the discussion above under "Rhythm." D: W1: the 2liP=*ab* in the fourth phrase in this voice at L18-L19 is smudged, reading clarified by *F,Ma.* TD: F,W1: the two closely related hocket sections in this cauda are rendered here in shorter values, in contrast to the emphasis on TLs in the previous hocketing sections of this piece. Although the hockets in the closing cauda may also be rendered in extended values, *Ma*'s use of single (rather than double) strokes at this point has influenced the adopted reading of the hocket, as well as most of the other rests in this final melisma.

GAUDE PRESUL IN DOMINO
Conductus H3/137

F, f. 326r (7,65)

I

D [Gau -

T Gau -

a a'

| Mode 2

| Mode 2

[Gau] - de pre - sul in do - b

[Gau] - de pre - sul in do -

b' b"

- mi - no mul - ti - pli -
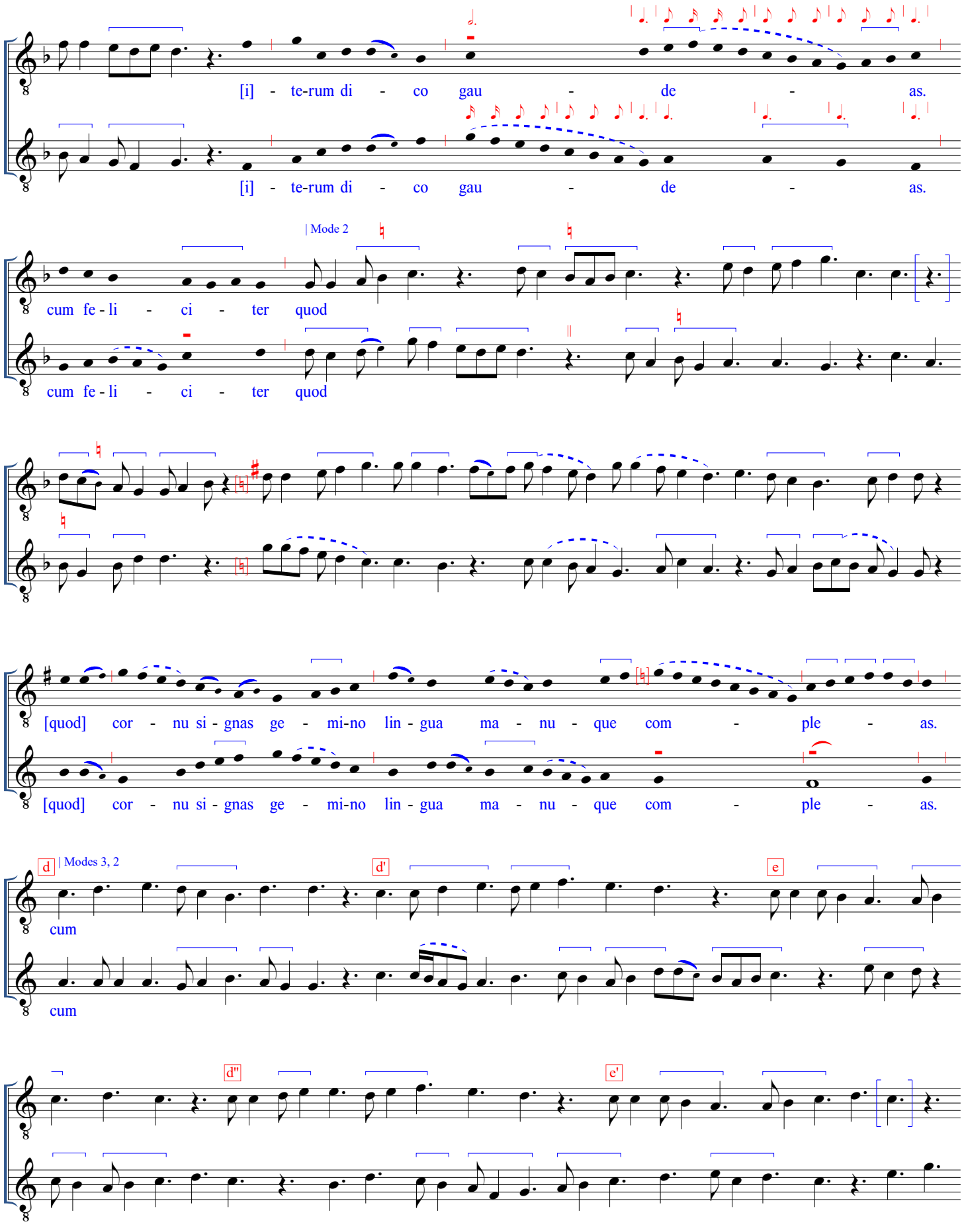
- mi - no mul - ti - pli -
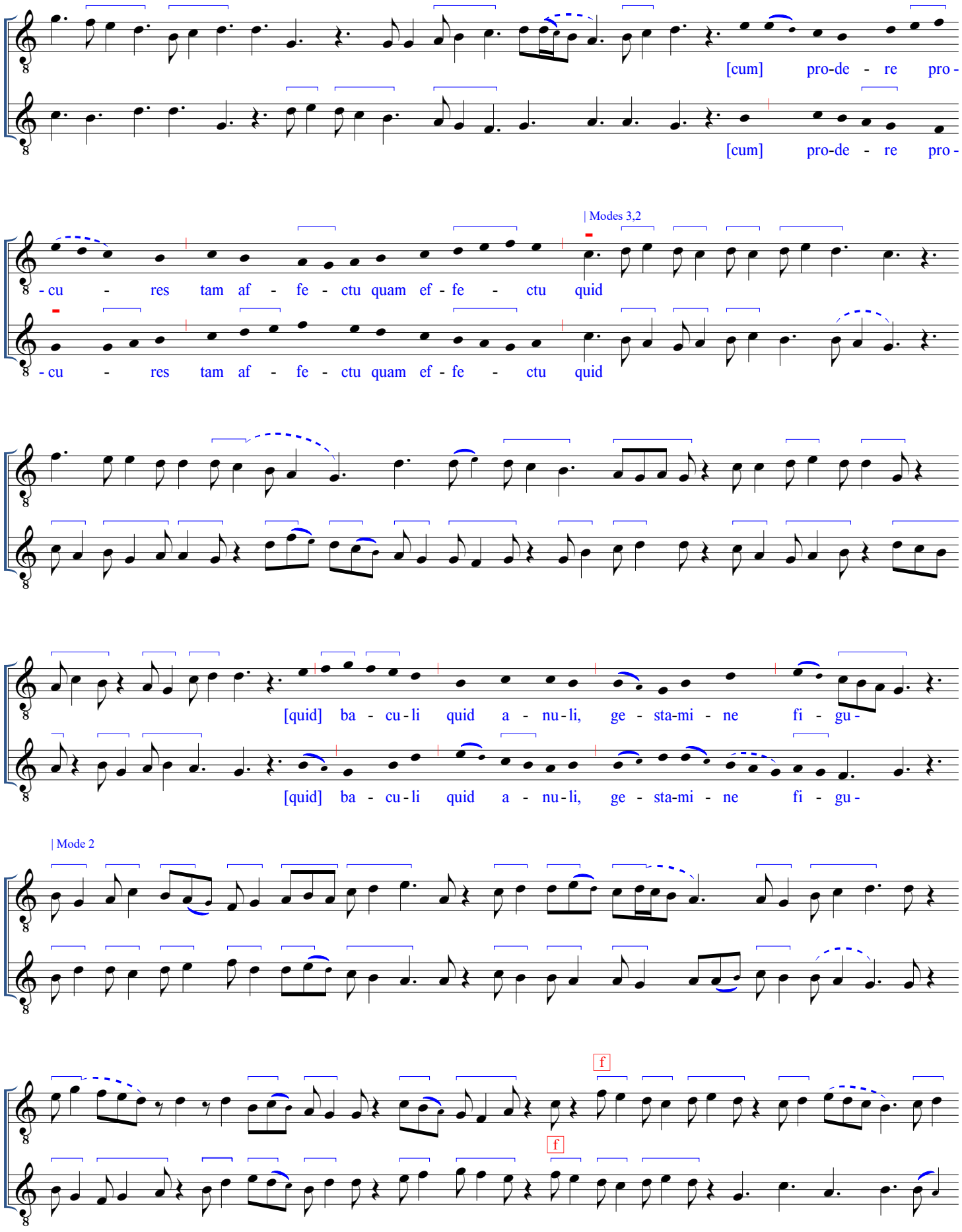
| Mode 3
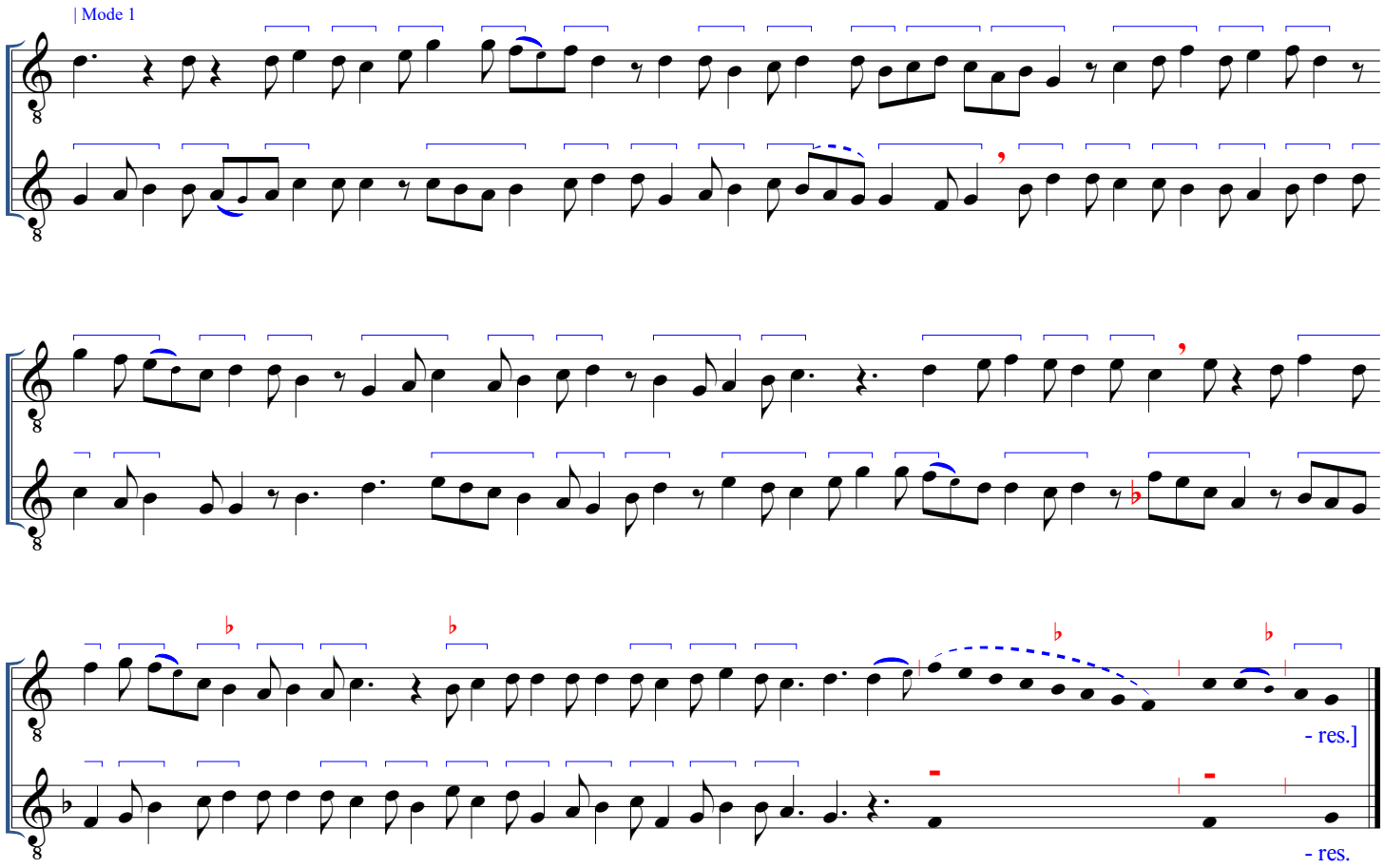
- ci - - ter. i -

c c'

- ci - - ter. i -


[i] - te-rum di - co gau - de - as.
[i] - te-rum di - co gau - de - as.
| Mode 2
cum fe - li - ci - ter quod
cum fe - li - ci - ter quod
[quod] cor - nu si - gnas ge - mi-no lin - gua ma - nu - que com - ple - as.
[quod] cor - nu si - gnas ge - mi-no lin - gua ma - nu - que com - ple - as.
d
| Modes 3, 2
d'
e
cum
cum
d''
e'


[cum] pro-de - re pro -
[cum] pro-de - re pro -
| Modes 3,2
- cu - res tam af - fe - ctu quam ef - fe - ctu quid
- cu - res tam af - fe - ctu quam ef - fe - ctu quid
[quid] ba - cu - li quid a - nu - li, ge - sta-mi - ne fi - gu -
[quid] ba - cu - li quid a - nu - li, ge - sta-mi - ne fi - gu -
| Mode 2
f
f


| Mode 1
- res.]
- res.

GAUDE PRESUL IN DOMINO

Conductus (H3/137)

F, f. 326r (7,65)

I Gaude, presul, in domino, multipliciter!
Iterum, dico, gaudeas, cum feliciter
quod cornu signas gemino, lingua manuque compleas,
cum prodere procures, tam affectu, quam effectu,
quid baculi, quid anuli, gestamine figures.

Rejoice, bishop, in the Lord, over and over again!
Again, I say, you should rejoice, since what you happily
signify by the twin horns [of your authority], you fulfill by word and deed,
when – not only by will but by action – you take care to deliver on
whatever you may pronounce, whether it be through the trappings of staff or ring.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 65, f. 326r: a2; Strophe I, complete, though unlike nearly all of the other single-stanza works so far in *F*-7, there is no allotment of space here that might suggest the existence of additional strophes.[1] This and the following work, *Consequens antecedente* (H2/68), are also adjacent in *W1,* but in reverse order; while *Gaude presul* and the two pieces that immediately precede it are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 22, f. 111v (102v): a2; Strophe I, complete, with the final syllable never supplied at the end of the concluding cauda. The guide letter for the undecorated opening initial is visible rather far to the left of its correspondent. The previous work, *Consequens antecedente* (H2/68), is also found together with *Gaude presul* in *F,* but in reverse order.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 14, f. 90v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with the opening initial never entered in the space provided for it at the beginning of the top system of the leaf. This piece and the two immediately preceding it are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.*

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Possible addressee:** Since this poem importunes a bishop in its opening lines,[2] if one assumes it to be an artistic product of Paris and intended for a specific individual, the following holders of the Parisian cathedral see from the late twelfth to the mid thirteenth century would most likely be the recipient: Maurice de Sully (reg. 1160–1196), Odo de Sully (1196–1208), Peter of Nemours (1208–1220), William of Seignelay (1220-1223), Barthélmy of Chartres (1224-1227), William of Auvergne (1228-1249), Walter of

[1]On the regular provision of leaving empty space in MS *F* for additional strophes in the case of the strophic or single-stanza pieces within the earlier sections of *F*-7, see the source report on this MS for *Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/312 at *F*-7,52), as well as for *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1 at *F*-7,48).

[2]For a consideration of conductus and motets in MS *F* that address the various circumstances of bishops, see 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 XIIIe siècle,* Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); see especially pp. 275-282.

Château-Thierry (June to 23 September 1249). Bishops from other localities in this time frame, of course, are also in the running. Furthermore, the fairly advanced style of some of the elements of this conductus, in view of its use of modes 2 and 3, frequent dovetailing of phrases as well as apparent hocket, might argue for a later individual. Note also that a conductus with a text praising a bishop appears also in *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336), just two pieces later in *F* at *F*-7,67. **Textual notes: 1-3:** see Philippians, 4:4: "Gaudete in domino semper; iterum, dico, gaudete" ("Rejoice in the Lord always; again, I say, rejoice."). **5:** the twin horns are symbols of humility and altruism, allied with ruling power, as suggested by the classical reference cited below. The conceit of "two-ness" raised here is carried out in the complementary binary constructions that fill the poem: "rejoice/rejoice again," "word/deed," "will/action," "staff/ring." For the likely direct reference for line 5, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 15,611: "Exhibuit gemino praesignia tempora cornu." ("[Cipus] showed his temples, remarkable with their twin horns."). This allusion is drawn from the story of Genucius Cipus (in Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 15,565-621), who gave up the opportunity to become king of Rome and sought self-exile for the good of his people. The event is also recounted in Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX,* 5,6,3; Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis,* 11,123; and by Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BCE) in the remains of his *De lingua latina,* 5,163. Cipus, a Roman praetor, found horns unaccountably growing out of his head one day after exiting the city. He made offerings to the gods in search of an explanation. An Etruscan seer read the entrails of a sacrificed sheep and prophesied that the horns were a sign that Cipus would become king of then republican Rome upon entering the city, but in so doing would enslave its occupants. Cipus, not wishing to subjugate the populace, hid his horns with a laurel wreath, gathered the inhabitants together outside the city walls, and related the warnings of the prophecy – at first without revealing his role in the matter. When he then uncovered his horns, the people were grateful for his generosity toward them and rewarded him with as much land as he could plow with two oxen from sunrise to sunset. Representations of his miraculous horns were reportedly engraved upon the bronze gateposts of the ancient Porta Raducsulana of Rome in commemoration of the event. The story is frequently interpreted as an allegory, subversive or otherwise, of the rise of either Julius Caesar or Augustus. **6,1-2:** literally "by tongue and hand." **9-10:** the bishop's rod, or crozier, and ring symbolize, respectively, his pastoral responsibility for the care of his flock and his figural marriage to the church and resulting fidelity to his congregation.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **Versification:** Lines 8 and 9 feature internal rhyme and thus could rightfully be considered as pairs of distinct 4pp verses. Nevertheless, frequency of 8-syllable lines throughout the majority of the entire poem argues for subsuming these into single verses. **MUSIC: Caudae:** Most of the caudae in this piece favor the iambic rhythms of modes 2 and 3, a view supported by the readings of all the extant sources. The main exceptions occur at the first half of the opening and latter half of the closing melismas, in which all sources imply mode 1. The second portion of the opening cauda (beginning at L42), transcribed here in mode 2, conceivably could be rendered in an "upbeat" form of the first mode and thus continue in the same vein in which it starts, but clear indications later on in this piece for mode-2 rhythms led to the choices adopted here. **Opening cauda:** D: F: a *b-flat* sig is om until much later in this melisma (at L46), the proposed ficta flats come from *W1,Ma.* **Line 3,1:** TD: F: the *a/g* seventh on the second syllable of "[i]te[rum]" is also vouched for by *W1,Ma,* although *W1* writes the pitches for this entire word 3 higher prior to a clef change before line 3,2 ("dico") that sets things aright. **Cauda at line 5,1:** TD: F: *b-naturals* are proposed as well for the opening segment of the melisma on "quod [cornu]," because this cauda is preceded by explicit sig quads on *b* in *W1,* whereas *Ma* curtails its flat sigs slightly earlier with a system change that starts at line 4,1 ("cum [feliciter]"). D: W1: no sig quad on *f* throughout the entire conductus; *Ma* places the sig quad as does *F,* but curtails it with a system change 12L later. **Cauda at line 7,1:** T: F: there is a partially erased stroke after the penultimate note *d* before the end of the fifth phrase in the T (at L36), not seen in *W1,Ma;* it is omitted here. D: F: the omitted *c* approximately two-thirds of the way through this cauda on "cum [prodere]" (at L39) is supplied from *W1,Ma.* **Cauda at line 9,1:** D: F: at its very beginning, an el L=*c* abuts the following 2li=*de;* the *c* has an el tail to help clarify the intended si,2li opening of this melisma on "quid [baculi]," as verified by *W1,Ma.* The repeated D notes at L10, near the start of this cauda's second phrase, allow for various rhythmical

realizations of this portion, as do other repeated note series throughout this work. **Final cauda (at line 10,2):** As noted above. there is an apparent change of rhythmic mode from iambic 2 to trochaic 1 about halfway through this closing melisma (at L39). Yet the short hocket passages both before and right after the change, as well as the different ways one might render strokes or rests, means that there are some ambiguities in terms of the rhythmical realization of this segment of the cauda; cf. the versions in Anderson, *NDRC,* 3: 57-58; and Tischler, *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music,* 2:VII, 65-6-7.[3]

[3]Hans Tischler, ed., *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music: the 150 Two-part Conductus in the Notre-Dame Manuscripts,* 2vols., Collected Works, no. 24 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2005).

CONSEQUENS ANTECEDENTE
Conductus: H2/68

F, f. 327r (7,66)

I

D [Con -

T Con -

(a) [Con] - se - quens an - te -

[Con] - se - quens an - te -

b

- ce - den - te de -

- ce - den - te de -

[de] - stru - cto de - stru - i - tur be - ne

c
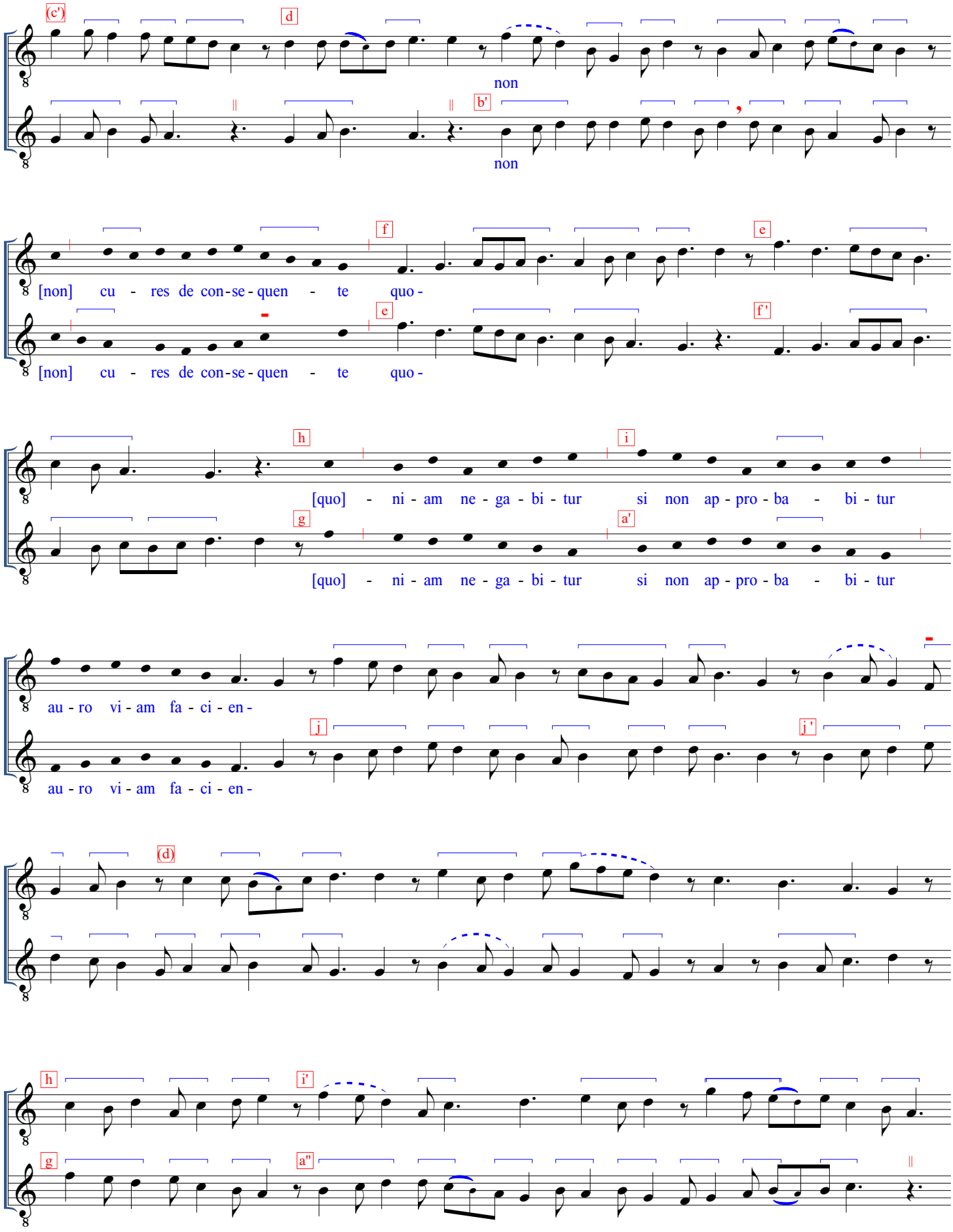
[de] - stru - cto de - stru - i - tur be - ne
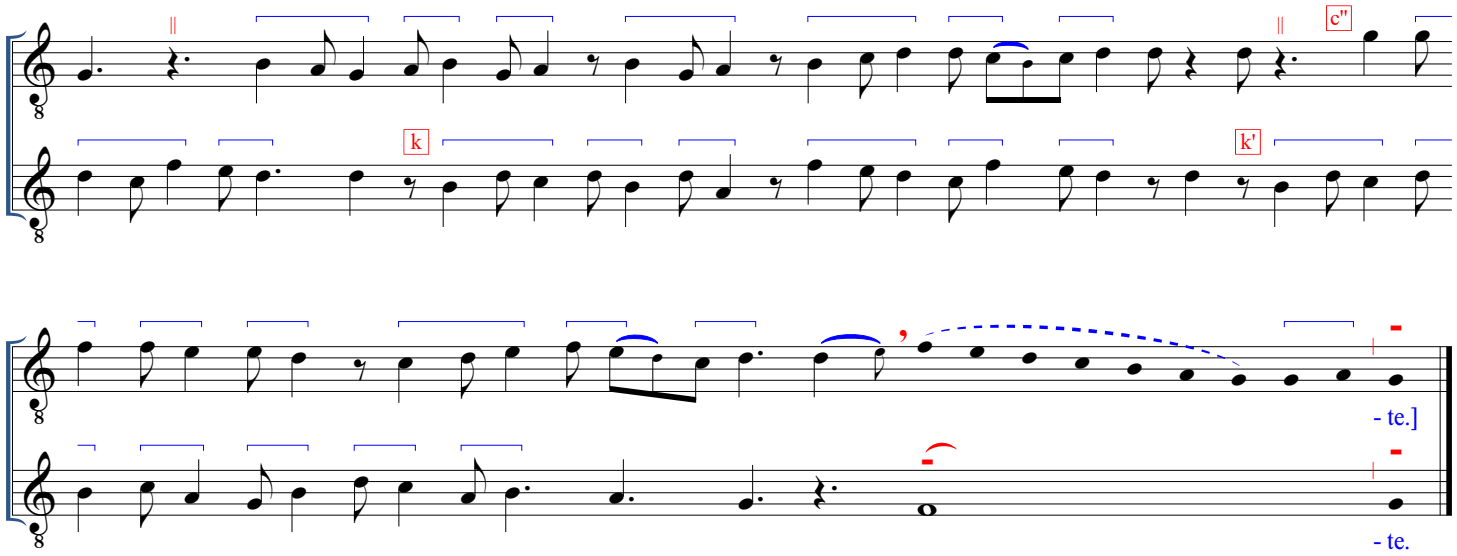
nam - que se - qui - tur ne - mi - ne con - tra - di - cen - te quod

nam - que se - qui - tur ne - mi - ne con - tra - di - cen - te quod

[quod] si da - bis da - bi - tur. sed si pri - mum tol - li - tur

[quod] si da - bis da - bi - tur. sed si pri - mum tol - li - tur


(c')
d
non
b'
non
f
e
[non] cu - res de con-se-quen - te quo-
e
f'
[non] cu - res de con-se-quen - te quo-
h
i
[quo] - ni - am ne - ga - bi - tur si non ap - pro - ba - bi - tur
g
a'
[quo] - ni - am ne - ga - bi - tur si non ap - pro - ba - bi - tur
au - ro vi - am fa - ci - en -
j
j'
au - ro vi - am fa - ci - en -
(d)
h
i'
g
a"


c''
k
k'
- te.]
- te.

CONSEQUENS ANTECEDENTE

Conductus (H2/68)

F, f. 327r (7,66)

I	Consequens, antecedente	With the destruction of the antecedent,
	destructo, destruitur.	the consequent is destroyed.
	Bene namque sequitur,	For surely it follows,
	nemine contradicente,	and none would deny,
	quod si dabis, dabitur.	that if you give, it will be given.
	Sed si primum tollitur,	But if the first part is removed,
	non cures de consequente,	you needn't worry about what follows,
	quoniam negabitur,	since it will be refused,
	si non approbabitur	unless it be made good
	auro viam faciente.	by paving the way with gold.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 66, f. 327r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with the typical provision of staff-free space at the end of the last system for possible additional strophes, although none exist in any extant source. This and the previous work, *Gaude presul in domino* (H3/137), are also together in *W1,* but in reverse order.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 21, f. 111r (102r): a2; Strophe I, complete, with the guide letter for the opening initial visible and placed deep into the left margin. This and the following work, *Gaude presul in domino* (H3/137), also appear together in *F,* but in reverse order.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 20, f. 101r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with the opening initial never entered in the space provided for it at beginning of the system, and with the final syllable of the poem entered flush with the right margin of the writing block, well after the attendant music above it has concluded. This is the last conductus to be transmitted in this particular fascicle; it is succeeded by eight motets, the last of which is incomplete, prior to a loss of an unknown number of folios.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** The poem is attributed to Phillip the Chancellor by Guido Maria Dreves and Peter Dronke (see *AH,* 20:31, and "Lyrical Compositions," 591, respectively, for the ascriptions).[1] **Textual notes: 1-2:** The opening two lines invoke the language of a formal logical proposition. Yet the idea that, in a conditional statement, if the first premise is shown to be false, the second one also always becomes false, is actually a logical fallacy, since it does not always apply that denying the antecedent falsifies the consequent statement. In this poem, the poet seems to indicate (quite possibly ironically) that the case *does* work in relation to the biblical reference in line 5, for here "if you do *not* give, it will *not* be given" always applies for the case in point, as – in the poet's view – one never does receive anything unless through bribery. **5:** cf. Luke, 6:38: "date, et dabitur vobis; mensuram bonam confersam et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum.
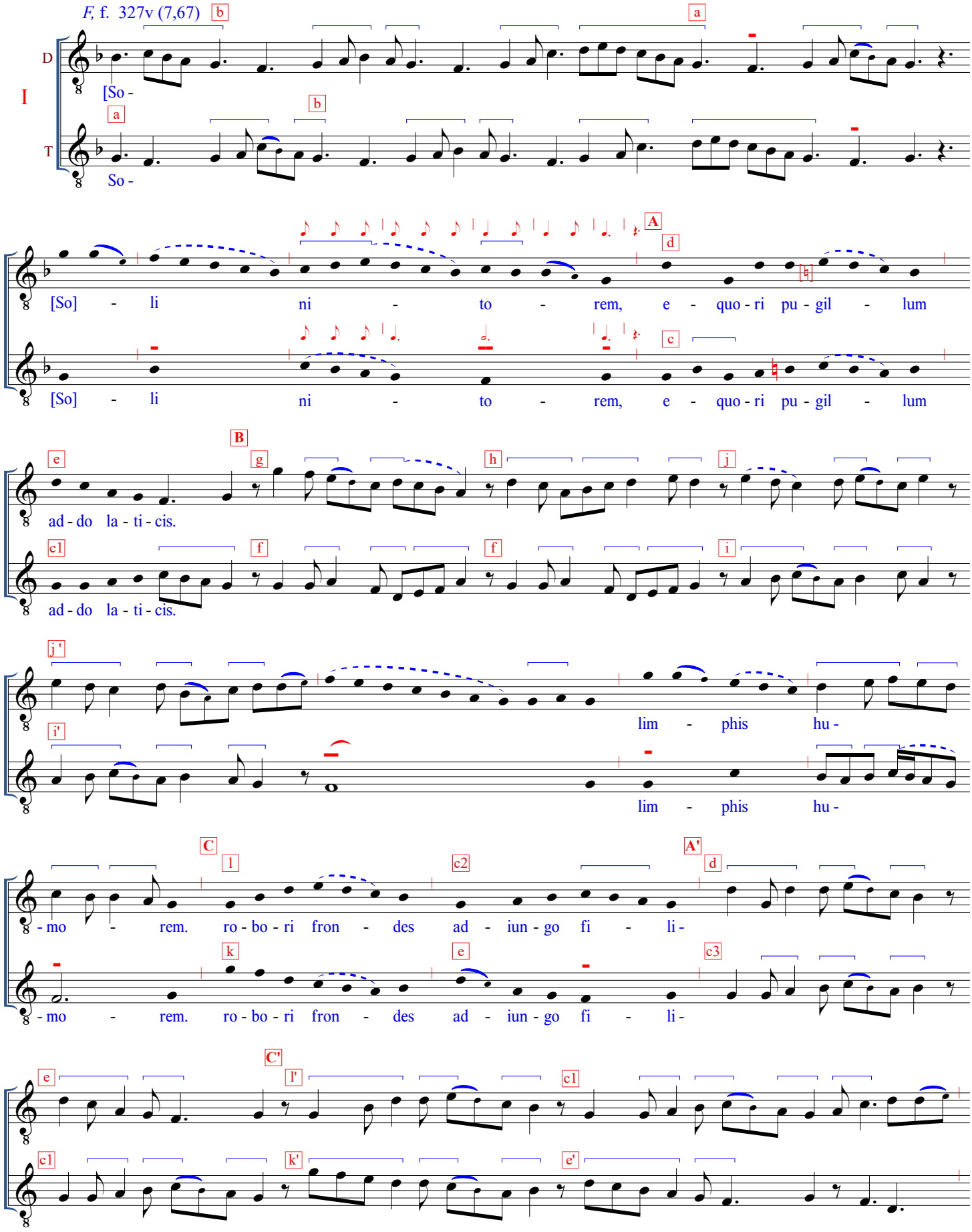
[1] *Analecta hymnica medii aevi,* vol. 20: *Cantiones et Muteti: Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters,* pt 1: *Cantiones Natalitiae, Partheniae,* Guido Maria Dreves, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895). Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.
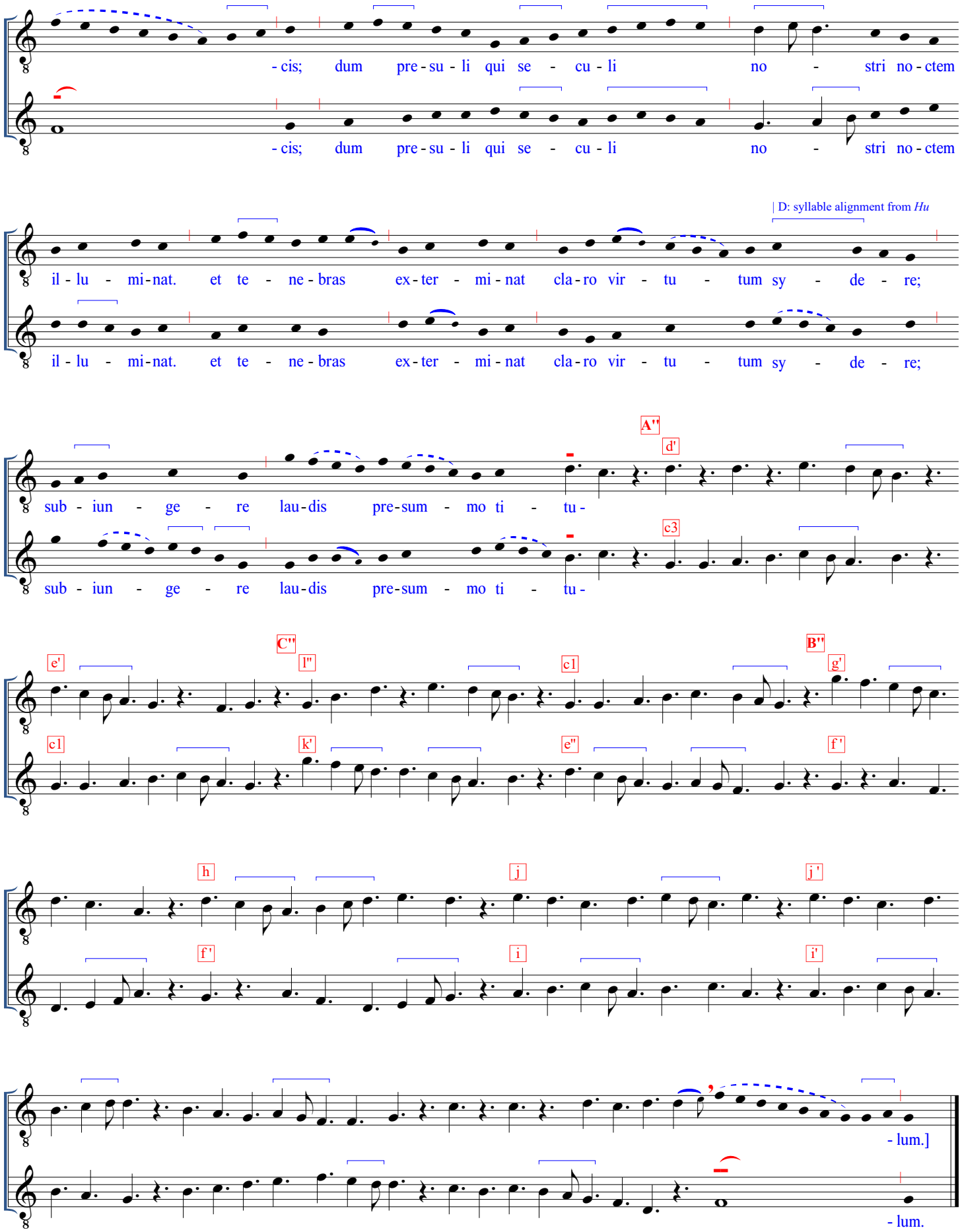
Eadem quippe mensura qua mensi fueritis remetietur vobis" ("Give, and it will be given to you. A good measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over, they will give into your lap. In fact, with the same measure you shall distribute, it will be distributed back to you.").

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** TD of "[quo]niam negabitur / si non approbabitur" (lines 8-9) = **1a.** TD of the internal paired phrases (from L27-L34) of the final cauda on "[faci]en[te]" (line 10). These are marked as "g," "h," "a'," "i," and their variants in the score; the ends of the second D phrases have very minor differences between them, and the corresponding phrase in the T of the cauda continues on for five more Longs past the matching material. **Opening cauda:** D: W1,Ma: the final 3li figure is written *ecd;* the adopted *dcd* (with implied extension of the penultimate note in the T) is from *F.* **Line 1,2:** D: F: si *c* om over the second syllable of "[an]te[cedente]," supplied from *W1; Ma* has the same as *W1* with an additional following stroke. **Final cauda:** T: F: just after the double stroke (||) in this voice near the middle of the cauda at L40, the 1 of the 3li=*dcf* that opens the phrase looks like an *e; d* confirmed by *W1,Ma.* T: F: note the close correspondence of the repeated phrases near the closing part of the cauda (beginning at L45, marked in the score as "k" and "k' ") with the D voice of the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70) in its phrases over lines 8 ("sola sedet civitas") and 10 ("plorat dotes perditas"), as well as its slightly varied occurrence in line 6 ("gens evertit extera"). TD: F: the likelihood of hocket, implied by the repeated *d* notes and their accompanying rests in both voices that precede the second double stroke (||) in the D at L54 of the cauda, is further suggested by the lack of a similar || in the T (where one would be expected if the phrase were not rendered in hocket), and that the 2li, si'si'=*cd,d'd'* at this point in the D sounds better to my ear if these notes are hocketed, as otherwise they would rather ineffectually meld together with the unison *d*'s in the T at this point.

SOLI NITOREM EQUORI

Conductus (J15/336)




-cis; dum pre-su-li qui se-cu-li no-stri no-ctem
-cis; dum pre-su-li qui se-cu-li no-stri no-ctem
| D: syllable alignment from *Hu*
il-lu-mi-nat. et te-ne-bras ex-ter-mi-nat cla-ro vir-tu-tum sy-de-re;
il-lu-mi-nat. et te-ne-bras ex-ter-mi-nat cla-ro vir-tu-tum sy-de-re;
A''
d'
sub-iun-ge-re lau-dis pre-sum-mo ti-tu-
c3
sub-iun-ge-re lau-dis pre-sum-mo ti-tu-
C''
l''
c1
B''
g'
e'
c1
k'
e''
f'
h
j
j'
f'
i
i'
- lum.]
- lum.

SOLI NITOREM EQUORI

Conductus (J15/336)

F, f. 327v (7,67)

I	Soli nitorem, equori		To the sun I add a spark;
	pugillum addo laticis,		to the sea, a handful of water;
	limphis humorem. Robori		to the rivers, a drop. To the oak
	frondes adiungo filicis,		I graft the leaves of a fern,
	dum presuli qui seculi	5	when I presume to affix
	nostri noctem illuminat		a token of praise
	et tenebras exterminat,		to the bishop who brightens
	claro virtutum sydere,		the night and effaces the shadows
	subiungere		of our age with the shining
	laudis presummo titulum.	10	star of his merits.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 67, f. 327v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with utterly empty space provided within the writing block after the last system, ideal for accommodating additional strophes (a customary occurrence for single-stanza works in *F*-7), but no further text survives in any source. Unaccountably, the entire two-staff system that follows after the conclusion of this piece in *F* remains blank. Also compelling is the fact that this and the next item in *F*-7, *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66), also appear together in *Hu* (the only other concordant source for either work) but in reverse order.[1] In terms of transmission patterns, *Soli nitorem* is the first composition in *F*-7 since the unique *In novas fert animus formas* (J14/177), five pieces back at *F*-7,62, that is not also disseminated in both *W1* or *Ma.* *Soli nitorem* additionally inaugurates a series of seven pieces (*F*-7,67-73) that show very few – if any – sources beyond *F,*[2] a feature that applies as well to two of the following three works,[3] until the ostensibly major structural division within the fascicle implied by the large historiated initial that opens *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85) at *F*-7,77, when all the four main manuscripts *(F, W1, W2, Ma),* among others, are again represented.

Hu, no. 149, fol.138r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with the first two words of line 5 entered as catchwords for the next leaf at the bottom of f. 138v, and the final letter of the text repeated at the end of the closing cauda on f. 139v; in mensural notation throughout. This piece and *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66) are contiguous in *F* and *Hu,* but with their order reversed; cf. the above source report on *F.*

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

---

[1]An analogous situation applies for the previous two pieces in *F*-7, *Gaude presul in domino* (H43/137) and *Consequens antecedente* (H2/68), which are contiguous in both *F* and *W1,* but again with their order reversed.

[2]*Alma redemptoris mater* (I32/13 – at *F*-7,69) and Hac *in die rege nato* (I30/150 – *F*-7,73) are individually transmitted outside of *F* only in *Ma* and *W1,* respectively. The three additional pieces, outside of *Soli nitorem* and *Columbe simplicitas,* are *Exultemus socii* (J17/115), *Pia mater gracie* (J18/268), and *Celorum porta* (J19/55), ordered consecutively from *F*-7,70-72.

[3]*Nulli beneficium* (H7/229), at *F*-7,74, is the exceptional outlier here, extant in six sources: *F, W1, W2,* the *Carmina burana* MS *(D-Mbs Clm. 4660), Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146),* and *OxAdd (GB-Ob Add. A .44)*. The remaining items are the two unica *Manna mentis dat refectionem* (J20/204 – *F*-7,75) and *Superne lux glorie* (J21/341 – *F*-7,76)

***Notes on the Text*: Possible addressee:** It is not known for which bishop this poem may have been written. If the contender was a Parisian bishop, the most likely candidates would be Maurice de Sully (reg. 1160–1196), Odo de Sully (1196–1208), Peter of Nemours (1208–1220), William of Seignelay (1220-1223), Barthélmy of Chartres (1224-1227), William of Auvergne (1228-1249), and Walter of Château-Thierry (June to 23 September 1249). Bishops from other localities in this time frame, of course, are also in the running.[4] The complex musical style of this polyphonic piece, though, would appear to argue against composition before ca. 1200.[5] Note also that another conductus with a text praising a bishop appears in *Gaude presul in domino* (H3/137), just two pieces earlier at *F*-7,65. **Versification:** Line 5 features internal rhyme and thus could rightfully be considered as a pairs of distinct 4pp verses. Nevertheless, the frequency of 8pp lines throughout the poem argues for subsuming these into a single verse. **Textual notes: 6-7:** some conceivable biblical allusions for this passage are: Job, 17:12,[6] and Psalm 17:29.[7] **10:** interestingly, there is no corresponding rhyme for the final poetic line.

***Observations and Variants:* TEXT:** no variants. **10,2:** an alternative spelling of "presumo." **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity and other musical correspondences:** *Soli nitorem* is notable for featuring some of the most extensive and exact examples of identity between various caudae and texted portions within the Parisian conductus repertory, complicated on occasion by modal transmutation and voice exchange. The correspondences (both large and small) are marked in the score with both capital and lower case letters and listed by number as follows:

1. TD of "equori / pugillum addo laticis" (lines 1-2) – marked "**A**" in score):
= **1a.** TD of phrases 1 and 2 of cauda on "[fi]li[cis]" (line 4) – in fast rhythms – "**A'** " in score).
= **1b.** TD of phrases 1 and 2 of cauda on "[ti]tu[lum]" (line 10) – in slow rhythms – "**A''** " in score).

2. TD of "robori frondes adiungo fili-[cis]" (lines 3-4) –"**C**" in score:
= **2a.** TD of phrases 3 and 4 of cauda on "[fi]li[cis]" (line 4) – in fast rhythms – "**C'** " in score.
= **2b.** TD of phrases 3 and 4 of cauda on "[ti]tu[lum]" (line 10) – in slow rhythms – "**C''** " in score.
= **2c.** Moreover, the 2nd and 4th phrases of the caudae on "[fi]li[cis]" and "[ti]tu[lum]" = each other through voice exchange and thus also = both "addo laticis" and "adiungo fili[cis] – marked "**c**," "**e**," and their variants.

3. All this is in addition to:
3a. the appearance of an extended canon, 12L in length, in the opening cauda on "So[li]" (line 1), beginning in the D with L3 – marked "**b**" in score;
3b. the use of the initial 5L motive in the T (2si,3liP,2li=*g,f,gac*P*b,ag*), to preface the canonic passage in the T and close it in the D – marked "**a**" in score;
3c. and the fact that the final cauda on "[presumo ti]tu[lum]" (line 10) is made up almost wholly of earlier cauda material[8] (some of it also occurring in *cum littera* passages) in a different order of presentation from

---

[4]For a consideration of conductus in MS *F* that address the various circumstances of bishops, see 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 XIIIe siècle,* Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); see especially pp. 275-282.

[5]See Thomas B. Payne "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151, at 129-141.

[6]Job, 17:12: "Noctem verterunt in diem, et rursum post tenebras spero lucem" ("They have turned night into day, and after darkness I hope for light again.").

[7]Psalm 17:29: "Quoniam tu illuminas lucernam meam, Domine; Deus meus, illumina tenebras meas" ("For you light my lamp, O Lord: O my God enlighten my darkness.").

[8]The 16L that precede the final *punctus organi* is new.

its appearance earlier in the setting – these segments marked in the score as "**A**," "**C**," and "**B**" respectively, along with their variations.

3d. Lastly and notably, the final cauda is in extended rhythms in comparison to the previous quotations. This thus presents a challenge in using the evidence of syllabic/melismatic correspondences between caudae and *cum littera* sections to inform the rhythm of the latter.

For another piece with similarly wide-ranging relationships between *cum* and *sine littera* segments, see the three-part conductus *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370) (= *Mater patris et filia* – F34/207) at *F*-6,18. **Line 8,3:** D: F: the pitches of "sydere" ("sidere" in *Hu*) are re-aligned with this word's syllables based on the authority of *Hu,* which gives: L,2li cop,L =*c,ba,g.*

COLUMBE SIMPLICITAS

Conductus (J16/66)

*see note below

F, f. 328v (7,68)

I

D [Co -

T Co -

[Co]-lum-be sim-pli - ci-tas fel hor - ret ma - li - ti - e

[Co]-lum-be sim-pli - ci-tas fel hor - ret ma - li - ti - e

tur -

tur -

[tur]-tu - ris et ca - sti-tas

[tur]-tu - ris et ca - sti-tas
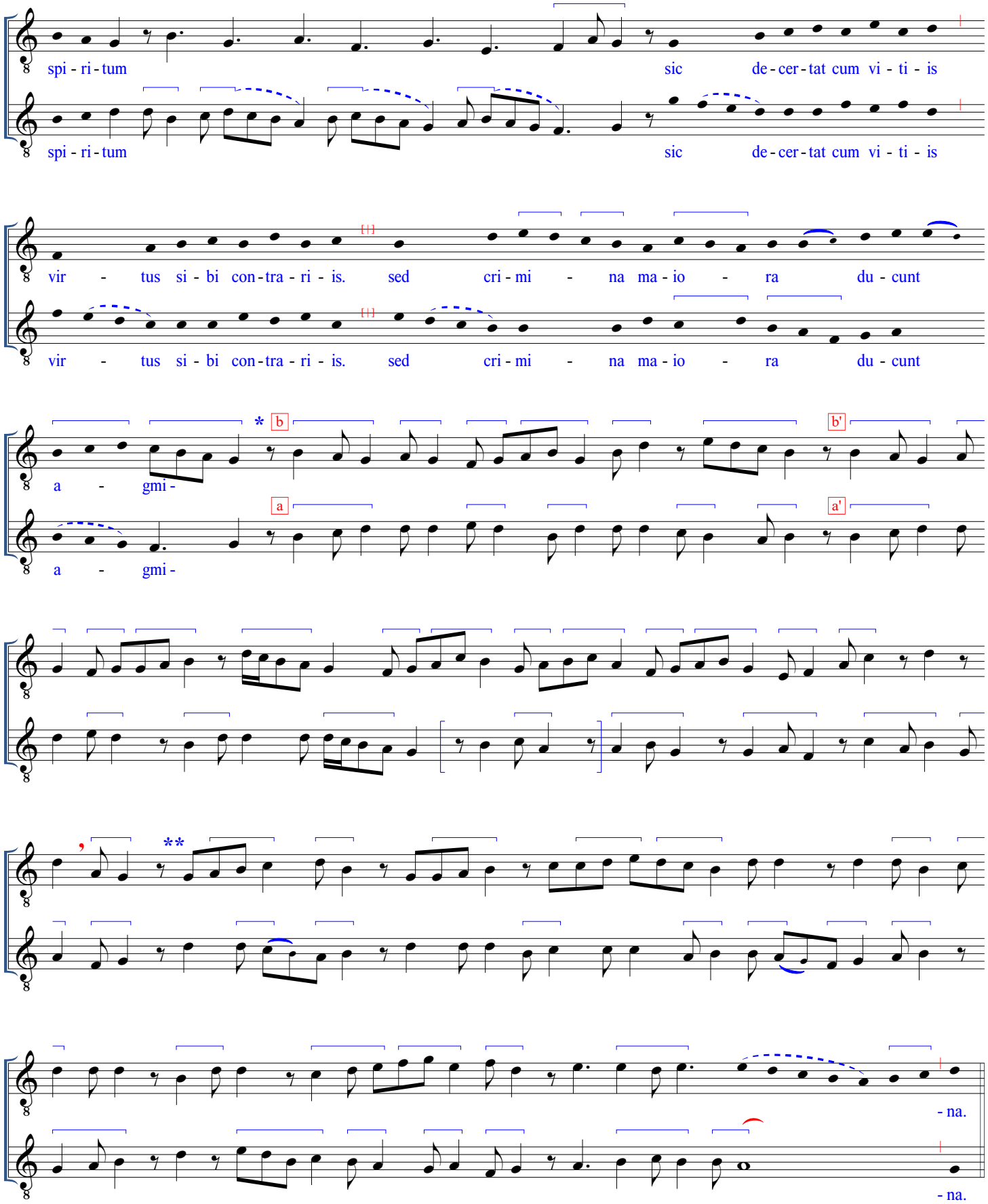
fe - to-rem lux-u - ri - e

fe - to-rem lux-u - ri - e

e - - ti - - am ve - ri-tas in-me-ri-tum men-da-cem o - dit

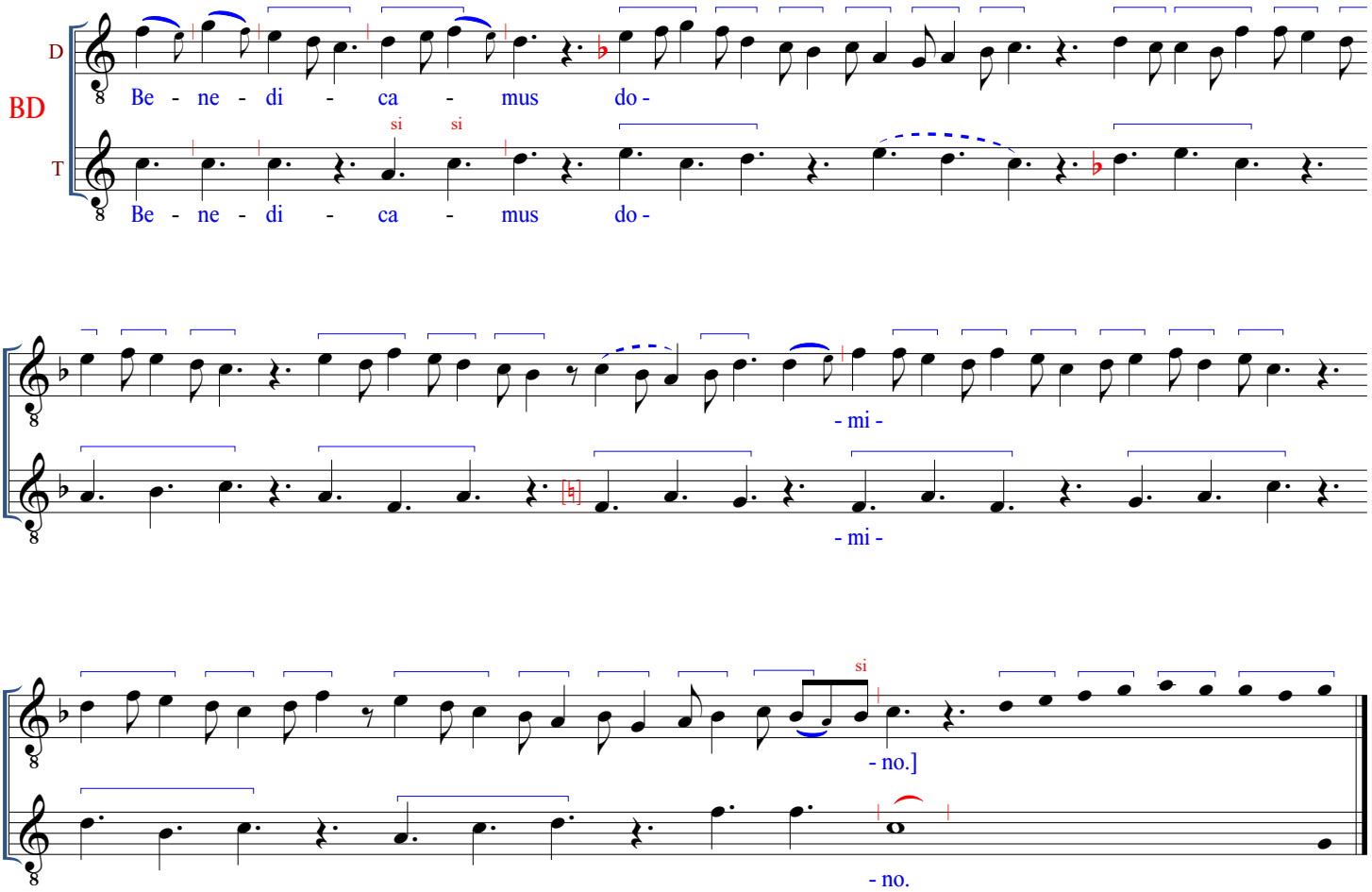
e - - ti - - am ve - ri-tas in-me-ri-tum men-da-cem o - dit

*Notice the prominence of melodic sequence in many of the caudae in this piece and throughout the *cum littera* setting of lines 8-11 ("sic decertat ... agmina").



*Cf. the start of the T and D melodies here with the opening of the conductus *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151)
**Cf. the T here, as well as the D beginning with the next phrase, with the closing portions of the conductus *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373) and the balada *A l'entrade del tens clar* (Pillet-Carstons no. 461-12)

[Optional BD clausula = "[Domi]Ne" from M3 *Sederunt. Adiuva* (*W1,* claus. 15 and *F* MLO) and motet *Qui servare puberem / Domine* (A6/285 – VdW 59/M3)]



COLUMBE SIMPLICITAS

Conductus (J16/66)

F, f. 328v (7,68)

I	Columbe simplicitas		The innocence of the dove
	fel horret malitie,		dreads the bitterness of malice,
	turturis et castitas		and the chastity of the turtle-dove
	fetorem luxurie.		fears the stench of lust.
	Etiam veritas	5	Likewise, truth hates
	inmeritum,		an undeserving,
	mendacem odit spiritum.		lying spirit
	Sic decertat cum vitiis		Thus virtue does battle with
	virtus sibi contrariis,		vices contrary to itself,
	sed crimina	10	but the sins
	maiora ducunt agmina.		command the greater forces.
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*		Let us bless the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 68, f. 328v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with *Benedicamus domino* (BD) conclusion. There is, as usual, empty space provided after the last system that could accommodate additional strophes that were never entered, but the single direct concordance, in *Hu,* also offers no further text; additionally, the entire previous two-staff system in *F* is unaccountably left unnotated following the prior conductus, *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336). *Columbe simplicitas* and *Soli nitorem* are contiguous both in *F* and *Hu,* but in reverse order. The *F* redaction of *Columbe* ends uniquely with a *Benedicamus domino* clausula, signaled in the MS by a slightly larger upper-case letter, and preserved independently, both as a clausula on a text drawn from a contrafact chant (M3) and as a motet (see below). The BD does not seem prompted by any ostensible features of the conductus poem or its music and does not appear in *Hu,* its only other source. See below, though, on the numerous indirect musical references within conductus, chanson, clausula, and motet, that may demonstrate several rather covert connections to the poetry of *Columbe.*

Hu, no. 148, fol.137r: a2, in mensural notation; Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for further text; this transmission lacks the BD conclusion that occurs in *F.* The subsequent work in *Hu, Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336), is also contiguous in *F* (the only other source to contain either piece), but in reverse order.

Text only: none.

Music only:

In the final cauda, on "[ag]mina," of *Columbe simplicitas,* the openings of the repeated gestures in both T and D that start this melisma recollect the initial phrase in the conductus *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), transmitted uniquely in:

F, fasc. 7, no. 119, f. 363v: a2; Strophe I, complete.

Later portions of this same final cauda (from L29-L47) are the same as the closing *cum littera* section of the uniquely preserved conductus a3 *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373) at lines 5,2-10 of Strophe I: "melodia gratia previa ... intra nos." In this concordance, the setting of the first word corresponds only to the T of *Columbe*, while both T and D match for the remainder:

F, fasc. 6, no. 29, f. 228v: a3; Strophes I-II complete.

The same musical parallelism applies to the ending section ("amorouse a la vi, a la vie ... entre nos") of the Franco-Occitan balada *A l'entrade del tens clar* (Pillet-Carstons no. 461-12),[1] a monophonic contrafact of *Veris ad imperia* that corresponds generally to the T of the applicable sections of the two conductus:

F-Pbn. fr. 20050 (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, francais 20050;* troubadour MS *X;* trouvére MS *U; Chansonnier St. Germain*), f. 82v (lxxix^{v}): a1 (=T). Some of the phrases in the latter part of this song occur at different levels of transposition when compared to the two conductus concordances in *F:* the opening of the chanson is pitched a fourth below, while subsequent segments appear a fifth lower.[2]

The *Benedicamus domino* conclusion of *Columbe simplicitas,* as preserved in *F* alone, is equivalent to a clausula on "[Domi]Ne" (no. 2)[3] from the gradual *Sederunt principes. Adiuva me* (M3), transmitted as follows:

W1, fasc. 5, no. 15, f. 50r (44r), system IV: a2; an independent setting of the clausula.

F, fasc. 4, no. 3, f. 101v, system II: a2; here it forms part of the MLO *organum duplum* setting of the M3 chant that begins on f. 101r.

The above clausula is likewise equivalent to the T and Mot of the strophic (and therefore unusual) motet *Qui servare puberem / [Domi]Ne* (A6/285 – VdW 59/M3).[4] In addition to the aural echoes between the T texts of *Benedicamus domino* and *Domine* that occur within the various versions, which in turn likely inspired the retexting of the M3 clausula in order that it might serve as a BD tag for *Columbe simplicitas,* it seems probable that the inclusion in *F* of the BD appendage was further prompted by the opening words of Strophe II of the motet *Qui servare:* "Sub columbe specie, vulpes latuit" ("Under the guise of a dove, a vixen lay hidden").[5] There are further nods to expressions from *Columbe simplicitas* in the remainder of this stanza (see the textual notes on line 2 below); the combination of these factors with the quotations from the chanson, the conductus a3, and the strophic motet, as well as the nod to Prudentius (see also below) show a surprising confluence of

---

[1]Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

[2]Images of *Pbn 20050* may be accessed here.

[3]The numbering is from the catalog of discant clausulae compiled by Norman E. Smith, "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964.

[4]The six strophic motets comprise: *Homo quam sit pura* (vdW 231/ M14), *Latex silice* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14), *Stupeat natura* (vdW 232/M14), *Et illumina eximia* (vdW 101/M9), *Celi semita* (vdW 307b/M23), and *Qui servare puberem* (A2/190 – vdW 228/M14); the first of these is given to Philip in medieval sources, the next two are proposed for his authorship by modern scholars. On strophic motets, see Anderson, *Latin Compositions,* 2:vii; and Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 514. There may be an additional candidate in the headless French contrafact of the musically identical strophic motets *Scandit solium* and *Celi semita,* whose- incipit is given as *Dieus nos a done* in van der Werf, *Integrated Directory,* 47; and in Tischler, *Style and Evolution,* 1:81.

[5]This correlation was previously noted by Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques,* 1 (1953): 65-103, at 78, note 1. A similar incipit appears with the text "In columbe specie," which begins a number of liturgical antiphons and responsories. This expression appears to have been prompted by the language of Luke, 3:22, where John the Baptist baptizes Jesus: "Et descendit Spiritus Sanctus corporali specie sicut columba in ipsum: et vox de caelo facta est: 'Tu es filius meus dilectus, in te complacui mihi' " ("And the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily shape, as a dove upon him [Jesus]; and a voice came from heaven: 'You are my beloved Son; in you I am well pleased.' "). A further chant example to feature this conceit is the uncataloged *Kyrie creans celum,* a texted example of a mass Ordinary component that is preserved uniquely in the MS *LoB (London, British Library, MS Egerton 274),* in its second fascicle, no. 11, on ff. 92r-93v). Here, in its final texted Kyrie section, at lines 36-39, read "Qui apparuisti / specie columbe / super baptizatum / Christum in Iordane" ("You [the Lord] who appeared in the guise of a dove above Christ baptized in the river Jordan.").

contradictory intertextual associations, also raised in the textual notes below. *Qui servare puberem* appears in the following sources:

F, fasc. *F,* fasc. 8, no. 3, f. 381v: a3, conductus motet (T, Mot, Tr); Strophe I only, with no provision for further text.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 21, f .115r (106r): a2 (Mot, Tr, only; T omitted, so the piece appears as a conductus, a format similar to all the other motets in *W1* and to all its other musical transmissions except for the one in *F*); Strophes I-III complete, with II-III written in the left margin of f. 115v (106v), opposite the penultimate system of the piece. The opening initial of the text (at the left of the fourth system on the leaf) was never entered and no guide letter is now visible, but small painted initials are given for Strophes II and III.

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 10, f. 128: a2 (Mot, Tr only); Strophe I only, with no provision for T or further text, and with the opening initial never entered in the space provided for it in the interior of the system.

MüA (D-B 55 MS 14 and *D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4775 [gallo-rom. 42]; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preusischer Kulturbesitz, B 55 MS14;* and *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 4775* and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Vma 1446),* complex A, no. 20, f. 6v: a1 (Mot only); fragmentary: faded portions of the first stanza of text survive with melody for lines 3,1 up through the penultimate syllable of 14,2 (the last word of Strophe I); the text alone of Strophe II continues below, showing some non-contiguous remnants of the stanza that escaped trimming up through the first two letters of 25,2; the top halves of lines 27,1 through the first three syllables of 29,1, which open Strophe III are also still visible.[6]

SAu226 (E-SAu 226; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 226), no. 4, f. 101r: a1 (Mot only), Strophes I-III, complete, signaled by red initials, the first with additional filigree; the melody generally appears 4 lower than in other sources, with occasional melodic elaborations.[7]

The text alone of *Qui servare puberem* is found in:

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 55, f. 247v (18v): text only of Strophes I-III, complete, signaled by marginal pilcrows; rubric: "De eo qui lavat laterem" ("On one who washes a brick").[8]

OxAdd (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 44), no. 59, f. 79v: text only of Strophes I-III, complete, in the order I, III, II,; rubric: "Contra scorta et inconstantiam ac mutabilitatem eorum" ("Against harlots and their fickleness and changeability").

Contrafacts: none, though note the clausula and motet concordances above.

---

[6]Images 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 8.

[7]On 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 *Qui servare* in particular, see 16-19.

[8]From Terence, *Phormio,* line 186 [act I, scene 4, line 8]. The phrase "to wash a brick" *(laterem lavare)* means to perform a useless task. See its occurrence also in the conductus a3 *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73), line 3. The rubric here alludes to line 3 of the motet's first stanza.

***Notes on the Text*: Avian imagery in lines 1-4:** as both Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xi, notes 4 and 6) and Everist (*Discovering Medieval Song,* 50-51) have related, the particular language associated with the images of the dove and turtledove in these opening lines shows strong correlations with the *De bestiis et aliis rebus,* earlier ascribed to Hugh of Saint Victor, but now with its various portions allotted to Hugues de Foulois, Henri de Gand and Guillaume Perrault (so Everist). Specific references from the *De bestiis* that figure in the conductus text appear (under Hugh's name) in *PL,* 177: cols. 17D[9] and 23B,[10] respectively, as well as in the pithier collection of the characteristics of the dove in *PL,* 177: col 142B.[11] Other medieval bestiaries, and similar allegorical treatises on animals, such as the Latin version of the *Physiologus* and the so-called *Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen Library, MS 24 [GB-A 24]),*[12] also offer treatments of the dove and turtledove that correlate with the images in the opening lines of *Columbe simplicitas.*[13] For example, the *Aberdeen Bestiary* begins its section on birds with a general list of species in which the dove's guilelessness *(simplicitas)* is specifically affirmed.[14] Then, on its following pages, the MS turns more precisely towards

---

[9]*PL,* 177: col. 17D: "Cap. IV. *De columbae ad praelatum comparatione. 'Si dormiatis inter medios cleros, pennae columbae deargentatae et posteriora dorsi ejus in pallore auri'* (Psal. lxvii[:14]). Columba deargentata est absque felle malitiae quaelibet adhuc vivens praelatorum persona, quae inter medios cleros dormit. Cleros Graece, latine sors" ("Chapter 4: *On the comparison of a dove to a prelate. 'If you sleep among the midst of lots* [*cleros* – κληρος – i.e., a portion of land allotted for agricultural use or for tending livestock], *you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and the hinder parts of her back with the paleness of gold'* [Psalm 67:14]. The silver-covered dove, without the gall of malice, is any member *[persona]* of the prelates still living who sleeps among the lots/clergy *[cleros]*. 'Cleros' in Greek is 'lot' in Latin."). Hence, a play on words is likely in force here, whereby "cleros" conveys both its original biblical connotation ("allotment") as well as its Latin meaning of "clergy."

[10]*PL,* 177: cols. 23B: "Cap. XX. *De turture et passere.* Post columbae gemitum et accipitris questum, rogas charissime, ne diutius differam, sed planctum turturis et clamor passeris tibi velocius scribam. Nec tantum scribam, sed etiam pingam qualiter turtur eremi secretum diligat, et passer solitarius in tecto clamare non desinat, ut sub exemplo turturis teneas munditiam castitatis, et sub exemplo passeris ames custodiam cautae circumspectionis, ut et vivas caste et ambules caute" ("Chapter 20: *On the turtledove and sparrow.* After the sighing of the dove and the plaint of the hawk, you ask me, dearest ones, not to hold off any longer, but to write to you very quickly about the lament of the turtledove and the cry of the sparrow. Not only shall I write, but also will I depict how the turtledove delights in the remote parts of the wilderness, and the sparrow ceases not to cry alone from the rooftops, so that with the example of the turtledove you may understand the cleanliness of chastity, and with the example of the sparrow you may esteem the observance of cautious circumspection, so that you may live chastely and walk cautiously.").

[11]*PL,* 177: col. 142A: "Columba simplex est, osculis instat, felle caret, pedes rubros habet ... ("The dove is guileless, it devotes itself to kisses, it lacks gall, it has red feet ... .").

[12]The *Aberdeen Bestiary* is available online at https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/. All quotations and translations supplied here from this source derive from the University's online resources for this MS. A number of passages in its sections about doves and turtledoves concord with the *De bestiis.*

[13]The *Physiologus* was an early Christian bestiary written in Greek between the second to fourth centuries, and translated into Latin around the start of the sixth. It was a source frequently drawn upon by later medieval bestiaries and their followers. Its section on turtledoves relates the common association of this bird with marital fidelity and chastity. See, for example, Francis James Carmody, ed., *Physiologus latinus: Editions préliminaires, versio B,* (Paris: E. Droz, 1939), 48-50: "*Physiologus* de turture dicit valde virum suum diligere, et caste cum illo vivere, et ipsi soli fidem servare. ... Audite itaque, omnes animae fidelium, quanta castitas in modica avicula invenitur; quicumque tamen personam turturis in vultu animae portatis, huius castitatem imitemini ("The *Physiologus* says of the turtledove that she loves her mate very much, lives chastely with him, and remains faithful to him alone. ... And so hearken, all you souls of the faithful, to what great chastity is found in this humble little bird. For whoever you are that bear the character *[personam]* of the turtledove in the image of your soul *[vultu animae]*, should mimic her chastity"). Regarding the expressions in the last sentence, see Cicero, *De oratore,* 3,59,221: "... imago animi vultus ..." ("... the face is the image of the soul ... ."). Similar descriptions of the faithfulness and chastity of these birds appear in even more ancient accounts, such as Pliny the Elder's description of the mating habits of doves in his *Historia naturalis,* book 10,52(34).

[14]*Aberdeen Bestiary,* f. 25r (italics mine): "*Hic incipit de avibus.* Unum autem nomen avium sed genus diversum. Nam sicut species sibi differunt, ita et nature diversitate. Nam alie *simplices* sunt ut columbe, ... alie in desertis secretam viam diligunt ut turtura." ("*Here begins the account of the birds.* Birds have a single name, *avis,* but a variety of species. For just as they differ in appearance, so they differ in nature. Some are guileless *[simplices],* like doves; ... others love the solitary life of the wilderness, like

doves in an introductory passage notable for its repetition of the words *simplex* and *simplicitas:*[15] Subsequently, the absence of bitter gall or bile is also adduced as a special characteristic of doves.[16] Later on, in its treatment of the propensity of turtledoves for chastity, the *Aberdeen Bestiary* likewise echoes and often reproduces much of the same language that appears above in the passages cited from the *De bestiis* (see, e.g., f. 31v). It also offers a few further observations on the turtledove's chastity.[17] **Musical intertextuality:** Most interesting in relation to the avian imagery in *Columbe simplicitas,* is the intersection of the characteristic of the dove's lack of bitterness or gall *(fel)* with that of the second stanza of the strophic motet *Qui servare puberem,* whose music the scribe of *F* included in his BD tag to *Columbe.*[18] In the second stanza of the motet poem, the speaker bemoans how the face of his mistress – so dovelike to behold – actually harbors the treachery, the honey-tongued lies, and the bitterness *(felle)* of a vixen. This implies that the unique transmission in *F* of the motet music as a BD versicle could have additionally served to surreptitiously underscore the sentiments of the verbal text of *Columbe simplicitas* – the words of *Qui servare* may be absent, but the implications inherent in its poem remain. Alternatively, a related but opposing charge could also be leveled at the quotations from the three dance songs that arise in *Columbe simplicitas.* Both the Franco-Occitan balada, *A l'entrade del tens clar,* and the two conductus, *Veris ad imperia* and *Hac in die salutari,* conjure up in their texts and musical content the social environment of the *carole,* the round or circle dance. Each of these musical correspondences within the final cauda of *Columbe simplicitas* allude to circumstances where women (whether as a personified, commanding Spring or as a queen of a round dance or *carole*) exert their sexual power over men.[19] Here, though, the placement within *Columbe* of these aural reminders, now stripped of their texts, serves to upend the

---

turtle-doves.").

[15]*Aberdeen Bestiary,* f. 25v-26r (italics mine): "*De pennis deargentatis columbe.* 'Columbam cuius penne sunt deargentate et posteriora dorsi eius in pallore auri' pingere et per picturam *simplicium* mentes edificare decrevi, ut quod *simplicium* animus intelligibili oculo capere vix poterat, saltem carnali discernat, et quod vix poterat auditus, percipiat visus. Nec tantum volui columbam formando pingere, sed etiam dictando describere, ut per scripturam, demonstrare picturam, vel cui non placuerit *simplicitas* picture, placeat saltem moralitas scripture" ("*Of the silver-sheathed wings of the dove.* It is my intention to paint a picture of the dove, 'whose wings are sheathed in silver and whose tail has the pale colour of gold' [Psalm 67:14]. In painting this picture I intend to improve the minds of ordinary people *[simplicium],* in such a way that their soul *[simplicium animus]* will at least perceive physically things which it has difficulty in grasping mentally; so that those that have difficulty comprehending with their ears, they will perceive with their eyes. I want not only to depict the dove by creating its likeness, but also to describe it in words, to reveal the picture through the text, so that the reader who is unimpressed with the simplicity *[simplicitas]* of the picture may at least take pleasure in the moral content of the text.").

[16]*Aberdeen Bestiary,* f. 29r-v: "Prima natura columbe est, quod pro cantu gemitum profert. Secunda, quod felle caret. ... Columba pro cantu, utitur gemitu, quia quod libens fecit, plangendo gemit. Caret felle, id est irascibilitatis amaritudine' ("The first property of the dove is that instead of song it brings forth a lament. The second, is that it lacks bile *[felle].* ... The dove produces a lament instead of a song, because anything it does with pleasure, it then bewails aloud. It lacks bile, that is, the bitterness born of anger.).

[17]*Aberdeen Bestiary*, ff. 32r-v: "Ergo turturibus dominus hanc infudit gratiam vel affectum; hanc virtutem continentie dedit ... . Turtur non uritur flore iuventutis non temptatur occasionis illecebra. Turtura nescit primam fidem irritam facere quia novit castimoniam servare, prima conubii sorte premissam" ("Therefore the Lord infused in the turtle doves this grace or capacity for affection; he gave them this virtue of continence ... . The turtle dove is not inflamed by the flower of youth and is not affected by chance temptation. It cannot go back on its first pledge of love because it knows how to preserve the chastity which it plighted as the first duty of marriage.").

[18]*Qui servare puberem* (lines 14-21, from Strophe II): "Sub columbe spetie, / vulpes latuit. / In perdulci facie, / dolum texuit. / Linguam melle, mentem felle, / que sic imbuit, / arte quod perfidie, / me absorbuit" ("Under the guise of a dove, vixens lurked. Within a face of great sweetness, she has woven treachery. She has so steeped her tongue in honey, her mind in gall, that, through the art of betrayal, she has devoured me.").

[19]On the role of women in the execution of *caroles,* see the discussion by Christopher Page in *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); especially in chapter 5 "The *Carole,* the Pulpit and the Schools," 110-133, *passim;* but also see pp. 14-15, 183, 188-189.

ostensibly virtuous sentiments of the *Columbe* lyric, and replace them with the more salacious implications intimated by the unheard texts of the secular compositions.[20] As the text of lines 8-9 of *Columbe* relate, the virtues of innocence and chastity associated respectively with the dove and turtledove are here offset by the implied references to malice and lust; also see further below in the notes to lines 8-11. **Textual notes: 1:** Matthew, 10:16.[21] **2:** Acts, 8:23.[22] Gall (rendered above as "bitterness") also appears in the motet *Qui servare puberem* in conjunction with doves; see the above remarks on this portion of the piece. **7:** 3 Kings (1 Kings), 22:23.[23] A nearly identical passage appears in 2 Chronicles, 18:22. **8-11:** the image of virtues and vices battling each other recalls the plot of the *Psychomachia* by the late-antique Christian poet Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, 348-ca. 405), an allegorical poem of 915 lines written in dactylic hexameter with a prologue in classical iambic trimeter. I have not yet, though, uncovered any direct echoes between this poem and the conductus text, but it does seem apropos in terms of the way the musical quotations provide covert allusions to secular love songs and the social context of the *carole,* compounded by an appended *Benedicamus domino* tag preserved with this piece only in *F* that connects to a strophic motet that rages against lust and prostitution. Virtue and opposing vices are indeed at war in this textual and musical complex. **8-9:** see also Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Vitia virtutibus* (L4/388), especially Strophes I-II (lines 1-8): "Vitia virtutibus / obvia cum omnibus / dimicant. / Implicant se varie. // Ictibus ac variis, / actibus contrariis, / vulnerant, / superant in acie" ("The opposing vices contend with each of the virtues. They embroil themselves in all kinds of ways. // With blows of different kinds, with opposing actions, they wound, they conquer on the battle-line.").[24] Additional appearances of the virtues and vices in the conductus repertory can be found in the notes to the text of *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385), lines 3-4;9.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 3,1:** F: first syllable of "turturis" and preceding period originally om; the former has subsequently been entered beneath the first notes of the cauda following "[maliti]e" (line 2,3) in a similar hand, but using smaller letters with a slightly faded appearance and in a brownish – rather than a black – ink. This does not seem to be the remnants of an erasure. The placement of the syllable later in the transcription at the start of the third T phrase at L12 in the cauda derives from *Hu.* **MUSIC: Melodic sequence:** the frequent use of melodic sequence in many of the cauda (not specifically marked here in the score) appears noteworthy; sequence also pervades the *cum littera* setting of lines 8-11. Perhaps significantly, sequence also features in the passages borrowed from the conductus *Veris ad imperia, Hac in die salutari,* and the balada/dansa *A l'entrade del tens clar* that feature in the final cauda of the conductus that precedes the

---

[20]For a similar stratagem, employed during the scandal of the 1227-1228 election of the bishop of Paris, where Philip the Chancellor and the composer Perotinus covertly voiced their displeasure against the appointment of Philip's rival William of Auvergne to the Parisian see, 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), at 291-298.

[21]Matthew, 10:16: "Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae" ("Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be you therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves.").

[22]Acts, 8:23: "In felle enim amaritudinis, et obligatione iniquitatis, video te esse" ("For I see you are in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity.").

[23]3 Kings (1 Kings), 22:23: "Nunc igitur ecce dedit Dominus spiritum mendacii in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum, qui hic sunt, et Dominus locutus est contra te malum" ("Now therefore behold the Lord has given a lying spirit in the mouth of all your prophets that are here, and the Lord has spoken evil against you.").

[24]The text and its music are preserved uniquely in *LoB (GB-Lbl Egerton 274)*, ff. 37v-38v; see the discussion of this poem in Anne Walters Robertson, "The Seven Deadly Sins in Medieval Music," *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins,* Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds., 191-122 (York: York Medieval Press, in association with Boydell & Brewer, 2012), especially pp. 199-201.

closing BD clausula in *F*. **Opening cauda:** D: F: the rhythm accorded to the repeated 5si on *d* that launch this part is suggested by *Hu.* **Cauda after line 2:** T: F: a partially erased stroke is visible after L4,1 of this melisma; omitted in transcription. **Line 4,1:** D: Hu: *f*# sig (but with the shape actually enclosing the upper *g* staff line) in place of the *b-flat* sig in *F* over the first syllable of "fe[torem]"; *f*# sig in force up through the cauda following line 4. No other sigs appear anywhere in *Hu* for this piece; they are not included in the transcription. **Cauda after line 4:** TD: the apparently purposeful dissonances in this melisma at L4 and L6, the harsh minor second on the second syllable of "luxurie," in line 4,2, as well as the appearance of accidentals (though significantly different) in the D of both *F* and *Hu* to start this line's setting, might suggest attempts at word painting. T: F: the rhythm of the repeated 7si figures on *a* from L2-L5 of the cauda is prompted by *Hu.* **Cauda on line 11,3:** TD: *Hu* has helped determine some of the rhythmic gestures in the transcription of this melisma. T: F: the missing portion of the final cauda from L19-L20 has been completed from *Hu.*

ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER

Marian antiphon a2 (I32/13)

F, f. 329r (7,69)

D [Al -

T Al -

[Al] - ma re - dem - pto - ris

[Al] - ma re - dem - pto - ris

ma - - ter que

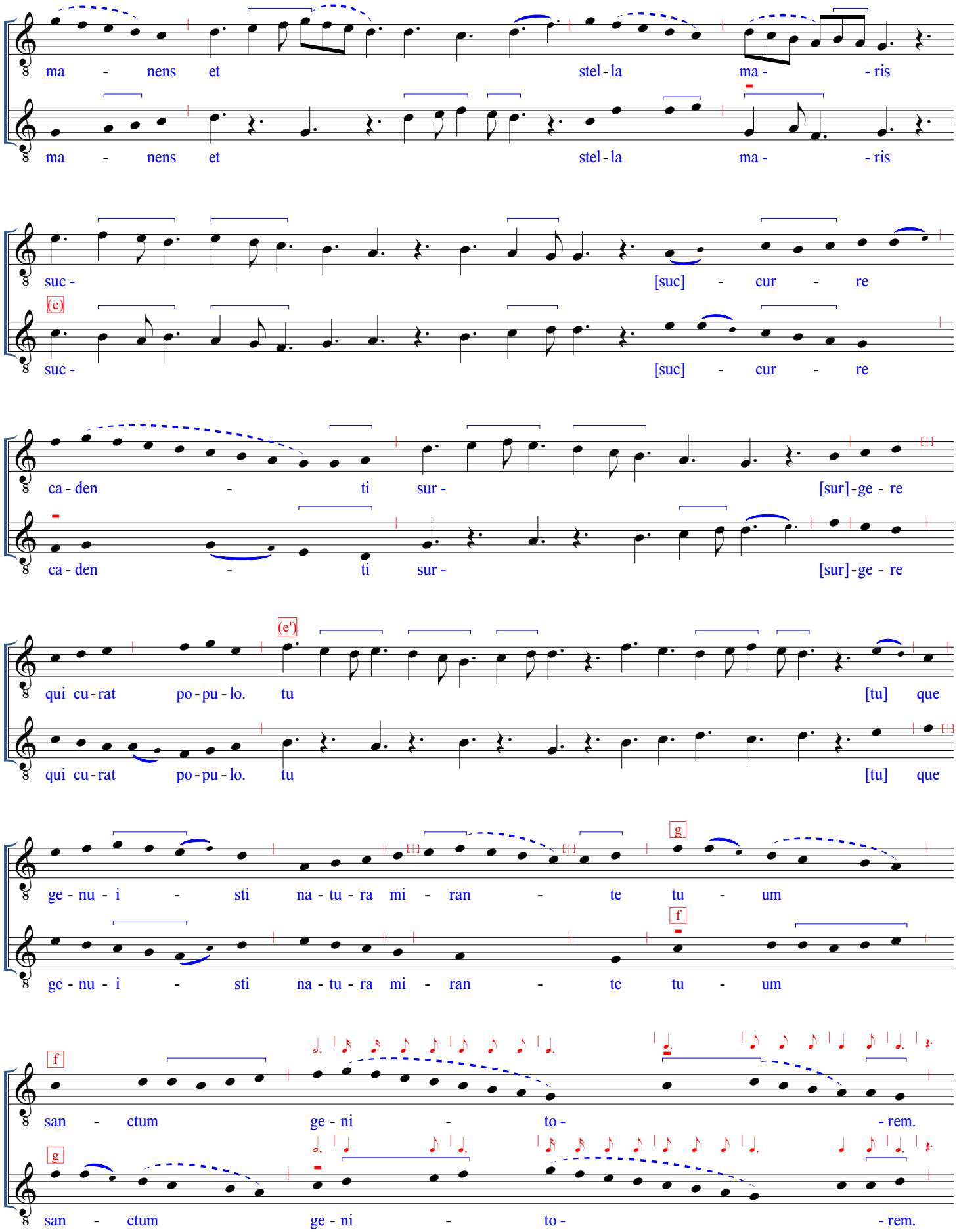
ma - - ter que
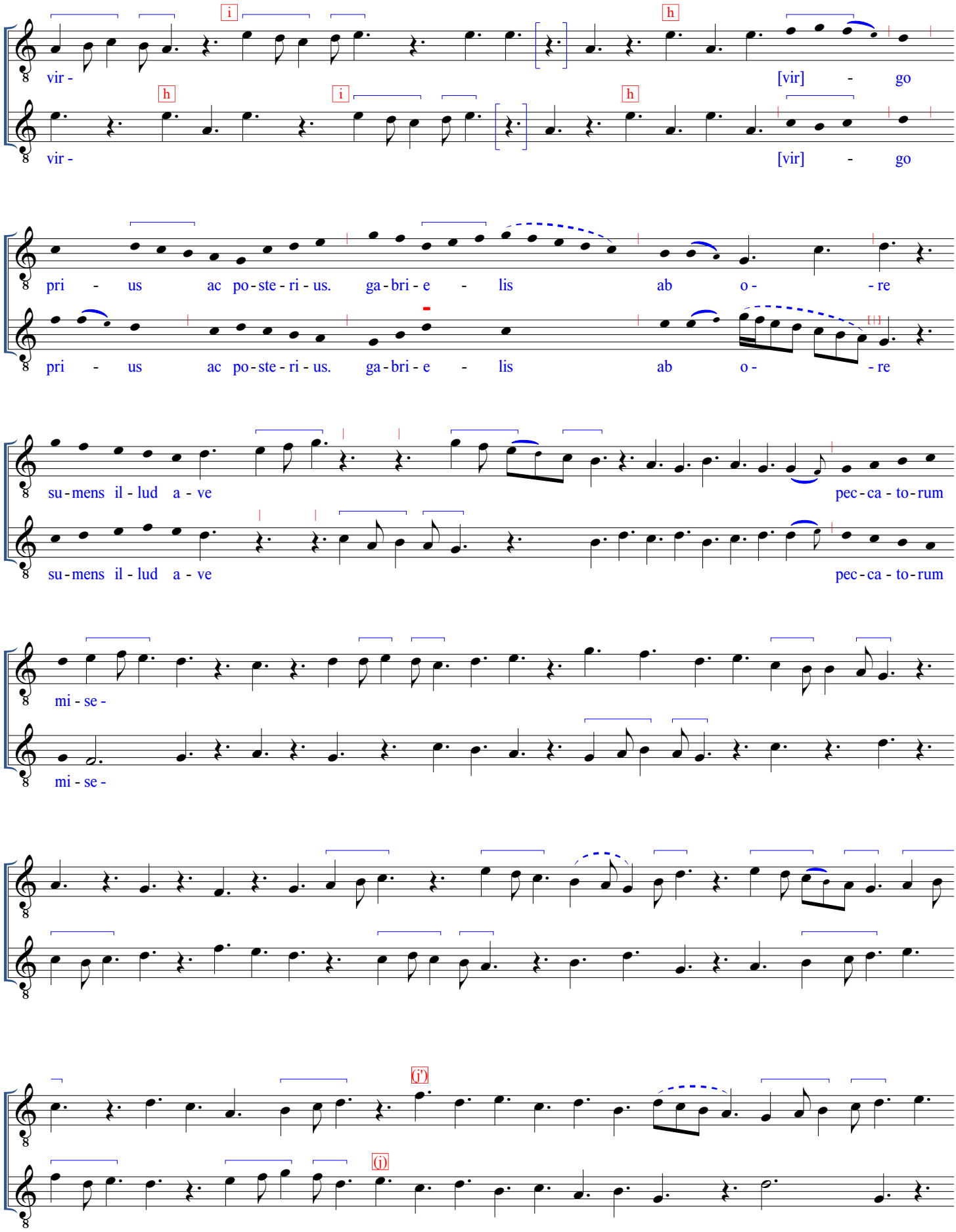
per - vi - a ce - - li

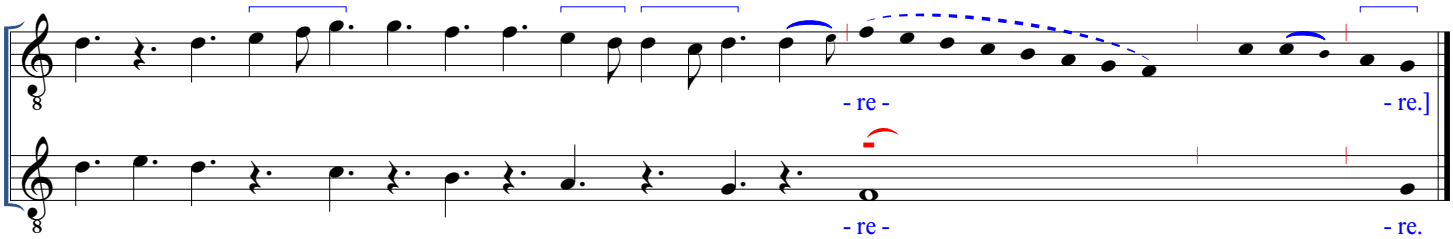
per - vi - a ce - - li

por - - ta

por - - ta


ma - nens et stel - la ma - - ris
ma - nens et stel - la ma - - ris
suc - [suc] - cur - re
(e)
suc - [suc] - cur - re
ca - den - ti sur - [sur] - ge - re
ca - den - ti sur - [sur] - ge - re
(e')
qui cu - rat po - pu - lo. tu [tu] que
qui cu - rat po - pu - lo. tu [tu] que
g
ge - nu - i - sti na - tu - ra mi - ran - te tu - um
f
ge - nu - i - sti na - tu - ra mi - ran - te tu - um
f
san - ctum ge - ni - to - - rem.
g
san - ctum ge - ni - to - - rem.


i
h
vir - [vir] - go
h
i
h
vir - [vir] - go
pri - us ac po - ste - ri - us. ga - bri - e - lis ab o - - re
pri - us ac po - ste - ri - us. ga - bri - e - lis ab o - - re
su - mens il - lud a - ve pec - ca - to - rum
su - mens il - lud a - ve pec - ca - to - rum
mi - se -
mi - se -
(j')
(j)


- re -
- re.]
- re -
- re.

ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER

Marian antiphon a2 (I32/13)

F, f. 329r (7,69)

Alma redemptoris mater, que pervia celi
porta manes, et stella maris, succurre cadenti
surgere qui curat populo. Tu que genuisti,
natura mirante, tuum sanctum genitorem,
virgo prius ac posterius Gabrielis ab ore
sumens illud "Ave," peccatorum miserere.

Kind mother of the redeemer, you who endure as the
attainable door of heaven, and star of the sea, comfort
a fallen people who seek to rise. You who bore,
with nature in awe, your holy father,
virgin before and after taking on that "Hail" from
Gabriel's lips, have mercy on sinners.

SOURCES:

F, fascicle 7, no. 69, f. 329r: a2; lines 1-6, complete.

Ma, fascicle 4, no. 18, f. 99r: a2; lines 1-6, complete, with the opening initial never entered in the space provided for it at the beginning of the first system.[1]

Text only: as a standard liturgical item, the text appears in innumerable sources.[2]

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** a *metrum* in dactylic hexameter,[3] this poem occurs within the liturgy as one of the four major Marian antiphons,[4] this one traditionally sung after Compline from Advent to Purification (2 February, i.e., Candlemas); the solidity of the long-standing ascription of this poem and its music to Hermannus Contractus (1013-54) no longer appears defensible.[5] **6,1-3:** see the Marian hymn *Ave Maris stella*, whose

[1]Some of the pages containing this piece in *Ma* have more than their usual allotment of eight ruled staves (typically comprising four two-voice systems, as does f. 99r). Folio 99v, logically, leaves its bottom staff of nine unnotated, while f. 100r has ten, disposed as five staff systems a2, all with notation except for the rightmost half of its bottom accolade. Additional ruled staves beyond the customary eight sometimes occur elsewhere in this MS in the vicinity of *Alma redemptoris,* such as on ff. 95r, 103v, and 104r (each with an unused ninth staff), and they arise more frequently in the later fascicles of *Ma* (see, for example, the nine staves throughout ff. 130v-135r). Outside of these examples, more than eight staves per page is rare for *Ma,* comprising only the tiny systems added to the bottom right portions of ff. 30r and 51r to accommodate overruns, and the additional 10-staff rulings on ff. 57v, 79r, and 137v.

[2]Other conductus texts in the major Parisian sources besides *Alma redemptoris* that take their lyrics without change or paraphrase from the liturgy include *Pater noster qui es in celis* (G2/265), and the *Ave Maria II* (the number as given in the CPI database, G7/29) – this does not include items that may appear in some contexts as sequences or hymns, ones later pressed into service as rubricated liturgical items, or ones that feature quotations, references to, or paraphrases of liturgical texts. For an inclusive list of the conductus in the four main sources with such characteristics, see the notes to the text of *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/276), at *F*-7,4.

[3]Metrical conductus texts within the four main "Notre Dame" manuscripts *(F, W1, W2, Ma)* are *Alma redemptoris* (I23/13), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), and two textually related pieces uniquely transmitted in *Ma: Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317) and *Salve sancta parens enixa* (J57/316). In *Ma,* moreover, *Salve sancta parens enixa* is preceded by the conductus setting of *Alma redemptoris,* All these examples are in dactylic hexameter, except for *Porta salutis,* which offers a single elegaic couplet.

[4]The Marian antiphons, inclusively: *Alma redemptoris mater, Ave regina caelorum, Regina caeli laetare, Salve regina.*

[5]See Lawrence Gushee, "Hermannus Contractus," *Grove Music Online,* 2001, https://doi-org.proxy.wm.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12864.

second stanza opens with this same expression.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,5:** F: previa, which does make sense ("you who remain in front of the door of heaven"), but the reading adopted from *Ma* is the one favored by more numerous outside sources. **6,1:** F: summens, an alternative spelling, the more regular form of which is adopted here from *Ma.* **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** noticeable is the rising chain of thirds *(g'g,b,d)* that begins the T of this melisma, and the similar music in line 1 starting at "redemptoris" *(g,b,d,d,de).* A comparable gesture, usually beginning on *f* with an intervening *b* or *b-flat (fa,bc,c),* is also seen at the opening of the Marian antiphon; see, for example, the transmission in the noted Parisian breviary *F-Pn lat. 15181,* f. 451r (CCCCXXXIr), transposed here to begin on the pitch *c.* **Line 2,7:** TD: Possible text painting on "cadenti," although the end of a line is typical for a descending cascade of this type, despite the enjambment. **Cauda on line 5,1:** F: the rest strokes erased at L10 in the T and L11 in the D are supplied from *Ma;* conceivably the cauda may be sung without the erased values, if one assumes willful scribal emendation at these points. **Final cauda (ends line 6):** TD: notice the short canonic sequential treatment of 6 si at the upper second one beat apart in the final cauda, beginning at L48 in the T *(e,c,d,b,c,a).*

EXULTEMUS SOCII
Conductus (J17/115)

F, f. 330r (7,70)

I

D [Ex - ul - te - mus so - ci - i. no - vus an - nus o - ri - tur.

T Ex - ul - te - mus so - ci - i. no - vus an - nus o - ri - tur.

co - mi - tes e - gre - gi - i. sol ex stel - la na - sci - tur. ad - est di - es

co - mi - tes e - gre - gi - i. sol ex stel - la na - sci - tur. ad - est di - es

gau - di - i. ve - nit lu - men gen - ti - um. sol - vat vo - ta mens de - vo - ta.

gau - di - i. ve - nit lu - men gen - ti - um. sol - vat vo - ta mens de - vo - ta.

cum le - ti - ti - a. or - tus re - gis im - plet le - gis ce - ri - mo - ni - a.

cum le - ti - ti - a. or - tus re - gis im - plet le - gis ce - ri - mo - ni - a.

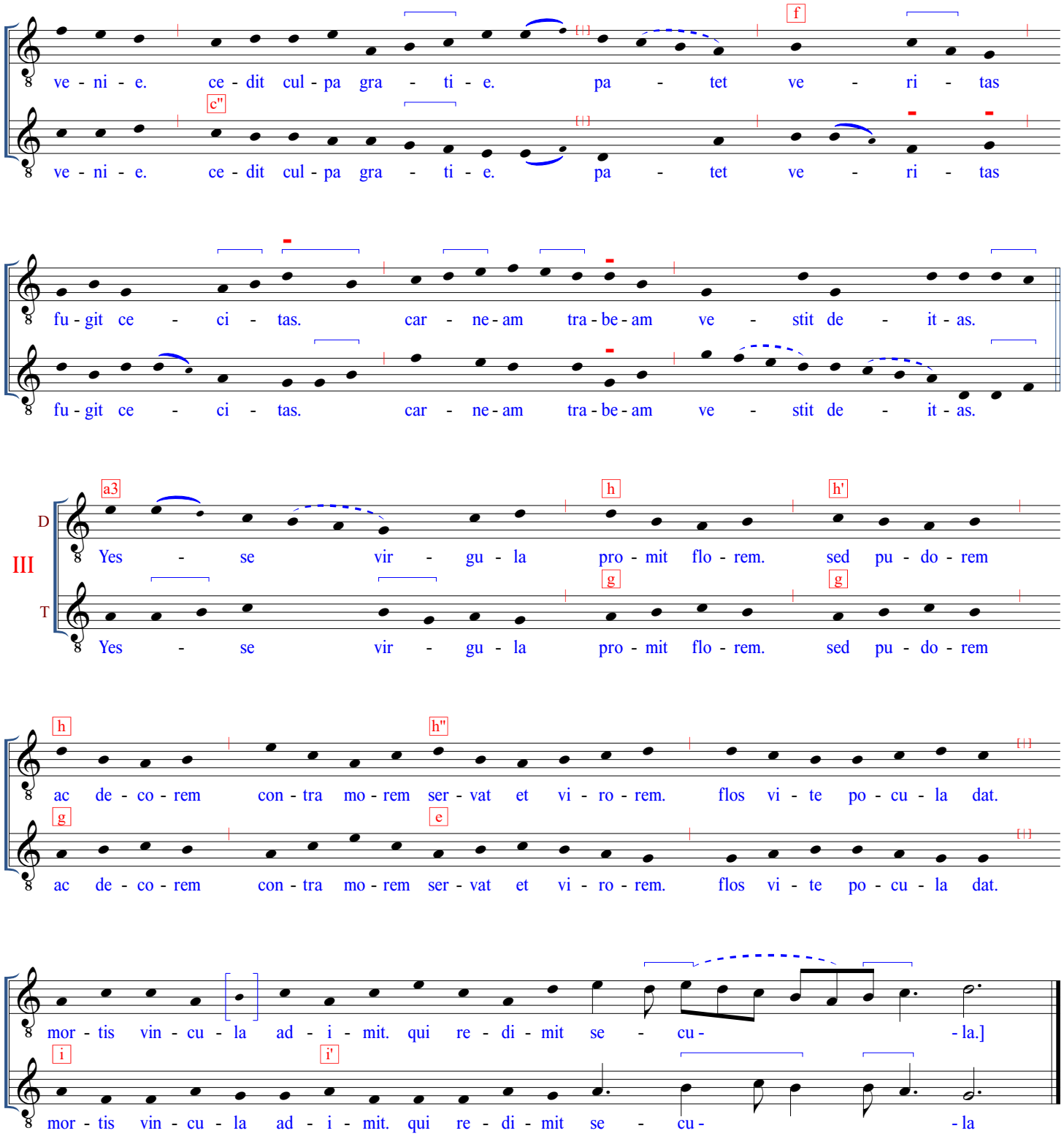
II

D An - ge - lus con - si - li - i no - bis mit - ti - tur. ut sur - ga - mus

T An - ge - lus con - si - li - i no - bis mit - ti - tur. ut sur - ga - mus

o - ri - tur. mors con - te - ri - tur. vi - a la - psis pan - di - tur

o - ri - tur. mors con - te - ri - tur. vi - a la - psis pan - di - tur


f
c"
ve - ni - e. ce - dit cul - pa gra - ti - e. pa - tet ve - ri - tas
fu - git ce - ci - tas. car - ne - am tra - be - am ve - stit de - it - as.
III
D
T
a3
h
h'
g
Yes - se vir - gu - la pro - mit flo - rem. sed pu - do - rem
h
h"
ac de - co - rem con - tra mo - rem ser - vat et vi - ro - rem. flos vi - te po - cu - la dat.
i
i'
mor - tis vin - cu - la ad - i - mit. qui re - di - mit se - cu - la.]

EXULTEMUS SOCII

Conductus (J17/115)

F, f. 330r (7,70)

I Exultemus, socii. Companions, let us rejoice.
Novus annus oritur. A new year arises.
Comites egregii, Excellent comrades,
sol ex stella nascitur. the sun is born from a star.
Adest dies gaudii. A day of rejoicing is at hand.
Venit lumen gentium. The light of the Gentiles has come.
Solvat vota mens devota. Let the devout mind send out prayers
cum letitia. with joy.
Ortus regis implet legis The birth of a king fulfills the
cerimonia. sacred rites of the old law.

II Angelus consilii The angel of council
nobis mittitur. is sent to us.
Ut surgamus oritur. He is born so we may rise.
Mors conteritur. Death is crushed.
Via lapsis panditur The path of forgiveness
venie. is opened to the fallen.
Cedit culpa gratie, Guilt gives way to grace,
patet veritas, truth is revealed,
fugit cecitas. blindness flees.
Carneam trabeam Godliness dons
vestit deitas. a cloak of flesh.

III Yesse virgula Jesse's little twig
promit florem, sed pudorem, brings forth a flower, but,
ac decorem, contra morem, counter to custom, her modesty,
servat et virorem. dignity, and freshness she retains.
Flos vite pocula The flower confers the cup
dat. Mortis vincula of life. The one who removes
adimit, qui redimit the chains of death is he
secula who redeems the world.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 70, f. 330r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with the start of II and III indicated by capitals; a unique source for both text and music.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 2:** this work is one of a number of conductus that invoke the new year, and might thus be appropriate for liturgical or seasonal use at Circumcision or for the so-called Feast of Fools on 1 January, as well as Christmastide in general. See, for some extra information on New Year pieces, the notes on the text for

the conductus *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), lines 25, 27, at *F*-6,37. **4:** Jesus is the sun, Mary the star; these are common medieval symbols found throughout the conductus repertory; see, e.g., Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Sol oritur in sydere* (K13/333), the anonymous *Veri solis presentia* (F6/370), the Marian hymn *Ave maris stella;* and the notes to the text of the conductus *Veri vitis germine* (H14/372), lines 3-4. **5:** for the same expression, see Philip the Chancellor's Marian rondellus *Sol est in meridie* [N17/332), lines 3-4 ("Fulget dies gratie et gaudii" – "a day of grace and joy shines forth"). **6:** on Christ as light illuminating the Gentiles, see Isaiah, 49:6.[1] Isaiah's text is recollected in Acts, 13:47. See also Luke, 2:32,[2] and the similar language in Isaiah, 42:6.[3] **9-10:** the common rhetorical trope of Jesus fulfilling the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. See Matthew, 5:17-18, where Jesus speaks.[4] For further examples in the conductus repertory of this idea, see, for example, *Veri vitis germine* (H14/37), lines 9-16 (Strophe II); *Renovantur veterum* (J5/305), lines 1-9 (Strophe I); *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), lines 1-10 (Strophe I); and Philip the Chancellor's *Sol oritur in sydere* (K13/333), Strophes I and III. **10:** "cerimonia" is construed here in a collateral form as a second-declension neuter accusative plural, rather than a first-declension feminine ablative singular, or as an error for the anticipated accusative plural form "cerimonias." **11-12:** for the expression of Christ as the angel of (good or great) council, see the opening lines of the second stanza of the contrafact poem *Notum fecit dominus in conspectu* that attends the transmission of the conductus *Si Deus est animus* (H32/324) in *W1* and *OxRawl.* The same conceit also arises in the sequences *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus* for Christmas (*olim* L129/-; Cantus ID 508017), line 7;[5] *Caeli enarrant gloriam dei filii verbi* (Cantus ID ah50267), lines 7-8 from Stanza 2b (as given in *AH,* 50:264, no. 267); the Annunciation antiphon *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet* (Cantus ID 002558); and the opening of the introit *Puer natus est nobis* (Cantus ID g00553) for the third Christmas Mass.[6] **14:** on the frequent conceit of death being overcome by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection, see Hebrews, 2:14-15, Romans, 6:9, 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55, and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137). **15-16:** the path of pardon ("via venie") is typically an attribute of the Virgin Mary, see, e.g., the Tr voice of the Marian motet *O maria virgo Davitica / O Maria maris stella / Veritatem,* (VdW 449/448/M37), line 3 (the D is attributed to Philip the Chancellor). **17-21:** additional references to the turn from Mosaic law to the New Covenant with Christ's incarnation. For line 18 see the similar expression of the truth of the New Covenant being revealed in *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), line 6. **22-23,2:** other common images

---

[1]Isaiah, 49:6: "... dedi te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terrae" ("... I have given you to be the light of the Gentiles, that you may be my salvation even to the farthest part of the earth").

[2]Luke, 2:32: "lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuae Israhel" ("A light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of your people Israel").

[3]Isaiah, 42:6: "ego Dominus vocavi te in iustitia, et adprehendi manum tuam, et servavi; et dedi te in foedus populi in lucem gentium" ("I the Lord have called you in righteousness, and taken you by your hand, and protected you; and I have given you for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles").

[4]Matthew, 5:17-18: "Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas: non veni solvere, sed adimplere. Amen quippe dico vobis, donec transeat caelum et terra, jota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant" ("Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, not one jot, or one least bit shall pass of the law, till all be fulfilled.").

[5]Anderson has L129 signaled for deletion in the hand-annotated version of his conductus catalog due to his reclassification of it as a sequence.

[6]"Puer natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, cujus imperium super humerum ejus, et vocabitur nomen ejus magni consilii angelus" ("A child is born to us and a son is given to us, whose government is upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called angel of great council."). This introit text relies on a different recension of Isaiah, 9:6, which offer a few slightly different expressions. The Vulgate itself supplies: "Parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus super humerum ejus: et vocabitur nomen ejus, Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri saeculi, Princeps pacis" ("For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace.").

within the conductus repertory: the twig is Mary and the flower is Christ, with the name of Jesse connoting Jesus's royal lineage from him through King David. For the prophecy of the twig/rod/shoot (*virga*) sprouting from the stem/root *(stirps/radix)* of Jesse, see Isaiah, 11:1;[7] and note as well the opening line of the triplum from the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius eius* (vdW 647/648/O16), as well as its host chant, the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16).[8] **26-27,1:** cf. Luke, 22:20 (and the similar expression in 1 Corinthians, 11:25): "Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens: 'Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur' " ("In like manner [Jesus took] the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: 'This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.' "). For the "cup of life" elsewhere in the conductus and related repertories, see the rondelli in *F*-11 *Salve virgo virginum salve sancta parens* (M47/318), line 17 (in Strophe II), and *Vineam meam plantavi* (M24/382), line 21 (in Strophe IV); the English cantilena *Beata viscera Marie virginis que fructu* (O47/-), line 3; the conductus *O Iesu admirabilis* (L159/-), lines 52-53 (in Strophe IX); and the comparable expression ("poculum vitale") in *Novus annus hodie* (F5/227), lines 11-12. Contrast this with the "cup of death" in *Rex et pater omnium* (I17/307), line 15, and the commentary there. **27,2-28,1:** cf. Psalm 106:14.[9]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 22,1:** F: Ysse; not a typical abbreviation according to the lists in Cappelli;[10] the macron above the capital "Y" is standard orthography for this letter when it appears in *F* and thus not considered here as a sign of abridgement. **Versification:** There are competing ways to represent the poetic structure of this lyric, and the layout of the text here departs from that of Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 5:xii). Thanks to the irregular lengths of the strophes, the variety of line lengths, and the opportunities for frequent interlinear rhyme (indicated in the disposition of the above text by extra horizontal spacing within the applicable verses), a wide range of interpretations may apply for the versification of this poem. In this case, each of Anderson's 4p and one of his 3pp verses has been paired via internal rhyme with a neighbor to form single octo- or heptasyllabic units closer in length to the nonbreakable 5-, 6-, and 7-syllable lines that populate the majority of the poem. This leaves only the two lone instances of 3pp words that make up lines 16 and 29, which seem strategically placed to conclude the whole poem and to divide the second stanza exactly in half (and almost the complete poem thereby). **MUSIC: Style, form, and position within *F*-7:** *Exultemus socii* looks a bit out of place stylistically in comparison to the other conductus that surround it, as its setting is mostly syllabic with occasional neumatic passages; it additionally offers only a very small closing cauda, about 5-6L in length. This piece, therefore, seems closest stylistically to two other prior works in *F*-7 *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132) and *Virtus moritur* (J12/348); these, though, contrast with *Exultemus* by having no caudae whatsoever and less neumatic ornamentation. Also, outside of the classical metrical verse scheme of the previous work in *F*-7 (the setting of the text of the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* [I32/13]), *Exultemus socii* calls attention to itself as being the first through-composed setting of an apparently multi-strophic text in *F*-7 since *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106), seven pieces back at *F*-7,63, with this latter work ending a nearly unbroken series of musically strophic or ostensibly single-stanza pieces that began with *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1) at

[7]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.").

[8]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch *[virga],* and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit. The branch is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son.").
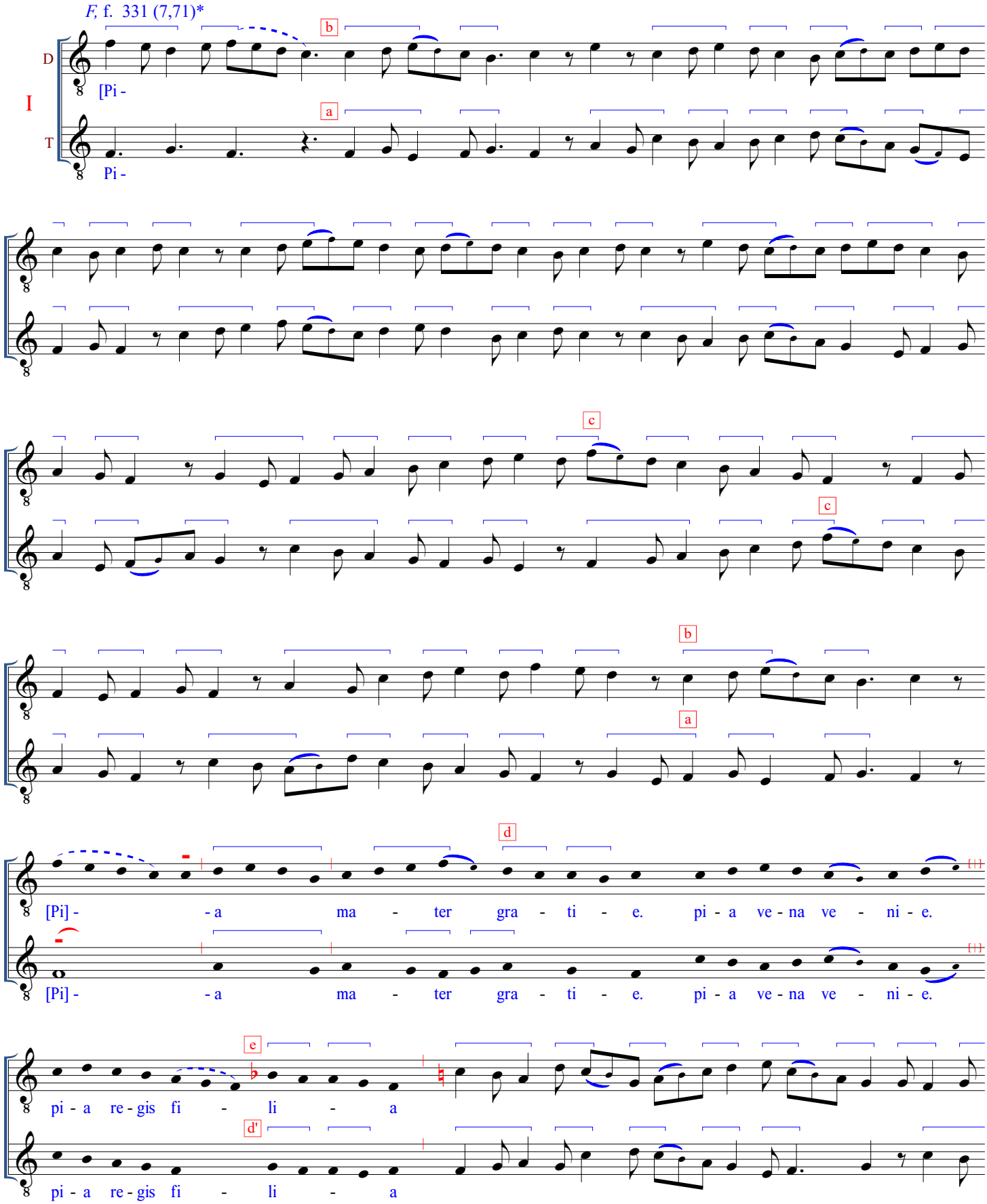
[9]Psalm 106:14: "Et eduxit eos de tenebris et umbra mortis, et vincula eorum dirupit" ("And he brought them out of darkness, and the shadow of death; and broke their bonds asunder.").

[10]Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane,* 6th ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1985.

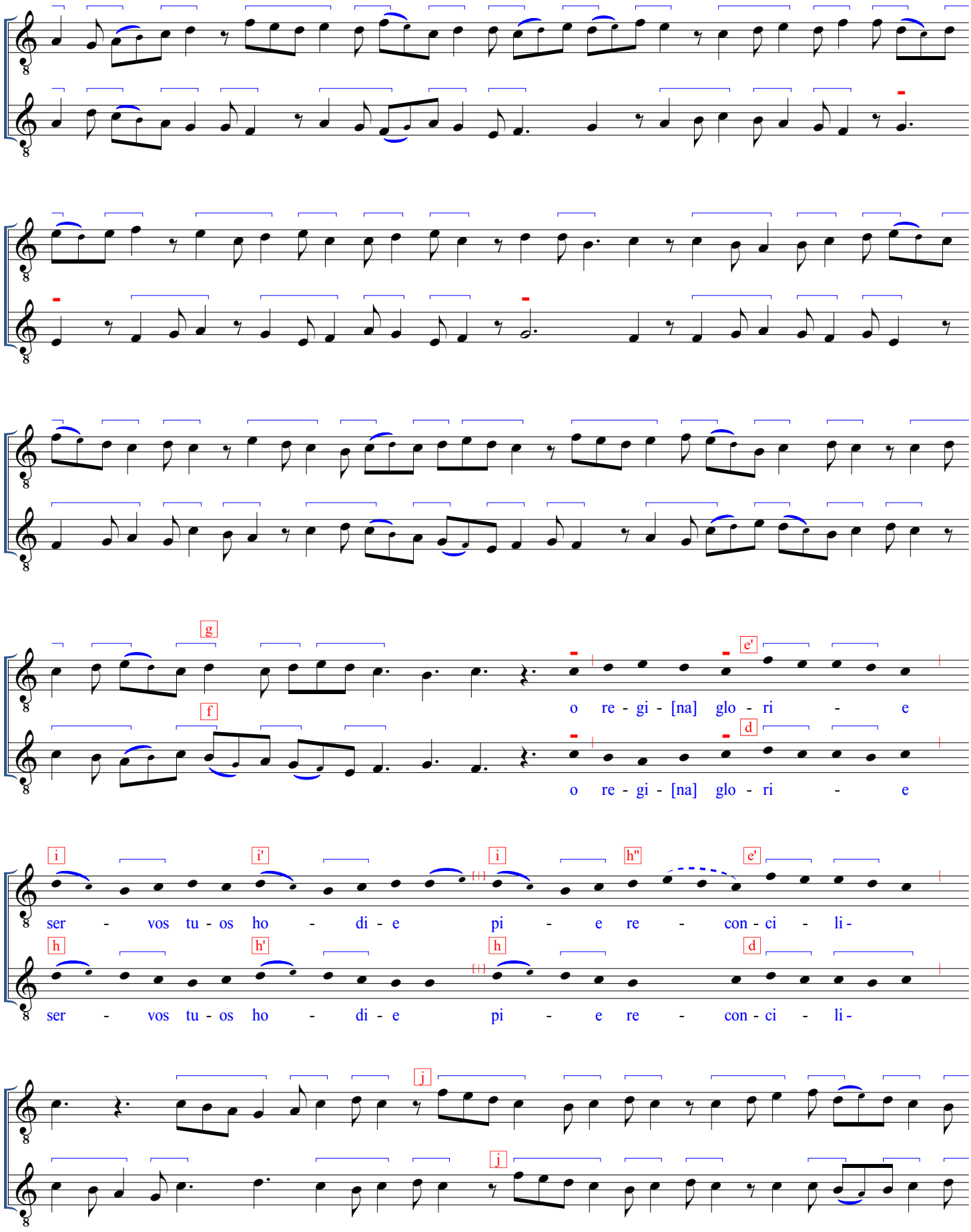
F-7,48.[11] **Internal repetition:** the through-composed melody for this piece exhibits relatively frequent but irregular occurrences of a number of motives, some of which may be shorter than the phrase itself, ligated differently, or may begin at points other than the start of a poetic line; these have been indicated above the staves, and, depending on one's assessment of the identities among the figures, additional relationships may obtain for some gestures that are not marked in this way. **Line 13,3:** D: F: concluding stroke very faint, none in T. **14,2:** T: F: music for second syllable of "[con]te[ritur]" om, with possible faint trace of an erased pitch *a;* adopted *b* is an editorial completion; cf. the D at "veritas," line 18,2, for the same figure. **15,3:** D: F: music for first two syllables of "pandi[tur]" om, with erasures evident in the higher portion of the staff; the editorial completion is prompted by this erasure. **26-27:** TD: F: interestingly, the enjambment is respected here through the absence of strokes after the line-ending, rhyming word of 26,3 ("pocula"); editorial strokes have been placed in the music after 27,1 ("dat") to indicate the end of the syntactical unit. **27,3:** T: F: music for third syllable of "[vincu]la" om, with possible, faint trace of the erased pitch *b,* which has prompted the editorial completion.
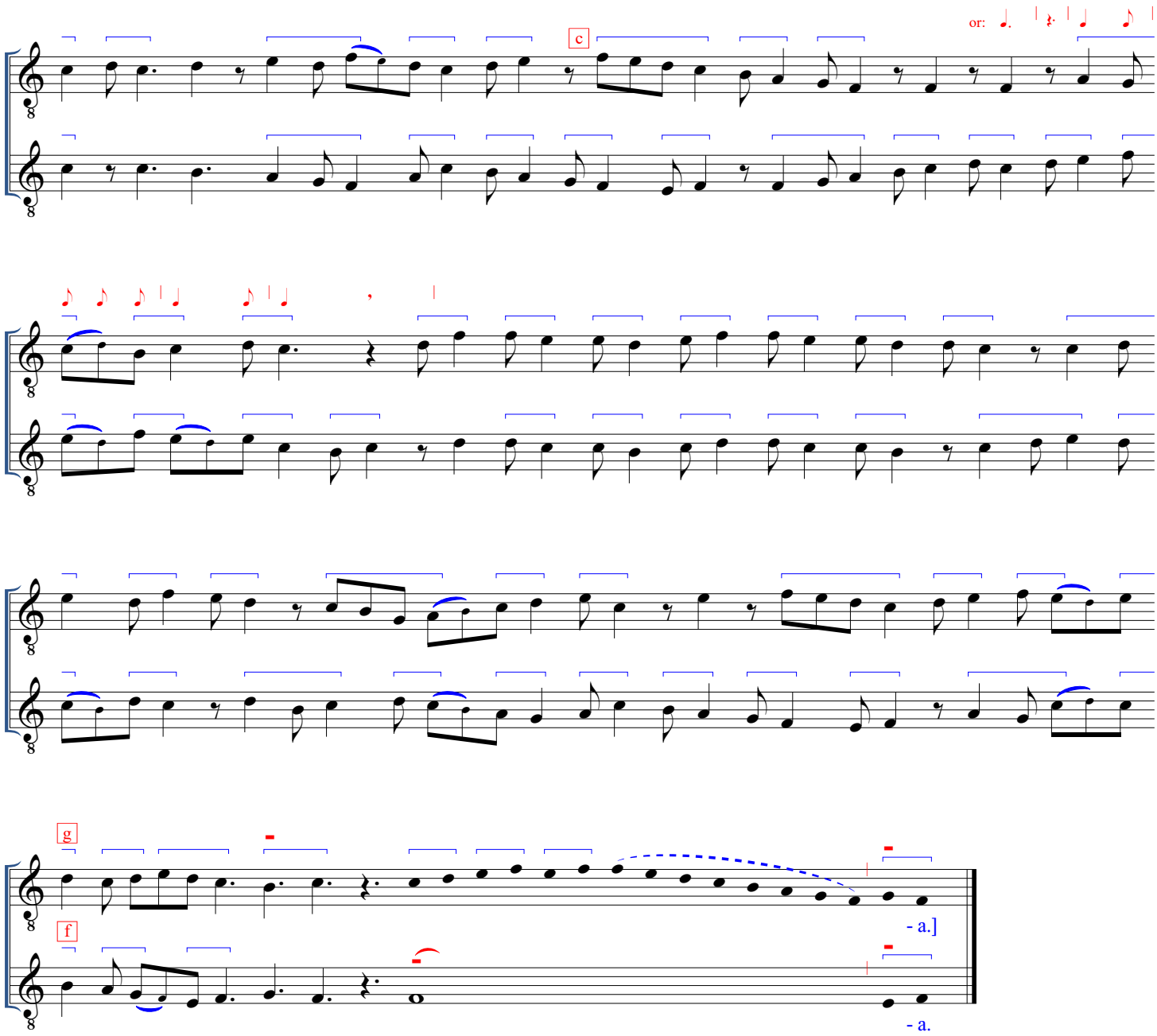
[11]Furthermore, *Ego reus* (*F*-7,63) is the first musically through-composed piece to occur in *F*-7 since *Qui de Sabba veniunt* (I20/281) at *F*-7,47, itself the last in an uninterrupted succession of through-composed works *cum caudis* that launches the fascicle. The single, minor exception to these formal groupings is the strophic sequence form of *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298) at *F*-7,53. The through-composed, multi-strophic *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85) begins an apparently new division within *F*-7 seven pieces after *Exultemus socii* at f. 336r with its historiated initial and larger concordance base. For further details on all these points, see the source report on *A deserto veniens* (setting II, the *F/W1* version).

PIA MATER GRATIE
Conductus (J18/268)



*Numerous short motives (including ones beyond those indicated above the staves) are repeated within and among caudae; others appear occasionally in *cum littera* passages.


g
e'
f
d
o re - gi - [na] glo - ri - e
o re - gi - [na] glo - ri - e
i
i'
i
h"
e'
ser - vos tu - os ho - di - e pi - e re - con - ci - li -
h
h'
h
d
ser - vos tu - os ho - di - e pi - e re - con - ci - li -
j
j


or:
c
g
f
- a.]
- a.

PIA MATER GRATIE

Conductus (J18/268)

F, f. 331 (7,71)

I	Pia mater gratie,		Merciful mother of grace,
	pia vena venie,		merciful conduit of forgiveness,
	pia regis filia;		merciful daughter of the king;
	O regina glorie,		O queen of glory,
	servos tuos hodie	5	mercifully reconcile your
	pie reconcilia.		servants on this day.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 71, f. 331r: a2; Strophe I, complete; a unique setting of text and music. The small hole in the leaf in the top staff of f. 331r, system V, over lines 5,2 ("tuos") seems not to have resulted in the loss of any music. The following work in *F*-7, *Celorum porta* (J19/55), shares several characteristics with *Pia mater gratie;* see the separate discussion of this piece as well as the general remarks on the music below. This is the first work in *F*-7 not to begin at the left margin of the system. This type of placement happens with only 12 pieces within the fascicle.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This short poem presents a collection of standard Marian attributes in lines 1-3, all of which feature anaphoric repetition; the remaining half closes with a conventional appeal for action on the part of the Virgin.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,2:** F: regi, restored by conjecture; this reading in the unique source is retained in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 5:xiii, 30) even though the rest of the poem is isosyllabic (7pp) and the musical setting provides for the inclusion of the additional syllable of "regina," based on way the poetic lines are underlaid to the music of the *cum littera* segments elsewhere in the poem. Admittedly, the reading in *F* could be retained as it is, somewhat awkwardly, in Anderson's translation, but all the previous reasons, plus the strictly Marian context of the earlier part of the poem suggest the reading adopted above is preferable.
MUSIC: General remarks: *Pia mater gratie* is one of only nine conductus within the main Parisian sources that has a final on *f,* whether with *b-flat* sigs or not; all but three of these, moreover, are Marian.[2] One of these pieces, *Celorum porta* (J19/55), also transmitted only in *F,* follows *Pia mater* in the MS. The two works additionally share ornate musical settings with extensive caudae, and both have relatively brief (but differently

---

[1]All such instances include *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268 – at F-7,71), *Superne lux gloria* (J21/341– at *F*-7,76), *Age penitentiam* (H31/11 – 7,82), *O crux ave* (H4/230 – 7,86), *Frater eniordanus* (J36/131 – 7,109), *Clavus pungens* (J39/36 – 7,112), *Gloria sit soli deo* (J43/146 – 7,117), *Ave nobilis venerabilis* (J46/35 – 7,120) and *Helysei manubrio* (I35/153 – 7,121), which follow each other, *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/34 – 7,128), *Circa mundi vesperam* (J54/63 – 7,129), and *Christi miles Christo* (J55/58 – 7,130). The last three are also contiguous and close out the fascicle, followed by six otherwise empty leaves ruled for music.

[2]The nine conductus in *F, W1, W2,* and *Ma* with *f* finals are: *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), Philip the Chancellor's *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16, P46/39), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9), *Fons* (or *Flos*) *preclusus* (K72/129, perhaps by Peter of Blois), and Philip's *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329). The final three pieces in this list are the non-Marian ones.

constructed) texts in comparison to the richness of their music. One should further consult the information given on the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), at F-7,116, which presents additional textual and musical characteristics shared with *Pia mater* and *Celorum porta* . **Motivic profusion:** Like *Celorum porta,* the setting of *Pia mater gratie* features many short melodic motives repeated in and among its caudae; some of the more significant ones are signaled by boxed letters over the staves in the transcription, but many other such gestures could also be cataloged. It seems notable that the opening cauda ends with the same 4L phrases in both parts that appear earlier in the melisma at L5. Likewise, the cauda in the middle of the piece (following line 3) closes with the same music that ends the final cauda, just prior to the concluding *punctus organi.* There is, furthermore, a striking successive reiteration of musical figures within the *cum littera* setting of lines 5-6 (labeled in the score as "h," "i," and their variables), and short instances of canon appear in both the opening and final caudae (see the remarks on the music of these sections below). Also, most of the cadences within the *cum littera* sections show repeated figures (labeled as "d" and "e," with variables), resulting in some very minor instances of syllabic/melismatic identity. **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** Among the numerous repeated motives that occur throughout this piece are two short, five-note (2li,2li,si) formulaic cadential gestures that are also seen in a host of other pieces, and which here occur in the two *cum littera* sections in this piece. These motives are marked above the staves in the score with a boxed "d" or "e," along with any variables. The correspondences are very minor and scarcely worth mentioning, as the only real difference here between the "syllabic" and "melismatic" versions of the figures depends on whether they are set to three syllables (as in no. 1.) as opposed to two (as in nos. 1a.-1c.): **1.** D of "gratie" (l. 1) – *dc,cb,c* = **1a.** TD (transposed) of caud "[fi]lia"(l. 3) – *gf,fe,f* (T); *ba,ag,f* (D) = **1b.** TD of "[glo]rie" (l. 4) – *dc,cb,c* (T); *fe,ed,c* (D) = **1c.** TD of "[recon]cili[a]" (l. 6, last line of poem) – *dc,cb,c* (T); *fe,ed,c* (D). **Opening cauda:** TD: F: a short canon of 4L begins in the D at L36 (marked as "c" in the score), followed 4L later by the T. **Final cauda:** TD: F: note the brief canon of 4L (marked as "j" above the staff) that begins in the D at L7, followed 1L later by the T. T: F: strokes after both the si=*c* and si=*b* at L16-17 are obscured by the following notational figures, as if the strokes were entered in error; they are om here. D: F: conceivably, the phrase that begins at L27 could be shifted to begin 1L later, with its closing stroke interpreted as a breath mark; this alternative rendering appears above the D staff. Given that either of these readings introduces a 1L pause, whether here (as in the alternative) or 4L later (as in the transcription), both of which are relatively uncharacteristic in comparison to the rest of the piece, a possible copying error may have occurred here. The possibility of such an oversight is enhanced by the fact that a turn to the verso side of the leaf occurs at this exact point. The passage in question then, interestingly, is then succeeded by a relatively lengthy string of parallel thirds lasting 6L.

CELORUM PORTA
Conductus (J19/55)

F, f. 331v (7,72)*

I

D [Ce -

T [Ce -

[Ce] - - lo - rum

[Ce] - - lo - rum

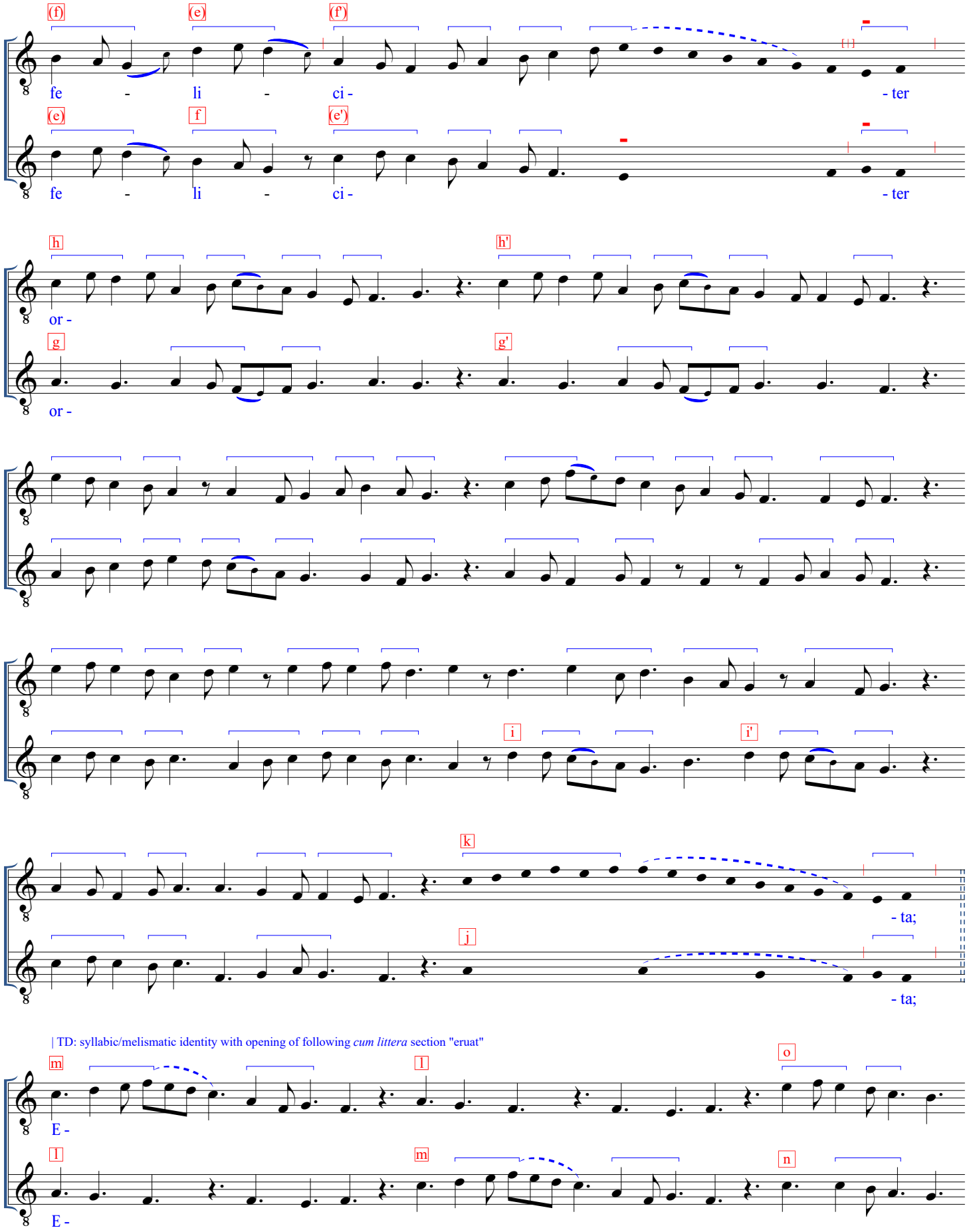
por -
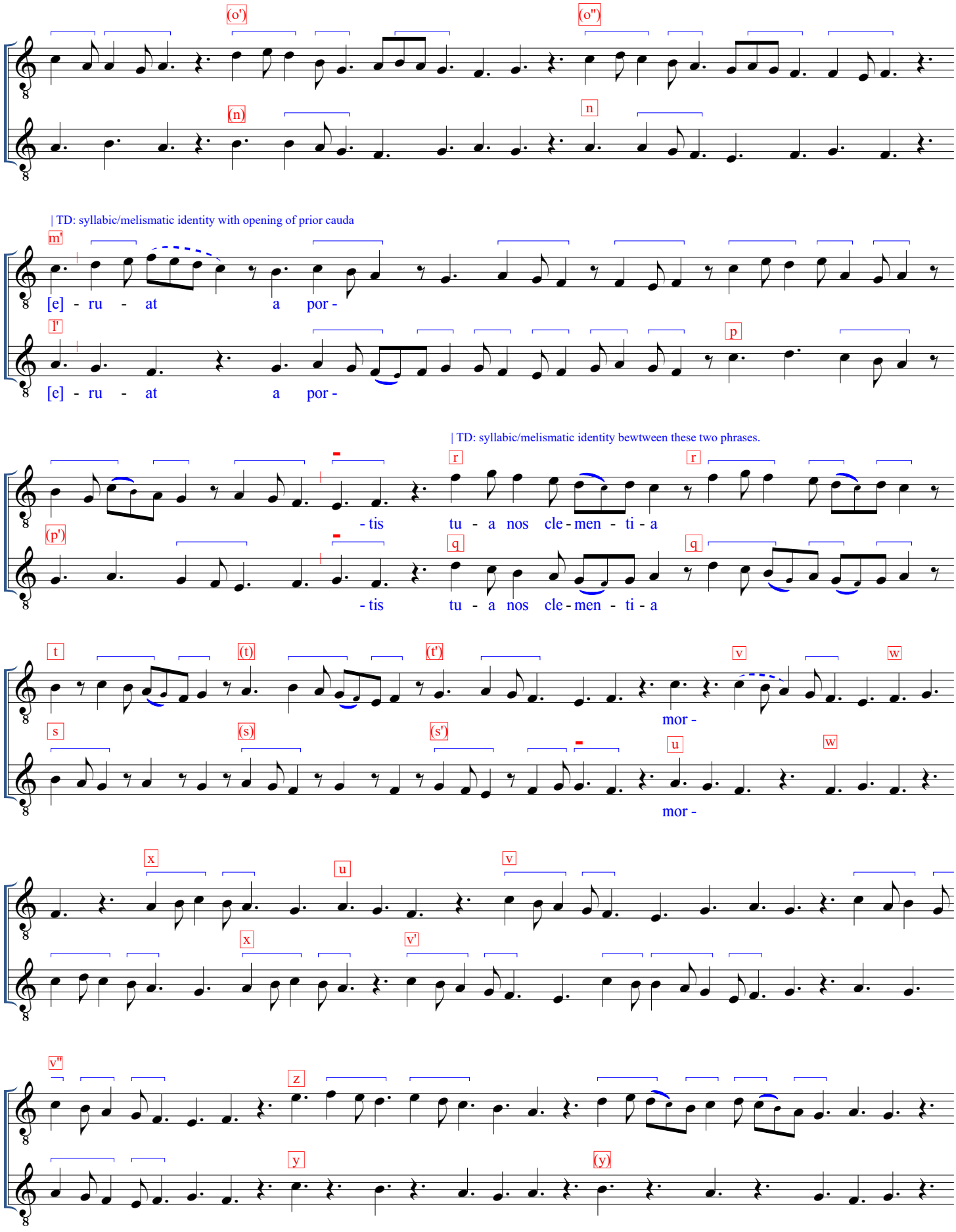
por -

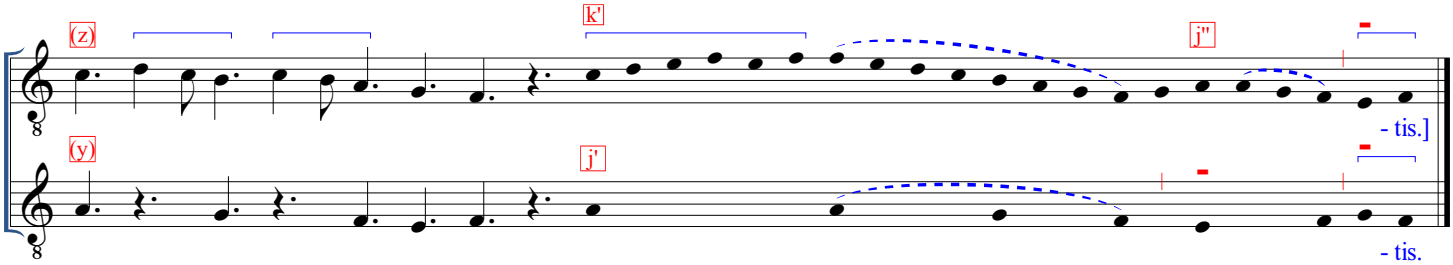
[por] - ta mun - do

[por] - ta mun - do

*Numerous short motives (including ones beyond those indicated here above the staves) are repeated throughout this piece.


(f)
(e)
(f)
fe - li - ci - - ter
(e)
f
(e')
fe - li - ci - - ter
h
h'
or -
g
g'
or -
i
i'
k
- ta;
j
- ta;
| TD: syllabic/melismatic identity with opening of following *cum littera* section "eruat"
m
l
o
E -
l
m
n
E -


(o')
(o")
(n)
n
| TD: syllabic/melismatic identity with opening of prior cauda
m'
[e] - ru - at a por -
l'
p
[e] - ru - at a por -
| TD: syllabic/melismatic identity bewtween these two phrases.
r
r
- tis tu - a nos cle - men - ti - a
(p')
q
q
- tis tu - a nos cle - men - ti - a
t
(t)
(t')
v
w
mor -
s
(s)
(s')
u
w
mor -
x
u
v
x
v'
v"
z
y
(y)


(z)
k'
j''
- tis.]
(y)
j'
- tis.

CELORUM PORTA
Conductus (J19/55)

F, f. 331v (7,72)

I	Celorum porta, mundo feliciter orta, eruat a portis tua nos clementia mortis.	Portal of the heavens, born happily to the world, may your mercy deliver us from the portals of death.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 72, f. 331v: a2; a unique source for both music and text; the single complete stanza amounts to two lines of metrical verse (see the notes on the text), with the beginning of the second line signaled by an uppercase "E." The small hole in the leaf in the top staff of f. 331v, system V, over L11-13 of the cauda that ends line 1 ("or[ta]") seems not to have resulted in the loss of any music. The previous work in *F*-7, *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), shares a number of characteristics with *Celorum porta;* see the separate discussion of this piece, which recalls some of the information given here, as well as the general remarks on the music below.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This short poem, showing conventional Marian attributes of praise followed by a request for intervention by the Virgin, constitutes a single leonine couplet, a metrical scheme of two lines in dactylic hexameter with a two-syllable internal rhyme, most often (as here) placed at the caesura and at the end of each verse.[1] The subject of *Celorum porta* may be either Christ or the Virgin, although the attribute of "porta" suggests the Virgin is much more likely.[2] **1,5:** depending on the addressee, the mention of birth here would make this conductus celebratory either for Christmas or, preferably, the feast of the Virgin's Nativity (8 September).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 2,1:** F: no variants. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Pia mater gratie* is one of only nine conductus within the four main Parisian sources that has a final on *f,* with or without *b-flat* sigs; all but three of these, moreover, are Marian in content.[3] One of these pieces, *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), also transmitted only in *F,* precedes *Celorum porta* in the MS. The two works additionally share ornate musical settings with extensive caudae, and both have relatively brief (but differently constructed) texts in comparison to the richness of their music. One should further consult the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), at F-7,116,

---

[1]Metrical conductus texts within the four main "Parisian" manuscripts *(F,W1,W2,Ma)* are *Alma redemptoris mater* (I23/13), *Celorum porta* (J19/55)–transmitted in *F* just three pieces later than *Alma, Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), and two textually related pieces uniquely transmitted in *Ma: Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317) and *Salve sancta parens enixa* (J57/316). In *Ma,* moreover, *Salve sancta parens enixa* is preceded by the conductus setting of *Alma redemptoris,* All these examples are in dactylic hexameter, except for *Porta salutis,* which offers a single elegaic couplet.

[2]See, for example, lines 1-2,2 of the liturgical Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* (I32/13), which appears in a polyphonic musical setting as a two-part conductus three pieces earlier as F-7,69: "Alma redemptoris mater, que pervia celi / porta manes ..." ("Kind mother of the redeemer, you who remain the attainable door of heaven ... .").

[3]The nine conductus in *F, W1, W2,* and *Ma* with *f* finals are: *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), Philip the Chancellor's *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16, P46/39), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9), *Fons* (or *Flos*) *preclusus* (K72/129, perhaps by Peter of Blois), and Philip's *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329). The final three pieces in this list are the non-Marian ones.

which also presents textual and musical characteristics shared with *Celorum porta* and *Pia mater.* **Motivic profusion:** Like *Pia mater* and *Porta salutis,* the setting of *Celorum porta* features many repeated melodic motives of varying length throughout its course; many of the more significant figures are signaled by boxed letters over the staves in the transcription, but many other such gestures could be cataloged. Especially noteworthy throughout this piece is the exploitation of repetition through melodic sequence. As is typical in these transcriptions, identity achieved through transposition is signaled above the staff by additionally enclosing the identifying letter of the motive in parentheses on subsequent, transposed appearances. Other seemingly significant structural elements are the closely related organal gestures that conclude the two lines of the poem. Although they recall elements of the most common type of *punctus organi* used in other conductus among the main "Parisian" sources, they also differ from such figures in a number of details, particularly the formulas using multiple pitches in the Tenor and the gestures that ascend prior to the scalar descent of the *conjunturae* before the final cadential figures.[4] **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** Two different melodic figures from this piece appear in both *cum* and *sine littera* contexts: **1.** the TD of the opening 4L of the cauda on "e[ruat]" (line 2,1), which begins the second line of the couplet and is then immediately repeated with the voices exchanged = **1a.** the TD of the following *cum littera* segment on "[e]ruat" (line 2,1), corresponding to the first cauda phrase. **2.** the TD of "tua nos clementia" (line 2,4-6), which occurs just after the caesura = **2a.** the TD of the first phrase of the following cauda on "[clementi]a" (line 2,6). In both cases these musical relationships appear clearly intentional and structurally significant enough to consider that these texted portions might be sung to the same rhythms as the cauda; this is how they are presented in the transcription, with the identities noted above the staves. For an analogous situation, see the remarks below on the music of lines 1,3-4. Also compelling in view of the metrical structure of the verse: if the text phrases are executed using the rhythms suggested by the caudae, it would belie any sense that the metrical values in the scansion of the poetry should govern their musical performance. **Lines 1,3-4:** the transcription of this series of sequentially repeated pairs of 3li figures undergoing successive voice exchange has been rendered in the transcription with specified rhythms, since the short cauda that immediately follows continues the sequential descent completely in the T and partially in the D. These relationships are akin somewhat to the instances of syllabic/melismatic identity in this piece. See the above remarks on that subject. **Cauda on line 2,6:** T: F: the first 5 notes (L5-L8) of the second phrase are 3 lower (*gfe,f,*); the editorial correction results in a descending sequence in all the parts.

[4]For a study of the formulaic closing figure of the *punctus organi* that includes a description of its specific components, see Mark Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: The *Punctus organi* and the *Conductus cum caudis,*" *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance: Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag,* pp. 1-35, Rainer Kleinertz and Wolf Frobenius, eds.,Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Berlin (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010); and *idem, Discovering Medieval Song,* 137-143.

HAC IN DIE REGE NATO

Conductus (I30/150)

F, f. 332r (7,73)*

I

D [Hac

T Hac

b a or: or:

b' a'

[Hac] in di- - e re - ge

[Hac] in di- - e re - ge

na - to. frau-de ce-ca de-so-la - to; lux il-lux - it ho - mi-ni
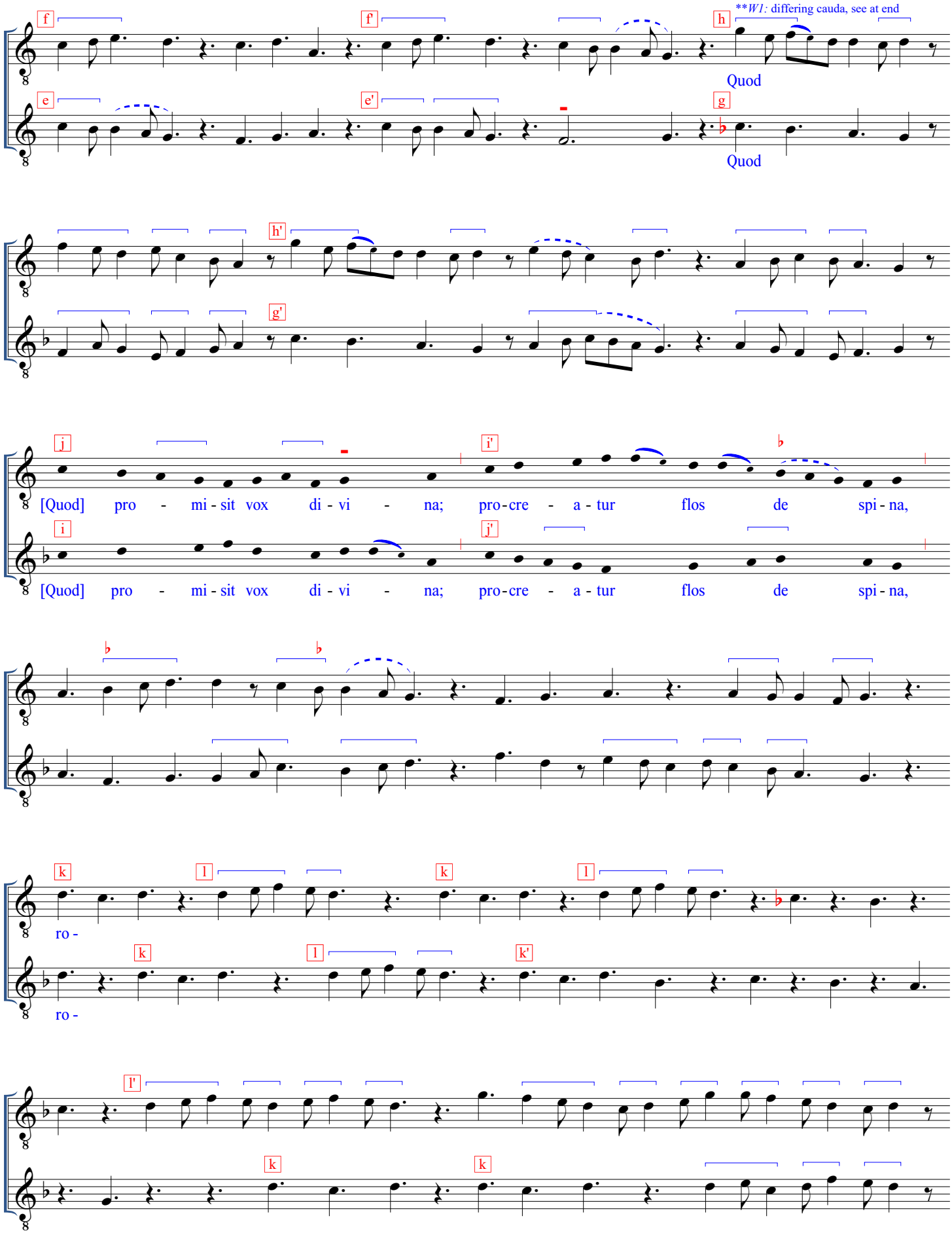
na - to. frau-de ce-ca de-so-la - to; lux il-lux - it ho - mi-ni
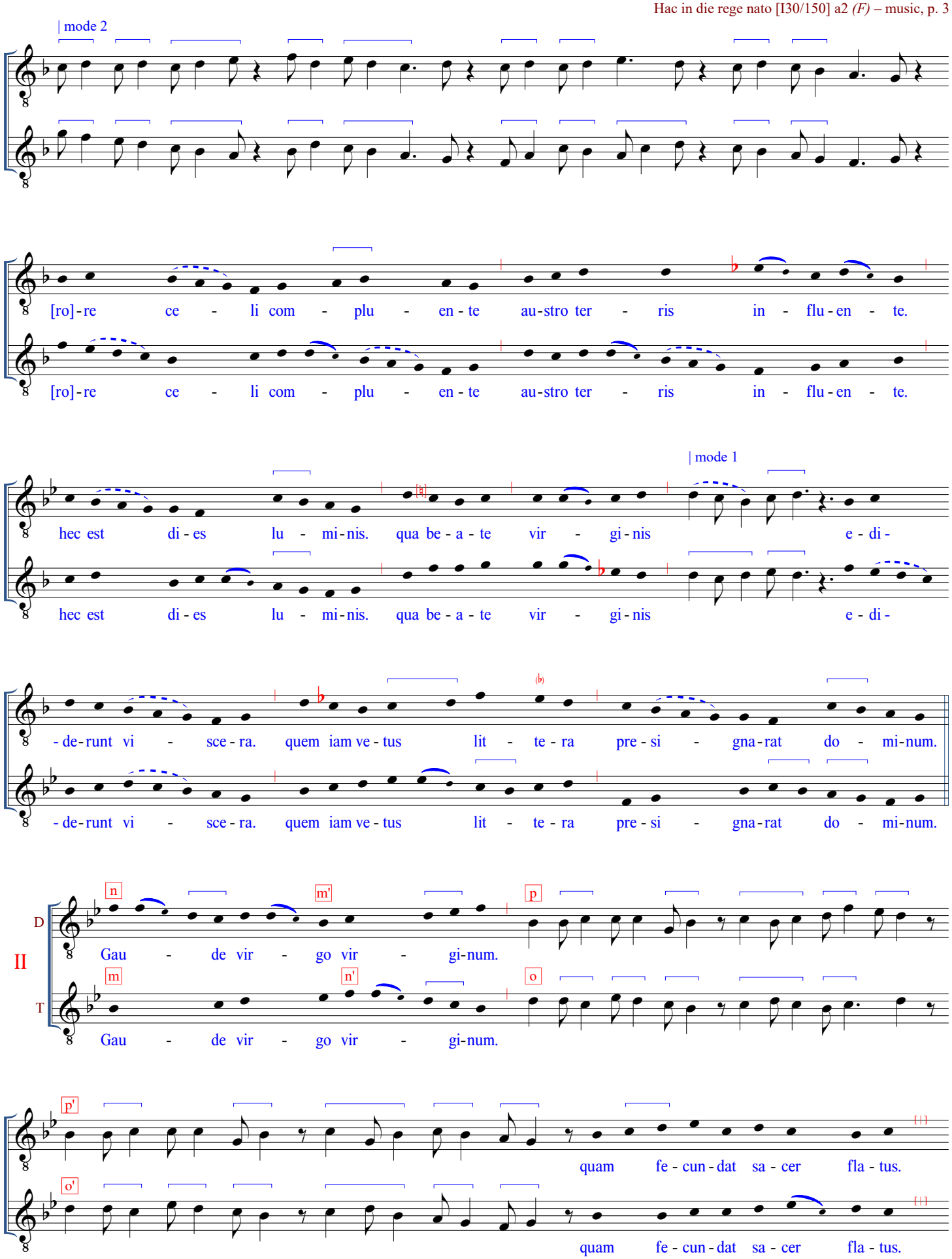
d d' c c'
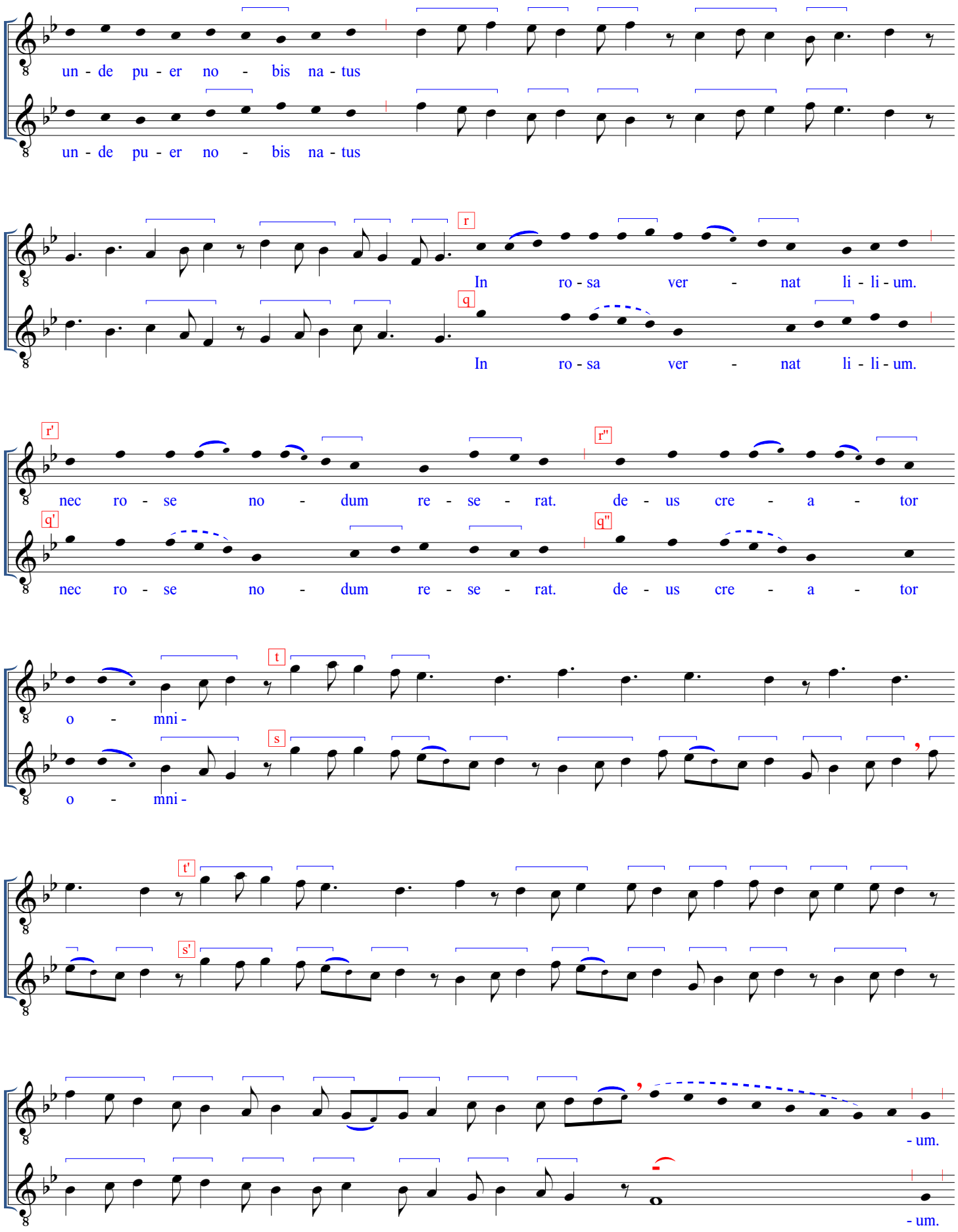
a-bra-he et se - mi - ni.
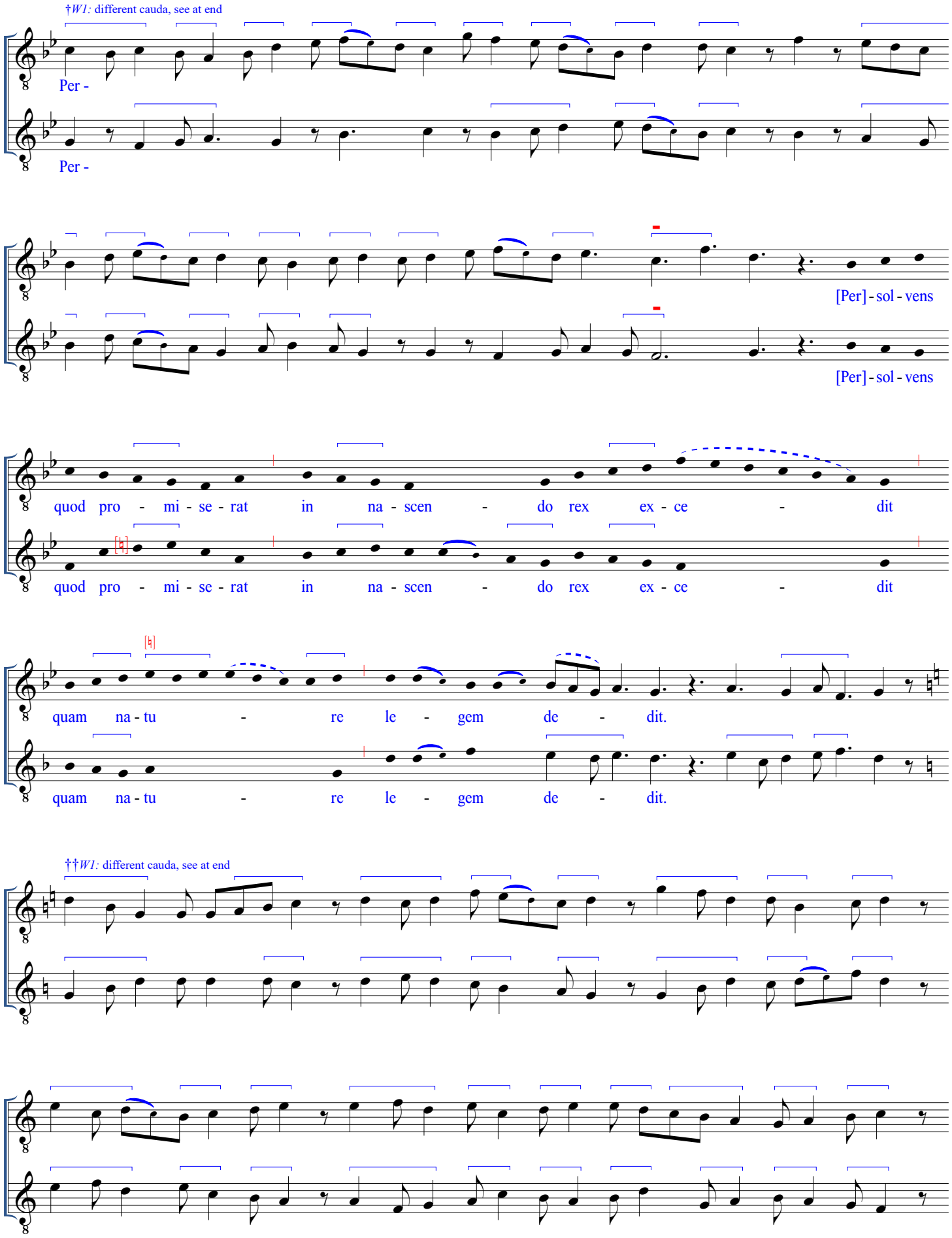
a-bra-he et se - mi - ni.
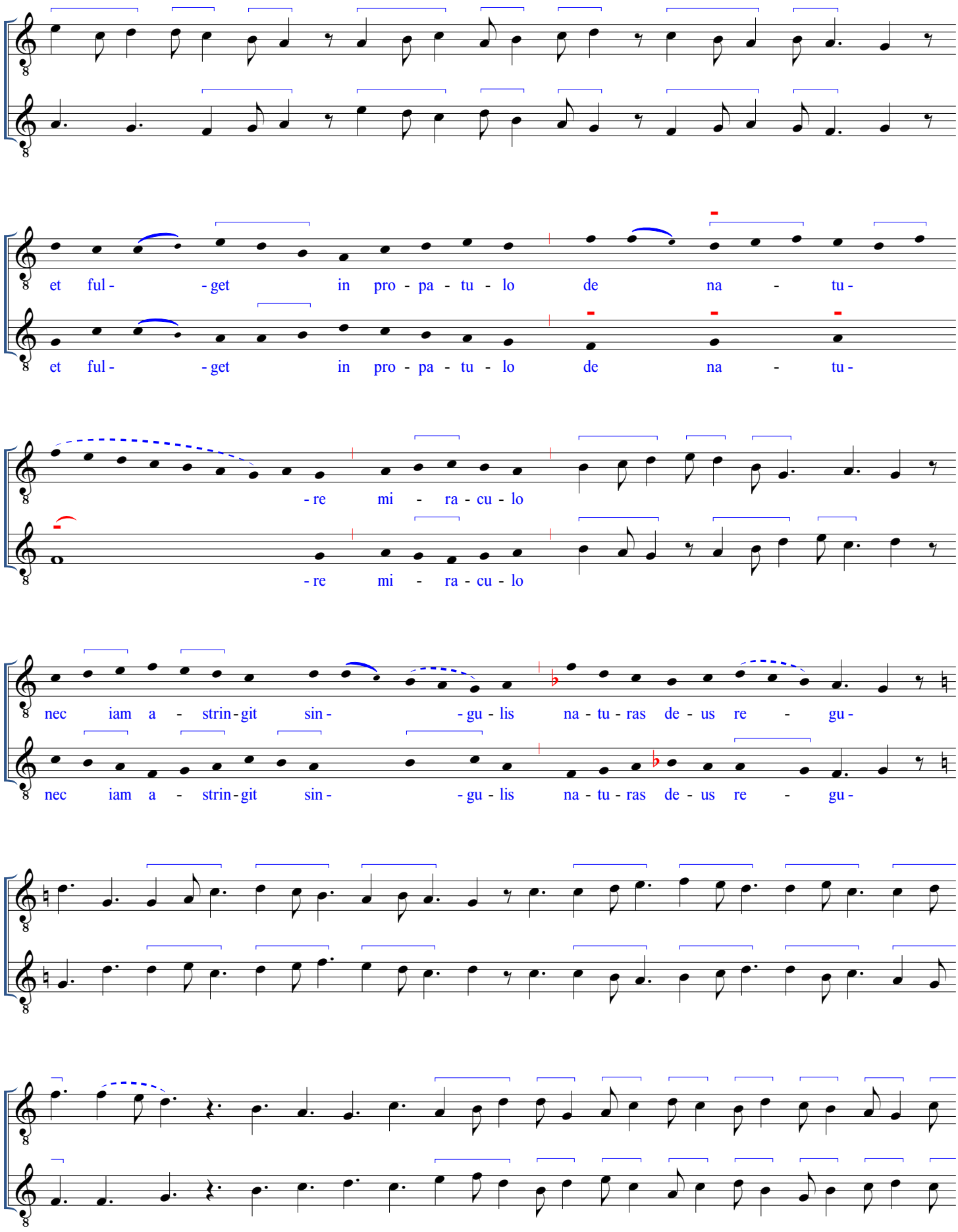
*See at end for the alternative transcription of the opening cauda from *W1*.
Also, *W1* is much more thorough than *F* in its deployment of flat signatures. See the following commentary for details.

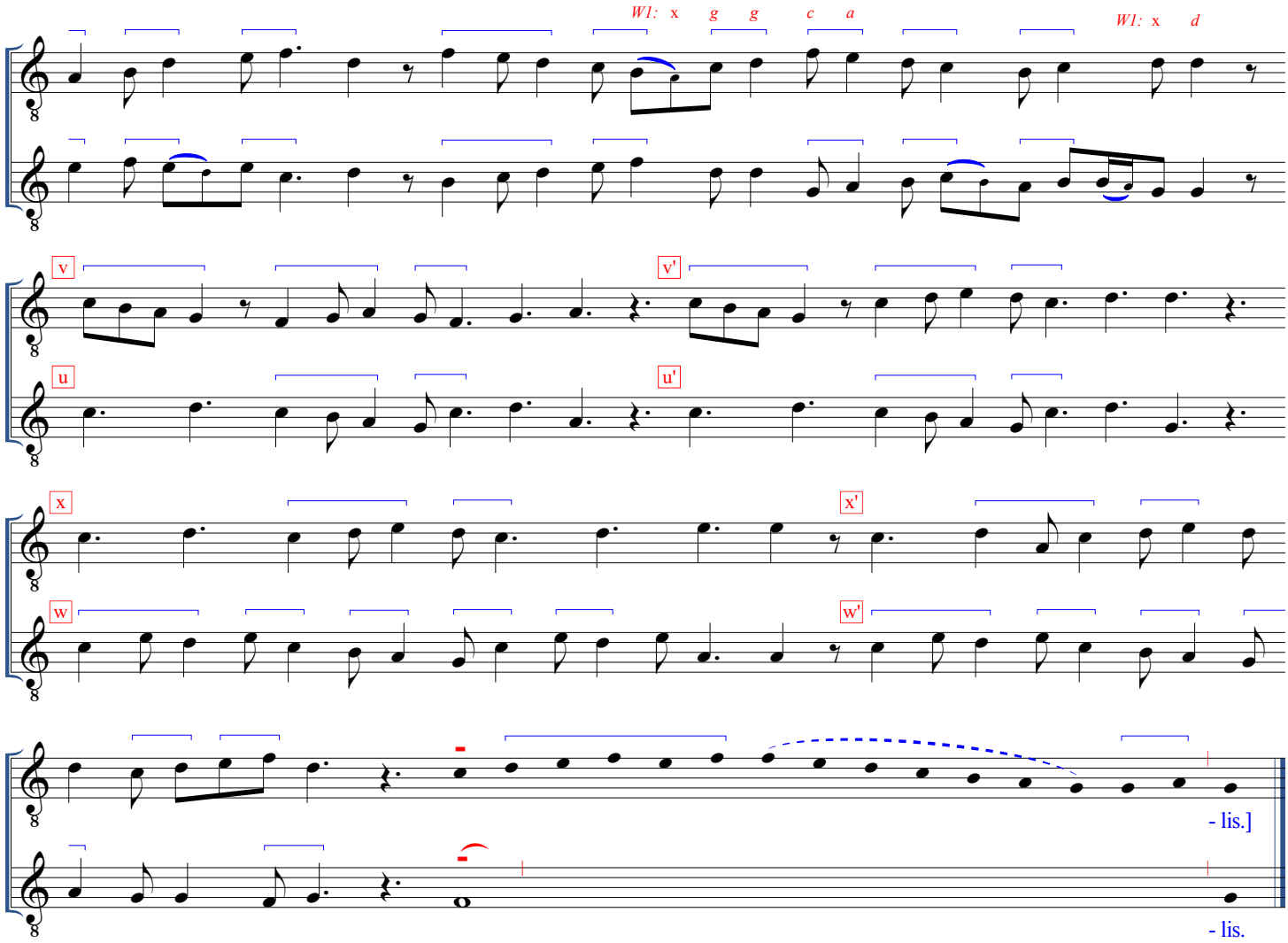

**W1: differing cauda, see at end
Quod
Quod
[Quod] pro - mi - sit vox di - vi - na; pro-cre - a - tur flos de spi - na,
[Quod] pro - mi - sit vox di - vi - na; pro-cre - a - tur flos de spi - na,
ro -
ro -


| mode 2
[ro]-re ce - li com - plu - en - te au-stro ter - ris in - flu - en - te.
[ro]-re ce - li com - plu - en - te au-stro ter - ris in - flu - en - te.
| mode 1
hec est di - es lu - mi-nis. qua be - a - te vir - gi-nis e - di -
hec est di - es lu - mi-nis. qua be - a - te vir - gi-nis e - di -
- de-runt vi - sce - ra. quem iam ve - tus lit - te - ra pre - si - gna-rat do - mi-num.
- de-runt vi - sce - ra. quem iam ve - tus lit - te - ra pre - si - gna-rat do - mi-num.
II
D
T
n
m'
p
m
n'
o
Gau - de vir - go vir - gi-num.
Gau - de vir - go vir - gi-num.
p'
o'
quam fe - cun - dat sa - cer fla - tus.
quam fe - cun - dat sa - cer fla - tus.


un - de pu - er no - bis na - tus
un - de pu - er no - bis na - tus
r
In ro - sa ver - nat li - li - um.
q
In ro - sa ver - nat li - li - um.
r'
nec ro - se no - dum re - se - rat. de - us cre - a - tor
r''
q'
nec ro - se no - dum re - se - rat. de - us cre - a - tor
q''
t
o - mni -
s
o - mni -
t'
s'
- um.
- um.
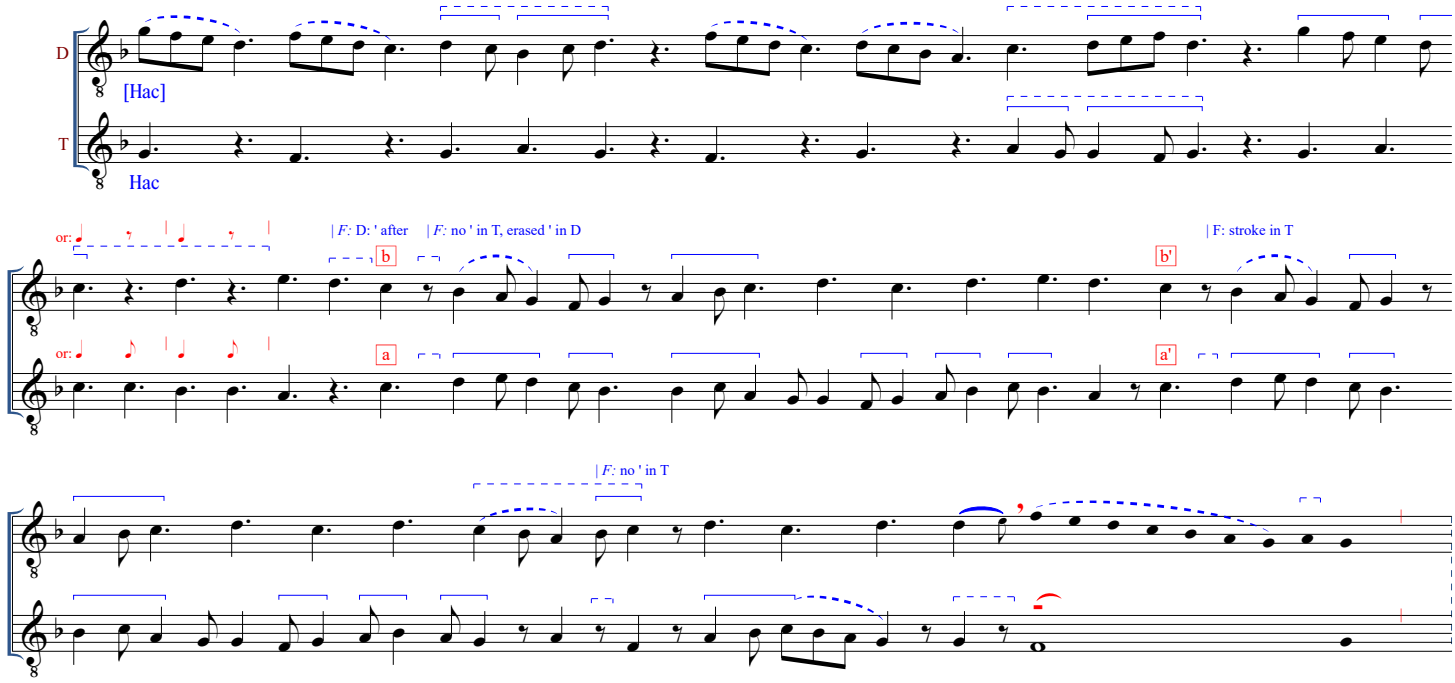

†*W1:* different cauda, see at end
Per -
Per -
[Per] - sol - vens
[Per] - sol - vens
quod pro - mi - se - rat in na - scen - do rex ex - ce - dit
quod pro - mi - se - rat in na - scen - do rex ex - ce - dit
quam na - tu - re le - gem de - dit.
quam na - tu - re le - gem de - dit.
††*W1:* different cauda, see at end


et ful- - get in pro - pa - tu - lo de na - tu -
et ful- - get in pro - pa - tu - lo de na - tu -
- re mi - ra - cu - lo
- re mi - ra - cu - lo
nec iam a - strin - git sin- - gu - lis na - tu - ras de - us re - gu -
nec iam a - strin - git sin- - gu - lis na - tu - ras de - us re - gu -



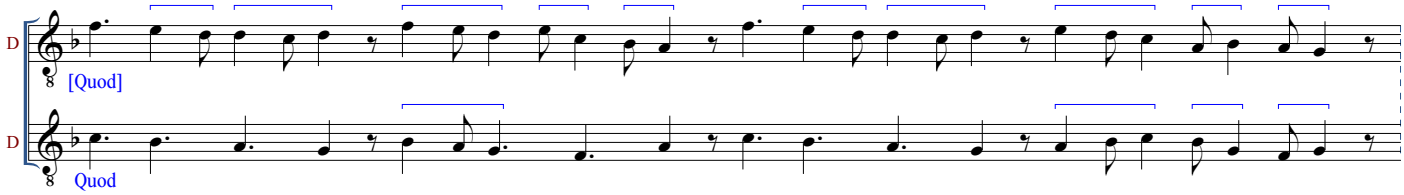
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

**W1,* f. 174v (165v), V: opening cauda with slight variants and changes in phrasing from *F* (differences shown by dashed brackets)

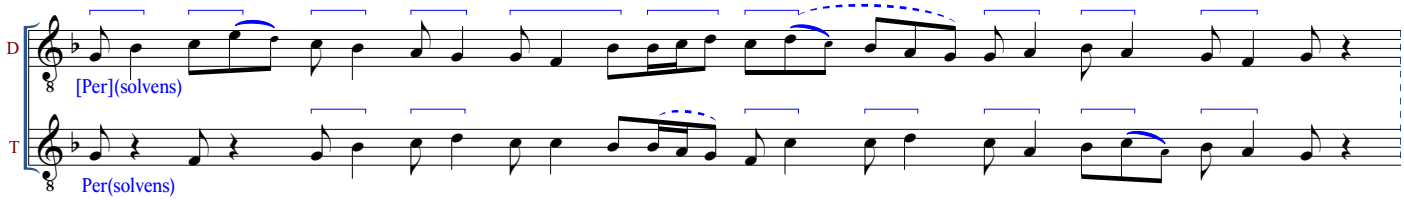


(Alternative readings, continued)

****W1,* f. 175r (166r), II: differing cauda for line 5,1



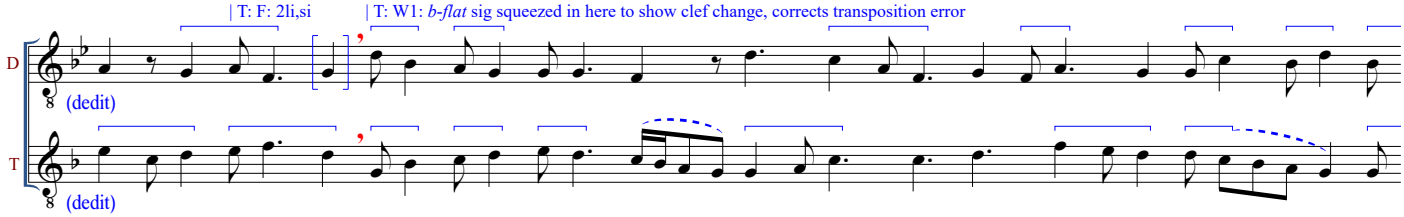
†*W1,* f. 176r (167r), I: different cauda in mode 2 for line 20,1

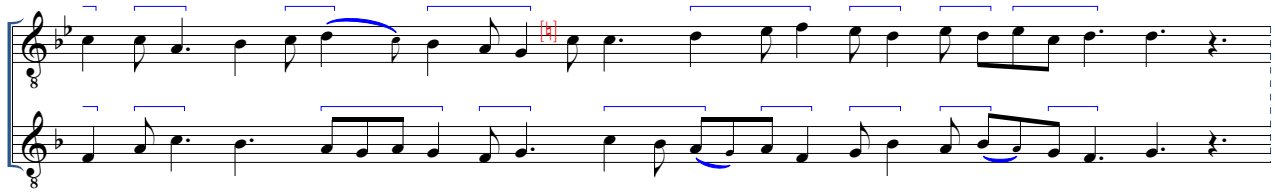


††*W1,* f. 176r (167r), II: different cauda following line 22,4 (the start of the T and D, which corresponds to the beginning of the cauda in *F,* shows apparent omission)

a. in mode 1 throughout (with upbeat phrase following opening gestures in T and D)

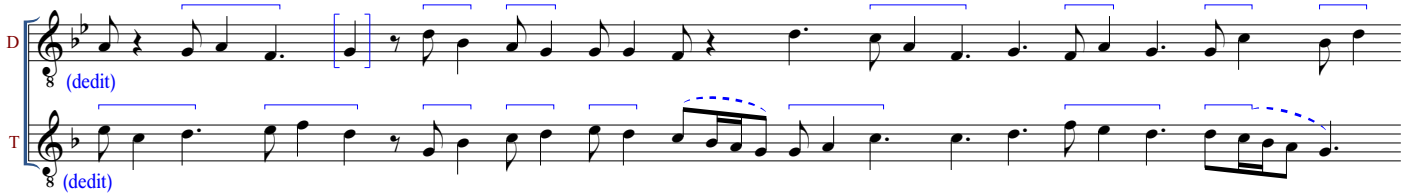
| T: F: 2li,si | T: W1: *b-flat* sig squeezed in here to show clef change, corrects transposition error

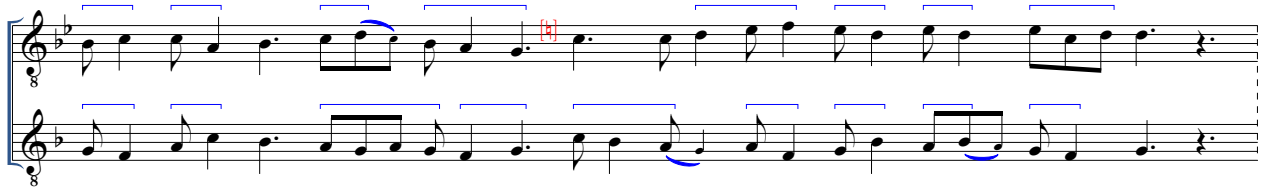




b. in mode 2 throughout (although the opening gestures in the T and D appear to show mode 1)

| T: F: 2li,si | T: *W1: b-flat* sig squeezed in here to show clef change, corrects transposition error





HAC IN DIE REGE NATO

Conductus (I30/150)

F, f. 332r (7,73)

I Hac in die, rege nato,
fraude ceca desolato,
lux illuxit homini,
Abrahe et semini.

Quod promisit vox divina:
procreatur flos de spina,
rore celi compluente,
austro terris influente.
Hec est dies luminis,
qua beate virginis
ediderunt viscera
quem iam vetus littera
presignarat dominum.

II Gaude, virgo virginum,
quam fecundat sacer flatus,
unde puer nobis natus.

In rosa vernat lilium,
nec rose nodum reserat.
deus creator omnium.

Persolvens quod promiserat,
in nascendo rex excedit
quam nature legem dedit
et fulget in propatulo
de nature miraculo.
Nec iam astringit singulis
naturas deus regulis.

On this day, with the birth of a king,
A light shone forth for mankind
and for the seed of Abraham,
forsaken by a blind deception.

This is what the divine voice promised:
a flower is to be begotten from a thorn
through the raining down of the dew of heaven,
as the warm south wind flows over the lands.
This is a day of light,
on which the womb of the
Blessed Virgin brought forth
the one whom the old law had
already predesignated as the Lord.

Rejoice, virgin of virgins,
whom the sacred breath made fertile,
from which a child was born to us.

Within the rose blooms a lily,
and God, the creator of all,
does not unseal the rose's bud.

Completing what he had promised,
in being born this king oversteps
the law he conferred upon nature
and shines out openly
because of a miracle of nature.
And now God does not constrain natural
properties to their particular rules.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 73, f. 332r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with the structurally different II indicated by the same type of capitals that signal the other divisions in the poem at lines 5, 17, and 20; all these segments are shown above by extra spacing. In *F,* the caudae opening lines 5 and 20 and closing line 22 differ from the *W1* setting (see the end of the transcription for the alternative readings); and the piece's opening and closing sections bear signatures, that contradict *W1,* where *b-flat* signatures appear almost completely throughout. Thanks to the placement of the final text syllable, there is a small, staff-ruled portion of the last system that remains unnotated. *Hac in die rege nato* is the first work to be transmitted in both *W1* and *F* since *Consequens antecedente* (H2/68) at *F*-7,66; for additional details on transmission patterns in this section of *F*-7, see the source report on *F* for the conductus *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336), at *F*-7, 67.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 89, f. 174v (165v): a2: Strophes I-II, complete, with the internal division of I at line 5 shown by a sizeable painted initial; and also with a letter "g" at the beginning of II that is the same size, but shaped differently than other forms of this letter when it heads a word (thus possibly suggesting a capital). Similarly,

the start of line 17 leaves space for a possible initial that was never entered, even though the existing text gives "in rosa" with no missing letters; while a further, third painted initial points out the internal division of Strophe II at line 20 ("Persolvens"). The caudae opening lines 5 and 20 and closing line 22 differ from the *F* setting (and are supplied here in alternative transcriptions); and *W1* features *b-flat* signatures in both voices almost consistently throughout, whereas the music in *F* opens and closes with sections without such signs, or with ones that contradict *W1*. *Hac in die rege nato* is the last specimen of the Parisian repertory to be transmitted in the ninth fascicle of *W1*. It is followed by an apparently complete setting a2 of the Agnus trope *Deus deorum* (see *AH,* 47:384-385, no. 419) that concludes f. 176v (167v), the final extant leaf of the gathering. Fascicle 10 of *W1* begins with f. 185r (168r), after a gap of eight now-missing folios, with a fragmentary transmission of music and text from the end of the first stanza (lines 5-14) of Philip the Chancellor's tri-strophic monophonic conductus *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296).[1]

Text only: no such sources in the typical sense, although see the notes on the text below for the use of cento technique throughout this poem.

Music only:

The music of the first line of *Hac in die rege nato* (excluding the initial cauda) quotes both voices from the opening of the two-part conductus *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149), line 1, preserved in:

F: fasc. 7, no. 42, f. 311r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

W1: fasc. 9, no. 71, f. 155v (146v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

Ma: fasc. 4, no. 7, f. 78r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.

CH-SG 383: (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383) collection 2, no. 2 (no. 6),[2] p. 162: a2; Strophes I-III, complete.[3]

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Cento technique:** This poem consists nearly completely of lines drawn from other conductus, usually their incipits, thus strongly implying its later composition. The music of the opening line, in quoting both the voices of its text source at this point, additionally emphasizes this feature. Moreover, in both the MS sources to contain *Hac in die rege nato,* its entry follows all the known pieces it cites.[4] The special

[1]This portion of the MS is edited by Jann Cosart as *Monophonic Tropes and Conductus of W1: The Tenth Fascicle,* Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 38 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2007).

[2]Pieces from this MS 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-SG 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.

[3]Images of this source available here.

[4]This detail was previously noted by Robert Falck, who further stipulates that the pieces cited from *F*-7 all come from the opening segments of the fascicle, from *F*-7,1-47, which feature a nearly unbroken series of primarily through-composed pieces with substantial caudae. The numbers of the pieces in the order they appear in *F*-7 are: 1, 3, 4, 8, 16, 17, 19 and 31, 32, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 45. Falck stresses that the series cuts across the first two main divisions of the fascicle (nos. 1-30 and 31-76) as implied by the presence of the

nature of this conductus text was heralded by Anonymous 4: "Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudas ut *Ave Maria* antiquum in duplo et *Pater noster commiserans* vel *Hac in die reg[e] nato,* in quo continentur nomina plurium conductorum, et similia" ("There is also another volume of two-part conductus with caudae, such as the old *Ave Maria* for two voices, and *Pater noster commiserans* or *Hac in die rege nato,* in which are contained the names of very many conductus, and similar things."[5] The following list gives any known or conjectured text sources by line number; tentative identifications are marked by question marks, unidentified ones by asterisks; both types of these questionable citations are given in quotation marks, as opposed to the italic type of the acknowledged references:

1: *Hac in die Gedeonis* (H26/149), *F*-7,42: as noted, the music in both parts of the opening line from this conductus is also quoted here. A similar verbal incipit is found in the conductus *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151).

2: *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133), *F*-7,1.

3: *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (201/H27), *F*-7,44.

?4: "Abrahe et semini" (R43/-) – conjectural: see line 40 (the second line of Strophe VI) of *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* (H10/203), *F*-7,33: "Abrahe sancto semini"; as well as line 5 of the motet *Deo confitemini* (A3/87 – vdW 131/M13): "ut Abrahe semini"; the opening of the motet *Ex semine Abrahe divino* (vdW 483/M38); and lines 33-34 of the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5): "Seminis / Abrahe stirps inclita." See also the remarks for line 20, where another conceivable reference to *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* is proposed.

5: *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), *F*-7,32, possibly also quoted in line 20.

6: *Flos de spina procreatur ... misso rore* (H29/127), *F*-7,35.

***7:** "Rore celi compluente" (R44/-) – unidentified.

8: *Austro terris influente* (G1/26), *F*-7,31, possibly also quoted in line 15.

9: *Hec est dies triumphalis* (H12/152), *F*-7,2.

10-11: *Beate virginis fecundat viscera* (H15/43), *F*-7,17: this citation could also include Perotin's monophonic *Beata viscera* (K14/42), although all but one of the other known references are to conductus a2 (see the last line, 26).

12: *Iam vetus littera* (H24/167), *F*-7,8.

***13:** "Presignarat dominum" (R45/-) – unidentified.

14: *Gaude virgo virginum* (G5/139), *F*-7,16.

***15:** "Quam fecundat sacer flatus" (R46/-) – unidentified, although see *Austro terris influente* (already cited in line 8), lines 3 and 5 ("Flato sacro succedente ... fervet ignis sed fecundans").

16: *Puer nobis est natus* (H2/276), *F*-7,4.

17: *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184), *F*-7,7.

18: *Rose nodum reserat* (I1/313), *F*-7,45.

19: *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89), *F*-7,3.

?20: "Persolvens quod promiserat" (-/-) – somewhat conjectural: see line 39 (opening Strophe VI) of the conductus *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* (H10/203), *F*-7,33: "Iam solvens quod promiserat," also similar to the incipit of *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295) already quoted in line 5; see also the remarks for line 4, where *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* is also proposed.

***21:** "In nascendo rex excedit" (R47/-) – unidentified.

22: *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192), *F*-7,43.

23: *Fulget in propatulo* (H17/134), *F*-7,19.

---

historiated initials at these breaking points. For this and the previous remarks, see his *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*. Musicological Studies, no. 33 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981), 90-91, and notes 17-18.

[5]Latin text from Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4,* 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1:82.

24: *De nature fracto iure* (I18/80), *F*-7,34.
***25:** "Nec iam astringit singulis" (R48/-) – unidentified, although cf. line 2 of *Naturas deus regulis* (referred to in the following line): "certis
26: *Naturas deus regulis – Hic per mundum* (C7/214), *F*-7,20 (for the second, two-voiced part; the opening portion a3 appears at *F*-6,10).[6]

Textual notes: most of the symbols and references delineated here are treated more fully in the textual notes for the conductus they were drawn from; see these commentaries for more information beyond the brief explanations offered here. **1-4:** Christmas is indicated in the first line as the liturgical focus of the poem. The light shining on mankind in line 3 is a customary symbol of Christ, while Abraham and his progeny represent the old covenant of Mosaic law now overturned by Christ's birth.[7] The deception in line 2 is Adam and Eve's failed resistance to the temptation offered by the serpent in Genesis, 3, that brought on original sin. **5-8:** God's divine voice is channeled through the Old Testament prophesies of the coming of Christ. The flower is Christ, the thorn is original sin (see the remarks below for lines 17-19 for further flower imagery). The Virgin Mary is sometimes styled as a "rose without thorns" *(rosa sine spina)*. The dew is a symbol of God's power, and is also closely connected with typological symbols of the virgin birth of Jesus and thus with Christ himself; see, e.g., the notes on the text for the opening lines of the conductus *Gedeonis area* (F15/143). The north and south winds, respectively, serve as figures for the Devil and the Holy Spirit. **9-13:** the"day of light" associated with Christmas continues the trope of Christ as illumination in line 3, while his predesignation as the Lord existed from the beginning of time and thus was inherent already in the Old Law. Such an assertion arose from the doctrine that Christ exists consubstantially with God the Father from eternity, before his conception and incarnation on earth. For additional information on this point, see the remarks on the text of the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2, and the references to other conductus given there. **13-15:** the sacred breath that infused the womb of the Virgin is the Holy Spirit. **16:** this verse additionally evokes the Christological prophecy of Isaiah, 9:6, which, in its pre-Vulgate rendering ("Puer natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis" – "A child is born to us, and a son is given to us"), opens the introit of the third Christmas Mass. **17-19:** the rose is Mary, the lily Christ (see the remarks above for lines 5-8 for more flower imagery); and although God did not unfold the rose's bud that represents Mary's virginity, he nonetheless chastely entered her womb to bring forth Jesus.[8] **20-26:** this final segment of the poem emphasizes the principal topic of the conductus *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214), whose incipit supplies the concluding line of the poem. It contemplates God's unique power to overstep the laws of nature, laws that he himself enacted and controls, in bringing about his incarnation in human form. With the birth of Christ, God has loosened the constraints on natural laws, and now they are behaving, as it were, "unnaturally."

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **13,1:** the pluperfect form seen here is shortened via syncope from the more formal "pr(a)esignaverat"; *F* and *W1* both offer the same reading. **Versification:** the claim that there are two principal stanzas for this poem is supported by the fact that such a division segments the text into two equal halves, each of 13 lines with a significant syntactic break between them, although they exhibit

---

[6]On the five conductus in *F* and related sources that mix sections a3 and a2, 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-Amadieu, 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).
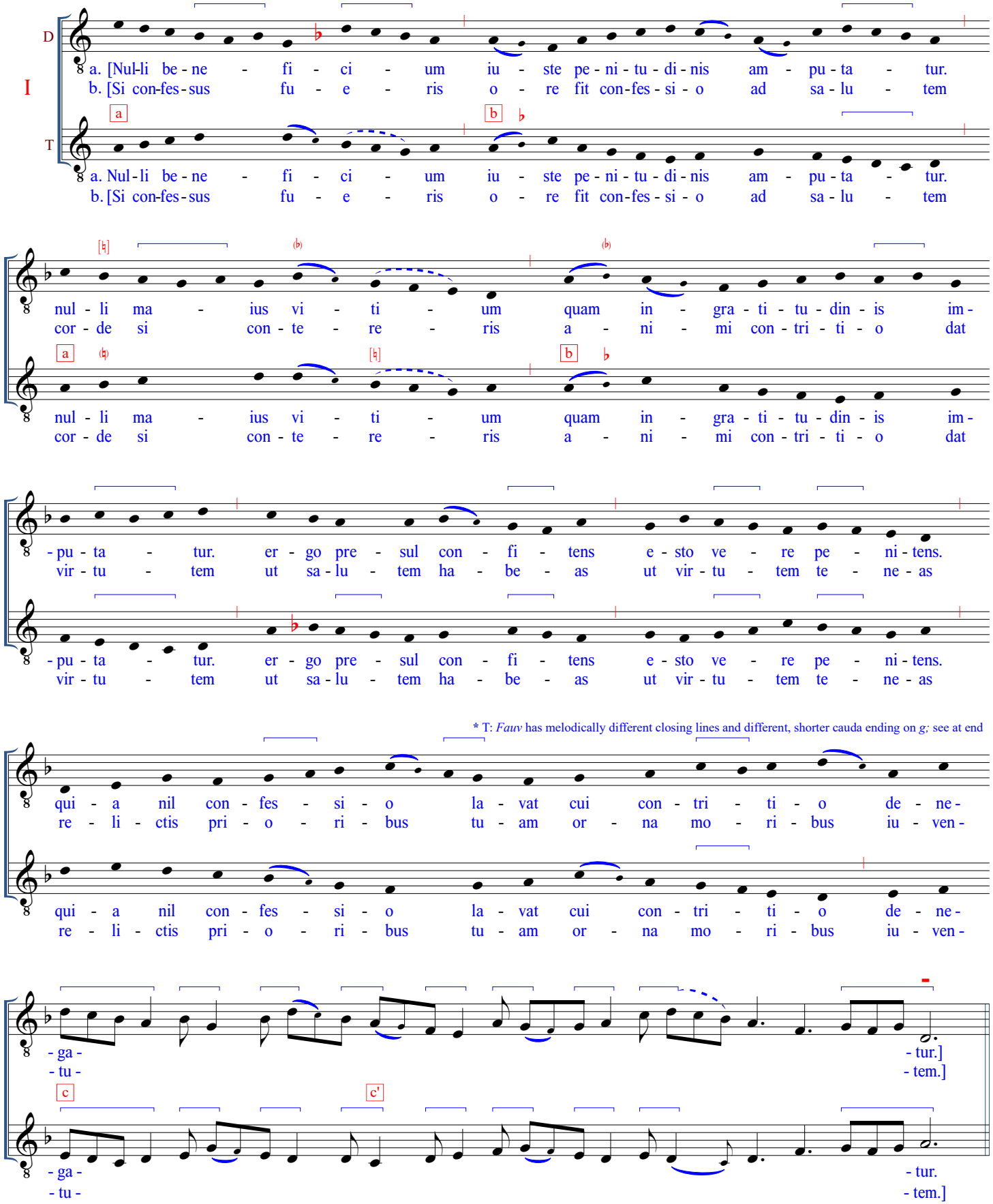
[7]For some biblical citations that echo the language of this line, see Romans, 4:13: "Non enim per legem promissio Abrahae, aut semini ejus ut haeres esset mundi: sed per justitiam fidei" ("For not through the law was the promise to Abraham, or to his seed, that he should be heir of the world; but through the justice of faith."); and Luke, 1:55, which concludes the Magnificat: "Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in saecula" ("As he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever."). There are similar expressions in Genesis, 28:4, and 2 Chronicles, 20:7.

[8]See, for example, the opening lines of the quoted conductus *Rose nodum reserat* (I1/313).

different poetic schemes. The use of capital letters to separate the stanzas into smaller, unequal segments in *F* has prompted the extra line breaks in the conductus poem above. *W1,* though, contrasts somewhat with the disposition shown in *F;* see the details given in the source reports above. **MUSIC:** The relatively frequent instances of paired repetition in many caudae in this piece and in some *cum littera* sections (each signaled by boxed letters above the staves) are notable for restating the music of both voices, rather than just the T. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** the TD of "Abrahe et semini" (line 4) = **1a.** the clearly similar TD in the first phrase of the following cauda on "[semi]ni" (line 4,3). The location of these correspondences articulates the first major syntactic division of Strophe I, and the cauda is followed by a large initial or capital letter in both extant sources. **Differing caudae:** *W1* shows divergent melismas opening lines 5 and 20 and closing line 22; these are supplied as alternative readings at the end of the transcription. **Signatures and accidentals:** the two extant sources show a rather unusual discrepancy in their deployment of signatures, with *W1* implying the use of *b-flat* sigs almost completely throughout, and *F* beginning and finishing with segments largely devoid of accidentals. ***F*** opens with no signatures until the *b-flat* sig in the T alone before line 3,3 ("homini"), which is cancelled by a system change prior to line 4,2 ("et semini"). A second *b-flat* T sig arrives before line 5,1 ("Quod promisit") and is supported by one much later in the D at L33 in the cauda following line 6,4 ("spina"). The D then adds an *e-flat* sig prior to line 8,3 ("influente"), which is canceled by the system change before line 10,2 ("beate"), just before the addition of an *e-flat* sig in the T ahead of the second syllable of 10,3 ("virginis"). A second *e-flat* sig arrives in the D prior to line 11,2 ("iam vetus"), giving both voice parts two flats until the *e-flat* sig in the T disappears after a system change before the second syllable of line 20,3 ("promiserat"). All operative flat sigs are then explicitly canceled in both parts by natural signs preceding the second phrase of the cauda after line 22,4 ("dedit") at L6. The rest of this piece in *F* has only one brief instance of *b-flat* sigs, this time for the closing line 26, where the D places its sign before its initial word ("naturas"), while the T gives it afterwards, before "deus." These are both nullified by explicit natural signs – the last such indications within the piece – that preface the closing cauda of the work. ***W1,*** contrastingly, offers *b-flat* sigs in both parts, all the way through the piece except for the *b-natural* sig in the T before line 23,2 ("fulget") through the first syllable of 24,2 ("nature"), after which the *b-flat* sig is reinstated at the system change and remains to the end. *E-flat* sigs, meanwhile, appear in *W1* in the D before 8,3 ("influente"), disappearing at the system change before the next word at 9,1 ("hec est"). A second *e-flat* sig arises in the D before 10,3 ("virginis'), and is canceled by a system change after the short succeeding cauda. The T gets its first *e-flat* sig before 12,3 ("vetus"), canceled by the system change before the last syllable of 13,1 ("presignarat"). It then reappears before 14,2 ("virgo virginum") and is canceled at the system change before the last phrase of the following cauda at L9. The D in *W1* shows an *e-flat* sig before line 22,1 ("quam nature"), canceled about 8L before the end of its differently configured cauda following 22,4 ("dedit") – see the alternative reading of the melisma given at the end of the transcription. After this instance, there are no further *e-flat* sigs in *W1.* **Opening cauda:** D: F: at L25, following stroke erased and not reinstated here, due to the lack of such a stroke in the repeated portion that follows at L36 (at b'). Although a stroke is present in *W1,* this source shows differing details of phrasing at this point, some of which have informed the interpretation of the *F* transcription. See the slightly contrasting version of the opening cauda as it appears in *W1* to facilitate comparison. In *W1* at L24, for instance, there is no stroke in the D to follow the *d* pitch, but one does obtain after the following *c* at L25, where *F* has the erasure. Additionally, in *F* at L35, *W1* shows no stroke in the D, while there is one in the T; and the circumstances are reversed for each of the voices at L36. Performers should feel free to experiment with the different types of phrasing prompted by the two sources. D: W1: at L45-L49: si,3C, 2li=*d,cba,bc,* which prompts the adopted rhythm of the 4C in *F.* T: F: stroke om at L48 (taken from *W1*), since there is no other indication of lengthening here **Line 1,3:** D: F: 3C,2li=*cba,bc* over "di[e]"; W1: 4li=*babc* gives the more consonant rendering used here. Similar readings to the *F* version of *Hac in die rege nato* appear in the corresponding passage opening *Hac in die Gedeonis* as given in *Ma,* while *CH-SGs 383* corresponds more closely with *W1* at this point. **Final cauda (closing line 26):** D: W1: at L43-L48 this MS shows a slightly different reading of the melisma: the P of the 2li=*cb* is om, and this is then followed by 2si,3(2li),si=*gg,ca,dc,bc,d;* the variant pitches are shown above the staff for comparison.
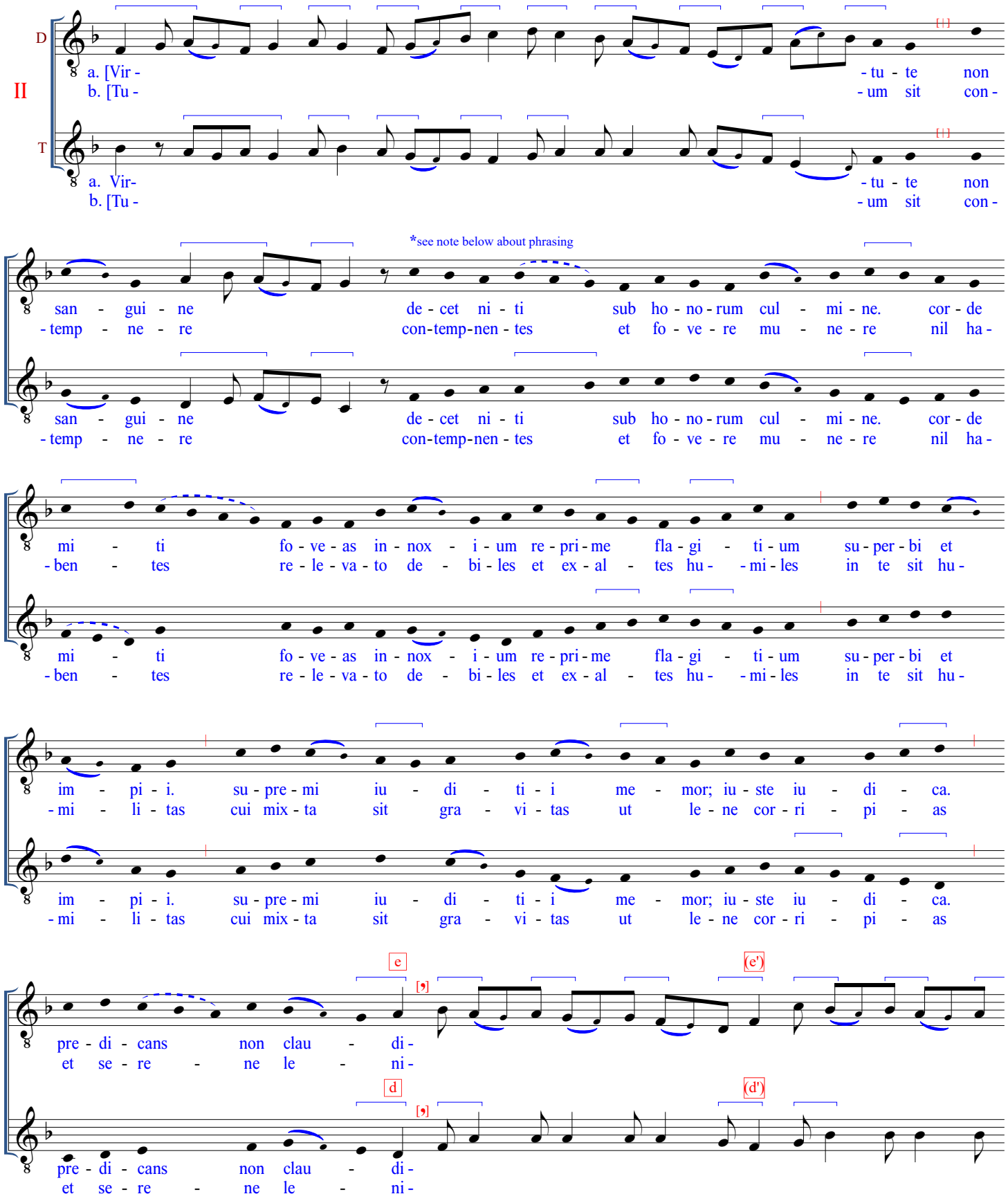
NULLI BENEFCIUM
Conductus (H7/229)

F, f. 334r (7,74): Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa; *W1,* f. 117v (108v) (9,33): Strophes Ib, IIb, IIIb*
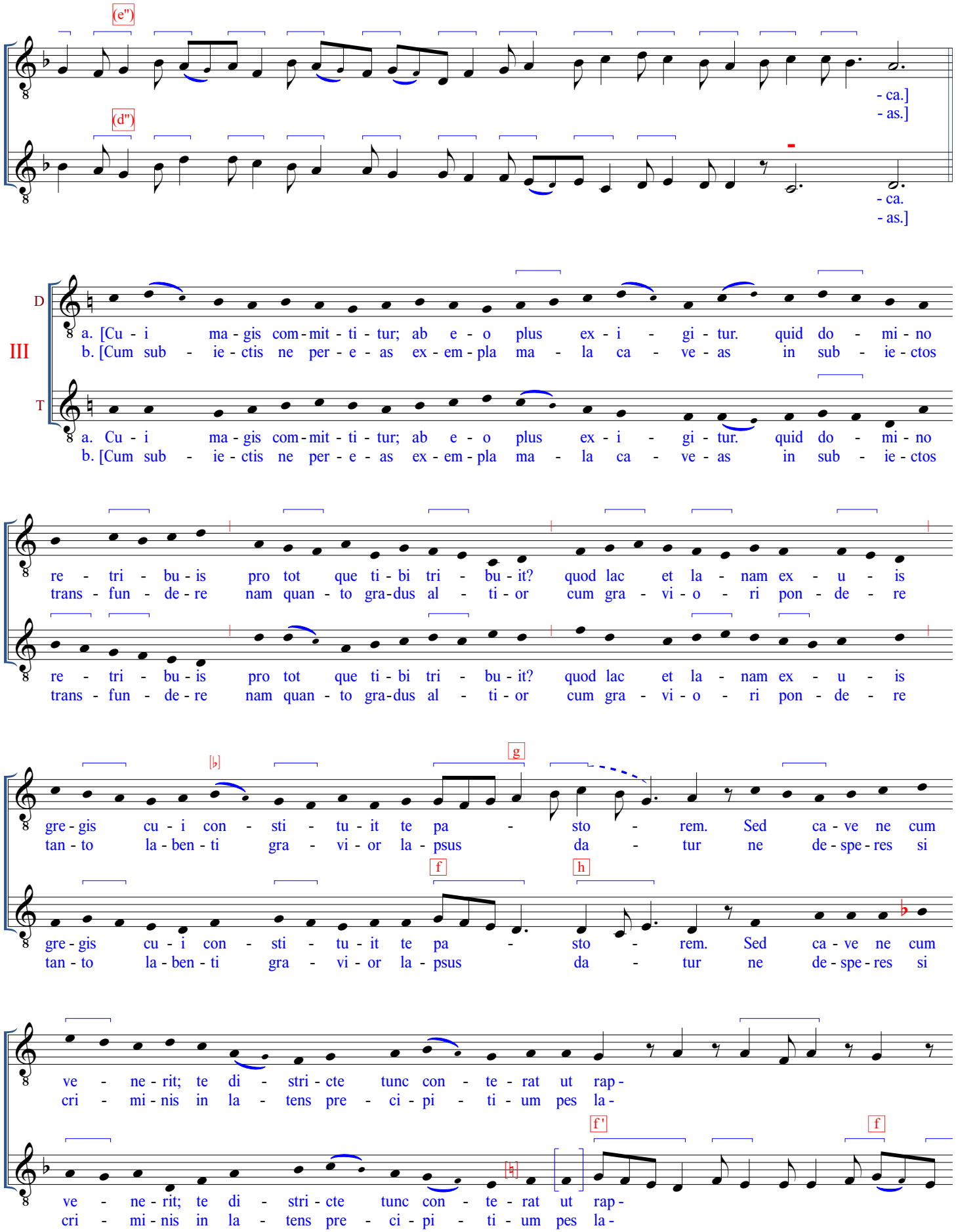


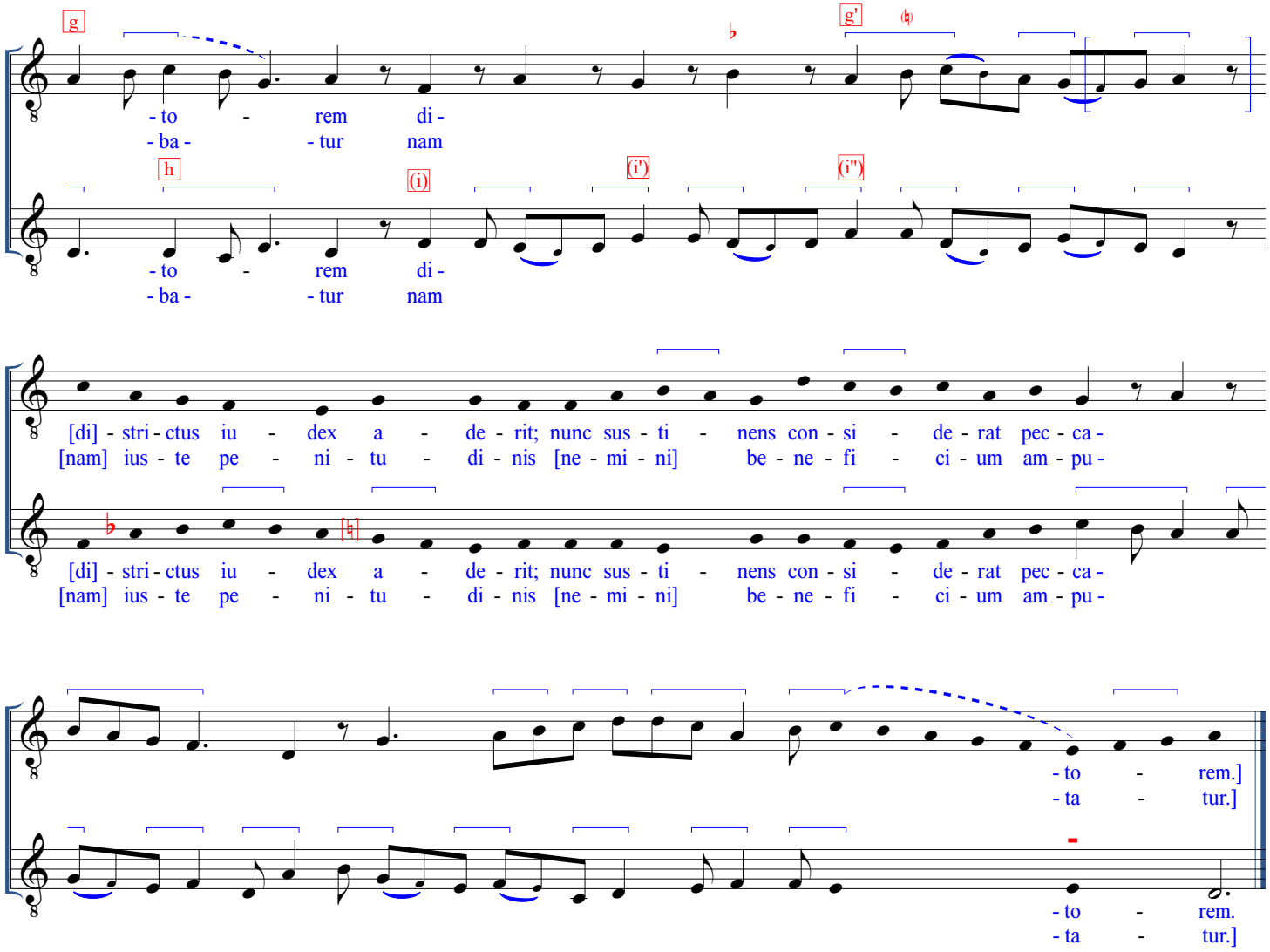
* T: *Fauv* has melodically different closing lines and different, shorter cauda ending on *g;* see at end

*See the observations on the music for lines 1-6 for information on the way the *b-flat* signatures are deployed in the opening of this piece.



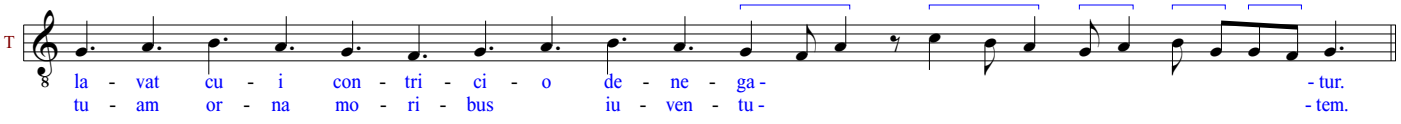
*This is a rather breathlesss stanza in terms of executing its *cum littera* sections. *F* has very few *divisiones* throughout, while *W1* gives occasional and inconsistent strokes (any bracketed items in this segment come from this source). *Ma* shows essentailly no strokes throughout its setting of Strophe II. *Fauv* omits the second stanzaic pair altogether. For advice to performers on how they might effectively insert additional breaks in the music of this stanza that will work with either of the paired versicles, see the observations on the music of Strophes IIa and IIb (Lines 23-32, 33-42) in the subsequent commentary.


(e")
(d")
- ca.]
- as.]
- ca.
- as.]
III
D
T
a. [Cu - i ma - gis com - mit - ti - tur; ab e - o plus ex - i - gi - tur. quid do - mi - no
b. [Cum sub - ie - ctis ne per - e - as ex - em - pla ma - la ca - ve - as in sub - ie - ctos
re - tri - bu - is pro tot que ti - bi tri - bu - it? quod lac et la - nam ex - u - is
trans - fun - de - re nam quan - to gra - dus al - ti - or cum gra - vi - o - ri pon - de - re
g
f
h
gre - gis cu - i con - sti - tu - it te pa - sto - rem. Sed ca - ve ne cum
tan - to la - ben - ti gra - vi - or la - psus da - tur ne de - spe - res si
ve - ne - rit; te di - stri - cte tunc con - te - rat ut rap -
cri - mi - nis in la - tens pre - ci - pi - ti - um pes la -
f'
f



ALTERNATIVE READING:

**Fauv,* f. 7v[a]: differing closing lines and shorter cauda for Strophes Ia and Ib, with contrasting final on *g* (note the exceptional bisyllabic treatment of line 10,2 [“cui”] in Ia in *Fauv*)



NULLI BENEFICIUM

Conductus (H7/229)

F, f. 334r (7,74): Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa; *W1,* f. 117v (108v) (9,33): Strophes Ib, IIb, IIIb

Ia *Nulli beneficium*
iuste penitudinis
amputatur.
Nulli maius vitium
quam ingratitudinis
imputatur.
Ergo, presul, confitens
esto vere penitens,
quia nil confessio
lavat cui contritio
denegatur.

No one is refused
the benefit of
a just repentance.
No one is accused
of a greater vice than
ingratitude.
Therefore, bishop, be truly
penitent as a confessor,
because a confession
from one to whom contrition is
denied washes away nothing.

Ib [Si confessus fueris
ore, fit confessio
ad salutem,
Corde si contereris
animi contritio
dat virtutem.
Ut salutem habeas,
ut virtutem teneas,
relictis prioribus,
tuam orna moribus
iuventutem.]

If you should confess
orally, the confession is made
for the sake of salvation.
If you become contrite in your heart,
the contrition of your soul
confers virtue.
For you to achieve salvation,
for you to attain virtue,
you need to grace your youthful
years with good conduct,
leaving behind what went before.

IIa Virtute non sanguine
decet niti
sub honorum culmine.
Corde miti
foveas innoxium,
reprime flagitium
superbi et impii.
Supremi iuditii
memor. Iuste iudica,
predicans, non claudica.

With respect to high honors,
it is fitting to rely on virtue,
not on one's parentage.
You should indulge a harmless
matter with a gentle heart
and repress the disgrace
of the proud and wicked.
Be mindful of the Last
Judgement. Judge justly,
preacher, and don't stumble.

IIb [Tuum sit contempnere
contempnentes,
et fovere munere
nil habentes.
Relevato debiles
et exaltes humiles.
In te sit humilitas,
cui mixta sit gravitas,
ut lene corripias
et serene lenias.]

Let it be your concern to
despise the despicable,
and to favor those who
have nothing with a gift.
You shall raise up the downtrodden
and lift up the humble.
Let the humility in you
be mixed with gravitas,
so that you chide lightly
and soothe calmly.

IIIa Cui magis committitur,
ab eo plus exigitur.
Quid domino retribuis
pro tot que tibi tribuit?
Quod lac et lanam exuis
gregis cui constituit
te pastorem.

More is expected from one
to whom more is entrusted.
How are you repaying the Lord for
the very many things he conferred on you?
You are making off with the very milk
and wool of the flock to which
he set you up as shepherd.

Sed cave, ne cum venerit,
te districte tunc conterat,
ut raptorem.
Districtus iudex aderit,
nunc, sustinens, considerat
peccatorem.

But do beware, that when the Lord does come,
he then doesn't crush you severely,
like a plunderer.
He will arrive as a severe judge,
but now, waiting patiently,
he is eyeing the sinner.

IIIb [Cum subiectis ne pereas,
exempla mala caveas
in subiectos transfundere,
nam quanto gradus altior
cum graviori pondere,
tanto labenti gravior
lapsus datur.
Ne desperes si criminis
in latens precipitium
pes labatur,
nam *iuste penitudinis*
[nemini] beneficium
amputatur.]

So as not to be undone by
your charges, beware of passing
bad examples onto your subjects,
for the higher the step
and heavier the weight,
the harder is the fall
one encounters in slipping.
Do not despair if
your foot slips into a
hidden abyss of sin,
for no one is refused
the benefit of a
just repentance.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 74, f. 334r: a2; the piece begins at the top of the leaf, though not at the start of a gathering; Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa, only (i.e., only the first versicles of each pair), with the second and third's initials in black-ink capitals and an additional such indication opening line 50, shown by the extra line break in the text above. No space is provided for further stanzas. The transmission of *Nulli beneficium* stands out in this segment of *F* by virtue of its more extensive concordance base; the other pieces in its neighborhood in the MS (*F*-7,67-76) are either unique or appear in only one other source.[1]

W1, fasc. 9, no. 33, f. 117v (108v): a2; Strophes Ia-IIIb, complete, with the text of Ib entered in the right margin after the first system on (the originally unnumbered) f. 118r (109r), with IIb inscribed on this same leaf in four separate segments aligned in the right margin opposite the text entries of the third through sixth systems, and with IIIb entered similarly in five segments written out in the left margin of the next page, f. 118v (109v). The initials for all the stanzas use the familiar plain painted letters of red and blue (IIa and IIIa only) in two different sizes, with those of Ia and IIIa being larger and placed in the margin to the left of the system's writing block. This particular layout of the secondary versicles IIb and IIIb contrasts with the entry of

[1]The concordant sources, outside *F,* comprise *W1, Ma,* and *Hu.* See, for further details, the discussion of *F* in the source report for the conductus *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336), at *F*-7,67.

residual strophes in nearly every other piece in the MS.[2]

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 21, f. 63r: a2; Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa, only, with no beginning initial entered in the space left for it, but (rather unusually) including large, filigreed painted initials, alternating red and blue, respectively, for the other transmitted stanzas; no accommodations for further strophes, as is typical for this source.

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146 [Roman de Fauvel]), no. 24, f. 7r[a] (Strophes Ia-b), 7r[c] (Strophes IIIa-b): a1 (T), in mensural notation; neither the music nor text for Strophes IIa-b appear in this source. Curiously, the two extant versicle pairs in *Fauv* (for I and III) are separated from each other on the leaf. Strophe Ia appears midway through the leftmost of the three columns on the folio, providing the music and text for Strophe Ia followed by the remainder of the poetry of Ib, with its first four syllables – "Si confessus" – also underlaid to music. The work is then interrupted by a musical setting of the only the first stanza of Philip the Chancellor's tri-strophic, through-composed conductus *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308). This latter piece starts near the bottom of the leftmost column and continues into the third, rightmost column, thus skipping over the central column that here transmits only the text of the *Fauvel* romance proper. Following directly after the entry of two additional text stanzas for *Rex et sacerdos* (ones that occur uniquely in *Fauv* and seem to have been crafted specifically for it),[3] the music and poetry of Strophe IIIa of *Nulli beneficium* is given, followed by the residual text of IIIb to conclude the material written on f. 7v. As a result, the contents of the two versicle pairs (Ia-b, IIIa-b) of *Nulli beneficium* are entered non-contiguously, with each member of the pair headed by a filigreed initial, as though each pair of versicles is a completely different piece. The music for the first strophic pair has the melody of its final lines changed significantly and its closing cauda heavily abridged. This portion is provided as an alternative reading at the end of the transcription.[4]

Text only:

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana), no. 36, f. 6r: text alone of Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa, only (as in *F* and *Ma*). A sizeable initial, painted in red with blue-green tracery, opens Ia, and smaller, plain red initials begin IIa and IIIa, as well as lines 7, 50, and 53. The rubric "Item" (in red-painted capital letters above the first lines of the conductus text) refers two leaves back to the heading at the top of f. 5r for the conductus *Non te lusisse pudeat* (K47/223), three poems earlier (and the last one to provide neumes): "De ammonitione prelatorum" ("On the admonishment of bishops"). As with the surrounding works in *CB,* there is space above the text lines that might accommodate musical notation, but none is given here or for any other poem afterwards until f. 13v, supplied for the conductus *Quod spiritu David precinuit* (L77/-).[5]

OxAdd (GB-Ob Add. A .44), no. 81 (with "lxxix" apparently entered twice in the right margin in two different shades of ink), f. 127r: text alone of Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa, only, with capitals to indicate the stanzas. Rubric:

---

[2]I have been able to find it only one other time in *W1,* in the presentation of the residual stanzas for *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1 – setting II of this text), beginning on f. 174r (165r).

[3]I elsewhere denote these additional stanzas as Strophes IIa and IIIa, and do not consider them part of Philip's original textual conception of *Rex et sacerdos.* On this issue, see Thomas 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), 165, note 23, and 683; and Hans Spanke, "Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen,* 37 (1936): 188-226, at 212-213.

[4]Images of *Fauv* available here.

[5]Images of *CB* available here.

"Bonum consilium. ut episopus sit vere penitens" ("Good counsel, so that a bishop may be truly penitent").

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem is a relatively mild admonition to a bishop to observe proper behavior, especially when offering confession and penance to his flock. For other Parisian conductus that address bishops, see my article "Chancellor *versus* Bishop,"[6] particularly pp. 279-281, with reference to the monophonic conductus *Non te lusisse pudeat* (K47/223), which, like *Nulli beneficium,* not only offers advice to a bishop but is also attributed by modern scholars either to Philip the Chancellor or Peter of Blois.[7]
Attributions and conjectured dedicatees: *Nulli beneficium,* transmitted anonymously in all its extant sources, has generated some contention as to its conjectured authorship. The most recent discussion of it by David Traill (based on its linguistic content, manuscript transmission patterns, and connection to the musical repertory of Notre Dame) argues for Philip the Chancellor as its poet, in contrast to the ascription to Peter of Blois offered by Peter Dronke and Carsten Wollin.[8] If *Nulli beneficium* were determined to be by Philip, though, it seems *not* to belong to the series of works that I argue was prompted by the extraordinary naming of William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249) to the see of Paris during the contentious Parisian bishop's election of 1227-1228.[9] Other conceivable candidates for the specific bishop in question – again assuming that Philip is the author – could be his uncle Peter of Nemours, who occupied the bishopric of Notre Dame from 1208-1219, or his second cousin, Philip of Nemours, dean of the Paris cathedral chapter since 1227, who became the bishop of Châlons the following year (reg. 1228-1237). On the latter possibility, see the final point in the notes to lines 12-22, which

---

[6]"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 XIIIe siècle,* Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

[7]For *Non te lusisse pudeat:* besides the modern ascriptions to Philip by Dreves, Ludwig, and Traill reported below, there is a tentative modern attribution to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) by Peter Dronke ("Peter of Blois," 326), and a more confident assertion of his authorship by Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis: Carmina,* 94-95, 330-337. The poem is printed under Peter's name in the edition of his letters given in *PL,* 207: cols. 58B-59B, with indications there that its annexation to Peter's letter 15 occurs in the presentation of these items together in *GB-Lbl Harl. 3672* (f. 19r). The lyric is further ascribed to Stephen Langton (d. 1228) by a rubric transmitted with the poem in *GB-Ob Bodl. 57,* on f. 66v: "Documenta clericorum Stephani de Lanketon." The Langton attribution has not been generally embraced – see Anderson, *NDRC,* 6:137). The modern ascriptions of *Non te lusisse* to Philip the Chancellor appear in Dreves (*AH,*20:32; and *AH,*21:140-141, no. 200), as well as in Ludwig (*Repertorium,* 1/1:267), who essentially reports Dreves's assertions on this piece and supports them, and Traill, "Philip and F10," 244-245, who also sides with Dreves for Philip as author, and says, in discounting Wollin's assertions, that the connections of this poem to Peter's letter – such as the one given in *GB-Lbl Harl. 3672* – occur in recensions of his epistles made after his death (see Traill's "Philip and F10," 245). See also, Traill, "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36," *Studi medievali,* ser. 3, 47 (2006): 267–285, at 274-5, for further assertions of Philip's authorship of *Non te lusisse pudeat.* Full citations for the above works of Dronke, Ludwig, Wollen, and Traill are: **1)** Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Medieval Studies*, 38 [1976]: 185-235; reprinted and revised in *idem, The Medieval Poet and his World*, Storia e Litterature: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, no. 164 [Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Litteratura, 1984], 281-339). **2)** Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis: Carmina,* Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, no. 128 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). **3)** 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 Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964]). **4)** David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina,* 10 (2003): 219-248)

[8]For Traill's claims on the authorship of *Nulli beneficium,* see his "A Cluster of Poems," 281-282; the poem is also signaled as Philip's in Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana,* 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1:486-487. The differing, earlier opinions are offered in Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 224-225; and Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis,* 94-95.

[9]See Payne, "Chancellor *versus* Bishop."

comprise Strophe Ib. **Versification:** Set in the form of a sequence with three pairs of dissimilarly constructed stanzas or versicles, the full complement of extant strophes for *Nulli beneficium* appears only in *W1,* without an expected confirmation in the concordant, text-only source of *OxAdd. Fauv,* interestingly, does show that at least the secondary stanzas Ib and IIIb were known in Parisian circles in the early fourteenth century, but the presentation of *Nulli beneficium* in this MS is somewhat curious, as it divides the poem into two seemingly independent units and interrupts them with the insertion of a different song (see the above source report on *Fauv*). Hence, it could possibly be argued that the secondary versicles of *Nulli beneficium* may not have been widely considered as a part of the original poem. One other factor that may be significant in this regard is that the word "cui," which is treated poetically as a bisyllable twice in IIIa but as a monosyllable in Ia and IIb, might suggest a different author or authors for some of the versicles (see the observations and variants below for the text of lines 10,2, 40,1, 43,1, 48,3). I leave this question open, particularly in view of the disagreements about authorship related above. **Text repetition:** *Nulli beneficium* is one of several Parisian conductus that begin and end with identical (or in this case nearly so) opening and closing lines. The works with this feature comprise *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368), *Celum non animum* (E1/56), *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148), and – as here – *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229) with its slight verbal changes necessary to conform to the differing rhythmical structures of its first and last strophes. Perhaps also significant is the observation that the first three poems of the five listed above are transmitted sequentially a3 in *F*-6 as nos. 19-21, respectively. As a further curiosity, the very next work to follow in *F*-6, *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73), does not offer the exact same type of linear repetition, but it does behave in an related fashion by opening and closing each strophe with the same words. There is, though, an added wrinkle here, since the author of this poem runs the one verb that bookends each of the stanzas through a series of different conjugations. For further information, see the remarks on the texts of all these pieces and the references they contain. **Textual notes: 1-3:** as noted before, this opening statement reappears with a slight recasting as the final lines of the poem (in Strophe IIIb), 66-68. **4-6:** from all appearances, it seems that the ingratitude referred to in line 5,1 is that of a sinner who does not take advantage of God's offer of redemption through confession and penance. In a formulation that likely goes back at least to Seneca's *De Beneficiis,* 1.10.4 (whose precepts arise again in the language of lines 35-36),[10] ingratitude is sometimes portrayed as the worst among vices, and the one that prompts all others.[11] Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was particularly vociferous against ingratitude, even authoring an entire sermon devoted to it (*Contra pessimum vitium ingratitudinis* – "Against the most evil vice of ingratitude" – *Sermones de diversis,* no. 27).[12] Elsewhere, Bernard rails further against the severity of ingratitude in memorable terms: "Nihil ita displicet Deo, presertim in filiis gratiae, in hominibus conversionis, quamadmodum ingratitudo, vias enim obstruit gratiae, et ubi fuerit illa, jam gratia accessum non invenit" ("Nothing is so displeasing to God, especially in the children of grace and in men of conversion, than ingratitude, for it blocks the paths of grace, and, where it should exist, even grace can not gain access.");[13] and again in terms of its obstacles to achieving salvation: "ingratitudo est ventus urens, exsiccans fontem pietatis, venas misericordiae, et fluenta gratiae"

---

[10]For further echoes of Seneca's De *beneficiis* within the Notre Dame repertory, see the remarks on the text for the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132), *Premii dilatio* (E3/270), and *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), line 27.

[11]Seneca, *De Beneficiis,* 1.10.4: "Erunt homicidae, tyranni, fures, adulteri, raptores, sacrilegi, proditores; infra omnia ista ingratus est, nisi quod omnia ista ab ingrato sunt, sine quo vix ullum magnum facinus adcrevit. Hoc tu cave tamquam maximum crimen ne admittas; ignosce tamquam levissime, si admissum est. ("There always will be homicides, tyrants, thieves, adulterers, ravishers, sacrilegious, traitors: worse than all these is the ungrateful man, except we consider that all these crimes flow from ingratitude, without which hardly any great wickedness has ever grown to full stature. Be sure that you guard against this as the greatest of crimes in yourself, but pardon it as the least of crimes in another."). The translation quoted here is from Aubrey Stewart, trans., *L. Annaeus Seneca: On Benefits: Addressed to Aebutius Liberalis*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887), 14.

[12]Bernard's work is available in, among other editions, *PL,*183: cols. 612-616.

[13]From Bernard's sermon no. 2 for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost, "De septem misericordiis," para. 1. The text is quoted from the version in *PL,* 183, col. 339D.

("Ingratitude is a chafing wind, drying up the spring of piety, the streams of mercy, and the rivers of grace.").[14] **7-8:** for further information on the practice of confession and the development of the various public and private forms of the sacrament of penance, see the notes on the text for the conductus *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106); the topic is also mentioned in *Age penitentiam* (H31/11). The responsibility of priests to administer confession in an effective way became more important with the promulgation of Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 ("Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis"). This rule imposed the practice annually upon all faithful over the age of discretion. **9-11:** penance sought through confession cannot be achieved without prior contrition (see the remarks for lines 12-22, below). The priest therefore must affirm at the outset that his subject is contrite so that the confessor may "act truly as a penitent" (another way to construe the meaning of line 8). **12-22 (Strophe Ib):** see Romans, 10:9-10.[15] The language of this biblical reference and that of the conductus poem resonate in several remarks by Thomas Aquinas on penance that may help clarify some of the language in this stanza. Based on his treatment of penance in the *Summa Theologica* (III[a] qq. 86-90),[16] Aquinas considers penance to be both a virtue and a sacrament. Penance achieved sacramentally leads to salvation through justification.[17] To complete the sacrament of penance, one proceeds through the successive actions of 1) contrition of the heart, 2) confession by mouth, and 3) satisfaction in deed.[18] At least the first two components are reflected directly in the conductus text, although they are stated in reverse order. The initial act of contrition applies to penance as a virtue, not a sacrament.[19] The eventual forgiveness that results in justification and salvation is the effect of penance as a sacrament, which begins with the oral act of confession.[20] Thus, forgiveness through sacramental

---

[14]From his sermons on the *Song of Songs,* no. 51, para. 6. The text is quoted from *PL,* 183: col. 1027D).

[15] Romans, 10:9-10: "Quod si confessus fueris in ore tuo Dominum Iesum, et credideris in corde tuo quod Deus suscitavit illum ex mortuis, salvus eris: Corde enim creditur ad justitiam: ore autem confessio fit ad salutem" ("For if you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God has raised him up from the dead, you shalt be saved: for with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.").

[16]The translations of Thomas's work quoted below come from the complete English rendering of the *Summa Theologica* by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Allen, Texas: Christian Classics, 1948 [1911]). This version is available online at http://www.logicmuseum.com/wiki/Authors/Thomas_Aquinas/Summa_Theologiae.

[17]Penance as a virtue is taken up in *Summa Theologica,* III[a] q. 85.

[18]*Summa Theologica,* III[a] q. 90 a. 2 ad 4: "Et ideo, licet peccatum perficiatur in consensu cordis, ad perfectionem tamen poenitentiae requiritur et contritio cordis, et confessio oris, et satisfactio operis" ("And thus, although sin is completed in the consent of the heart, yet the perfection of Penance [i.e., signifying the sacrament when capitalized] requires contrition of the heart, together with confession in word and satisfaction in deed." See also *ibid.,* III[a] q. 90 a. 2 co.: "Sic igitur requiritur ex parte poenitentis, primo quidem, voluntas recompensandi, quod fit per contritionem; secundo, quod se subiiciat arbitrio sacerdotis loco Dei, quod fit in confessione; tertio, quod recompenset secundum arbitrium ministri Dei, quod fit in satisfactione. Et ideo contritio, confessio et satisfactio ponuntur partes poenitentiae" ("Accordingly the first requisite on the part of the penitent is the will to atone, and this is done by contrition; the second is that he submit to the judgment of the priest standing in God's place, and this is done in confession; and the third is that he atone according to the decision of God's minister, and this is done in satisfaction: and so contrition, confession, and satisfaction are assigned as parts of Penance.").

[19]*Ibid.,* from III[a] q. 90 a. 2. arg. 1: "Contritio enim est in corde, et sic pertinet ad interiorem poenitentiam. Confessio autem est in ore, et satisfactio in opere, et sic duo ultima pertinent ad poenitentiam exteriorem. Poenitentia autem interior non est sacramentum, sed sola poenitentia exterior, quae sensui subiacet" ("For contrition is in the heart, and so belongs to interior penance; while confession consists of words, and satisfaction in deeds; so that the two latter belong to exterior penance. Now interior penance is not a sacrament, but only exterior penance which is perceptible by the senses.").

[20]*Ibid.,* III[a] q. 86 a. 6 arg. 3:"Sed poenitentia inquantum est sacramentum, operatur in virtute passionis Christi, sicut et cetera sacramenta, ut ex supra dictis patet. Ergo remissio culpae non est effectus poenitentiae inquantum est virtus, sed inquantum est sacramentum" ("Now Penance, as a sacrament, produces its effect through the power of Christ's Passion, even as the other sacraments do, as was shown above (62,4,5). Therefore the forgiveness of sin is the effect of Penance, not as a virtue, but as a sacrament.").

penance is never achieved without the prior inculcation of penance as a virtue.[21] As a result, the conductus poem connects contrition in the heart with the "virtuous" division of penance (lines 15-17), while the act of oral confession is described as the means that eventually leads to salvation though the sacrament of penance (lines 12-14). As for the third element of satisfaction, it is conceivable that the actions included in lines 20-22 may refer to it, especially if the speaker in the poem is construed as someone offering advice to a relatively younger bishop. In this case the expression "youthful years" *(iuventutem)* would refer to present circumstances, rather than those in the past; even so, this last point is particularly speculative. **23-25:** note the discussion of the worth of virtue over the status of family pedigrees in the notes to the text of the conductus *Nobilitas animi* (J8/220), lines 1-3,1, with its classical reference to Juvenal, *Satires,* 8,20. **28-29:** for a biblical injunction against the proud and wicked in the same breath, see Job, 40:7.[22] **31,2-3:** see Leviticus, 19:15.[23] **35-36:** for other admonitory conductus that treat gift-giving, see the notes on the text of the conductus *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), *passim,* and the pieces in its orbit; these are listed in the references given in the above notes to lines 4-6. **37-38:** on exalting the humble, see, from the Magnificat, Luke, 1:52;[24] and the analogous expressions in Matthew, 23:12; Luke, 14:11, 18:14; James, 4:10; and Job, 5:11. **43-44:** from Luke, 12:48.[25] **45-46:** on repaying the Lord, see Psalm 115:3.[26] **47-49:** note Ezekiel, 34:3, on pastors that plunder.[27] **50-53:** on God as a vengeful judge, see particularly: Psalm 93:1;[28] and Deuteronomy, 32:35.[29] See also the following conductus and motets by Philip the Chancellor: *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85 – a modern attribution to the poet), lines

---

[21]*Ibid.,* IIIª q. 86 a. 6 ad 1: "Unde remissio culpae non fit sine actu poenitentiae virtutis, licet sit effectus gratiae operantis" ("Consequently the forgiveness of sin does not take place without an act of the virtue of penance, although it is the effect of operating grace.").

[22]Job, 40:7: " Respice cunctos superbos, et confunde eos, et contere impios in loco suo" ("Look on all that are proud, and confound them, and crush the wicked in their place.").

[23]Leviticus, 19:15: "Non facies quod iniquum est, nec injuste judicabis. Non consideres personam pauperis, nec honores vultum potentis. Juste judica proximo tuo" ("You shall not do that which is unjust *[iniquum]*, nor judge unjustly. Respect not the person of the poor, nor honour the countenance of the mighty. But judge your neighbour according to justice *[juste]*.").

[24]Luke, 1:52: "Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles"("He has put down the mighty from their seat, and has exalted the humble").

[25]Luke, 12:48: " ... Omni autem cui multum datum est, multum quaeretur ab eo: et cui commendaverunt multum, plus petent ab eo" ("And unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required: and to whom they have committed much, of him they will demand the more.").

[26]Psalm 115:3: "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi?" ("What shall I render to the Lord, for all the things he has rendered unto me?").

[27]Ezekiel, 34:3: "Lac comedebatis, et lanis operiebamini, et quod crassum erat occidebatis: gregem autem meum non pascebatis" ("You ate the milk, and you clothed yourselves with the wool, and you killed that which was fat: but my flock you did not feed.").

[28]Psalm 93:1: "Deus ultionum Dominus; Deus ultionum libere egit" ("The Lord is the God to whom revenge belongs: the God of revenge has acted freely").

[29]Deuteronomy, 32:35: "Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore, ut labatur pes eorum: juxta est dies perditionis, et adesse festinant tempora" ("Revenge is mine, and I will repay them in due time, that their foot may slide: the day of destruction is at hand, and the time makes haste to come.").

23-24, 31-35;[30] *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), lines 13-14;[31] and *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (vdW 451/M37), lines 38-39.[32] **59-62:** the expression in line 59 ("quanto gradus altior"), or a close variant of it, often occurs as the first element of a frequently encountered proverbial phrase, whose continuations essentially adhere to the caveat: "the higher the climb, the harder the fall." See, for example, entries 23583 and 23589, among others, in Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque.*[33] See also the conductus *Celum non animum* (E1/56), lines 13-16, for the metaphor of the unsteady footfall. **63-65:** for the conceit of one's slipping foot leading to misfortune, see particularly Deuteronomy, 32:35, already presented above in the remarks on lines 50-53. Also pertinent is Psalm 114:8[34] and the similar language in Psalm 55:13. **66-68:** as noted above for lines 1-3, this segment is a slight paraphrase of the opening three lines of the poem. The differences are explained by the varied rhythmical structures of the two strophes.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *W1* is the source for the secondary versicles, Ib, IIb, IIIb, all its variants are collated here. **1,2:** F: benefitium. The departure in this case from my typical practice of respecting the orthography of *F* was prompted by the wide citation of this poem's incipit throughout most of the literature with the spelling "beneficium." The same decision applies to the reappearance of this word in line 67,2. For a similar decision, see the observations on the opening lines of the conductus *Seminavit Grecia* (I23/322), and *Si membrana esset celum* (F32/326). **6:** W1: "amputatur," repeating line 3. **10,2:** "cui" is treated monosyllabically here and in 40,1. The opposite is the case with the treatment of the same word in 43,1 and 48,3, as indicated by the poetic scheme and musical setting. This causes a slight problem in the reworking of the final lines of Strophes Ia and Ib in *Fauv,* as the redactor provided an extra note for a bisyllabic "cui" in Ia, but left the closing lines of Ib as they were, with one syllable short in comparison. See the alternative reading at the end of the transcription and the observations below on the music for lines 10-11. **37,1:** W1: "relevato"; construed here as the future imperative form. **40,1:** "cui" is treated monosyllabically here and in 10,2, as indicated by the poetic scheme and musical setting. The opposite is the case in lines 43,1, and 48,3. **43,1:** once again, as in line 48,3, "cui" receives bisyllabic treatment; see the contrasting case in lines 10,2 and 40,1, in Strophes Ia and IIb. **48,3:** F: "cuius"; adopted reading "cui" from W1; treated bisyllabically here as in lines 43,1, but not in 10,2 and 40,1. **52,2:** F: the syllabic division of "raptorem" follows the MS. **56,4:** W1: pareas for the adopted "pereas" from *Fauv.* **60, 2:** W1: graviore for "graviori," with possibly a small corrective "i" written over the "e"; reading adopted from *Fauv.* **64,2:** "latens" is the regular neuter accusative participial ending; the word modifies 64,3 ("precipitium"). **67,1:** W1: "nemini" omitted – possibly as a result of an expectation on the scribe's part that the poem should end just as it began – supplied from *Fauv.* **67,2:** F: benefitium; see the explanation for the adopted reading in the variants reported for line 1,2. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** For the opening lines 1-6, the placement of accidentals is maddeningly inconsistent among the music sources *(F,W1,Ma,Fauv).* All redactions a2 show a *b-flat* sig in the D before the penultimate syllable of line 1,2 ("[benefi]ci[um]"), but none in the T for the entire first line. *W1* prefaces the T of line 2 with a *b-flat*

---

[30] *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), lines 23-24, 31-35: "Vide, deus ultionum; vide, videns omnia ... . Sed, arrepto gladio, scelus hoc ulciscere. Veni, iudex gentium, cathedras vendentium columbas evertere. ("See, God of vengeance; see, seer of all ... . Now, with sword unsheathed, avenge this wickedness. Come, judge of nations, upend the stools of the dove-sellers.").

[31] *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), lines 13-14: "Quam tremendus veniet Deus ultionum" ("How dreadful shall be the coming of the God of vengeance.")

[32] *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (vdW 451/M37), lines 38-39: "Hanc vide, videns omnia, Deus ultionum." ("Look at this, God of vengeance, seer of all.").

[33] Hans Walther, *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).

[34] Psalm 114:8: "quia eripuit animam meam de morte, oculos meos a lacrimis, pedes meos a lapsu" ("For he [the Lord] has delivered my soul from death: my eyes from tears, my feet from falling.")

sig, though there is nothing for this voice in other sources until the *b-flat* sigs before the penultimate syllable of line 3 ("[ampu]ta[tur]") in *Ma.* Both *F* and *Fauv,* though, show no sigs at all for their T until the second syllable of line 7 ("[er]go"). For the repeated segment of the T in lines 4-6, all MSS show *b-flats* in their D and T, except the sig-less Ts in *F* and *Fauv.* The deployment of accidentals for lines 1-6 in the transcription thus attempts to take these discrepancies into account and relies primarily on the indications in *F,* but performers should feel free to explore different options in the choice of which inflections to sing for these phrases. Through the remainder of Strophe I, there are further discrepancies that arise, but generally this segment favors *b-flats* in both parts, where applicable, with a notable high *e-flat* sig in *Fauv* (T only) before line 9,1 ("quia") – not implemented here due to the lower *e* in the D in other MSS. But there are exceptions to this use of *b-flats* in *W1* and *Fauv. W1* leaves off the sig in the T at a system change at 10,2 ("cui [contrito]"), and then gives the D a *b-natural* sig prior to line 11 ("denegatur"). *Fauv,* meanwhile, cancels the flat sig via a system change on the penultimate syllable of the strophe ("[dene]ga[tur]") at the start of its varied, shortened cauda at line 11 that ends, surprisingly, on *g* (this alternative given after the main transcription – see also the above observations on the text for line 10,2). The other stanzas are similarly complicated, although there is a tendency to favor *b-flats* throughout Strophe II and *b-naturals* in III, yet each source but *Ma* shows exceptions for certain passages. The decisions employed in the transcription favor the indications in F, yet resort to the advice of the other MSS when it is deemed necessary. **Line 3,1:** TD: the three parallel sevenths over "[ampu]ta[tur]" that appear in all MSS but for the minor exception in the D of *W1* (see later), are unusual, but they do occur in a penultimate position, which often admits higher levels of dissonance; T: Ma has an erasure evident at the place of the 3C figure in question, but the music entered over it corresponds after all with *W1,Ma,Fauv;* D: W1: 1 of 3li=*e* at this same point. **9,1:** T: Fauv: an interesting *e-flat* sig (not incorporated here) precedes "quia," (=*d,e*), valid through the second syllable of line 11,1 "dene[gatur]." **10-11 and cauda ending Strophe Ia:** T: Fauv: these verses and the following melisma are configured differently in this MS; they are supplied here as an alternative reading following the main transcription. The ending lines of the stanza are changed melodically in *Fauv,* with an additional note for line 10,2 ("cui") that sets the word bisyllabically, rather than as one syllable as in all other music sources. This causes a discrepancy with the text of Ib, which has to accommodate the added note (see one possible solution in the alternative reading). The cauda here in *Fauv,* furthermore, has been drastically curtailed and its final sonority changed to end on *g,* rather than the *a* in the T of all other sources. **11,1:** D: W1: *b-natural* sig precedes "denegatur," valid through L4 of the cauda opening Strophe II. T: F: has an additional siP=P*a* as the very last note of Strophe I (perhaps added as a result of the elongated final at this same point in the D); it is not seen in any of the other MSS and is discarded here. **Questions about phrasing: Strophes IIa, IIb (Lines 23-32, 33-42):** this is rather a breathless stanza in terms of executing its *cum littera* sections. *F* has very few *divisiones* throughout, including evidence of one erased in the D after line 27,2 ("innoxium"), while *W1* gives occasional and inconsistent strokes, discussed below. *W1* is the source for all bracketed *divisiones* at this point in the transcription. *Ma* shows absolutely no strokes throughout all of its setting of Strophe II (including its closing cauda). The only exceptions are one before and after the very last note of the cauda's D to show syllable placement (neither in *F* nor in this transcription). *Fauv* omits the second stanzaic pair altogether, as reported above. One reason for the lack of expected articulations within this segment may be the difficulty in finding suitable places to pause within the music that will accommodate syntactic breaks in both of the paired stanzas. *W1* offers some indicators not seen in *F,* as it provides strokes in both voices after "foveas" (line 27,1) and one solely in the D for the very next word ("innoxium" – this is also where *F* shows its erased D stroke). For lines 30-31, *W1* is similarly inconsistent, showing strokes only in the T following 30,2 ("iuditii") and one only in the D at 31,1 ("memor") – again after the very next word. This latter indication seems significant and necessary, as it calls attention to end of a syntactic unit that finishes within the line (a result of enjambment rolling over from the previous verse). It just may be that the apparently erratic position of strokes here in *W1* could be an attempt to propose phrase endings where one might work with one of the strophic pairs, another for the other. The strokes in *W1* after "foveas" at line 27,1, though, do not seem particularly effective in suggesting phrase endings for either versicle. In Strophe IIa such a position lands awkwardly in the middle of the

sentence,[35] whereas placing the break at this same point in IIb would cause it to fall in the midst of a word ("releva- || -to") at line 37,1. A better strategy might advise pausing after "innoxium," (27,2), as implied by the D stroke in *W1* and the erased one in *F.*[36] Such a location occurs at a suitable syntactic break also in IIb after line 37,2 ("debiles").[37] In a similar manner, it seems right to adopt the logical break in IIa signaled by *W1* after the enjambed interlinear word "memor" (line 31,1). Such a ploy is supported by a D stroke in *W1* at this point. However, the same placement would not work for IIb. It would end up subdividing the word "lene" (41,1). To skirt this problem, one might posit breaking the phrase at a different point in IIb, after "gravitas" (40,4). Here, as remarked, *W1* provides a stroke (the one after "iuditii" at 30,2), but only in the T.[38] Each of these stratagems, therefore, is supported by a stroke in one or the other voice of *W1* for these lines. An additional modification would suggest omitting the plica note in performance at this point in IIb (as *W1* implies in its setting by its absence) for a more effective pause. Unfortunately, should performers wish to take a breath prior to line 27,2 in IIa or 37,2 in IIb, there seem to be no good places to support a pause that would work at the same location in both versicles. If pressed, one might supply one after "culmine" (25,3) in IIa and another following "habentes" (36,2) in IIb. **Cauda closing Strophe II (line 32,2):** TD: W1: strokes follow syllable on "[clau]di[ca]," the first pitches of the cauda, employed in the transcription as bracketed breath marks; D: F: an erased stroke follows the 2li=*df* at L4-L5; om in transcription. **Strophe III (lines 43-68):** unlike Strophe II, there is a bit more consistency among the sources where strokes are concerned. Here the presence or absence of strokes is noted when the usage differs from the transcription, which follows *F.* **43,3:** D: W1,Ma,Fauv: stroke follows "committitur"; none in *F;* this would be a good spot in both versicles for performers to pause, if they wished. **44,4:** T: F,Ma,Fauv: *g* over "[exi]gi[tur]"; adopted *f* from *W1;* T: Fauv, D: W1: stroke(s) after "exigitur," another conceivable place for a pause, although *W1* has plicas here in both parts on the last syllable (implying carryover), while *Ma* gives 2li=*fe* in the T, with a si=*a* in the D. **46,5:** TD: Ma: no strokes follow "tribuit"; D: F: *d,c* for *c,d* over "[tri]buit"; corrected after *W1,Ma.* **48,3:** T: Fauv: stroke follows "constituit." **Cauda on line 49,2 ("pastorem"):** the entire brief melisma here (marked in the score as "f," "g," "h") begins and ends with the same figures that make up the later cauda at line 52,2 ("raptorem"). **Line 50,5:** TD: W1: strokes follow "venerit" (not a good place to pause based on the syntax in IIIb); D: F: erased stroke follows; none in *Ma,Fauv.* **51,2:** D: F: 2 lower for "di[stricte]" =*ba*P; adopted reading from *W1,Ma;* D not in *Fauv.* **51,4:** TD: W1,Fauv: strokes after "conterat" (again, not a good place to pause due to IIIb syntax); no strokes in *F,Ma;* T: W1,Fauv: *d* for the *a* present in *F,Ma* over "[conte]rat." **52,1:** T: F: note *f* om over "ut [raptorem]"; supplied from *W1,Ma,Fauv.* **Cauda on line 52,2 ("raptorem"):** TD: F,W1,Ma,Fauv (T only): opens and closes with the same notational figures that make up the entire earlier cauda on line 49,2 ("pastorem"), q.v. **Cauda on 53,1 ("di[strictus]"):** D: F: at L4 the ficta suggestion comes from a *b-flat* sig in force at this point in *W1,* not in *Ma,* D absent in *Fauv;* at the very end of the this same melisma (from L7,2-L8), the *f*P and following 2li=*ga* is om in *F,* with some indications of erasure at this point; reading taken from *W1* (=*Ma* without the P); D not in *Fauv.* **Line 53,3:** TD: W1: strokes follow "aderit"; none in *F,Ma,Fauv;* a pause not recommended here, thanks to IIIb syntax. **54,2:** T: W1: stroke follows "sustinens"; none in *F,Ma,Fauv,* not a good place for a pause, due to syntax in IIIb. **55,1:** TD: W1: strokes follow "considerat"; none in *F,Ma,Fauv.* Here one might well take a breath before the final melisma.

---

[35]In a translation mimicking the order of the lines: "With a gentle heart you should indulge || a harmless matter [and] repress the disgrace of the proud and wicked" (lines 26-27, break indicated by "||").

[36]This would result in the following division: "With a gentle heart you should indulge a harmless matter || [and] repress the disgrace of the proud and wicked."

[37]This would lead to: "You shall raise up the downtrodden || and lift up the humble" (lines 37-38).

[38]This would provide: "Let the humility in you be mixed with gravitas, || so that you chide lightly and soothe calmly." (lines 39-42).

MANNA MENTIS DAT REFECTIONEM

Conductus (J20/204)

F, f. 335r (7,75)

I

D [Man -

T Man -

b

a

[Man] - na men - tis dat re - fe - cti - o - nem.

[Man] - na men - tis dat re - fe - cti - o - nem.

ta - bu - le le - gem. vir - ga cor - re - cti - o - nem.

ta - bu - le le - gem. vir - ga cor - re - cti - o - nem.

hec ar - cha cor - dis ge - ras. hec

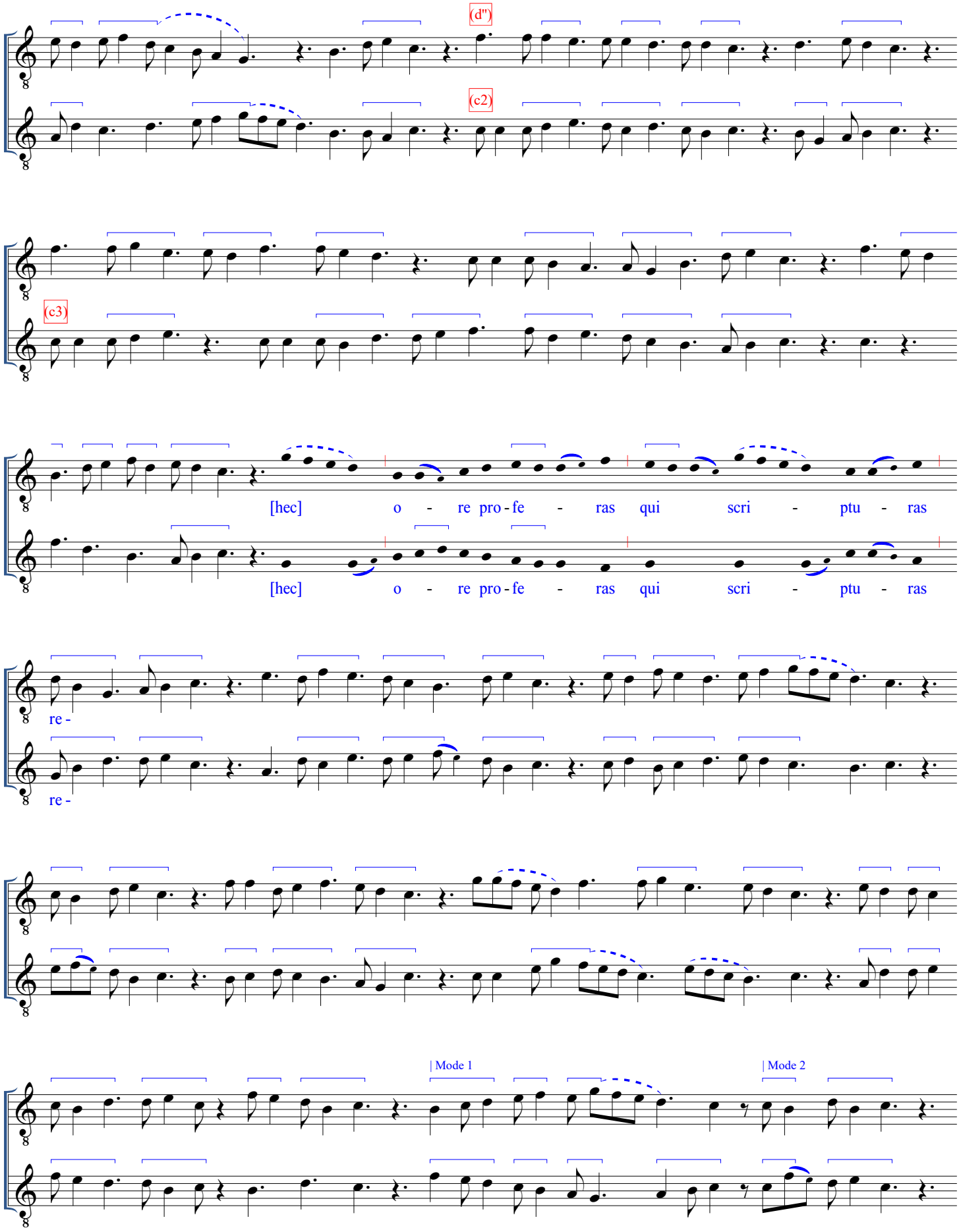
hec ar - cha cor - dis ge - ras. hec

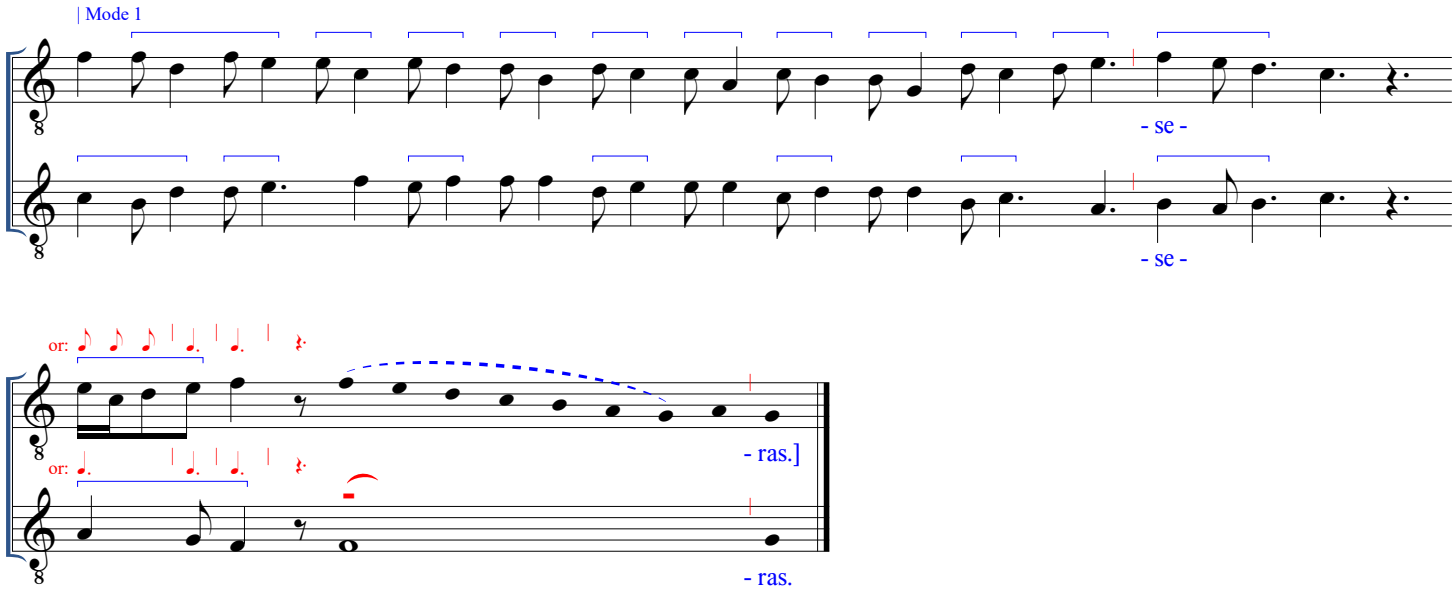
d

c

(d')

(c1)


(d")
(c2)
(c3)
[hec] o - re pro - fe - ras qui scri - ptu - ras
[hec] o - re pro - fe - ras qui scri - ptu - ras
re -
re -
| Mode 1
| Mode 2


| Mode 1
- se -
- se -

or:
- ras.]
or:
- ras.

MANNA MENTIS DAT REFECTIONEM

Conductus (J20/204)

F, f. 335r (7,75)

I	Manna mentis dat refectionem,	The manna offers refreshment of the mind,
	tabule legem, virga correctionem.	the tables provide the law, the staff furnishes correction.
	Hec archa cordis geras;	3 Hold these things in the ark of your heart and
	hec ore proferas,	carry them out in your words,
	qui scripturas reseras.	you who unlock the scriptures.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 75, f. 335r: a2; Strophe I (5 lines), complete, with no provisions for further text; a unique text and musical setting.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-3:** This poem offers moralistic interpretations of the various materials preserved within the biblical Ark of the Covenant and proposes them as qualities a good scriptural exegete should cultivate. Thus, the poem itself presents an exegetical reading, since interpreting the scriptures moralistically was one component of the so-called "four senses" of scripture: literal/historical, allegorical/typological, moral/tropological, and spiritual/anagogical.[1] For biblical references to the contents of the Ark, which included the stone tables of the commandments,[2] Moses' books of the law (i.e., the Pentateuch or Torah),[3] Aaron's flowering staff,[4] and a golden jar with some of the holy manna given to the Israelites during their exodus from Egypt,[5] see

---

[1]The four senses were often condensed into a mnemonic couplet of rhyming dactylic pentameters: "littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria / moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia" ("the literal [sense] teaches events, the allegorical what you believe, / the moral how you should act, the anagogic for what you should strive."). This saying is often attributed to the later thirteenth-century exegete Augustine of Dacia (see his *Rotulus pugillaris,* Angelus Walz, ed. [Rome: Pont. Institutum. "Angelicum," 1929], 259), but its roots reach back to Augustine of Hippo in his *De Genesi ad litteram* (I.1.1 – the text cited here comes from *PL,* 34: col. 417): "In Libris autem omnibus sanctis intueri oportet quae ibi aeterna intimentur, quae facta narrentur, quae futura praenuntientur, quae agenda praecipiantur vel moneantur" ("In all the holy Books, it is necessary to consider what are the eternal things they reveal, what deeds they relate, what future things they predict, and what things they direct or advise be done.").

[2]Exodus, 24:12: "Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen: Ascende ad me in montem, et esto ibi: daboque tibi tabulas lapideas, et legem, ac mandata quae scripsi: ut doceas eos" ("And the Lord said to Moses: Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give you tables of stone, and the law, and the commandments which I have written: that you may teach them.").

[3]See, in addition to Deuteronomy, 31:24-26, given below, Deuteronomy 31: 9-11: "Scripsit itaque Moyses legem hanc, et tradidit eam sacerdotibus filiis Levi, qui portabant arcam foederis Domini, et cunctis senioribus Israel. Praecepitque eis, dicens: Post septem annos, anno remissionis, in solemnitate tabernaculorum, convenientibus cunctis ex Israel, ut appareant in conspectu Domini Dei tui in loco quem elegerit Dominus, leges verba legis hujus coram omni Israel, audientibus eis" ("And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel. And he commanded them, saying: After seven years, in the year of remission, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel come together, to appear in the sight of the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou shalt read the words of this law before all Israel, in their hearing.").

[4]Numbers, 17:8: "Sequenti die regressus invenit germinasse virgam Aaron in domo Levi: et turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores, qui, foliis dilatatis, in amygdalas deformati sunt" ("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

Deuteronomy, 31:24-26,[6] along with Hebrews, 9:4.[7] This inclusivity of the contents is countered, however, by 3 Kings (1 Kings), 8:9, which says that, at least by the time of the building of the temple of Solomon, the Ark contained only the stone tables of the commandments.[8] Echoes of the moral qualities of the materials as shown in the conductus text also arise in a letter (dated 14 November 1210) of Pope Innocent III to Adolphus of Altena (c. 1157-15 April 1220), the former archbishop of Cologne (reg. 1193-July 19, 1205), in *PL,* vol. 216, col. 316B (italics mine): "Sacra quippe Scriptura docente, didìcimus quod in arca foederis Domini cum tabulís legis virga continebatur et manna; *quoniam in pectore summi pontificis, quod per arcam foederis designatur,* cum *scientia legis divinae* debet *virga correctionis* et *manna dulcedinis* contineri ... ." ("As you see from the teaching of holy scripture, we learned that in the Ark of the Covenant of our Lord, along with the tables of the law, was contained [Aaron's] rod and manna; *since in the breast of the supreme pontiff, which is represented by the Ark of the Covenant,* there should be contained the *staff of correction* and the *manna of sweetness* along with the *knowledge of divine law* ... ."). Adolphus went against the wishes of Innocent III when he crowned Philip, the Duke of Swabia, as king of Germany and of the Romans in Aachen on 6 January 1205. This event laid the foundation for Philip to be crowned Emperor. But Innocent was opposed to this outcome and excommunicated and deposed Adolphus on July 19 of that same year. The erstwhile bishop then capitulated to the pope and was allowed to serve as an auxiliary bishop in Cologne, but forfeited his earlier rank. These political issues are not necessarily directly relevant to *Manna mentis,* but they do seem applicable to a conductus by Philip the Chancellor that refers to further developments in the struggle (ca. 1209-1211?), see his *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. The rhythmic structure of this short poem is rather irregular (10p/12p/7p/6pp/7p), yet it seems not to be cast in metrical verse. **MUSIC: General remarks:** Rather striking for this piece with a *g* final is the observation that, beginning with the cauda over line 4,1 ("hec [ore]") up to the phrase that directly precedes the closing *punctus organi*, nearly every cadence within the two voices in each of the melismatic sections of *Manna mentis* concludes on a unison *c,* and there are no exceptions whatsoever to this convention for any phrases where T and D rest together. Given their prominence in the caudae, it thus seems curious that no *c* cadences appear in any of the other parts of the piece, either the opening cauda or any of the *cum* littera sections. **Rhythmic modes:** the ligatures in this unique setting recommend readings in the iambic rhythmic modes 3 and 2 throughout, except for the ninth and eleventh phrases in the final cauda (L48-L54, and L59 up to the *punctus organi*), which suggest the first mode. Elsewhere, frequent repeated notes

---

almonds."). For additional context on this biblical image and its exegetical significance, see the notes on the text for the conductus *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), lines 1-2, at *F*-6,39.

[5]See Exodus, 16, especially 16:33: "Dixitque Moyses ad Aaron: 'Sume vas unum, et mitte ibi man, quantum potest capere gomor, et repone coram Domino ad servandum in generationes vestras' " ("And Moses said to Aaron: 'Take a vessel, and put manna into it, as much as a gomor [i.e., ca. 2.3 liters] can hold: and lay it up before the Lord to keep unto your generations.' ").

[6]Deuteronomy, 31:24-26: " Postquam ergo scripsit Moyses verba legis hujus in volumine, atque complevit, praecepit Levitis, qui portabant arcam foederis Domini, dicens: 'Tollite librum istum, et ponite eum in latere arcae foederis Domini Dei vestri: ut sit ibi contra te in testimonium' " ("Therefore after Moses had written the words of this law in a volume, and finished it: He commanded the Levites, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord. saying: 'Take this book, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God: that it may be there for a testimony against you.' ").

[7]Hebrews, 9:4: "... et arcam testamenti circumtectam ex omni parte auro, in qua urna aurea habens manna, et virga Aaron, quae fronduerat, et tabulae testamenti" ("... and the ark of the testament covered about on every part with gold, in which was a golden pot that had manna, and the rod of Aaron, that had blossomed, and the tables of the testament.").
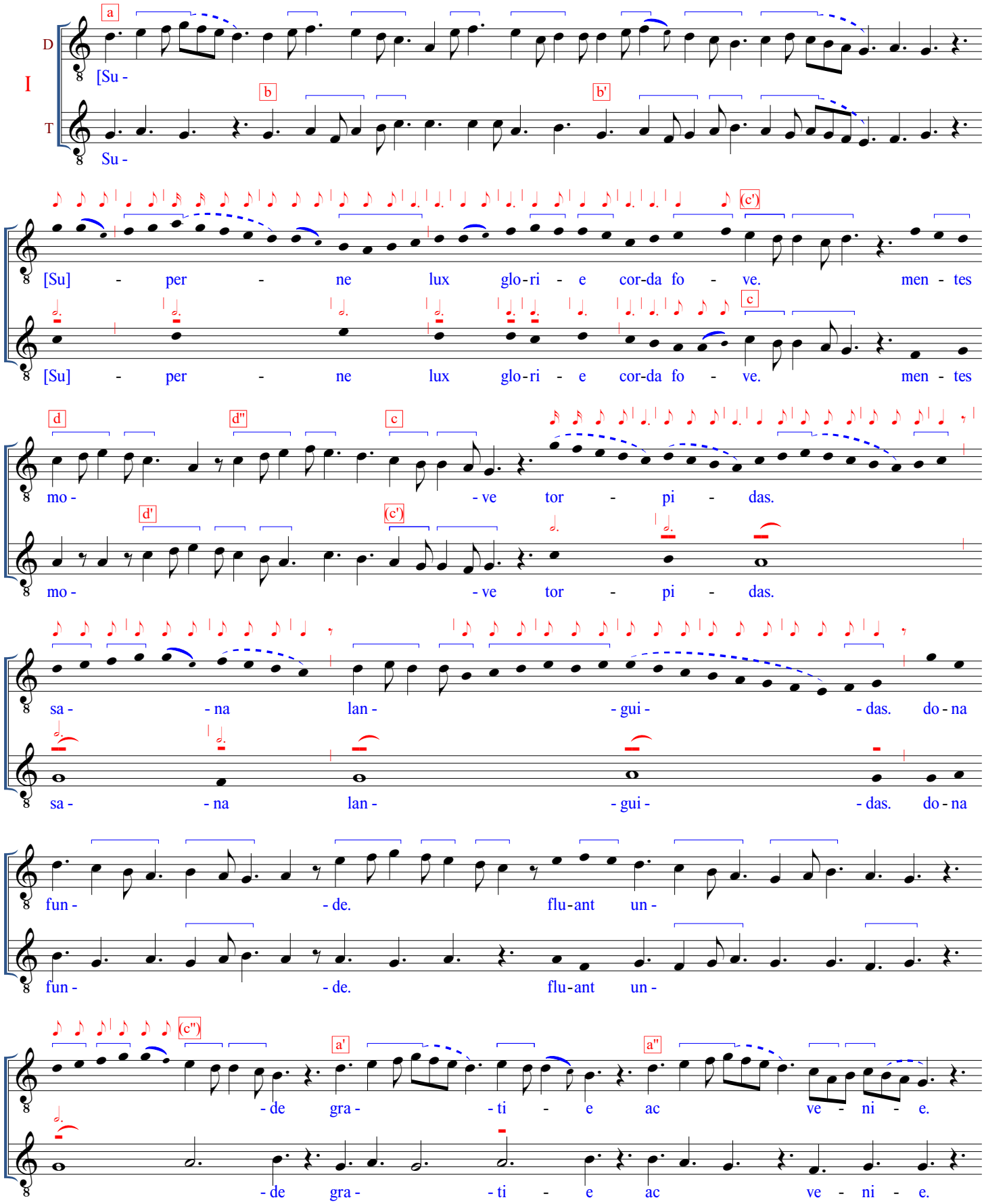
[8]3 Kings (1 Kings), 8:9: "In arca autem non erat aliud nisi duae tabulae lapideae quas posuerat in ea Moyses in Horeb, quando pepigit Dominus foedus cum filiis Israel, cum egrederentur de terra Aegypti" ("Now in the ark there was nothing else but the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt.").

allow for the possibility of mode 1 readings for several phrases, but details of the ligation still suggest that an iambic interpretation is more probable overall. **Line 2,4:** T: the short passage separating the last two syllables of this word ("correctionem") has been erased, with the possibility that the first obliterated pitch was *a;* editorial restoration. **Line 4,1:** D: a certain amount of material has been omitted from the first phrase of the cauda set to this word ("hec [ore]"), with no obvious indication in the unique MS that anything is missing; conjectural emendation. **Final cauda:** TD: F: note the extensive melodic sequence that occupies nearly the entire phrase in both parts.

SUPERNE LUX GLORIE

Conductus (J21/341)

F, f. 335v (7,76)*



*Mode 3 or mixed modes 1 and 3 also possible for this cauda; see alternative readings at end. Other caudae here may also be rendered in mode 3.

e

re - - nes mun - - da cor fe - cun -

re - - nes mun - - da cor fe - cun -

e'

**mode 3 or mixed modes 1 and 3 also possible for this phrase; see alternative readings at end

- da.]

- da.

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Opening cauda:

a. mode 3, both voices

D [Su](perne)

T Su(perne)

b. mode 1 in T, mode 3 in D

D [Su](perne)

T Su(perne)

**Final cauda, L23 to end:

a. mode 3 in T, in D beginning at L30
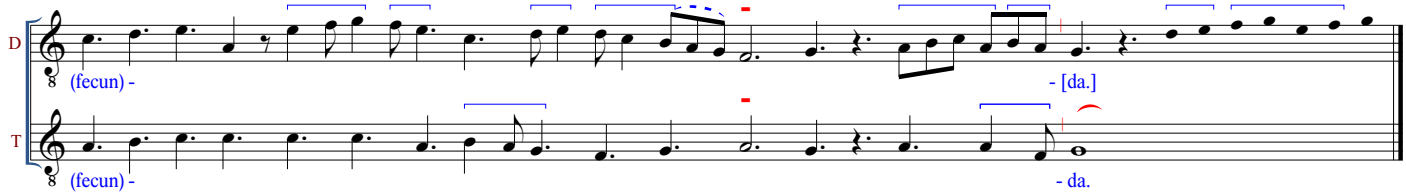
D (fecun) - - [da.]

T (fecun) - - da.

(continued)

(alternative readings, cont.)

b. mode 1 in T, mode 3 in D beginning at L30



SUPERNE LUX GLORIE

Conductus (J21/341)

F, f. 335v (7,76)

I	Superne lux glorie,		Light of celestial glory,
	corda fove. Mentes move		soothe hearts. Bestir and
	torpidas, sana languidas.		heal sluggish, feeble minds.
	Dona funde. Fluant unde		Pour forth gifts. Let flow the streams
	gratie ac venie.	5	of grace and favor.
	Renes munda; cor fecunda.		Cleanse innermost thoughts; make fruitful the heart.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 76, f. 335v: a2; Strophe I (6 lines), complete, with no provisions for further text, and with its opening blue filigreed initial beginning mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), the second of only 12 times this happens in *F*-7.[1] This unique textual and musical setting fills up the remainder of the leaf (although not the end of a gathering). The following work, *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), seems to mark a major break in the MS with a large historiated initial and a return to more widely transmitted pieces after a series of mostly unique works or ones with a fairly limited spread.[2]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 4,3-6:** cf. Philip the Chancellor's organum prosula *Associa tecum in patria / Sancte [Eligi]* (K80/22 – vdW 706c/O27), lines 26-28: "Renes lustra; cor illustra unda gratie fecunda" ("Purify our innermost thoughts; illuminate the heart with the life-giving water of grace."). **6:** see Psalm 7:10: "Consumetur nequitia peccatorum, et diriges justum; scrutans corda et renes, Deus" ("The wickedness of sinners shall be brought to nought, and you shall direct the just; the searcher of hearts and reins [i.e., innermost thoughts, soul, or mind] is God."); and the similar expression in Revelation, 2:23; cf. also Jeremiah, 11:20, Psalm 25:2, Psalm 72:21.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **Versification:** There are various ways to interpret the line divisions of the text. In this case, in contrast to the presentations in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xiii, and on the CPI website, I have chosen to go with longer lines of seven and eight syllables with alternating proparoxytonic and paroxytonic accentual patterns. The result is a six-line stanza with the form 7pp/8p/8pp/8p/7pp/8p, where each even-numbered line is 8p and the structure of the first and last of the three couplets is the same. Except for line 1, whose indivisible 7pp length prompted me to choose longer dispositions for the other verses, all lines are separable through internal rhymes (4p+4p, 3pp+5pp, 3p+4pp); these are shown through additional horizontal spacing in the text above. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** Although rendered here in mode 1, this section suggests the likelihood of an iambic mode-3 reading due to the 2li=*ef* figure that appears three times in the D (within L6, L10, and L14, the last with a plica). The second time this happens, the 2li is preceded by a si=*a,* and the resulting leap to the following *e* makes me question whether the 2li would have begun on the weak part of the

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]See, for further details on transmission patterns in this portion of the MS, the discussion of *F* in the source report for the conductus *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336), at *F*-7, 67, on f. 327v.

beat, as in mode 1. Nonetheless, an iambic reading in both parts generates some uncomfortable dissonant seconds on *b/c* and then *a/b,* with the two 2li figures that appear in the T within L8 and L16, respectively. As a result, I have opted to present the entire opening cauda in mode 1 in the main transcription. This mode seems clearly to govern the rhythms of most of the rest of the conductus, beginning at the very least with the cauda of line 2,4, although any caudae that show regular series of si,3li ligature chains would be equally at home in iambic mode-3 readings. See the alternative versions of this cauda in mode 3 and in mixed modes 1 and 3 (which also avoids the dissonances resulting from a strictly mode-3 reading), presented at the end of the transcription for comparison, as well as the remarks on the final cauda, below. **Organal passages:** the relatively plentiful *punctus organi* segments in this work use motives and formulas also seen in *sine littera* contexts throughout the Parisian polyphonic repertory. Due to this, I have suggested some possible rhythmical realizations above the D voice that performers may consider – or ignore – in executing these passages (as well as others in the repertory at large). **Lines 5-6,2:** in addition to bringing back a 4L snatch of the opening music of this piece in both its parts, the D motive of which is then repeated 4L later, the T of this ornate *cum littera* passage suggests patterns of mixed L and DL values that strikingly recollect a common ostinato rhythmic organization of a T melody in a clausula or motet (𝅗𝅥. ♩. 𝄽. ♩. ♩. ♩. 𝄽.); hence this entire portion has been rendered here in fixed rhythms. For a comparable example, see the initial observations given for the music of the conductus *Ex oliva Remensium* (H5/109), several pieces ahead at *F*-7,80, f. 338v. I have not been successful in finding a convincing concordance for this series of notes in searches through online chant databases. The closest I have come has been the antiphon *Liberasti virgam hereditatis tue,* which appears in the twelfth-century MS *V-CVbav San Pietro B.79*,[3] f. 52r, system IV.[4] This is an unlikely source for the cauda melody, as the two items display different series of repeated pitches during their course and the antiphon conforms only to the first 14 notes of the 23-note conductus passage.[5] Furthermore, this is a source for Old Roman chant, and unlikely to have served for the conductus. **Final cauda:** TD: F: the repeated-note passages that occur in the approximate center of the final cauda (at L14-L17: 4 *b'*s in the T, 5 *d'*s in the D), are by nature rhythmically ambiguous. Some slight possibility for clarification may be suggested by the reiterated notes in the D, which seem to show 3L,B,si in connection with the si,2B,si repeated-note series in the T. Hence, the choice of values used here continues the L,LBL,L pattern in the D – seen both at the start and end of this portion of the cauda at L11 and L19 – throughout the entire phrase. It also assumes here that the T and D are rhythmically coincident. D: F: the si,2li figure=*c,de* near the end of the penultimate phrase in the T, beginning at L30 of the cauda, may indicate a switch to iambic modes 2 or 3 for the rest of the phrase, which would render the *g/e* sixth at L31 as a *g/d* fifth; however the *b/c* dissonance immediately prior and the *f/d* sixth that follow appear to be unavoidable no matter what the choice, so I have left this in mode 1 (see also the remarks above on the apparent dissonances that appear in the opening cauda if it is rendered in mode 3). Alternative versions of this particular passage – including a reading that mixes modes 1 and 3 – are presented at the end of the transcription for comparison. **Final flourish:** Anderson's edition (*NFRC,* 5:37) adds extra notes to the T *(a,g)* to undergird the closing figure in the D. This is, however, unnecessary, as this gesture is a cadential formula that occurs frequently, especially in organa and clausulae, where it is found both with and without T support for its final note (see, for just two examples of the latter case, the clausulae of *F,* fascicle 5, no. 64 [f. 153r, system V], *Alleluya* [unnumbered] [M10]; and no. 92 [f. 157r, system IV], *In seculum* 10 [M13]). Such a conclusion is perhaps especially fitting for a conductus setting like *Superne lux glorie* with its prominent organal passages in the *cum littera* settings of its opening three lines.

---

[3] *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B.79.*

[4] An image may be consulted here.

[5] The antiphon shows: *g,g,a,a,gab,agf,f,g,abc,cba,ba,g,g* in its opening phrase (commas divide si figures and neumes); the conductus: *gag,a,b,bag,f,g,g,gab,dcb,aga,bcb* (commas here separate syllables).

DEDUC SYON UBERRIMAS

Conductus (G8/85)

F, f. 336r (7,77)*

I

D

[De -

T

De -

[De] - duc sy - on u - ber - ri - mas.

[De] - duc sy - on u - ber - ri - mas.

ve - lut tor - ren - tem la - cri - mas. nam qui pro tu - is pa - tri - bus

ve - lut tor - ren - tem la - cri - mas. nam qui pro tu - is pa - tri - bus
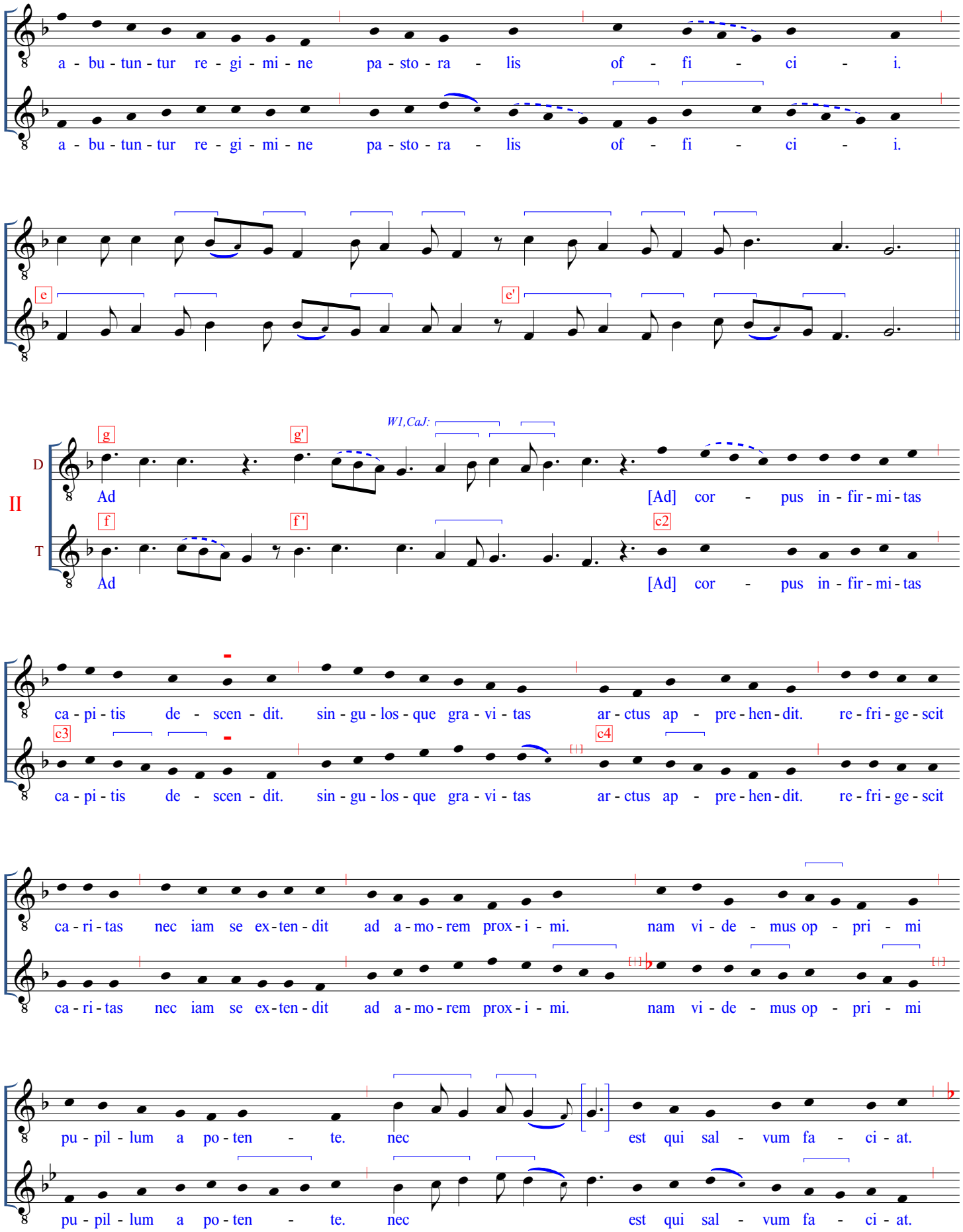
na - ti sunt ti - bi fi - li - i. quo - rum de - di - sti ma - ni - bus
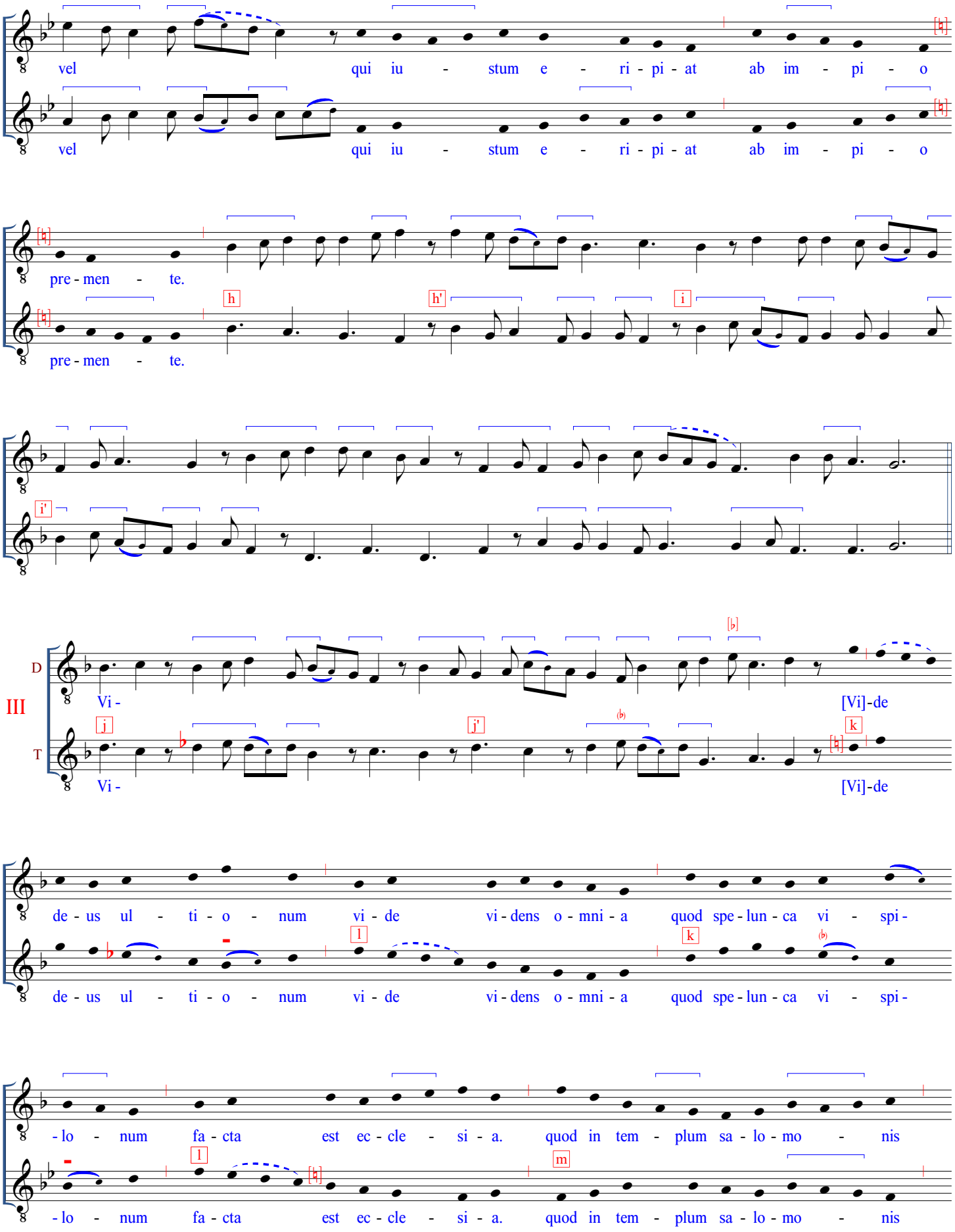
na - ti sunt ti - bi fi - li - i. quo - rum de - di - sti ma - ni - bus
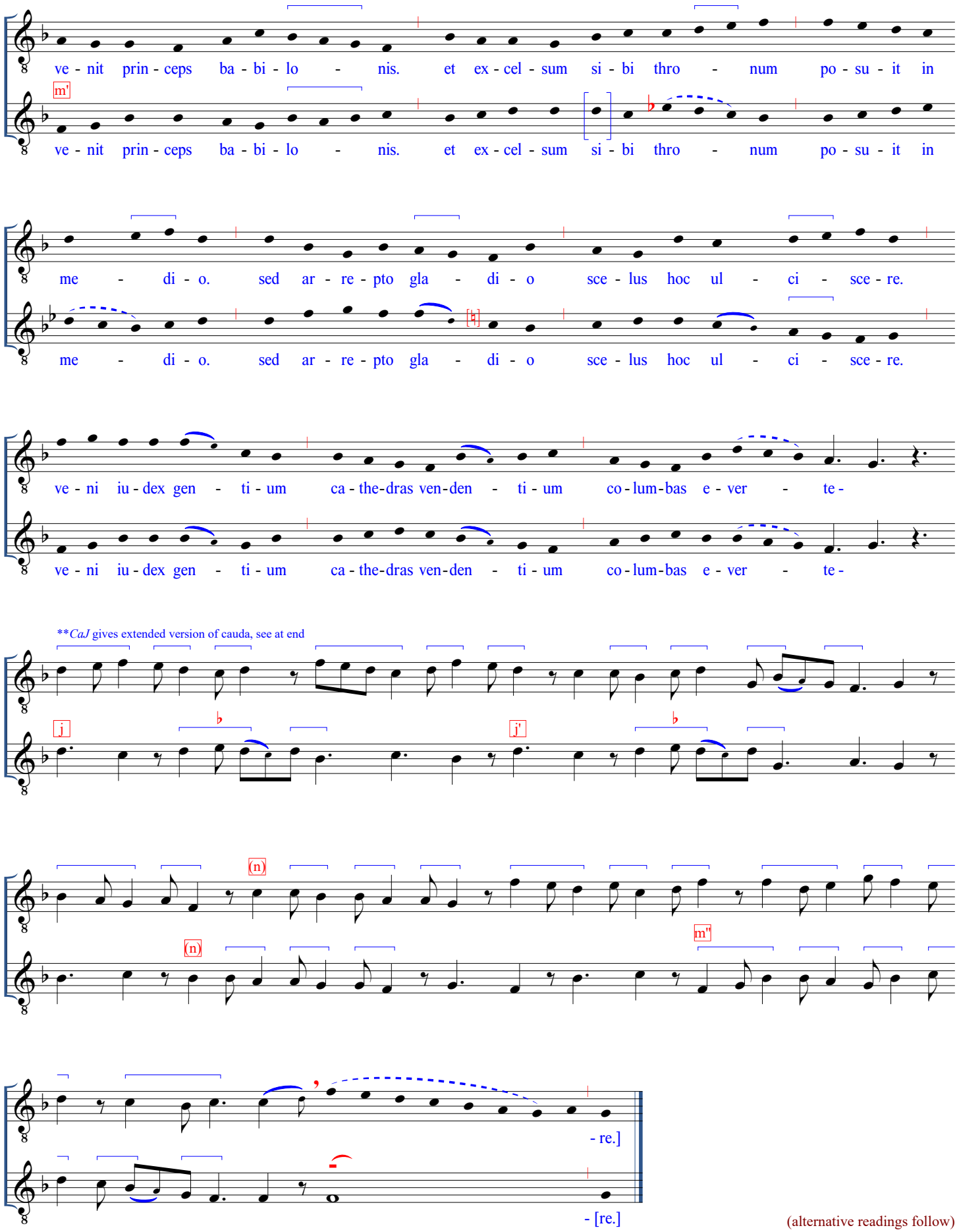
tu - i sce - ptrum im - pe - ri - i. fu - res et fu-rum so - ci - i tur - ba - to re - rum or - di - ne

tu - i sce - ptrum im - pe - ri - i. fu - res et fu-rum so - ci - i tur - ba - to re - rum or - di - ne

*A reading in iambic mode 3 is equally possible for this cauda. See also the alternative readings at the end for the use of this music in the BD setting in *StV.*


a - bu - tun - tur re - gi - mi - ne pa - sto - ra - lis of - fi - ci - i.
a - bu - tun - tur re - gi - mi - ne pa - sto - ra - lis of - fi - ci - i.
e
e'
W1,CaJ:
g
g'
D
II
Ad
[Ad] cor - pus in - fir - mi - tas
f
f'
c2
T
Ad
[Ad] cor - pus in - fir - mi - tas
ca - pi - tis de - scen - dit. sin - gu - los - que gra - vi - tas ar - ctus ap - pre - hen - dit. re - fri - ge - scit
c3
c4
ca - pi - tis de - scen - dit. sin - gu - los - que gra - vi - tas ar - ctus ap - pre - hen - dit. re - fri - ge - scit
ca - ri - tas nec iam se ex - ten - dit ad a - mo - rem prox - i - mi. nam vi - de - mus op - pri - mi
ca - ri - tas nec iam se ex - ten - dit ad a - mo - rem prox - i - mi. nam vi - de - mus op - pri - mi
pu - pil - lum a po - ten - te. nec est qui sal - vum fa - ci - at.
pu - pil - lum a po - ten - te. nec est qui sal - vum fa - ci - at.
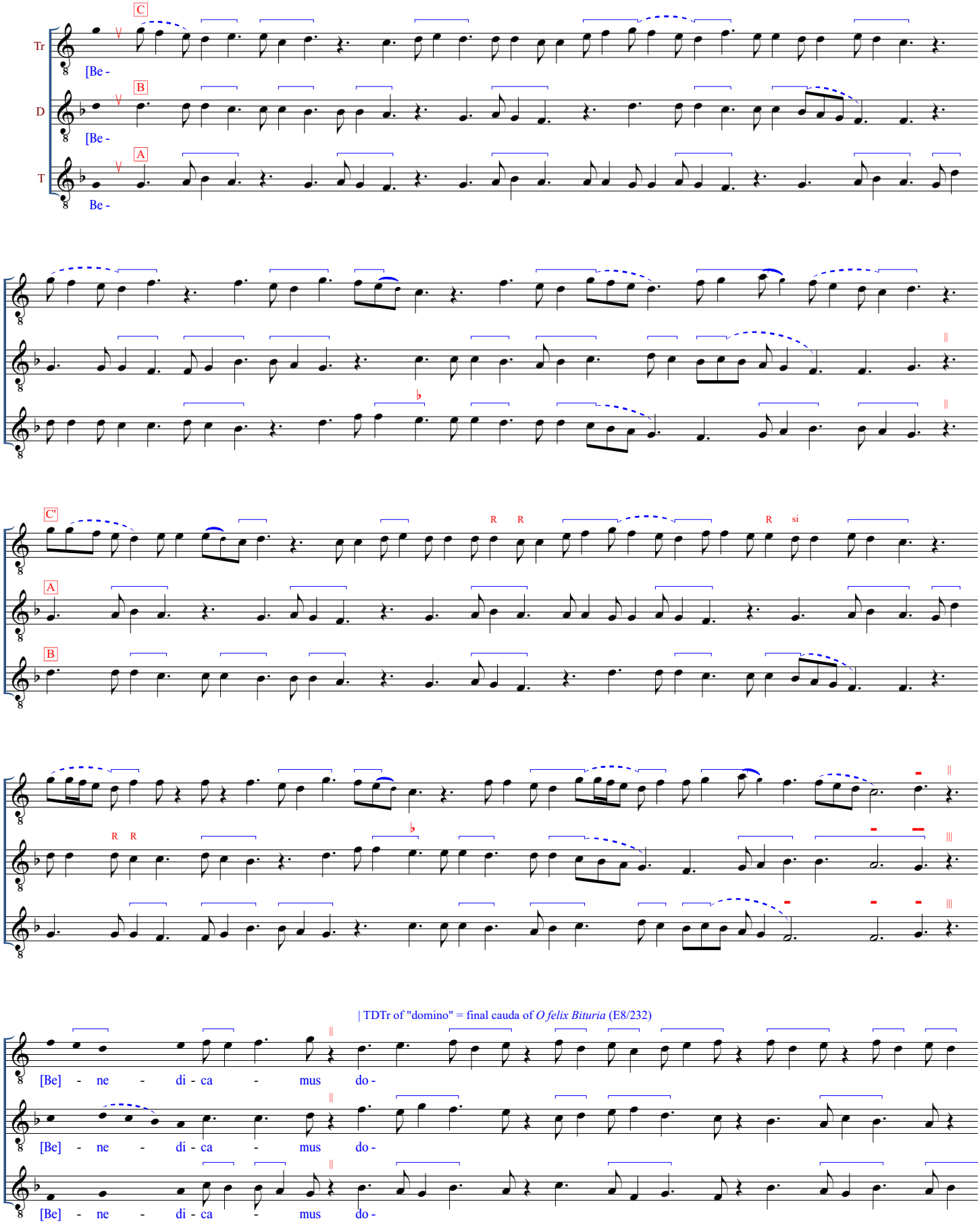

vel qui iu - stum e - ri - pi - at ab im - pi - o
vel qui iu - stum e - ri - pi - at ab im - pi - o
pre - men - te.
pre - men - te.
h
h'
i
i'
III
D
T
Vi -
[Vi]-de
Vi -
[Vi]-de
j
j'
k
de - us ul - ti - o - num vi - de vi - dens o - mni - a quod spe - lun - ca vi - spi -
de - us ul - ti - o - num vi - de vi - dens o - mni - a quod spe - lun - ca vi - spi -
l
k
-lo - num fa - cta est ec - cle - si - a. quod in tem - plum sa - lo - mo - nis
-lo - num fa - cta est ec - cle - si - a. quod in tem - plum sa - lo - mo - nis
l
m



(alternative readings follow)

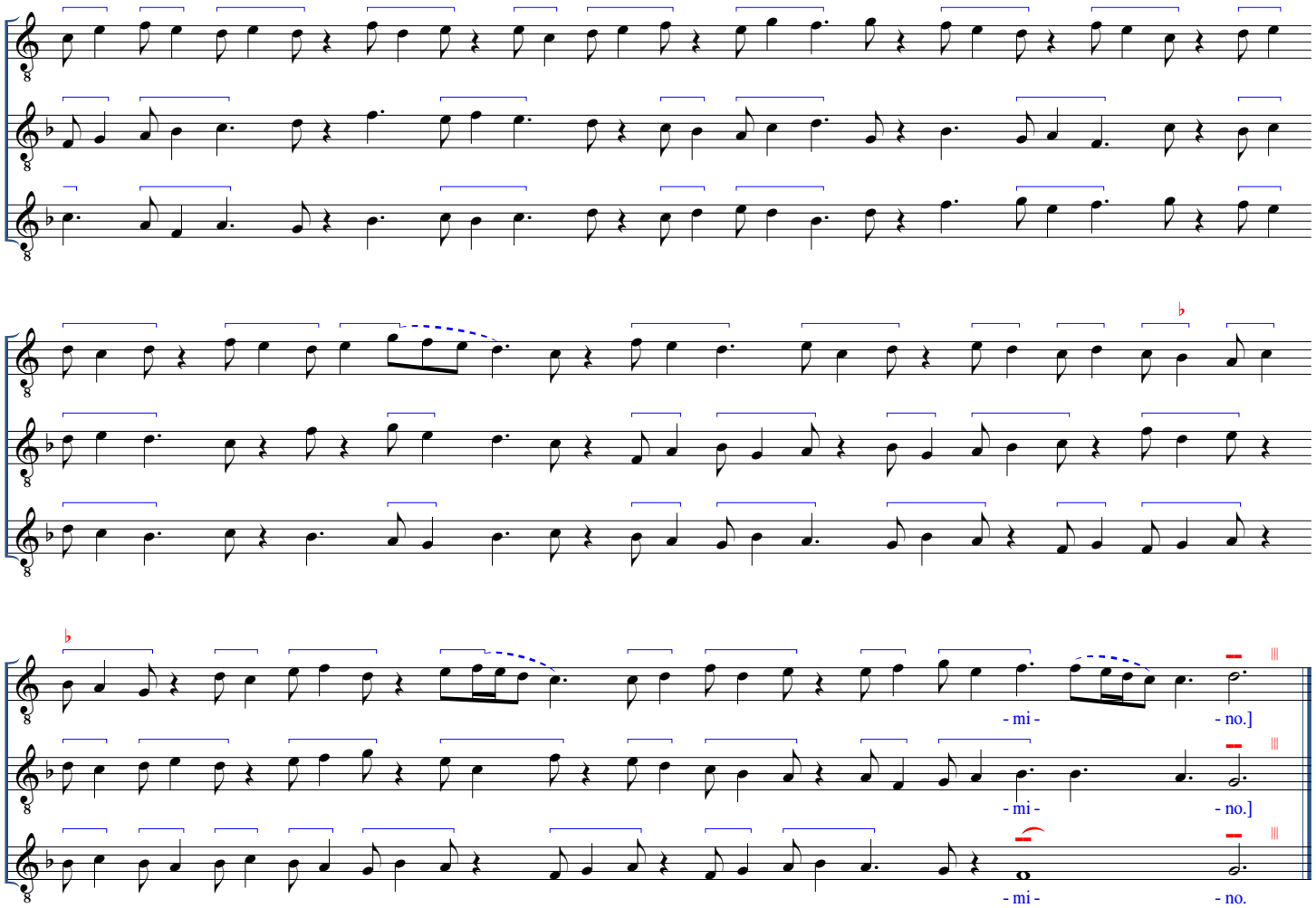
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

**SiV,* f. 280v (4,3): *Benedicamus domino* a3 (in modes 2 and 3; mode 1 also possible): TD of "Be-" = opening cauda of *Deduc Syon* repeated with voice exchange

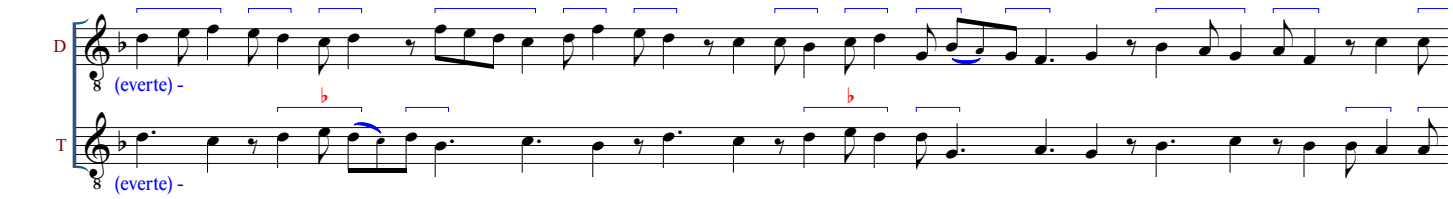


| TDTr of "domino" = final cauda of *O felix Bituria* (E8/232)
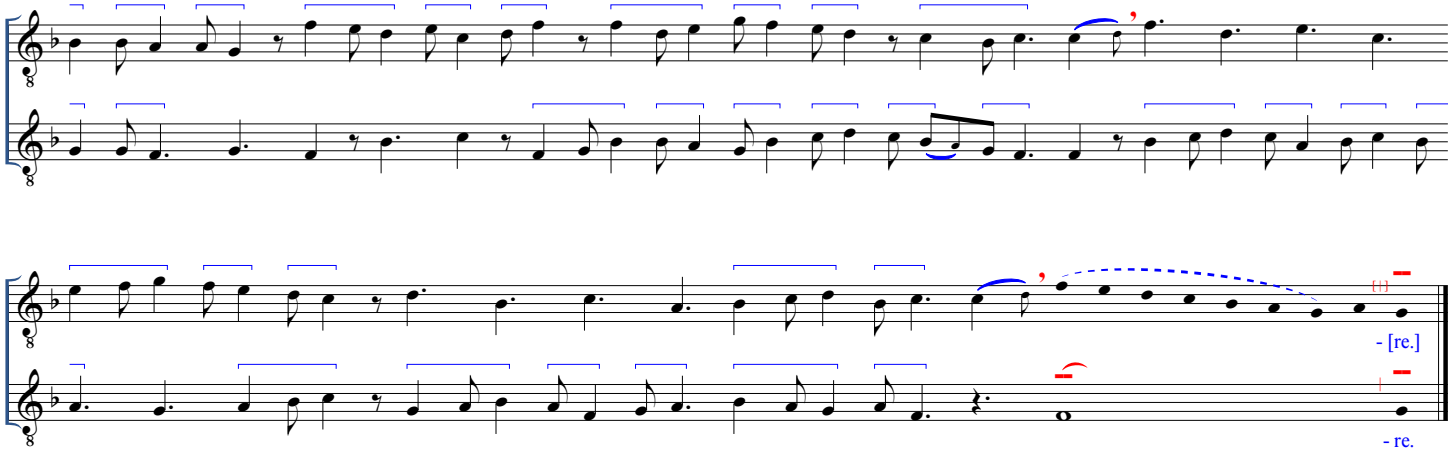
(alternative readings, continued)



**CaJ, f. Fr (no. 14), II: expanded reading of final cauda



| remainder (up to *punctus organi*) added



DEDUC SYON UBERRIMAS

Conductus (G8/85)

F, f. 336r (7,77)

I Deduc, Syon, uberrimas,
velut torrentem, lacrimas,
nam qui pro tuis patribus
nati sunt tibi filii.
Quorum dedisti manibus
tui sceptrum imperii.
Fures et furum socii,
turbato rerum ordine,
abutuntur regimine
pastoralis officii.

Zion, shed a surfeit,
of tears like a river,
for those born to you as sons
are acting as your fathers.
You have delivered into their hands
the scepter of your authority.
Thieves and the partners of thieves,
disturbing the rightful order of things,
are abusing the leadership
of the pastoral office.

II Ad corpus infirmitas
capitis descendit,
singulosque gravitas
arctus apprehendit.
Refrigescit caritas
nec iam se extendit
ad amorem proximi,
nam videmus opprimi
pupillum a potente,
nec est qui salvum faciat
vel qui iustum eripiat
ab impio premente.

The sickness of the head
descends to the body,
and a heaviness lays hold of
each one of the limbs.
Charity grows cold
and no longer extends itself
to love of neighbor,
for we see that the orphan
is crushed by the mighty,
and there is no one who may redeem
or who may rescue a righteous man
from a wicked oppressor.

III Vide, deus ultionum;
vide, videns omnia,
quod spelunca vispilonum
facta est ecclesia,
quod in templum Salomonis
venit princeps Babilonis
et excelsum sibi thronum
posuit in medio.
Sed, arrepto gladio,
scelus hoc ulciscere.
Veni, iudex gentium,
cathedras vendentium
columbas evertere.

See, God of vengeance;
see, seer of all,
that the church has
become a den of thieves,
that the prince of Babylon
has come into the temple of Solomon
and placed in its midst
a lofty throne for himself.
So now, with sword in hand,
avenge this wickedness.
Come, judge of nations,
upend the stools
of the dove-sellers.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 77, f. 336r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with no provision or likelihood for further text, and with the beginnings of II and III indicated by the usual black-ink capitals. The large historiated illumination for Strophe I suggests a major division within the manuscript, as it is the first such decoration since *Austro terris influente* (G1/26) at *F*-7,31, f. 299r, and, like it, begins at the very top of a leaf that is not the start of a gathering. As with the previous decorated initial, such a division in the MS is supported by the transmission patterns of *Deduc Syon,* which return to a much wider set of concordances than those in the previous portion

of *F*-7[1] and begin to exhibit more frequent multi-stanzaic, through-composed settings. Visually, the opening initial "D" of the poem is illustrated with a split-level scene within its counter (the empty space within the bowl of the letter), depicting at top a woman (presumably the grieving, personified Zion of the poem's opening lines) sitting on a chair from which spring what appear to be curled branches of decorative vegetation on her either side. Her left hand touches the side of her face, which could suggest wiping away a tear. This image surmounts a scene in which a kneeling, tonsured, clean-shaven cleric is being fitted with what I suppose to be a bishop's hat by a seated, ecclesiastical dignitary with a beard, who also appears to be mitred . The kneeling cleric, additionally, seems to be clutching or supporting a rather tall vase or bottle with both hands as well as his right arm. Very thin curving red lines appear to be flowing or sprouting from both the top and neck of this bottle. What these red lines might signify is not altogether clear to me; however, it is conceivable that the vessel could be a container for the holy chrism used to anoint a bishop upon his investiture, and the red lines might represent the fragrance of the oil. The thin, horizontally aligned ascender of the letter "D" is composed of a winged dragon or griffin-like figure, whose leonine or ursine head, connecting with the bowl of the decorated letter "D," turns back from the left margin to face the woman in the upper portion of the initial; she, though, is turning away from the beast. It appears to have a round object of some sort of in its jaws.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 75, f. 159v (150v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with alternating red and blue-green painted initials heading the stanzas.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 10, f. 83r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, but with no initials entered in any of the spaces provided for them.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 2, f. 93r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, opening with a red initial decorated with blue tracery, and with the beginnings of II and III indicated either by a capital or an embellished letter.

CaJ (GB-CJc QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1),[2] Fragment A, no. 14, ff. Dv-Fr (each leaf is reconstructed from various binding strips):[3] a2; Strophes I-III fragmentarily preserved, with a large red- and blue-painted initial for I decorated with tracery, while those of II and III are smaller, painted capital letters, colored respectively blue and red. The final cauda in this source, interestingly, is expanded by about 16L in comparison to the other musical sources, a feature not reported by Anderson's *NDRC,* or other editions of the music;[4] see the alternative version of the whole melisma after the main transcription. Due to the fragmentary

[1]See, for further information on this point, the discussion of *F* in the source report for the conductus *Soli nitorem equori* (J15/336).

[2]Images available through DIAMM here. For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[3] The individually foliated binding strips that originally constituted each folio show the following numbers, reading from left to right of the indicated leaf: f. **Dv** (strips 13r, 23v, 22v, with gaps – the first one relatively large – between each strip); f. **Er** (30v, 18v, 3v with small gaps between each strip); **Ev** (3rv [sic], 18r, 30r [sic]); f. **Fr** (33rv [sic], a short gap, 6v, 24v, 21v, 8v, 32v).

[4]For example, in the editions of Ethel 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); and Hans Tischler, ed., *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music: the 150 Two-part Conductus in the Notre-Dame Manuscripts,* 2 vols., Collected Works, no. 24 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2005).

nature of *CaJ,* various portions of music and text are lost throughout.[5]

Text only:

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana): no. 34, f. 5v; text alone of Strophes I-III, complete. A sizeable initial painted in red with blue-green tracery opens I, and smaller, plain red initials begin II and III, just as in the surrounding works in this MS. The rubric "Item" (in red-painted capital letters above the first lines of the conductus text) refers back to the heading of the previous piece, the conductus *Non te lusisse pudeat* (K47/223), at the top of f. 5r: "De ammonitione prelatorum" ("On the admonishment of bishops"). As with the surrounding works in *CB,* there is space above the text lines that might accommodate neumes, and the last two syllables of Strophe III are horizontally separated from those going before, as if to provide for a lengthy melisma. Neumes are entered for the prior *Non te lusisse,* but neither for *Deduc Syon* or any other pieces afterwards until f. 13v, when they are supplied for the conductus *Quod spiritu David precinuit* (L77/-).[6]

F-Ps 184 (Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, MS 184): f. 92v; text of Strophes I and III only, written out linearly, with each line headed by a capital letter. There is no indication that Strophe II is omitted. Pilcrows (℄) in the left margin head the beginnings of the transmitted stanzas (lines 1 and 23) and also precede verses 27, 31, and 33. This source was originally unknown to Anderson and not collated in his edition, although its existence is recorded in the marginal handwritten notes to his personal copy of his conductus catalog. As a result, any variants from the text above are collated below.[7]

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.[8] After an opening, single-note intonation added in all three parts, the first section of this organum, over the syllable "Be-," presents the same music as the opening cauda of *Deduc Syon* in the T and D of the *StV* setting. This quoted portion is stated twice in the *StV* organum, with its lower two parts exchanged the second time and with an added Tr voice throughout that is varied just slightly during the repeat. See also the closing cauda of the conductus a3 *O felix Bituria* (E8/232), which concords with the section over the word "domino" in this same *StV* BD setting. The *StV* organum is included among the alternative readings after the main transcription; see also the observations below on the music of the opening cauda of *Deduc Syon* for further possible associations among these various works.

---

[5]The general musico-poetic contents of each individual leaf show that **Dv** includes the opening of the piece (starting at the top left of the folio) up through the first phrase of the cauda following line 10 that closes Strophe I (the remainder of the melisma is lost with the cutting away of the left margin of the following leaf); most of the first 18-19L and the text syllable of the initial cauda are also gone, although about half of the painted initial "D" is extant. Many other comparably sized portions of Strophe I are also missing due to the gaps in the assembled leaves, and similar lacunae in this source (not reported in detail here) plague the other folios that transmit this piece. The remnants of f. **Er** begin after a gap with the cauda and text syllable opening Strophe II at line 11,1; they end with line 21,3 ("[iu]stum," missing its first letter and part of its second). **Ev** follows on immediately with line 21,4 ("eripiat") and continues with omissions up through part of the first letter and music of line 31,1 ("s[ed]"), which is then cut off with the loss of the right margin. Folio **Fr** begins with the fourth letter of line 32,3 ("[ulc]iscere") and includes (with various losses) the rest of *Deduc Syon* to the end, with a final cauda expanded by about 16L (see the alternative reading given after the transcription), whose added portion takes up approximately the right half of the third system on the leaf; the left part of that same third system begins a similarly fragmentary setting of the conductus *Age penitentiam* (H31/11).

[6]Images of *CB* available here.

[7]I would like to thank Gregorio Bevilacqua for helping me gain access to black-and-white images of the relevant folios of *F-Ps 184.*

[8]Images of *StV* available here.

Contrafacts: none in the typical sense, but see the music-only *StV* BD concordance described just above.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution and historical context:** The poem *Deduc Syon uberrimas* was first attributed to Philip the Chancellor by Otto Schumann in Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, eds. *Carmina Burana,* vol. 2, part 1:53.[9] Subsequently, this ascription has been affirmed by Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 586;[10] Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:vii; and Traill, "A Cluster of Poems," 279-280;[11] see also the presentation under Philip's name in Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana,* 1:485.[12] In light of recent investigations, it appears almost certain that this text was written as a response to the contested election of William of Auvergne as bishop of Paris in 1227-1228. For details on this contentious event, along with the citations therein, see Franco Morenzoni, "Le conflit";[13] as well as my article from the same volume, cited below. Allusions to William's episcopal appointment connect *Deduc Syon* to a number of other conductus and motet texts that criticize bishops, all but one of which have previously been attributed in various quarters to Philip the Chancellor (and the single outlier is additionally a strong contender). These works, too, were likely prompted by the installation of William of Auvergne. The conductus are, in addition to *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85): *Veritas equitas largitas* (K62/375), *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), and possibly *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155); the motets: *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 the triplum voice – at least – 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, most of the poems would likely have been composed no earlier than April 10, 1228. A study of all the proposed songs written in connection with the 1227-1228 Paris bishop's election is in my study "Chancellor versus Bishop."[14] Further associations of *Deduc Syon* with the other "bishop election" poems occur in lines 11-14 and 23-26 (see the remarks below), and in the clear references to the imposition of William throughout *Error popularis* and in *Veritas equitas,* especially lines 66-69 (strophe 17) of the latter poem.[15] Each work concords generally with the sentiments in the opening strophe of *Deduc Syon;* this describes the personified Zion of lines 1-2 weeping because sons are taking the place of their fathers by improperly seizing the scepter of authority that Zion herself (the Church) has proffered. In the first stanza's final lines, these upstarts are specifically delineated as thieves and henchman who abuse the leadership of the pastoral offices. **Textual notes:** The following observations have benefitted immeasurably from the commentaries of Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:vii-viii) and Traill (*Carmina*

---

[9]Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernard Bischoff, eds., *Carmina Burana,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-70).

[10]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[11]David A. Traill, "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 47 (2006): 267-286.

[12]David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana,* 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[13]Franco Morenzoni, "Le conflit pour l'election de l'évêque de Paris en 1227-1228 d'apres 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).

[14] Thomas B. Payne, "Chancellor versus Bishop: the Conflict between Philip the Chancellor and Guillaume d'Auvergne in Poetry and Music," in *ibid.,* 265-306.

[15]*Veritas equitas* (lines 66-69 – Strophe 17): "Non vocati, nec creati, / presunt iuniores. / Vi mitrati, vi plantati / meritis minores" ("Neither nominated, nor elected, the younger are put in charge. By force they are mitred, by force are set in place those lesser in merit.").

*Burana,*1:485), a number of whose points appear below. **1-2:** see Lamentations, 2:18.[16] Zion figures here as a symbol for the church; see Anderson's remarks in his notes on the text of the conductus *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385) – in *NDRC,* 5:ix, note 2 – which quotes the *Glossa ordinaria* from the text given in *PL,* 113: col. 1057D, where the daughter or daughters of Zion, i.e., Jerusalem, symbolize the larger body of the faithful that is the church.[17] See also the remarks for line 27. **3-4:** from Psalm 44:17.[18] For this particular sense of the word "pro" (line 3,3), see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/pro, LewisShort, II.B.2; and DMLBS, 1.6. **5-6:** see Ezekiel, 19:14.[19] **7:** cf. Isaiah, 1:23.[20] **11-14:** see the similar treatment of the head infecting the body in Philip's related conductus *Mundus a munditia,* lines 9-10 (from Strophe II), and 13-18 (Strophe IV);[21] *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), lines 15-16;[22] as well as his motet *In veritate comperi,* lines 6-9.[23] **14,1:** a variant spelling of "artus." **15:** recalls the opening of the widely transmitted conductus *Frigescente caritatis* (L23a/-), attributed to Walter of Châtillon by Karl Strecker.[24] This ascription is supported in the edition of Walter's works by David Traill.[25] **16-17:** the general principle of the Golden Rule ("do unto others as you would have them do unto you") is a frequently encountered biblical sentiment. In various gospel texts Jesus specifically describes love of one's neighbor as the second greatest of all commandments after love of God. Hence its loss as described in *Deduc Syon* is especially tragic. The more particular expression involving loving one's neighbor *(proximus)* appears

---

[16]Lamentations, 2:18: "Clamavit cor eorum ad Dominum super muros filiae Sion: Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas per diem et noctem; non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui" ("Their heart cried to the Lord upon the walls of the daughter of Sion: Let tears run down like a torrent day and night: give yourself no rest, and let not the apple of your eye [i.e., the eye's pupil] cease.")

[17]*PL,* 113:1057D, reportedly quoting Augustine, glossing Psalm 136:8, which refers to the daughter of Babylon: "Per successionem, facta est filia Babylonis civitas malorum, sicut Ecclesia: Jerusalem scilicet, civitas bonorum per successionem filia Sion" ("Through succession, the daughter of Babylon becomes the city of evil; just as the church – that is to say, Jerusalem – through succession the daughter of Zion becomes the city of good.").

[18]Psalm 44:17: "Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii; constitues eos principes super omnem terram" ("Instead of your fathers, sons are born to you: you shall make them princes over all the earth.").

[19]Ezekiel, 19:14: "Et egressus est ignis de virga ramorum ejus, qui fructum ejus comedit: et non fuit in ea virga fortis, sceptrum dominantium. Planctus est, et erit in planctum" ("And a fire is gone out from a rod of her branches [i.e., those of the mother of the princes of Israel, depicted here as a vine], which has devoured her fruit: so that she now has no strong rod, to be a scepter of rulers. This is a lamentation, and it shall be for a lamentation.").

[20]Isaiah, 1:23: "Principes tui infideles, socii furum. Omnes diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones. Pupillo non judicant, et causa viduae non ingreditur ad illos" ("Your princes are faithless, companions of thieves: they all love bribes, they run after rewards. They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's case comes not in to them.").

[21]*Mundus a munditia,* lines 9-10 (from Strophe II): "Capita malicie / presules" ("The heads of malice are the bishops"); lines 13-18 (Stophe IV): Sordium spurcitia / currit ad declivia. / Presulum flagitia / plangite, / quia fluunt vicia / ad membra de capite." ("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.").

[22]*Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), lines 15-16: "Dum caput patitur / et membra singula" ("When the head suffers, each one of the body's parts does as well.").

[23]*In veritate comperi,* lines 6-9: "Heredes Luciferi sunt prelati, / iam elati gloria. / Membra domat alia / capitis insania." ("The prelates, now puffed up with arrogance, are the heirs of Lucifer. The madness of the head subdues the other parts of the body.").

[24]Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

[25]David A. Traill *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

first in the Bible in Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 27:18.[26] Closely related wordings arise in Leviticus 19:18; Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 25:2, and 6:1 (where it is rhetorically recast); and in Matthew, 5:43, 19:19, 22:39; Mark, 12:31, 12:33; Luke 10:27; Romans, 13:8, 13:9; Galatians, 5:14; and James, 2:8. **18-19:** on the disdain shown to the malicious practice of oppressing and exploiting orphans, see Malachi, 3:5;[27] Isaiah, 10:1-2;[28] and the like sentiments of Jeremiah, 22:3. Traill (*Carmina Burana,* 1:485) sees these two poetic lines – continuing their thought in the language of lines 20-22, and offering a possible nod to Juvenal's *Satires*[29] – as referring specifically to the situation of a ward or orphan placed under the guardianship of an unscrupulous elder who bilks his charge of his possessions and rights. Philip the Chancellor, the likely author of *Deduc Syon,* often paints himself as a helpless victim in his railings against William of Auvergne. His adoption of the persona of a poor, defenseless orphan would be completely consonant with similarly perceived affronts in some of his other songs that decry the bishop's election, where those who are poor and more learned are passed over in favor of those less worthy, but who have better funding and more powerful connections. See, for example, his statements in *Error popularis* (lines 3-5, 14-16, 26-28, 33-35), *Veritas equitas* (58-65, 91-96, 103-106), *Mundus a munditia* (31-36, 43-46), *Heu quo progreditur* (39-40), and *In veritate comperi* (14-15), all discussed in Payne, "Chancellor *versus* Bishop." **20:** cf. Psalm 7:3.[30] This line in *Deduc Syon* has a nearly direct correspondence with *In veritate comperi,* line 34: "Non est qui bonum faciat" ("There is no one who may do good"), which itself has biblical echoes (as in Psalms, 13:1, 13:3, 52:2, 52:4; Ecclesiastes, 7:21, and Romans, 3:12). **21-22:** these lines conceivably recall Habacuc, 1:4.[31] See also Psalm 16:13.[32] **23-24:** on God as a

---

[26]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 27:18: "Dilige proximum, et conjungere fide cum illo" ("Love thy neighbour, and be joined to him with fidelity.").

[27]Malachi, 3:5: "Et accedam ad vos in judicio, et ero testis velox maleficis, et adulteris, et perjuris, et qui calumniantur mercedem mercenarii, viduas et pupillos, et opprimunt peregrinum, nec timuerunt me, dicit Dominus exercituum" (" And I will come to you in judgment, and will be a speedy witness against sorcerers, and adulterers, and false swearers, and them that oppress the hireling in his wages; the widows, and the fatherless: and oppress the stranger, and have not feared me, saith the Lord of hosts.")

[28]Isaiah, 10:1-2: "Vae qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribentes injustitiam scripserunt, ut opprimerent in judicio pauperes, et vim facerent causae humilium populi mei; ut essent viduae praeda eorum, et pupillos diriperent" ("Woe to them that make wicked laws: and when they write, write injustice: To oppress the poor in judgment, and do violence to the cause of the humble of my people: that widows might be their prey, and that they might rob the fatherless.")

[29]Juvenal, *Satires,* 1:45-48: "Quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira, / cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator / pupilli prostantis et hic damnatus inani / iudicio? Quid enim saluis infamia nummis?" ("Why tell how my heart burns hot with rage when I see the people hustled by a mob of retainers attending on one who has defrauded and debauched his ward, or on another who has been condemned by a futile verdict – for what matters infamy if the cash be kept?"). The text and translation comes from George Gilbert Ramsay, trans., *Juvenal and Persius with an English Translation* (London: Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons: 1918), 6-7.

[30]Psalm 7:3: "Nequando rapiat ut leo animam meam, dum non est qui redimat, neque qui salvum faciat" ("Lest at any time he seize upon my soul like a lion, while there is no one to redeem me, nor to save.").

[31]Habacuc, 1:4: "Propter hoc lacerata est lex, et non pervenit usque ad finem judicium; quia impius praevalet adversus justum, propterea egreditur judicium perversum" ("Therefore the law is torn in pieces, and judgment comes not to the end: because the wicked prevails against the just, therefore wrong judgment goes forth.").

[32]Psalm 16:13: "Exsurge, Domine: praeveni eum, et supplanta eum: eripe animam meam ab impio" ("Arise, O Lord, disappoint him and supplant him; deliver my soul from the wicked one.").

vengeful judge, see particularly Psalm 93:1;[33] and Deuteronomy, 32:35.[34] See also the following conductus ascribed to Philip the Chancellor: *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229 – a modern and slightly contentious attribution to the poet), lines 50-53; *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), lines 57-62, 69-80; *Veritas veritatum* (K19/375), lines 43-48; *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), lines 13-14; *O labilis sortis humane status* (K30/234), lines 46-53; *O mens cogita* (K57/240), lines 51-52; and the close correspondences with Philip's motet *In veritate comperi,* lines 38-39. **25-26:** for the image of the den of ghouls or thieves, associated here with the biblical narrative hinted at in the closing lines 34-35 of *Deduc Syon*, see Jeremiah, 7:11,[35] and the equivalent phrase in Matthew, 21:13; Mark, 12:17; Luke, 19:46. The same expression occurs elsewhere, as in Philip's motet *In veritate comperi,* line 36; also note the invocation of the den of thieves and God's vengeance in the Chancellor's conductus *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), lines 11-12. **25,3:** a variant spelling of "vispellionum" or "vespillium"; see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/vispilio, DMLBS, 2.2. **27:** the Temple of Solomon, like the figure of Zion in line 1, stands for the Church, now despoiled by the imposition of the diabolical throne of line 29. **28:** The prince of Babylon is the devil (cf. the same expression in the conductus *Hac in die Gedeonis,* lines 3-4). Babylon, though typically redolent of worldly sin, is often used as a metaphor for Rome in New Testament scriptures and especially in the book of Revelation. The Roman connection could be significant in referring to Philip's upset at William being appointed Bishop of Paris by Pope Gregory IX. **33:** on God as a judge of nations (or the Gentiles), see Psalm 9:20;[36] and the related language in Psalms, 9:6, 78:6; also cf. the remarks of lines 23-24 above. **34-35:** evoking Christ's ejection of the merchants from the Temple, as in Matthew, 21:12-13,[37] and the relation of the same event in Mark, 11:15-17, and John, 2:14-15. See also the uniquely preserved conductus *Non livoris ex rancore* (F14/222), lines 1-5, for another nod to the dove sellers. Anderson (*NDRC,* 2:xvii) sees the selling of doves as representing improper offerings of matters associated with the Holy Spirit for worldly gain, in a reading drawn from Hugh of Saint Victor's *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* (for the text, see *PL,* 175, cols. 754-755). **35,2:** this word is construed here as a deponent imperative rather than an active infinitive.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Variants from *F-Ps 184* are collated here to complete Anderson's edition; the MS gives the following dissimilar readings: **2,1:** F-Ps 184: Velud (capitalized at the start of the line). **11-22 (Strophe II):** F-Ps 184: omitted. **32:** F-Ps 184: replaced by the following two lines , thus expanding Strophe III to 14 verses: Scelus hoc e medio / Protinus ulciscere ("immediately avenge this wickedness in our midst"). **35,2:** F: the final syllable of the last word of the conductus ("[everte]re") was never entered at the end of the closing cauda; it is supplied from and placed there according to the testimony of all other musical sources *(W1,Ma,W2,CaJ).* **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** the beginning of the T and the end of the D of "quod in templum salomo[nis]" (line 27, middle of Strophe III) = **1a.** the beginning of the T and end of the D of

---

[33]Psalm 93:1: "Deus ultionum Dominus; Deus ultionum libere egit" ("The Lord is the God to whom revenge belongs: the God of revenge has acted freely").

[34]Deuteronomy, 32:35: "Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore, ut labatur pes eorum: juxta est dies perditionis, et adesse festinant tempora" ("Revenge is mine, and I will repay them in due time, that their foot may slide: the day of destruction is at hand, and the time makes haste to come.").

[35]Jeremiah, 7:11: " Numquid ergo spelunca latronum facta est domus ista, in qua invocatum est nomen meum in oculis vestris? Ego, ego sum: ego vidi, dicit Dominus" ("Is this house then, in which my name has been called upon, in your eyes become a den of robbers? I, I am he: I have seen it, says the Lord.").

[36]Psalm 9:20: " Exsurge, Domine; non confortetur homo: judicentur gentes in conspectu tuo" ("Arise, O Lord, let not man be strengthened: let the Gentiles be judged in thy sight.")

[37]Matthew, 21:12-13: "Et intravit Jesus in templum Dei, et ejiciebat omnes vendentes et ementes in templo, et mensas numulariorum, et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit: et dicit eis: Scriptum est: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur: vos autem fecistis illam speluncam latronum" ("And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money changers, and the chairs of them that sold doves: And he saith to them: It is written, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer' [Isaiah, 56:7]; but you have made it a den of thieves.").

"venit princeps babilo[nis]" (line 28, middle of Strophe III); and also = **1b.** the T at the start of the last phrase (before the *punctus organi*) of the closing cauda on "[ever]te[re]" (line 35, the last line of poem). **Opening cauda:** TD: F: a reading in the iambic modes 2 and 3 is equally possible (see the BD from *StV,* supplied at the end, for such a rendering). The identity of this cauda's music with the beginning of the *Benedicamus domino* a3 preserved in *StV* (see the remarks on this source above) may be significant in light of a further possible association of its music with the 1227-1228 Paris bishop's election. As noted, the closing portion of the *StV* BD setting is identical to the final cauda of the conductus *O felix Bituria,* written in honor of Bishop William of Bourges (Guillaume Berruyer or Guillaume de Donjean – ca. 19 Oct. 1155-10 Jan. 1209). William was canonized in 1218, although Rebecca Baltzer notes that there is no trace of his feast in Parisian liturgical books until more than ten years later, which could bring the initial celebrations of William's festival close to the time of the election controversy.[38] Similarly, the final cauda of *O felix Bituria,* often dated to soon after William of Bourges's death in 1209, presents clear indications of the iambic rhythms of the second and third modes in contrast to the mode-1 disposition of the *sine littera* sections in the rest of the piece. This closing melisma could well have been written separately and added later to *O Felix Bituria* at any of the possible times available for its composition above (for this possibility, see my "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 138-9).[39] There may therefore be previously unforseen reasons that led to the joining together of these two (presumably pre-existing) segments of music in *StV*.[40] One might even see a certain type of irony in combining a melisma pertaining to William's disputed election (redolent with accusations of bribery, corruption, and favoritism on Philip the Chancellor's part) with music associated at some point with a respected, canonized prelate, who furthermore was regarded as a patron saint of the University of Paris and renowned for his austerity and piety.[41] See the notes on the text in my edition of *O felix Bituria* in *F*-6 for further details on these circumstances. **4,1:** T: F: apparently specifying an *a/e-flat* tritone over "na[ti]," an *e-flat* sig precedes, as it does in *W1,Ma,W2* (missing in *CaJ*); cf. the cauda over line 21,1 ("vel [qui]"). **Cauda over line 11,1 (opens Strophe II):** D: F,Ma,W2: the 2li,3li=*ab,cab* of the second phrase may be rendered in iambic values; *W1,CaJ* show mode 1 (3li,2li=*abc,ab*), informing the reading here. **Line 20,1:** D: F,Ma,W2: the concluding *g* at the end of the short cauda on "nec [est]" om; supplied from *W1,* lost from *CaJ.* **Cauda over 21,1:** D: F,W2: for "vel," *e-flat* sig immediately prior, no sig in *W1,Ma;* unclear in *CaJ,* due to loss, but no sig precedes extant D phrase. **Cauda over line 23,1 (opens Strophe III):** T: cauda on "Vi[de]" (line 23,1, beginning Strophe III) = four phrases of the T in the final cauda on "[ever]te[re]" (line 35,2, the last line of poem) from L3-L14. T: F: thanks apparently to the omission of a clef change, the music for the whole cauda written 3 lower, corrected via all other musical sources; T: F,W1: *e-flat* sig precedes second and first phrases, respectively, for these two sources; none in *Ma,W2,CaJ.* **Lines 27-28:** see the above remarks on syllabic/melismatic identity. **29,3:** T: F: *d* over "si[bi]" om; supplied

---

[38]In "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.

[39] Thomas B. Payne "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151.

[40]According to Robert Falck ("New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript." *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 23 [1970]: 315-326, see pp. 317-324), the *StV* BD setting is more likely the original version. His claims, though, are challenged by the fact that he could not take Baltzer's later work into account, and his assumptions of priority based on assonance and the proclivities of other pieces that show analogous instances of borrowing (p. 323) does not effectively eliminate the equally likely possibility that the *StV* BD organum could still derive from the two conductus. Such a direction of musical appropriation from conductus to liturgical organum is argued in Payne, "Chancellor *versus* Bishop," 293-297, in connection with recently identified concordances between Philip's conductus *Veritas equitas* and Perotin's organum *Alleluya. Posui adiutorium* a3 (M51).

[41]For some further imaginings of analogous ironical juxtapositions of William of Auvergne with liturgical celebrations of respected prelates, see my "Chancellor *versus* Bishop," 297-298.

from *W1,Ma,W2,* portion missing from *CaJ.* **Closing cauda:** The final cauda in *CaJ* is expanded by about 16L prior to the concluding *punctus organi;* this version is supplied as an alternative at the end of the transcription. See also the above remarks on syllabic/melismatic identity (here encompassing the tenth cauda phrase in the T from L28-L35) and on the repetition of music from the cauda at line 23,1. T: F,W1: *e-flat* sig specified in the earlier repeated portion of the cauda on line 23,1 is missing from all musical sources; supplied editorially based on prior identity.

MONSTRUOSIS FLUCTIBUS

Conductus (I3/209)

F, f. 337r (7,78)

I

D [Mon -

or:

T Mon -

[Mon] - stru - o - sis flu - cti - bus

[Mon] - stru - o - sis flu - cti - bus

ma - re ma - gnum e - stu - at.

ma - re ma - gnum e - stu - at.

a -

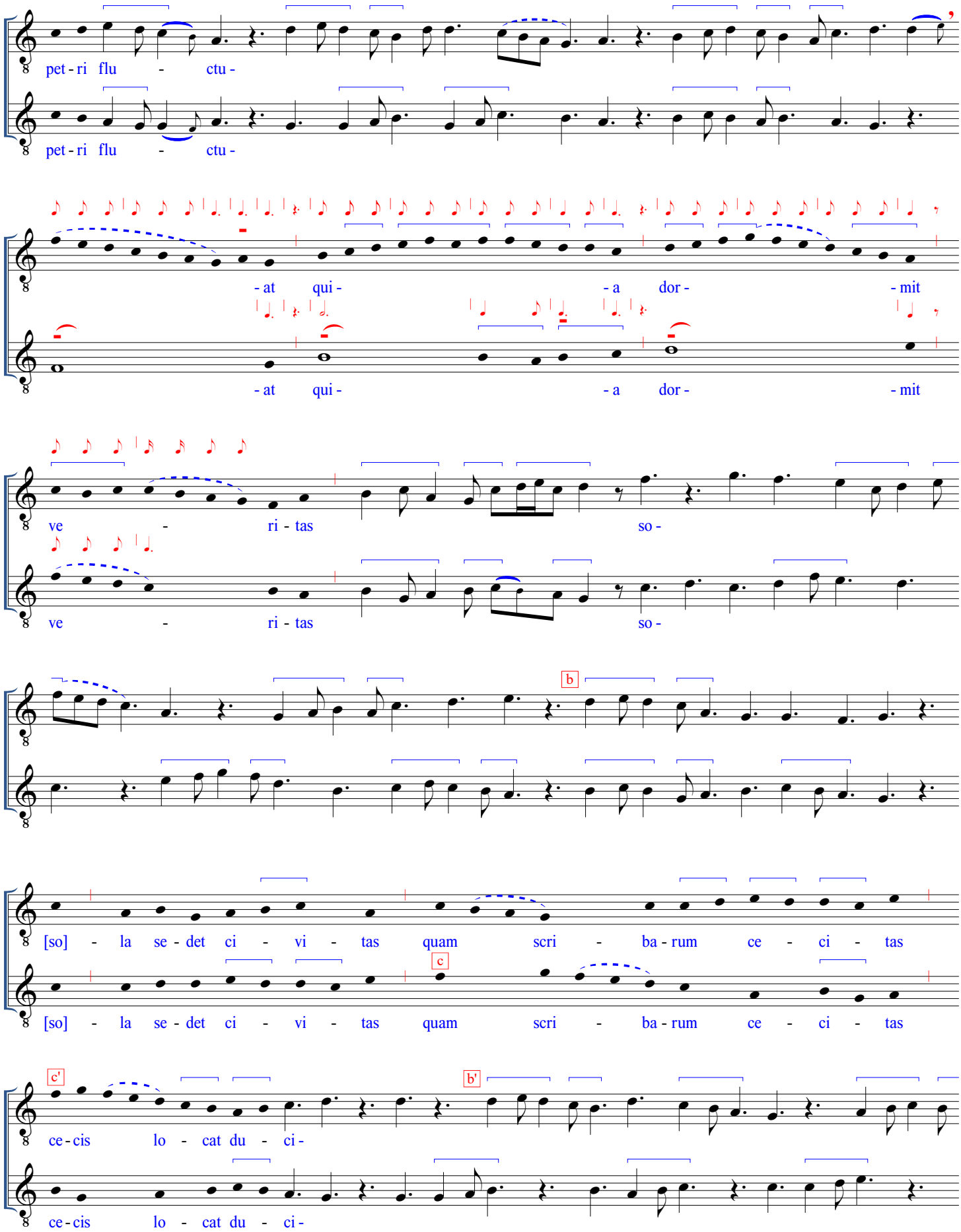
a
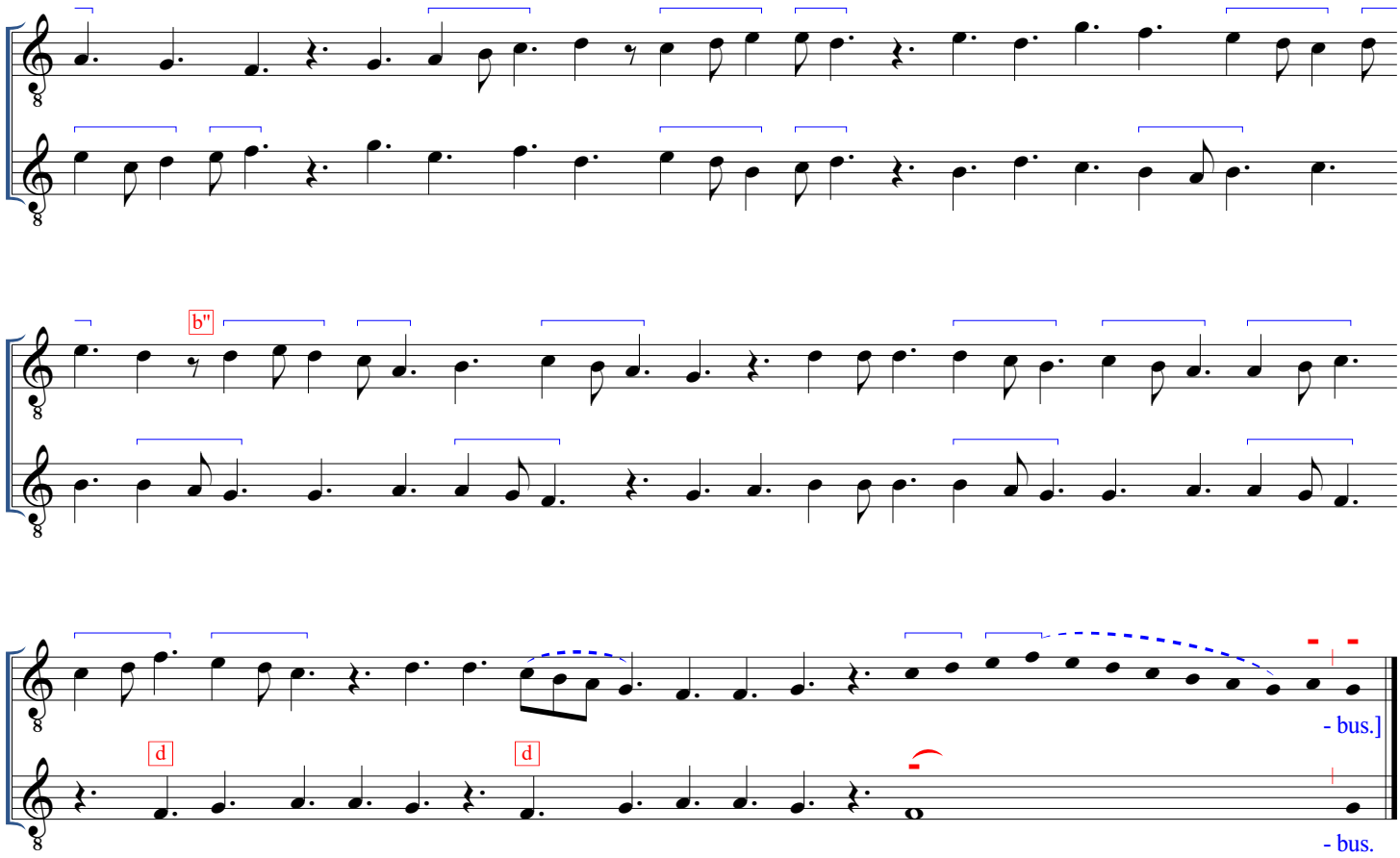
a -

a'

[a]-qui - lo - nis fla - ti - bus cim-ba

[a]-qui - lo - nis fla - ti - bus cim-ba


pet - ri flu - ctu -
pet - ri flu - ctu -
- at qui - - a dor - - mit
- at qui - - a dor - - mit
ve - ri - tas so -
ve - ri - tas so -
b
[so] - la se - det ci - vi - tas quam scri - ba - rum ce - ci - tas
c
[so] - la se - det ci - vi - tas quam scri - ba - rum ce - ci - tas
c'
b'
ce - cis lo - cat du - ci -
ce - cis lo - cat du - ci -


b"
d
d
- bus.]
- bus.

MONSTRUOSIS FLUCTIBUS

Conductus (I3/209)

F, f. 337r (7,78)

I	Monstruosis fluctibus	The great sea churns
	mare magnum estuat.	with monstrous waves.
	Aquilonis flatibus	Peter's skiff is tossed about
	cimba Petri fluctuat.	by the north wind's gusts.
	Quia dormit veritas,	Since truth is asleep,
	sola sedet civitas,	solitary sits the city
	quam scribarum cecitas	that the blindness of the scribes
	cecis locat ducibus.	populates with blind leaders.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 78, f. 337r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no provision for further text.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 11, f. 106v (97v): a2; Strophe I, complete, with some unnotated space filled with staff lines at the end of the last system of this piece. The work is sandwiched among four preceding settings a2 of *Benedicamus domino,* where the fourth is interrupted by the conductus *Gloria in excelsis ... redemptori meo* (H1/145), with its liturgically paraphrastic text, plus an introit trope *Natus corde patris.* It is then followed by three motets without their Tenors, entered as two-part conductus. After this, the MS reverts to an unbroken series of 12 conductus.

Text only:

No further medieval sources are known at present; the following printed source from the sixteenth century is given due to the unusual circumstances in which it presents the text of this piece:

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), no. 18, pp. 24-25. Here the text of *Monstruosis fluctibus* appears as the fourth and final strophe of a poem that begins *Hi sunt sal quod evanuit foras* (Q20/-). Although Stanza II of *Hi sunt sal* disagrees with the structure of I and III in the construction only of its third line (7pp instead of 8pp), Strophe IV, the stanza that presents *Monstruosis,* is strikingly different from all others, with an isosyllabic arrangement of 8(7pp), rather than ten lines of various couplets of 8pp and 7p. It is therefore exceedingly likely that the association in this publication of *Monstruosis* with *Hi sunt sal* is, at the very least, questionable. For additional context, see the notes on the poetic structure of the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** With the mention of Peter's boat in line 4, the images in the poem as a whole seem to indicate that some calamity may be affecting the papacy, or be caused by it. No particular event for its subject has yet been suggested, as its language is rather vague and inspecific as to what may have prompted it. There is some analogous naval imagery in the conductus a4 *Mundus vergens in defectum* (B2/213), lines 12-16. **3:** the north wind is a symbol of the devil and similarly unfavorable qualities, as reported in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:iii,

note 1, quoting from the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus (ca. 780-856) as given in *PL,* 111: col. 282C;[1] cf. also the conductus *Austro terris influente* (G1/26), where the north wind is named in line 2, and its negative connotations are treated in the remaining verses of its first stanza. **4:** likely references to the Gospel accounts of Jesus calming the storm that threatened to swamp the boat that he and several of his disciples were traveling in: Matthew, 8:23-25; Mark, 4:35-41; Luke, 8:22-25. Also see Matthew, 14:24-33; Mark, 6:45-52; and John, 6:16-25, for the story of Jesus walking on the water and Peter's partially successful attempt to do the same. Anderson's quotations from Bede (*PL,* 92: col. 42) and the *Glossa ordinaria* (*PL,* 114: col. 136) – given in *NDRC,* 4:iii, note 2 – indicate that the storms in the gospel accounts are seen allegorically as reflections of general affliction or turmoil, just as in the conductus text. **6:** see Lamentations, 1:1;[2] the city is now forlorn, even though it is populated, since its leaders are blind, as specified in line 8. It is not immediately obvious, but either Rome or Paris might conceivably be the subject here. **7,2:** this negative image of the scribes occurs many times in the Gospels, usually in association with the Pharisees and elders hostile to Jesus (see, e.g., Luke, 19:47,[3] 23:10, 20:46); cf. also Jeremiah, 8:8.[4] **8:** for the image of blind leaders (also associated with scribes and Pharisees as in line 7), see Matthew, 15:14,[5] 23:16, 23:24.[6] Also note the expression in Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), lines 37-42.[7] For the particular meaning used here for "locat" (line 8,2), see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/locare, DMLBS, 10.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,1:** F: cinba; the middle letter of the word is slightly obscured by the D figure in the system below, but it seems clear; the spelling adopted here comes from *W1;* the form given in dictionaries is typically "cymba." **7,2:** F: scribarrum? The standard "-rum" abbreviation appears to be preceded by an additional "r." **MUSIC: Opening cauda):** It is somewhat tempting to interpret the regularly recurring groups of falling 4C, 4li, and other falling fast-note figures that pepper the voices of this cauda as pictorializations of the "monstrous waves" in the opening words of the lyric. Similar claims might be made for some of the flourishes over "estuat" (line 2,3) "aquilonis flatibus" (3,1-2), "fluctuat" (4,3). T: F: in the third

---

[1]*PL,* 111: col. 282C: "Aquilo dictus eo quod aquas stringat et nubes dissipet: gelidus est enim ventus et siccus. Significat autem vel diabolum vel homines infideles, ut iniquitatis abundantiam et defectum charitatis. Unde scriptum est in propheta: 'ab aquilone exardescent mala super terram' (Isa. 14)" ("The north wind is so called because it freezes *[stringat]* the waters and scatters the clouds; for it is an icy and dry wind. And it signifies either the devil or faithless men, just as it does an abundance of iniquity and a defect of charity. Whence it is written in the prophet: 'from the north evil things break out over the earth.' "). The biblical reference that closes this passage probably refers to Jeremiah, 1:14, rather than anything in Isaiah, 14, as cited in *PL,* 111.

[2]Lamentations, 1:1: "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo!" ("How does the city [i.e., Jerusalem] sit solitary that was full of people!").

[3]Luke, 19:47: "Et erat docens quotidie in templo. Principes autem sacerdotum, et scribae, et princeps plebis quaerebant illum perdere" ("And he [Jesus] was teaching daily in the temple. And the chief priests and the scribes and the rulers of the people sought to destroy him.").

[4]Jeremiah, 8:8: "Quomodo dicitis: Sapientes nos sumus, et lex Domini nobiscum est? vere mendacium operatus est stylus mendax scribarum" (" How do you say: We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? Indeed the lying pen of the scribes has wrought falsehood.").

[5]Matthew, 15:14: "Sinite illos: caeci sunt, et duces caecorum; caecus autem si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadunt" ("Let them [the scribes and Pharisees] alone: they are blind, and leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the pit.").

[6]Matthew, 23:24: "Duces caeci, excolantes culicem camelum autem glutientes" ("Blind leaders, who strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel.").

[7]*Mundus a munditia,* lines 37-42: "Ceca fit provisio. / Ceci sedent solio, / ut cecorum regio / – Francia – / habitu privatio / prestat in ecclesia" ("A blind provision is enacted. The blind sit on the throne, so that in the region of the blind – in France – deprivation excels by habit in the church").

phrase in this voice, for the pitch series 3liP,2li=*edcb*P,*ab* at L8-L10, *W1* has 4li,2li; this avoids the *b/c* dissonance at L9 in *F* if *W1* is rendered SSBL,BL. An alternative reading of *F* at this point is offered above the staff that achieves the same objective. **Cauda over line 3,1:** T: F: om stroke at L4 of the melisma on "a[quilonis]," supplied from *W1*. **Cauda on line 6, 1:** D: F: gives *b,a,* 2 lower for the reading of the *a,g* pitch series in the last phrase on "so[la]" (at L19-L20); taken from *W1*. As adopted, the opening gesture of this phrase (*ded,ca*) also occurs in the D in the approximate middle of the final cauda of the piece (at L36-L38– marked as b" in the score). **Final cauda:** T: W1: for the si=*g* beginning phrase 8 at L41, an extra si=*g*' precedes just before the change to a new system (II on f. 107r). **Closing punctus organi:** T: F: the last two notes in the piece, *f,g,* are entered outside the writing block, intruding into the right margin; this may account for the fact that they seem written 2 too low, and have been corrected after *W1*.

REGI REGUM OMNIUM

Conductus (J22/300)

F, f. 337v (7,79)

I

D [Re - gi] [Re] - gi

T Re - [Re] - gi

re-gum o - mni - um gra-tes a - go gra - ti - e. qui bi-tu - ri-cen - si-um

re-gum o - mni - um gra-tes a - go gra - ti - e. qui bi-tu - ri-cen - si-um

pro - vi - dit ec-cle - si - e.
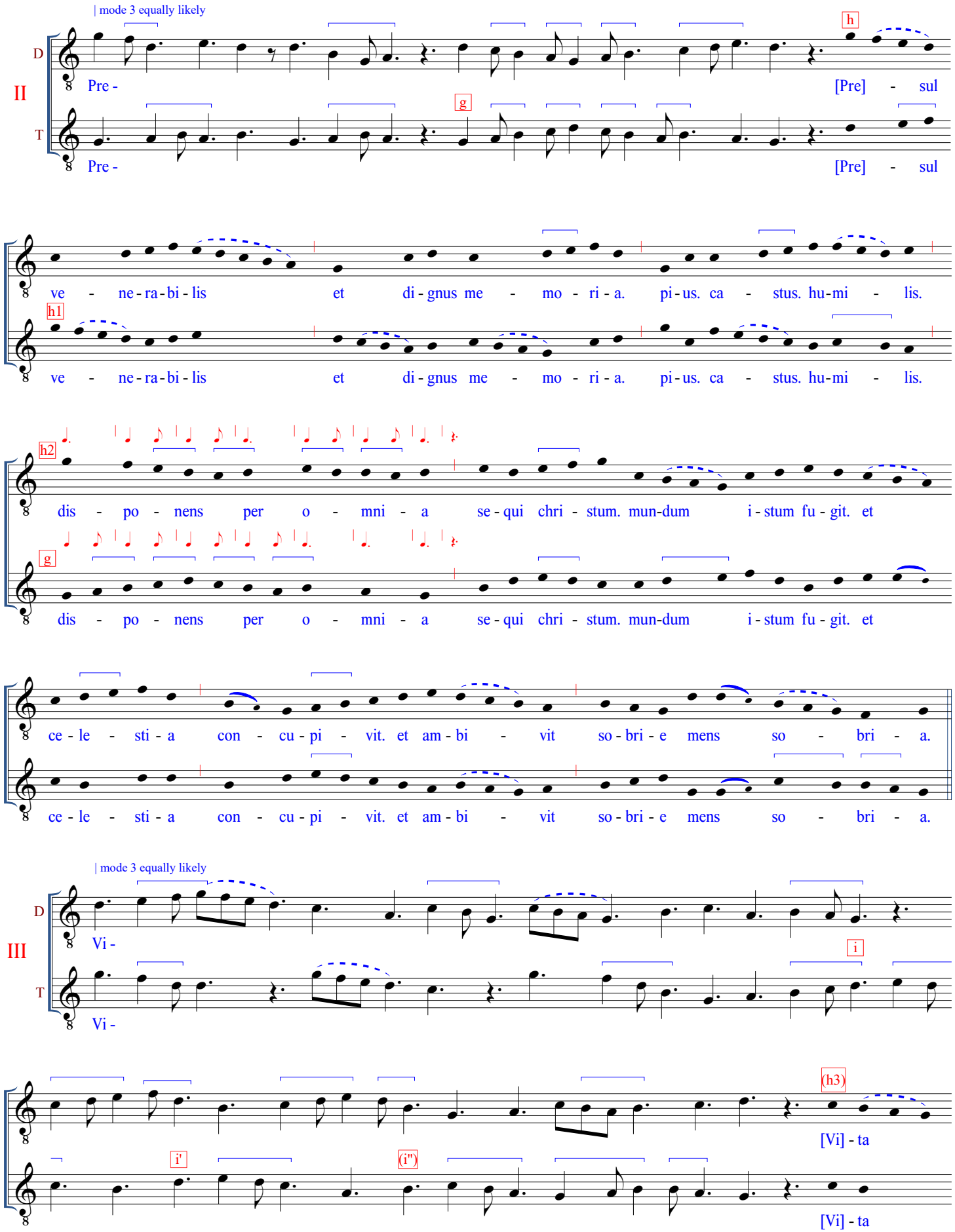
pro - vi - dit ec-cle - si - e.

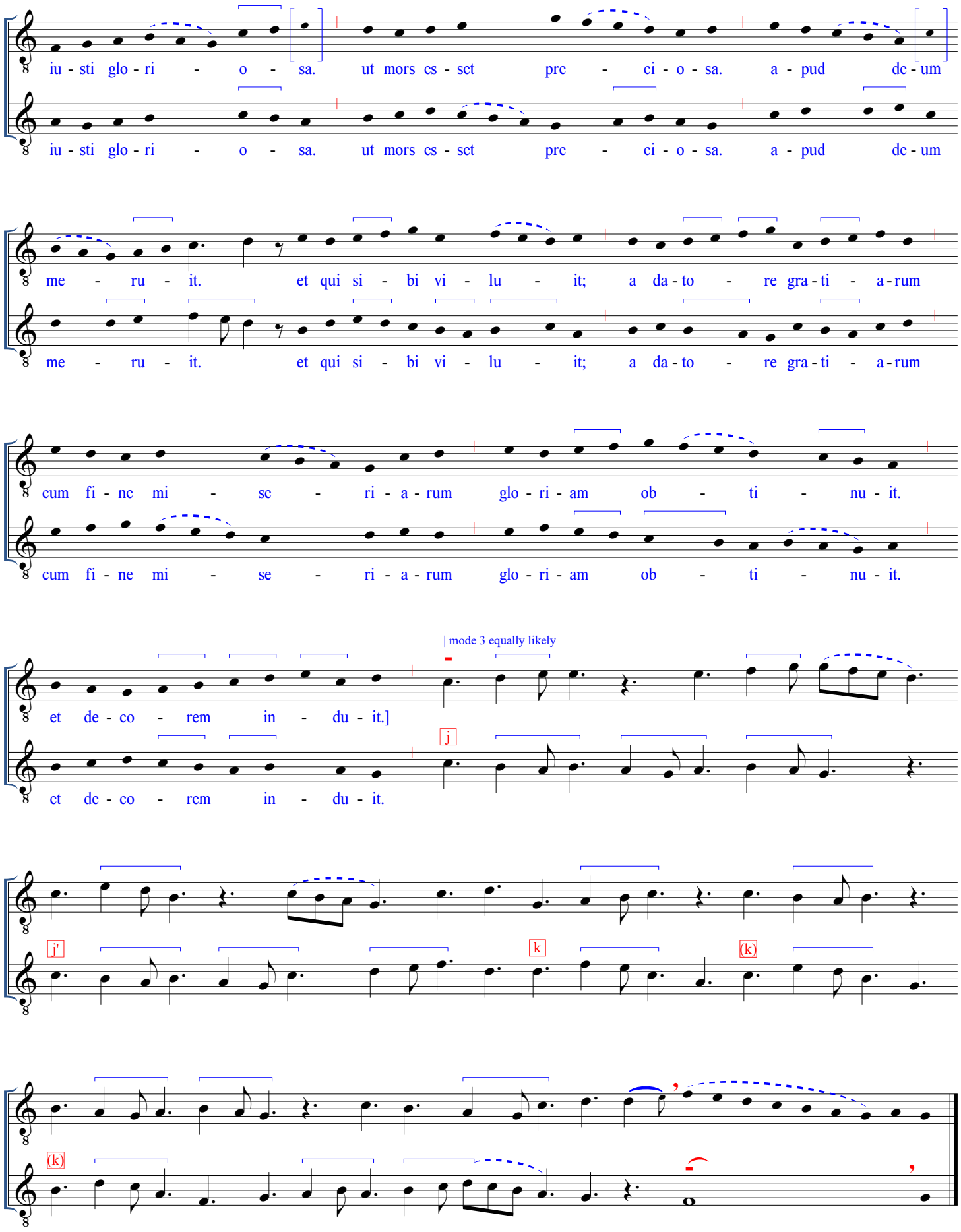
pa - sto - rem e - gre - gi - um. qui pa - vit e - gre - gi - e

pa - sto - rem e - gre - gi - um. qui pa - vit e - gre - gi - e

gre-gem ob - er - ran - ti - um a vi - a iu - sti - ti - e.

gre-gem ob - er - ran - ti - um a vi - a iu - sti - ti - e.


| mode 3 equally likely
II
D
T
h
g
Pre -
[Pre] - sul
ve - ne - ra - bi - lis et di - gnus me - mo - ri - a. pi - us. ca - stus. hu - mi - lis.
h1
h2
dis - po - nens per o - mni - a se - qui chri - stum. mun - dum i - stum fu - git. et
ce - le - sti - a con - cu - pi - vit. et am - bi - vit so - bri - e mens so - bri - a.
| mode 3 equally likely
III
Vi -
i
(h3)
[Vi] - ta
i'
(i")


iu - sti glo - ri - o - sa. ut mors es - set pre - ci - o - sa. a - pud de - um
iu - sti glo - ri - o - sa. ut mors es - set pre - ci - o - sa. a - pud de - um
me - ru - it. et qui si - bi vi - lu - it; a da - to - re gra - ti - a - rum
me - ru - it. et qui si - bi vi - lu - it; a da - to - re gra - ti - a - rum
cum fi - ne mi - se - ri - a - rum glo - ri - am ob - ti - nu - it.
cum fi - ne mi - se - ri - a - rum glo - ri - am ob - ti - nu - it.
| mode 3 equally likely
et de - co - rem in - du - it.]
j
et de - co - rem in - du - it.
j'
k
(k)
(k)

REGI REGUM OMNIUM

Conductus (J22/300)

F, f. 337v (7,79)

I	Regi regum omnium.	To the king of all kings
	grates ago gratie.	I give thanks for his favor.
	Qui Bituricensium	He provided an
	providit ecclesie	excellent pastor
	pastorem egregium,	for the church of Bourges,
	qui pavit egregie	one who excellently shepherded
	gregem oberrantium	a flock wandering
	a via iustitie.	from the path of justice.
II	Presul – venerabilis	This bishop – venerable
	et dignus memoria,	and worthy of remembrance,
	pius, castus, humilis,	pious, chaste, humble,
	disponens per omnia	setting aside everything
	sequi Christum – mundum istum	to follow Christ – has fled
	fugit. Et celestia	this world. His soul both
	concupivit, et ambivit	hearkened to the heavenly and
	sobrie mens sobria.	sought prudently the prudent.
III	Vita iusti gloriosa	The glorious life of this just man
	ut mors esset pretiosa	warrants that his death be
	apud deum meruit.	precious in God's sight.
	Et qui sibi viluit,	He who counted himself worthless
	a datore gratiarum,	has both acquired glory
	cum fine miseriarum,	from the giver of grace,
	gloriam obtinuit	and, with his afflictions at an end,
	et decorem induit.	clothed himself in splendor.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 79, f. 337v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; a unique textual-musical setting, with II and III indicated by capitals, and with no accommodation for further text.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Dedicatee:** the poem celebrates Saint William (de Donjeon or Berruyer) Archbishop of Bourges (ca. 1140-10 January 1209, elected archbishop on 23 November 1200, serving until his death; canonized on 17 May 1218 by Pope Honorius III, with his feast celebrated on the anniversary of his passing), who is additionally the subject of the conductus a3, *O felix Bituria* (E8/232), transmitted much earlier in the MS

at *F*-6,8, f. 209r. For more information on William of Bourges, see the notes to the text of *O felix.*[1] **Dating issues:** the allusions to William in this poem have led some to propose that it was written soon after the bishop's death in 1209. This is quite possible, although William's canonization in 1218, or the time when his feast begins to appear in Parisian liturgical books some ten or so years later (ca. 1228-1230), could push the conceivable date of composition later.[2] **Versification:** the line divisions of the conductus poem are construed differently here from their presentation in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 5:xiv). In lines 13 and 15 above, two pairs of rhyming 4p lines as given in Anderson are each combined here into one 8p verse, with the internal rhymes signaled by extra horizontal space in the text above. Such a decision confines the two different line structures in Strophe II (7pp and 8p) to the same ones as in III; Strophe I, for its part, limits itself solely to 7pp verses. Notable also in this poem is the relatively high presence of the rhetorical technique of *annominatio,* punning wordplay where words with similar roots are used in different forms: "grates/gratie" (line 2), "egregie/ egregium/gregem" (5-7), "sobrie/sobria" (16), for instance. Similarly, the notable amount of enjambment in Strophe II recalls the prevalence of the same technique in Strophe III of *O felix Bituria.* Yet unlike that work, the musical setting here tends to coordinate musical phrases with the line divisions rather than the syntactic sense of the poem. Notice its musical break between the grammatically connected lines 12-13 ("... per omnia / sequi Christum ...") and 14-15 ("... celestia / concupivit ..."). Such discrepancies might suggest different authors for the music and text of this piece. **Textual notes: 1:** biblical references to God and Christ as king of kings appear, e.g., in 1 Timothy, 6:15,[3] and in the similar expressions of Revelation, 17:14,[4] and 19:16.[5] **6-8:** with Bourges as the primary archepiscopal seat in Aquitaine (see, e.g., the opening lines of *O felix Bituria*), William had responsibility for combating heresy in the region. Among other duties involving the oversight and discipline of his charges, he reportedly was intending to mount a preaching campaign against the Cathars in response to Pope Innocent III's call for the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229 – see the conductus *Age penitentiam* [H31/11], transmitted three pieces later at *F*-7,82). William, though, died before he could begin this work. **8:** see Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 36:19.[6] **11-13:** William of Bourges was renowned for his austerity and piety; he reportedly wore a hair shirt unstintingly for much of his life and into his accession to the archbishopric of Bourges; he also foreswore eating meat. In addition to his calling to the archepiscopate of Bourges, the expression "setting aside everything to follow Christ" could refer to him forsaking his earlier prebends at Soissons and Paris to join the famously severe abbey of Grandmont. Due to dissidence within this

---

[1]The information about William given here and in the notes to *O felix Bituria* comes primarily from 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, at 36-39.

[2]See Rebecca Baltzer, ""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.

[3]1 Timothy, 6:15: " quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens, Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium" ("which in his times he shall show who is the Blessed and only Mighty, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.).

[4]Revelation, 17:14: "Hi cum Agno pugnabunt, et Agnus vincet illos: quoniam Dominus dominorum est, et Rex regum, et qui cum illo sunt, vocati, electi, et fideles" ("These shall fight with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him are called, and elect, and faithful.").

[5]Revelation, 19:16: "quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens, Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium" ("And he has on his garment, and on his thigh written: King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.").

[6]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 36:19: "... et dirige nos in viam justitiae, et sciant omnes qui habitant terram quia tu es Deus conspector saeculorum" ("... and direct us into the way of justice, and let all know that dwell upon the earth, that you are God the beholder of all ages.").

abbey, William left, turning to the Cistercian order before he was nominated to the see of Bourges late in the year 1200 (for more details, see the notes to the text of *O felix Bituria*). **18:** see Psalm 115:6.[7] **24:** being "clothed in splendor" here may perhaps be read as a contrast to William's penchant for austere clothing during his life; see the remarks for lines 11-13.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,1:** F: an erasure appears at the end of this word, apparently correcting an improperly written "Regis." **20,4:** F: uluit or uliut; emended editorially following Léopold Delisle;[8] Dreves, *AH,* 21:172, no. 241 (which does not report the unique reading of *F*); and Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xiv, 115 (which does). **MUSIC:** There is a fair amount of musical repetition and some motivic play in this piece. A number of these recurrences are signaled by the boxed letters above the staves and more may be posited. **Syllabic/ melismatic identity:** in addition to the melodic identity described below, notice also the exact correspondence to the ligations of this passage in both its appearances. Such close agreement may offer suggestions either towards rhythmic mode (either modes 1 and 3 seem equally possible here, as they are for the subsequent caudae in this work) or may propose different alignments of ligature elements with syllables. Here, in the transcription of the *cum littera* passage as read in mode 1, the 2li figures of the T are arranged to suggest simultaneity between the syllable and the second element of the ligature, as implied by the earlier *sine littera* notation of the cauda passage. This level of correspondence could thus increase the likelihood of performing this line in the same rhythms as the cauda passage (an alternative given above the staff). **1.** T of the second phrase (L9-L16) of the cauda on "Pre[sul]" (line 9, opens Strophe II) = **1a.** T of "disponens per omnia" (line 12, halfway point of Stanza II). Though separated, there is a logic to the occurrences: the first opens Strophe II, while the second involves the line in this same strophe just before the first change to the first instance of a different line length (8p [4p+4p]), after the series of 7pp lines that has formed all of the poem so far. **Line 2,3:** D: F: music for the last two syllables of "[gra]tie" om; supplied editorially. **Cauda on 17,1 (opens Strophe III):** T: F: erased stoke (omitted in transcription) precedes the si=*b* at L18 of the cauda. **Line 17,3:** D: F: note on last syllable of "[glorio]sa" om, with erased *d* still visible; *e* supplied editorially. **19,2:** D: F: note on second syllable of "[de]um" om; supplied editorially. The scribe may have been confused by the 2si=*c,d* at the end of the D phrase, set melismatically over a 3li=*fed* in the T, and thought the right number of D notes was in fact supplied.

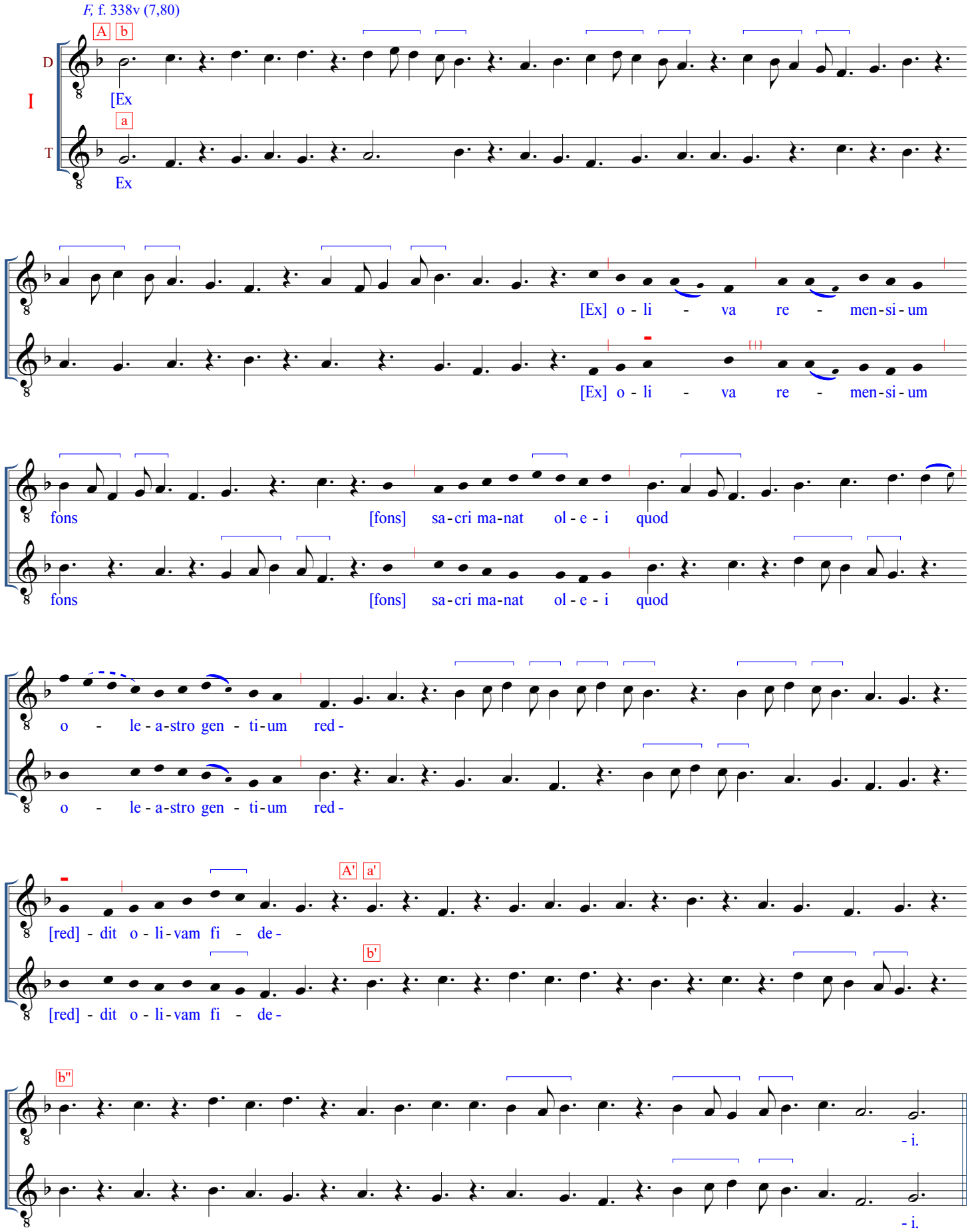
[7]Psalm 115:6: "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus" ("Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.").

[8]"Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 22 (1885): 82-139, at 117.

EX OLIVA REMENSIUM

Conductus (H5/109)

F, f. 338v (7,80)



*expanded cauda in *W1*, see at end

II

D

B d

Fons

T

c

Fons

c e c

d'

[fons] a - li - as ex - a - ru - it.

[fons] a - li - as ex - a - ru - it.

sed a - qua vi - va pro - flu - it de

sed a - qua vi - va pro - flu - it de

B d c

[de] fon - te ca - ri - ta -

c e

[de] fon - te ca - ri - ta -

e d' c

- tis.

- tis.

III

D

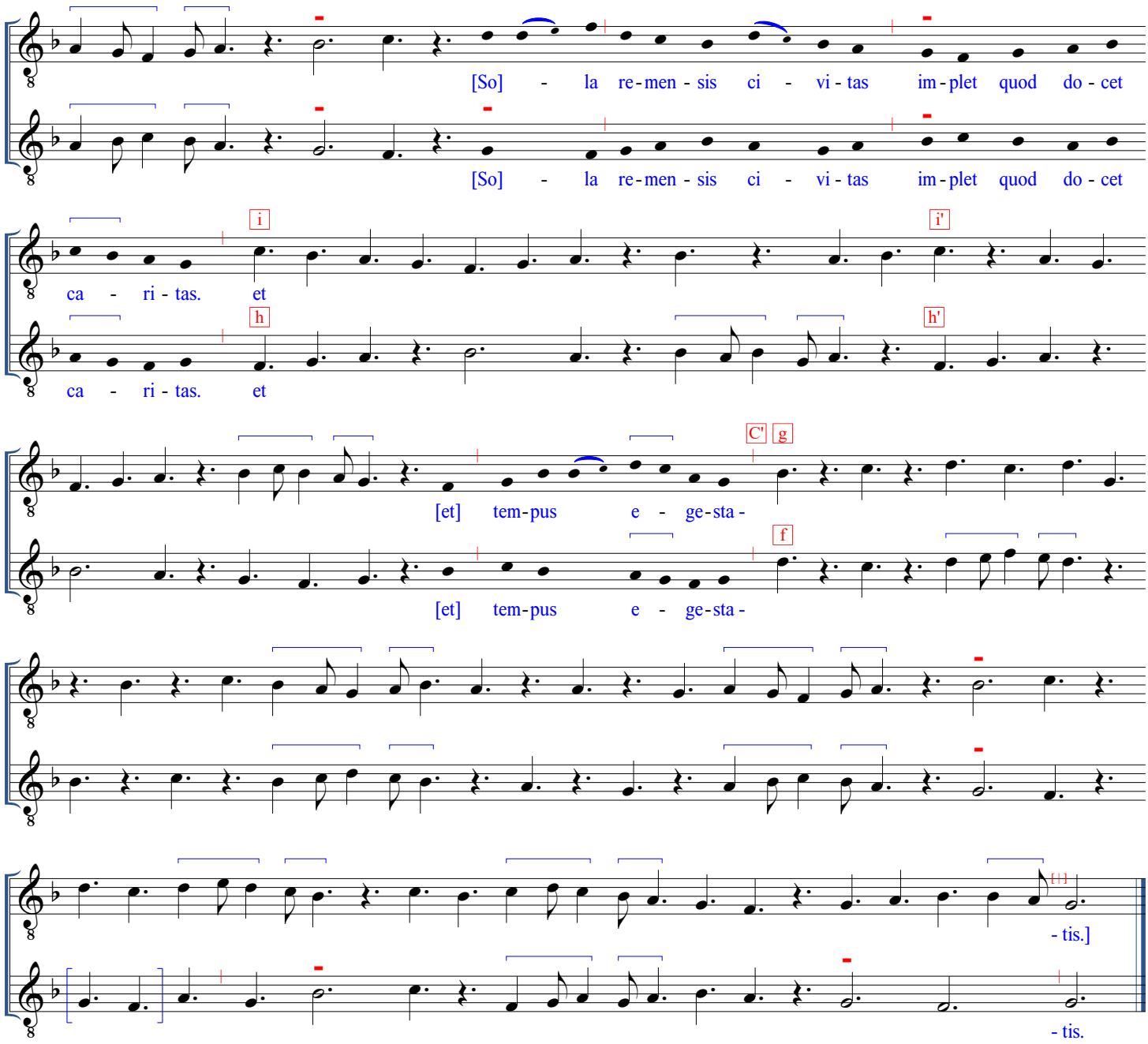
C g

So -

T

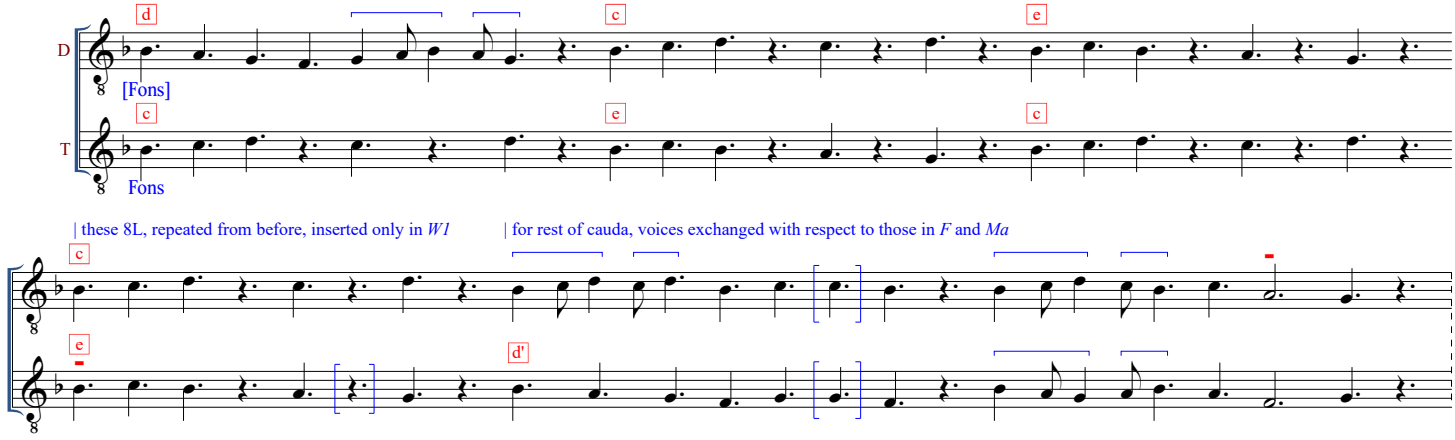
f

So -



ALTERNATIVE READING:

**W1*, f. 114r (105r), V: cauda over line 5,1 (opening Strophe II), with repeated section (only in *W1*) and exchange of voices in second half



IN RIPA LIGERIS
Conductus (J23/183)

F, f. 339v (7,81)

I

D [In ri - pa li - ge - ris e[s]t mar - ti - no - po - lis urbs or - bem ten - pe - rans.

T In ri - pa li - ge - ris e[s]t mar - ti - no - po - lis urbs or - bem ten - pe - rans.

or: or - bis gem - ma. a - si - lum mi - se - ris pa - rem a - po - sto - lis

or: or - bis gem - ma. a - si - lum mi - se - ris pa - rem a - po - sto - lis

pa - tro - num ve - ne - rans urbs su - pre - ma.

pa - tro - num ve - ne - rans urbs su - pre - ma.

II

D Po - lis est ci - vi - tas. po - lis plu - ra - li - tas. po - lis io - cun - di - tas.

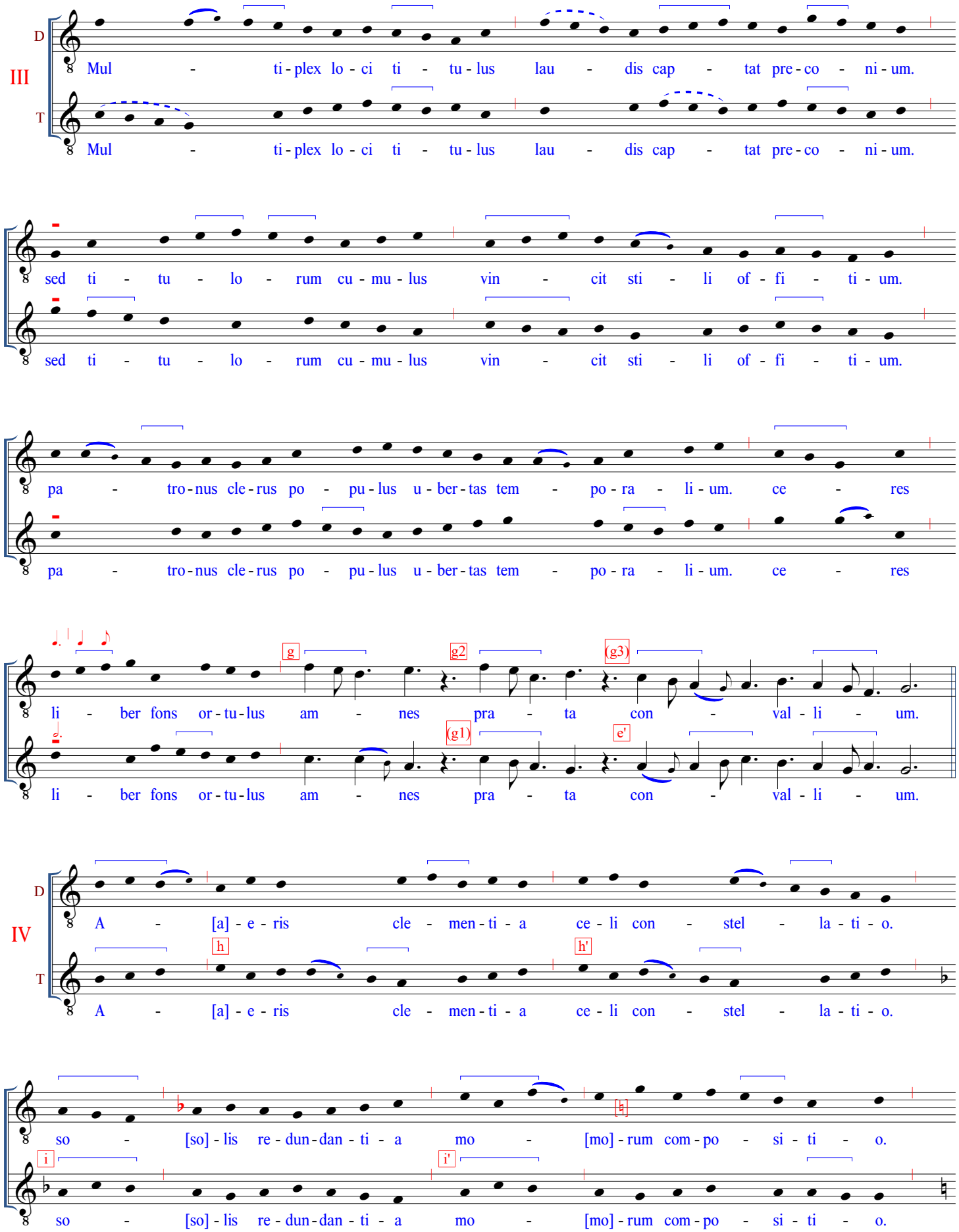
T Po - lis est ci - vi - tas. po - lis plu - ra - li - tas. po - lis io - cun - di - tas.

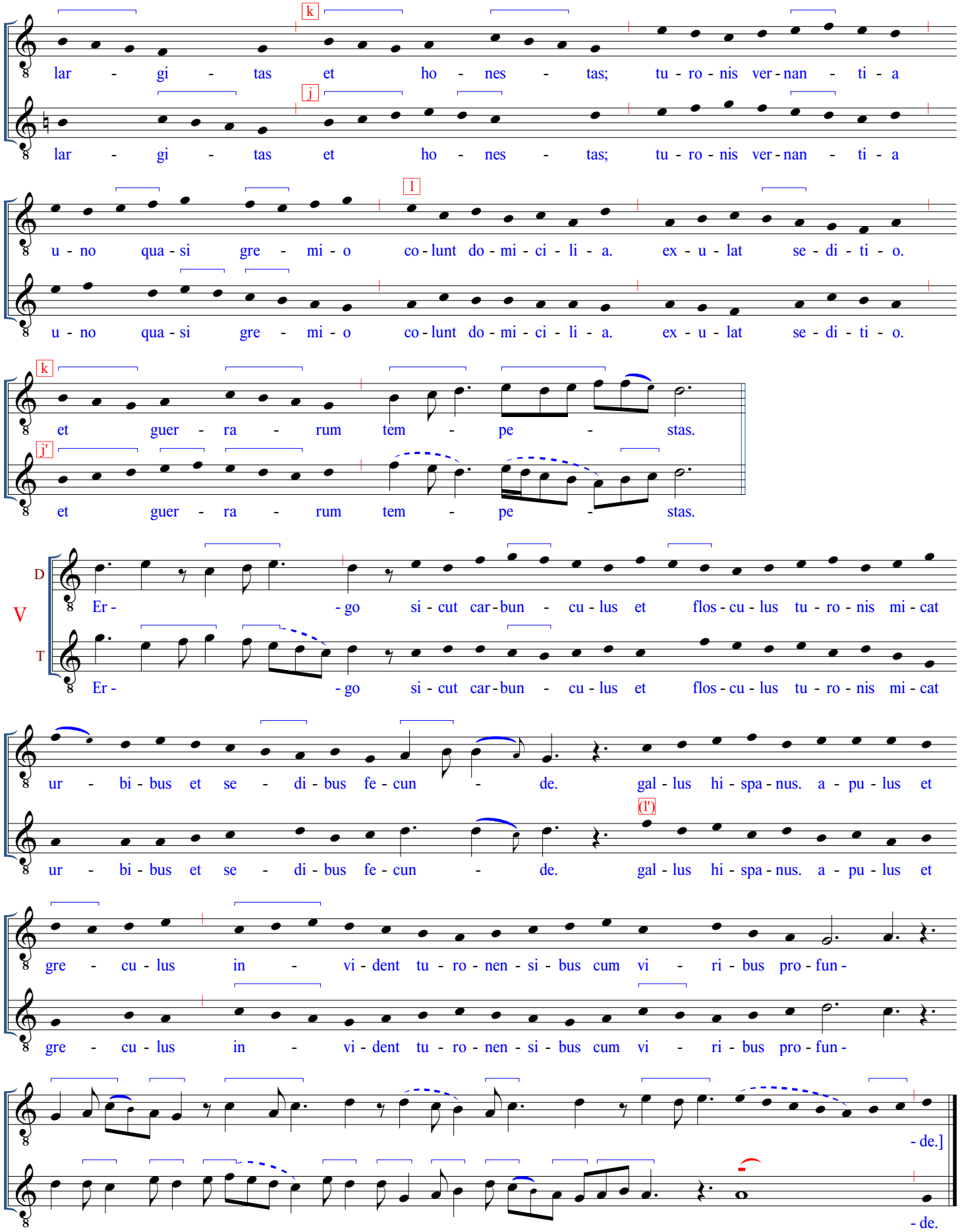
po - lis di - stra - cti - o. hec po - lis ci - vi - tas. po - le - on de - i - tas.

po - lis di - stra - cti - o. hec po - lis ci - vi - tas. po - le - on de - i - tas.

cui - li - bet ve - ri - tas ma - gi - stra ra - ti - o.

cui - li - bet ve - ri - tas ma - gi - stra ra - ti - o.


III
D
T
Mul - ti-plex lo-ci ti - tu-lus lau - dis cap - tat pre-co - ni-um.
Mul - ti-plex lo - ci ti - tu - lus lau - dis cap - tat pre - co - ni - um.
sed ti - tu - lo - rum cu - mu - lus vin - cit sti - li of - fi - ti - um.
sed ti - tu - lo - rum cu - mu - lus vin - cit sti - li of - fi - ti - um.
pa - tro-nus cle-rus po - pu-lus u-ber-tas tem - po-ra - li-um. ce - res
pa - tro-nus cle-rus po - pu-lus u-ber-tas tem - po-ra - li-um. ce - res
g
g2
(g3)
(g1)
e'
li - ber fons or-tu-lus am - nes pra - ta con - val - li - um.
li - ber fons or-tu-lus am - nes pra - ta con - val - li - um.
IV
D
T
A - [a] - e - ris cle - men-ti - a ce - li con - stel - la - ti - o.
h
h'
A - [a] - e - ris cle - men - ti - a ce - li con - stel - la - ti - o.
so - [so] - lis re - dun-dan - ti - a mo - [mo] - rum com - po - si - ti - o.
i
i'
so - [so] - lis re - dun-dan - ti - a mo - [mo] - rum com - po - si - ti - o.


k
lar - gi - tas et ho - nes - tas; tu - ro - nis ver - nan - ti - a
j
lar - gi - tas et ho - nes - tas; tu - ro - nis ver - nan - ti - a
l
u - no qua - si gre - mi - o co - lunt do - mi - ci - li - a. ex - u - lat se - di - ti - o.
u - no qua - si gre - mi - o co - lunt do - mi - ci - li - a. ex - u - lat se - di - ti - o.
k
et guer - ra - rum tem - pe - stas.
j'
et guer - ra - rum tem - pe - stas.
D
V
T
Er - go si - cut car - bun - cu - lus et flos - cu - lus tu - ro - nis mi - cat
Er - go si - cut car - bun - cu - lus et flos - cu - lus tu - ro - nis mi - cat
ur - bi - bus et se - di - bus fe - cun - de. gal - lus hi - spa - nus. a - pu - lus et
(l')
ur - bi - bus et se - di - bus fe - cun - de. gal - lus hi - spa - nus. a - pu - lus et
gre - cu - lus in - vi - dent tu - ro - nen - si - bus cum vi - ri - bus pro - fun -
gre - cu - lus in - vi - dent tu - ro - nen - si - bus cum vi - ri - bus pro - fun -
- de.]
- de.

IN RIPA LIGERIS

Conductus (J23/183)

F, f. 339v (7,81)

I
In ripa Ligeris
e[s]t Martinopolis,
urbs orbem tenperans,
orbis gemma,
asilum miseris,
parem apostolis
patronum venerans,
urbs suprema.

On the banks of the river Loire
stands Martinopolis,[1]
a city tempering the world,
a jewel of the earth,
a refuge for the wretched,
honoring a patron saint
equal to the apostles,
a most exalted town.

II
Polis est civitas.
Polis pluralitas.
Polis iocunditas.
Polis distractio.
Hec polis civitas,
poleon deitas
cuilibet: veritas,
magistra, ratio.

"Polis" signifies city.
"Polis" signifies diversity.
"Polis" signifies delight.
"Polis" signifies diversion.
This polis is a city,
a goddess of cities
for whatever you wish, be it truth,
learning, or reason.

III
Multiplex loci titulus
laudis captat preconium,
sed titulorum cumulus
vincit stili offitium:
patronus, clerus, populus,
ubertas temporalium:
Ceres, Liber, fons, ortulus,
amnes, prata convallium,

The manifold renown of the place
attracts the noise of praise,
but its accumulation of honors
surpasses the task of writing them down:
its patron saint, clergy, people,
its abundance of things on this earth:
its harvest, wine, streams, gardens,
its rivers, and its valleys' meadows,

IV
aeris clementia,
celi constellatio,
solis redundantia,
morum compositio,
largitas et honestas.
Turonis vernantia,
uno quasi gremio,
colunt domicilia.
Exulat seditio
et guerrarum tempestas.

the mildness of its climate,
the stars above it,
its abundance of sun,
its disposition of morals,
its generosity and honesty.
Its households,
as if in one bosom,
cultivate the verdure of Tours.
Let treachery and the
storm of wars be gone.

V
Ergo, sicut carbunculus
et flosculus,
Turonis micat urbibus
et sedibus
fecunde.
Gallus, Hispanus, Apulus,

So, like a bright red gem
and ornament,
Tours shines abundantly,
thanks to its districts
and dwellings.
The Frenchman, the Spaniard,

[1]The city of Tours. On how the poet exploits this particular expression, see Strophe II and the textual notes for lines 9-14, below.

et Greculus		Italian, and Greek
invident Turonensibus		profoundly
cum viribus		envy the people of Tours,
profunde.	44	thanks to their virtues.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 81, f. 339v: a2; Strophes I-V complete, with the initials of II-V represented by capitals; yet with an erroneous blue-painted upper-case "R" initial, decorated with red tracery, fitted within the text's baseline limits, and curiously and mistakenly entered in a space left between the two syllables of "Ergo," at line 35,1 that begins Strophe V (i.e., "ErRgo"); *F* presents a unique setting of both text and music. It seems noteworthy that the poem of the previous work in *F*-7, *Ex oliva Remensium* (H5/109), is also devoted to a French city, that of Reims.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** Although the five strophes as presented above correspond to the way the text is divided in *F,* with capital letters signaling the start of each stanza, these five units additionally separate into equivalent halves in terms of number of lines, rhythmic structure, and rhyme scheme, and, for the most part, syntactic divisions. Prior publications of this text all arrange the poem according to such smaller units (for these, see the section below on text variants). This manner of presentation, though, has been avoided here, since the repeated poetic half-stanzas do not show corresponding musical parallelisms. On another matter, the short 3p lines in Strophe V (lines 39 and 44) could also be combined with the preceding verses to form 7p lines with internal rhyme. **Textual notes: 1-2:** the French city of Tours was especially associated with St. Martin, one of the earliest bishops of the town (reg. 371-397). He is perhaps best known for cutting his cloak in half to share with a beggar he met while on horseback. His high renown (as exhibited in lines 7-8) made Tours a prominent pilgrimage site on the trek to Santiago de Compostela. His feast is celebrated on 11 November. See the notes to lines 9-14, below, for the explications prompted by the poet's use of this Hellenic expression to refer to Tours. **9-14:** the anaphoric Hellenisms that appear here offer both the Romanized nominative and genitive plural forms of the Greek word "polis" (πόλις, πόλεων, respectively). Having employed the term "Martinopolis" to designate Tours, the poet seems compelled in this stanza to explain his choice by defining the suffix "polis" and offering a list of favorable qualities implied by it. **12:** this line is a bit difficult to construe (as are the particular connotations of a number of other words in this stanza – see, for instance, the textual variants for line 11,2, below). Since the Latin word "distractio" is typically associated with negative qualities (such as "pulling apart," "division," "separation"), the translation here has attempted to convey the positive attributes of Tours that populate the remainder of the poem. **15,1:** "cuilibet" is reckoned trisyllablically in both the poem and musical setting. **23,1-2:** these two items in the long list of positive traits enjoyed by Tours are personified in the poem as Roman deities, corresponding to the harvest (Ceres, goddess of agriculture) and wine (Liber, an early associate of Ceres and sometimes regarded as an equivalent to Dionysus and Bacchus). **24-25:** the catalog of praiseworthy attributes of Tours, begun with line 21 in the previous stanza (III), crosses over its boundaries into Strophe IV without a major syntactical break – a rather rare occurrence in this repertory. For an analogous situation, see the lack of division between the added strophes (V-VI) that appear in *Fauv* and *Brussels 19606* for the conductus *Trine vocis tripudio – Trahunt in precipitia* (E4/351) transmitted in *F*-6,5, f. 205r. It also sometimes figures in Philip the Chancellor's monophonic lais *Veritas equitas* (K62/375) and *Inter membra singula* (L2/186) cropping up in some of the very short versicles composed of only two or three lines. **30,1:** see

the comments on line 37,1. **34:** it is not clear whether a particular war or battle, either recent or ancient, may be referred to here; if so, a clearly established reference to a conflict from between ca. 1200-1240 might help to date the poem and its musical setting. More widely cast, some conceivable possibilities for the mention could include the Battle of Tours (or Poitiers) of 732, where the victory over Muslim forces by Frankish and Aquitanian armies under Charles Martel ("the Hammer")[2] decisively counteracted the spread of Islam in the region and laid the foundation for the Frankish empire that would proliferate over the following century. This battle is possibly also alluded to in the text of the conductus *De rupta rupecula* (F25/82), see the notes to lines 25-27 of this poem. A further prospect could lie in the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229), which is the subject of the conductus *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16), an item that appears 6 pieces later in *F*-7. **35-39:** the carbuncle (the "bright red gem" in the translation) was so closely associated with brilliance that it was purportedly able to emit its own light.[3] **37,1:** the form of this word ("Turonis") is here construed as nominative, in order to supply a concrete subject for this sentence. The same form appears earlier in line 30,1, where it is parsed as genitive.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 2,1:** F: et; corrected after Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xiv-xv), Dreves (*AH,* 21:182, no. 255), and Delisle ("Discours," 117-118),[4] although Dreves does not report the variant. **3,3:** a retained variant spelling of "temperans," the latter appearing in Anderson, Dreves, Delisle (all *ibid.*). **11,2:** F: rotunditas, also in Delisle; adopted reading from Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xv); Dreves gives the essentially equivalent "jucunditas." The word choice in *F* might work if the connotation here of the noun leans towards the meaning of "circumference," "boundary," "perimeter," or the like. **23,4:** a retained variant spelling of "hortulus," following Delisle, the latter in Anderson, Dreves. **24,1:** F: "annes," adopted reading from Deslisle, Dreves; Anderson gives "amnis," likely due to the fact that only one major river is named earlier in the poem, but the courses of the Cher, Indre, and Vienne also flow relatively near to Tours. The adopted plural form, "amnes," hence, is closer in sound to the apparently faulty *F* reading and thus preferred here. For an analogous situation, see the conductus *Aurelianis civitas* (L60/25), uniquely transmitted in *F*-10,60, at f. 439v. In its fourth line it gives a faulty reading of "annis" that Delisle ("Discours," 136) suggests be emended to "amnis." **35,1:** F: ErRgo, due to the imposition of an unnecessary decorated initial; see the above source report on *F* for details. **43,2:** F: "viribus," retained, as in Deslisle; Anderson and Dreves emend to "urbibus." **MUSIC: Line 24:** TD: F: the figures over 24,1-2 ("amnes prata") relate to the following ornate setting of 24,3 ("convallium"), the latter of which implies rhythms for its short *sine littera* passage. As a result, the prior segment is also rhythmicized here. **44:** the 2si over the second syllable of "[pro]fun[de]" that lead into the final cauda are not graphically el, as they are, for example, in the penultimate notes at the end of Strophe II. An extension of the penultimate syllable of line 39 ("[fe]cun[de]"), seems implied by the compound notational figures at that point in the MS; this last feature has prompted the editorial rhythmic extension here that serves to balance the end of the first half of the stanza with the close of its second half. **Final cauda:** T: F: an unneeded, additional si=*g* precedes the el penultimate *a* just before the *punctus organi* that ends the piece; this note is omitted editorially here, as it seems unnecessary in the musical context, and there is some evidence of erasure below the T staff at this point (the residual remnants of red and blue color here possibly also suggest the intention to add another unnecessary initial [possibly an "A"?],[5] as at the start of Strophe V, line 35,1). This could imply a possible degree of confusion over this closing gesture, or perhaps hint at a corrupted reading.

---

[2]The grandfather of Charlemagne, who ruled in Francia as duke, prince, and as Mayor of the Palace, 718-741.

[3]See, for example, the characterization of the carbuncle given by the *Distinctiones monasticae* in Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense,* 4 vols. (Paris: F. Didot, 1852-1858), 2 (1855): 184: "Et tamen a carbone lapis, igneo fulgore rutilans, carbunculus nominatur" ("And yet a stone, shining with fiery brilliance, is named 'carbuncle,' from 'coal.' ").

[4]"Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 22 (1885): 82-139.

[5]If correctly interpreted, this letter, coincidentally, would be the same as the one that starts the following piece in *F: Age penitentiam* (H31/11).

AGE PENITENTIAM
Conductus (H31/11)

F, f. 340v (7,82)

I

D [A -

T A -

CaJ:

a (a') b b'
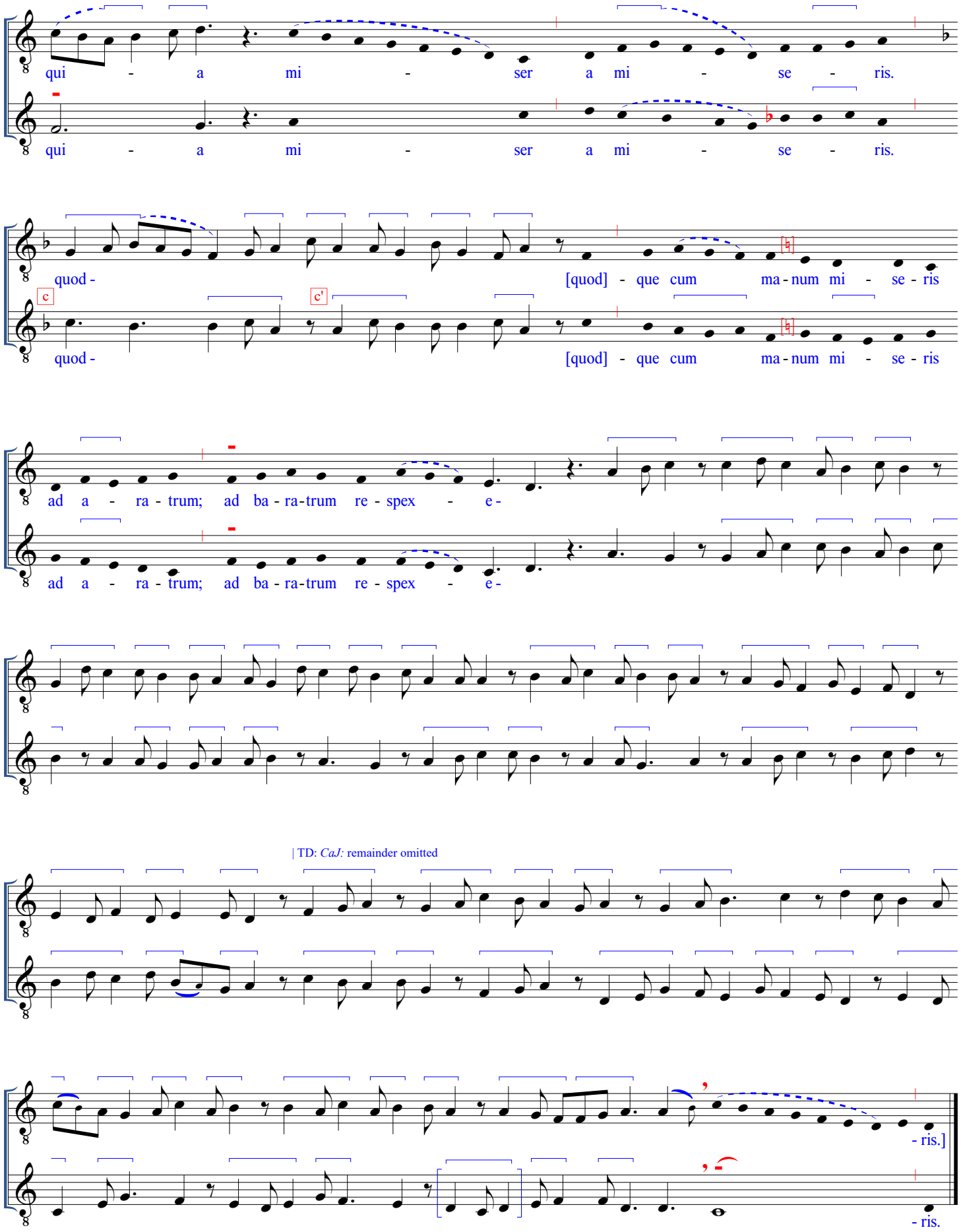
-ge pe - ni - ten - ti - am me - mor un - de ce - ci - de - -ris

qui

de - i vi - am de - se - ris ve - ni - es ad ve - ni - am

si pri - mum o - pus

fe - ce - ris et pe - ni - tens do - lu - e - ris in - no - cen - tis glo - ri - am


qui - a mi - ser a mi - se - ris.
qui - a mi - ser a mi - se - ris.
quod -
[quod] - que cum ma - num mi - se - ris
c
c'
quod -
[quod] - que cum ma - num mi - se - ris
ad a - ra - trum; ad ba - ra - trum re - spex - e -
ad a - ra - trum; ad ba - ra - trum re - spex - e -
| TD: *CaJ:* remainder omitted
- ris.]
- ris.

AGE PENITENTIAM

Conductus (H31/11)

F, f. 340v (7,82)

I	Age pentitentiam!	Do penance!
	Memor unde cecideris.	Remember from whence you fell.
	Qui, dei viam deseris	You who forsook God's path
	venies ad veniam	will achieve forgiveness
	si primum opus feceris	if you have done the primary task
	et penitens dolueris,	and suffered as a penitent,
	innocentis gloriam	since, wretch, you lost
	quia, miser, amiseris,	the glory of an innocent,
	quodque, cum manum miseris	and because, when you put your hand
	ad aratrum, ad baratrum	to the plow, you looked back
	respexeris.	at the abyss.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 82, f. 340v: a2; Strophe I complete, with its opening red filigreed initial beginning mid-system on the folio, rather than at the left margin, something that happens with only 12 pieces within *F*-7.[1]

W1, fasc. 9, no. 87, f. 173v (164v): a2; Strophe I complete, with a painted opening initial. An upper-case "S," seen in no other source, begins line 5, which Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xxxv) and others have construed as the start of a second strophe (see the remarks on versification below). The end of the final cauda and the closing *punctus organi* trails into the right margin of the last system to contain the piece.

Ma, fasc. 3, no. 22, f. , f. 65r: a2; Strophe I complete, with no opening initial in the space provided for it at the left margin (even though the two surrounding works bear painted, filigreed beginnings, as do some of the following pieces), and there is a lower-case "a" below the T staff, just before the music starts, possibly to serve as a guide letter for an illuminator. Like *W1,* the end of the final cauda and closing *punctus organi* intrude into the right margin of the last system.

CaJ (GB-CJc QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1),[2] Fragment A, no. 15, ff. Fr-v (the leaf is reconstructed from five extant binding strips out of an original six):[3] a2; the bulk of Strophe I is fragmentarily preserved, with the remains of only the left portion of a large red- and blue-painted initial decorated with tracery opening the stanza. Due to the fragmentary nature of *CaJ,* various portions of music and text are lost throughout.[4] Curiously, approximately the second half of the final cauda is omitted here in comparison with

---

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Images available through DIAMM here. For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[3] The individually foliated binding strips that originally constituted each folio show the following numbers, reading from left to right of the indicated leaf: f. **Fr** (strips 33r, followed by a wide gap from the missing strip, 6v, 24v, 21v, 8v, 32v), f. **Fv** (32r, 8r, 21[r], 24[r], 6[r], followed by a gap from the missing strip, and 33v.

[4]The general musico-poetic contents of each individual leaf show that f. **Fr** of *CaJ* has *Age penitentiam* opening at the left margin of the second system on the leaf and taking up the first half of this system, the rest of which is occupied by the continuing end of the expanded final cauda and *punctus organi* of the preceding work in *CaJ,* the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), appearing

the other sources, which makes it coincidentally interesting that the final cauda of the preceding work in *CaJ* (*Deduc Syon uberrimas* [G8/85]) has an expanded, although otherwise unrelated, final melisma. *CaJ* then continues with a setting of the conductus *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16), generally complete except for a few omissions similar to those affecting *Age penitentiam.* The way *Anni favor* is entered on the leaf, though, with a smaller red-painted and undecorated upper-case initial "A," gives every indication that the scribe and illuminator considered it to be a continuation of *Age penitentiam.* Besides appearing in *CaJ, Anni favor* is preserved only in *F*-7,87, f. 347v, five pieces after *Age penitentiam* and, apparently, as a completely separate work.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xxxv) and *CPI* (replicating it) present the text as two stanzas. This seems based solely on the presence of an upper-case letter opening line 5,1 ("Si") that appears only in *W1,* and which seems to operate less as a stanzaic division than a lower-level syntactical break, since *W1* more regularly has recourse to larger, painted initials to show stanzaic divisions. The resulting brevity and irregularity of the proposed strophes prompts their presentation here as a mono-stanzaic poem. The structure of the final lines of verse allows for multiple interpretations. The last 12 syllables are here presented as an 8p line with an internal rhyme (4p+4p) not seen previously in the poem ("-atrum,"), shown above by additional horizontal space and concluding with a separate, four-syllable unit that continues the recurring rhyme first encountered in line 2 ("-eris"). Other presentations could opt for an equally defensible three lines of four syllables, or one of 12. **Textual notes: 1-6:** the language of line 1, urging the practice of the sacrament of penance, is a common biblical expression; for some directly corresponding passages, see Matthew, 3:2, 4:17; Acts, 2:38, 8:22; Revelation, 2:16, 3:3, 3:19.[5] More extensive biblical echoes with the conductus poem arise

---

earlier in *F* as 7,77. Most of the opening initial of *Age penitentiam* and the start of the piece is cut away with the loss of a complete binding strip. Similar, though smaller, lacunae in this source (not reported in detail here) plague the other systems that contain this piece. Folio Fr concludes with the music and text of the first syllable of line 5,2 ("pri[mum]"). The remnants of f. **Fv** begin immediately thereafter, with some further losses occasioned by the missing strip. About one-third of the way through the third system on the leaf, the piece concludes with an abridged final cauda. Immediately following is a small painted initial "A," beginning a nearly complete setting (outside the losses occasioned by the missing strip) of the independent conductus *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16); see the source report on *CaJ,* above, and the observations below on the music.

[5]Matthew, 3:2: "... et dicens: Poenitentiam agite: appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum" ("... and saying: Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.."). Matthew, 4:17: "Exinde coepit Jesus praedicare, et dicere: Poenitentiam agite: appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum" ("From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say: Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."). Acts, 2:38: "Petrus vero ad illos: Poenitentiam, inquit, agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum: et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti" ("But Peter said to them: Do penance, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins: and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."). Acts, 8:22: "Poenitentiam itaque age ab hac nequitia tua: et roga Deum, si forte remittatur tibi haec cogitatio cordis tui" ("Do penance therefore for this your wickedness; and pray to God, that perhaps this thought of your heart may be forgiven you."). Revelation, 2:16: " Similiter poenitentiam age: si quominus veniam tibi cito, et pugnabo cum illis in gladio oris mei" ("In like manner do penance: if not, I will come to you quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth."). Revelation, 3:3: "In mente ergo habe qualiter acceperis, et audieris, et serva, et poenitentiam age. Si ergo non vigilaveris, veniam ad te tamquam fur et nescies qua hora veniam ad te" (" Have in mind therefore in what manner you have received and heard: and observe, and do penance. If then you shall not watch, I will come to you as a thief, and you shall not know at what hour I will come to you."). Revelation, 3:19: " Ego quos amo, arguo, et castigo. Aemulare ergo, et poenitentiam age" ("Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise. Be zealous therefore, and do penance.").

within Revelation, 2:5.[6] For other treatments of penance and confession in the Parisian conductus repertory, see *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106) and *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229). **7:** the expression "glory of an innocent" might conceivably be a veiled nod towards Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), who called together the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the body that was to instill the sacrament of penance more fully into the ceremonies of the church. See the notes on the text of the conductus *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106) that pertain to private and public penance for more context on this speculation. **8-9:** notice the rhetorical effect of *annominatio* among the word forms *miser, amiseris,* and *miseris,* with each word sharing similar sounds but providing different connotations from an assonant grammatical root. **9-11:** redolent of Luke, 9:62.[7] The implication from the gospel text alludes to the fact that one creates straighter rows when plowing a field by looking ahead, rather than behind. Here the added image of the "abyss" or pit (*baratrum*) would seem to connote damnation as well as the recognition of one's sinful behavior. **9,1:** "quodque" is construed here as "quod" with the enclitic suffix "-que," not as a form of "quisque."

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,1:** F,Ma: veniens; adopted reading from *W1,CaJ.* **10,4:** an alternative spelling of "barathrum." **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** TD: beginning at L11, *CaJ* shows a slightly extended rhythmic reading up to the second syllable of line 1 ("[A]ge"). This variant produces a near identity in the D from L11-L16 with the previous portion of the cauda, as it repeats exactly the D rhythms from L2-L7; the T repetition starting at L9 in *CaJ,* however, suffers in comparison to the closer resemblance between the two phrases in this voice that are provided in *F,W1,Ma.* The alternative values for this segment appear above the staves (its last note in the T – not in *F,Ma* but present in *W1* – is a repeated, el *f*). T: W1: flatted *b* at L12. **Line 2,3:** D: it is tempting to consider the fall of 7C in the *punctus organi* here as word painting for "cecideris." **3,1:** D: F,Ma: stroke om preceding this cauda; taken from *W1,CaJ.* **5,2-7,1:** D: W1: the absence of any sigs for this passage in this source, and the introduction in *Ma* of a *b-natural* sig in the D before line 6,3 ("dolueris"), indicates that any applicable *b* pitches might be sung alternatively as natural here. *CaJ,* furthermore, has no sig in the T as well, although a *b-flat* sig continues in the D. **7,1:** D: F: last 2 syllables of "[inno]centis" written 2 lower; adopted reading from *W1,Ma;* missing from *CaJ* **Final cauda:** TD: CaJ: as noted above in the source report on this MS, after L26 the remainder of the cauda is apparently purposefully omitted. The piece closes somewhat abruptly here, followed by the remains of the beginning of the conductus *Anni favor iubilei,* which opens with a minor, painted initial as if merely starting a new strophe for *Age penitentiam.* T: F: the om 3li=*dcd* at L46 that starts phrase preceding the closing *punctus organi* comes from *W1,Ma,* om from *CaJ.*

[6]Revelation, 2:5: "Memor esto itaque unde excideris: et age poenitentiam, et prima opera fac: sin autem, venio tibi, et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo, nisi poenitentiam egeris. " ("Be mindful therefore from whence you are fallen: and do penance, and do the first works. Or else I come to you, and will move your candlestick out of its place, unless you do penance.").

[7]Luke, 9:62: "Ait ad illum Jesus: Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum, et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei. " ("Jesus said to him: 'No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' ").

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO REDEMPTORI

Conductus (H1/145)

F, f. 341r (7,83)*

I

D [Glo -

T Glo -

*CaJ: different setting of lines 1-2, see at end

[Glo] - ri - a in ex-cel-sis de - o re-dem-pto-ri me - o

[Glo] - ri - a in ex-cel-sis de - o re-dem-pto-ri me - o

ga - li - le - o si - de - re - o bi - ne ma - ie - sta - tis. et in ter - ra pax

ga - li - le - o si - de - re - o bi - ne ma - ie - sta - tis. et in ter - ra pax

**CaJ: cauda extended, see at end

ho - mi - ni - bus. non ta - men o - mni - bus. er -

ho - mi - ni - bus. non ta - men o - mni - bus. er -

[er] - go qui - bus fi - de - li - bus
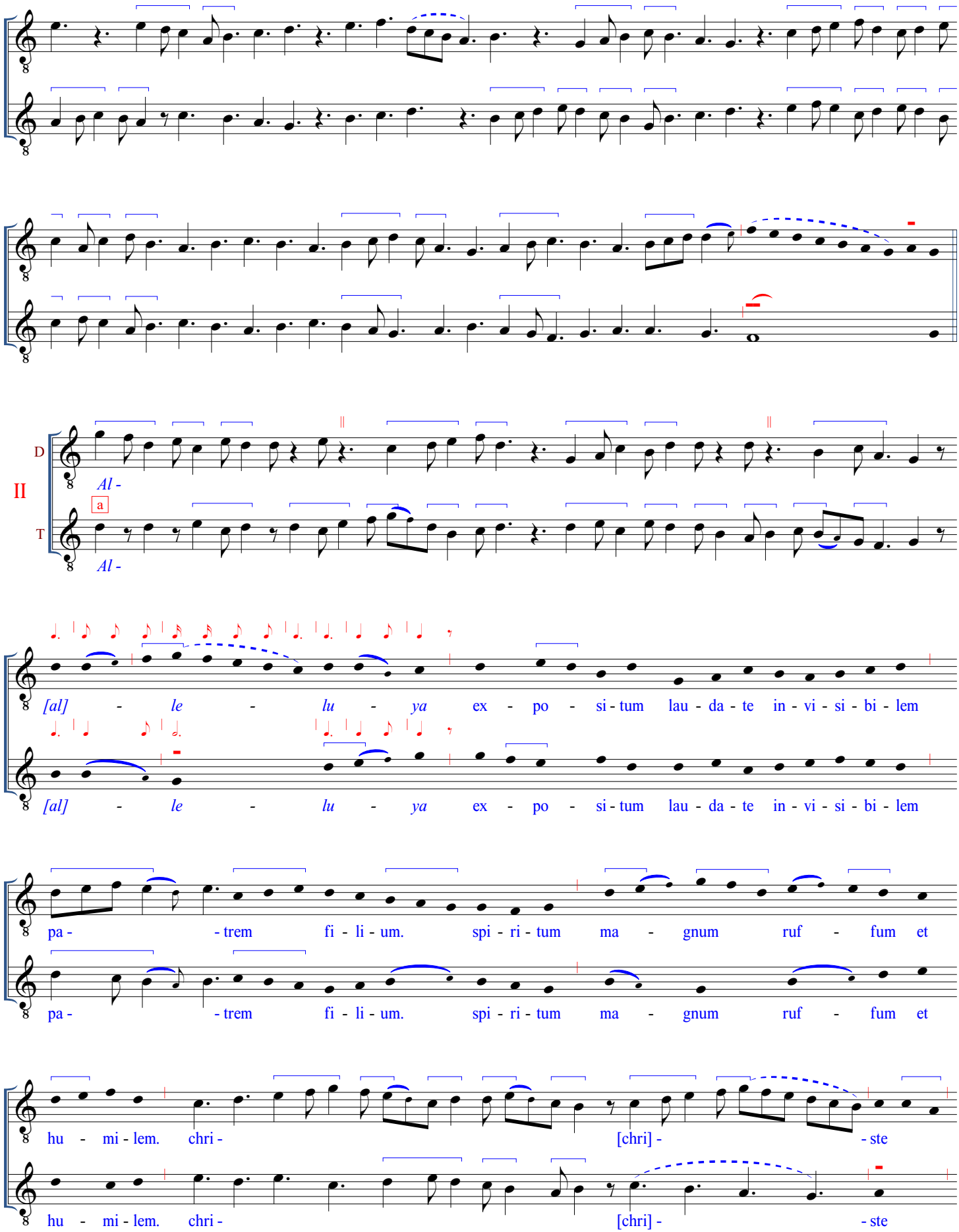
[er] - go qui - bus fi - de - li - bus
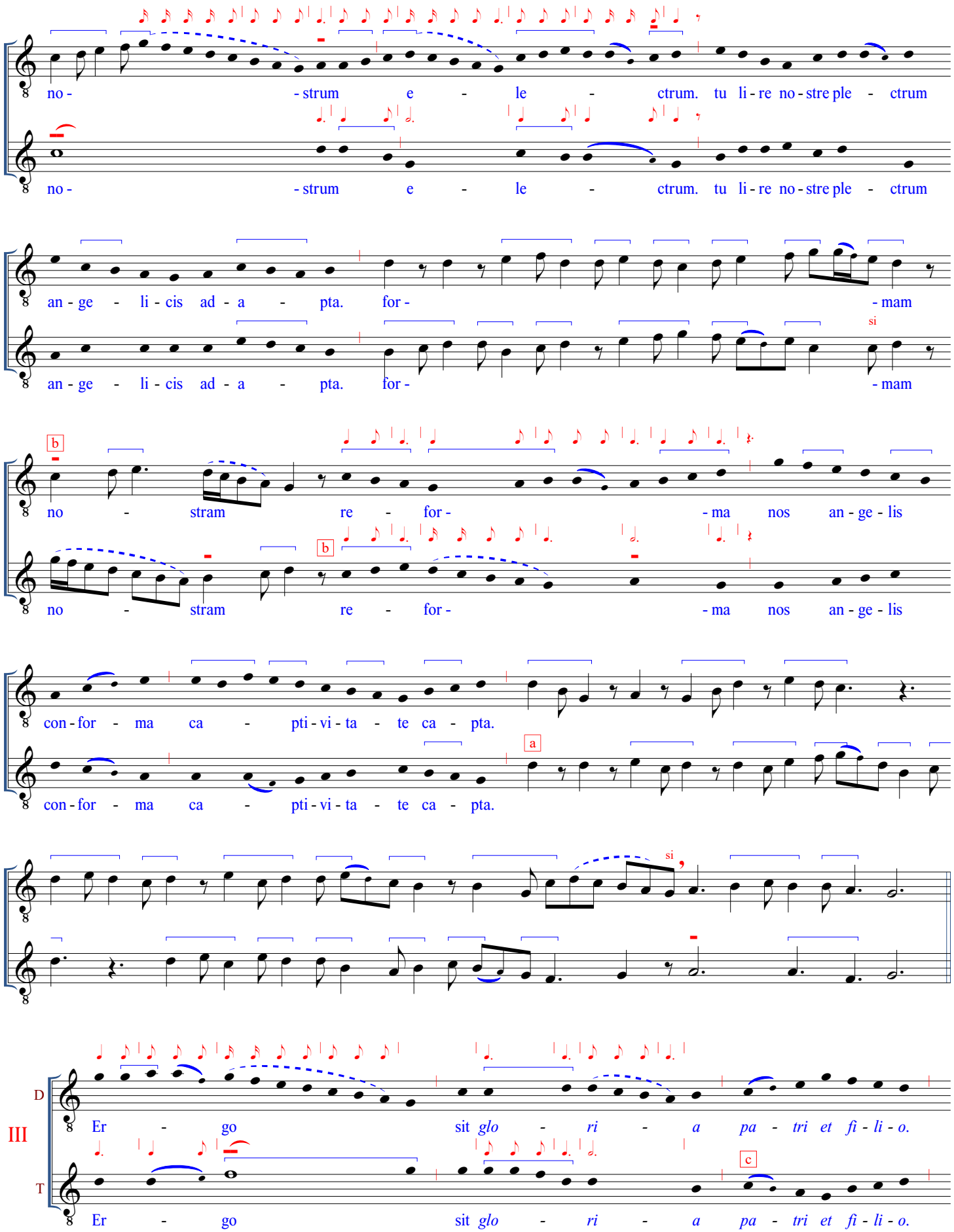
†CaJ: extended cauda, see end
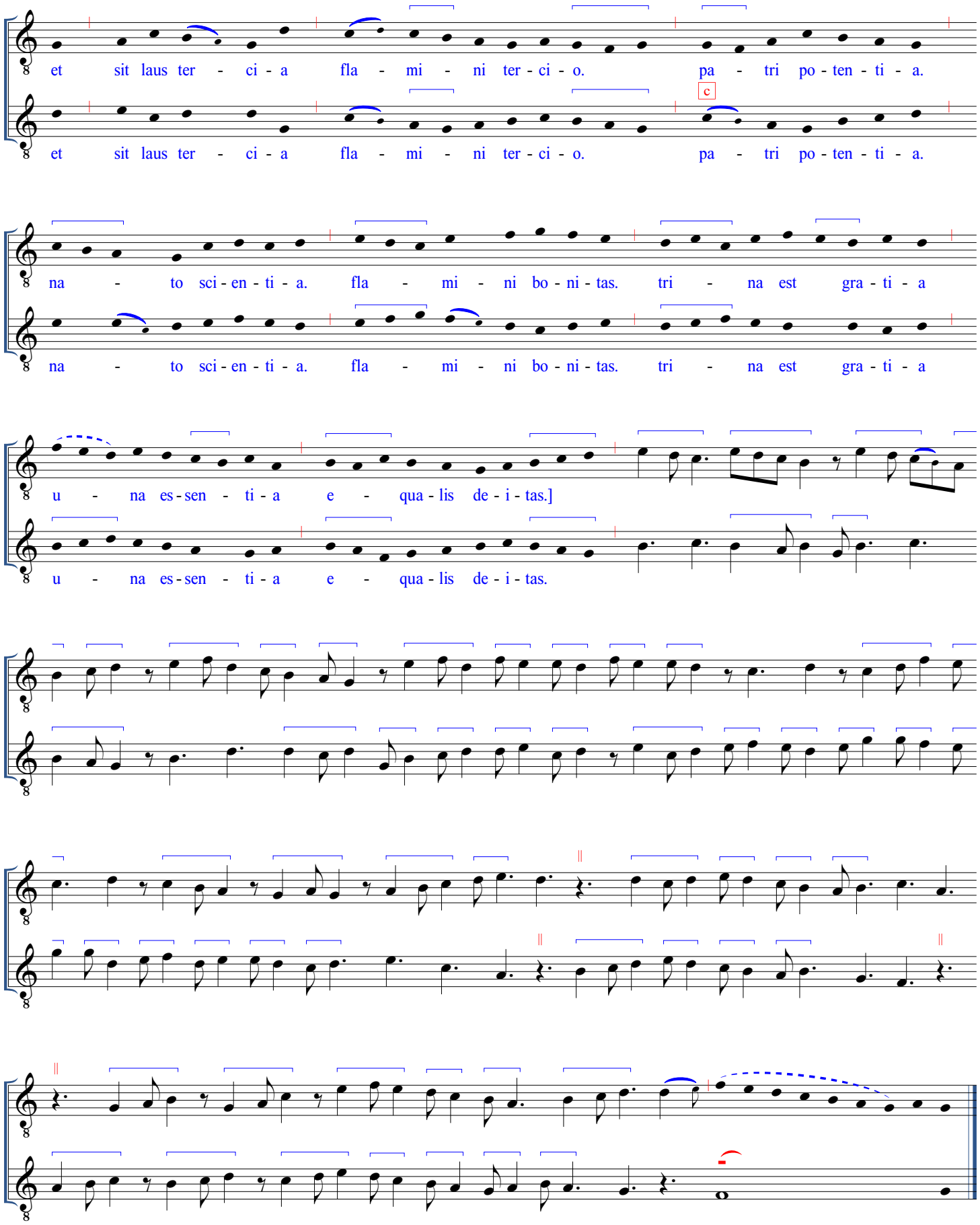
bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis. hinc a - mor in - de tre - mor. in - ter u - trum - que pre - mor.

bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis. hinc a - mor in - de tre - mor. in - ter u - trum - que pre - mor.

*For comparisons of related passages between *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* and *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343), see the end of the *Sursum* transcription.


II
D
T
a
Al -
Al -
[al] - le - lu - ya ex - po - si - tum lau - da - te in - vi - si - bi - lem
[al] - le - lu - ya ex - po - si - tum lau - da - te in - vi - si - bi - lem
pa - - trem fi - li - um. spi - ri - tum ma - gnum ruf - fum et
pa - - trem fi - li - um. spi - ri - tum ma - gnum ruf - fum et
hu - mi - lem. chri - [chri] - - ste
hu - mi - lem. chri - [chri] - - ste

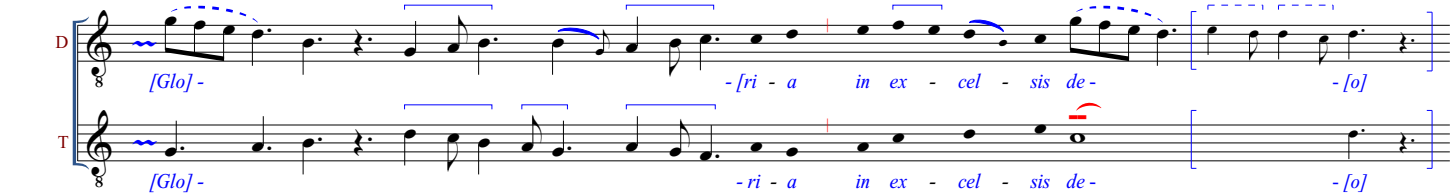

no - strum e - le - ctrum. tu li - re no - stre ple - ctrum
no - strum e - le - ctrum. tu li - re no - stre ple - ctrum
an - ge - li - cis ad - a - pta. for - mam
si
an - ge - li - cis ad - a - pta. for - mam
b
no - stram re - for - ma nos an - ge - lis
b
no - stram re - for - ma nos an - ge - lis
con - for - ma ca - pti - vi - ta - te ca - pta.
a
con - for - ma ca - pti - vi - ta - te ca - pta.
si
III
D
Er - go sit *glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o.*
T
c
Er - go sit *glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o.*

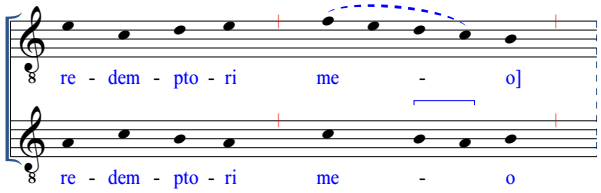


(alternative readings follow)

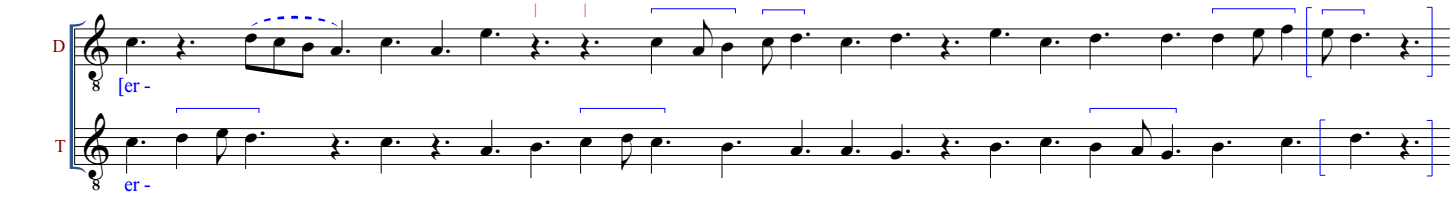
ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

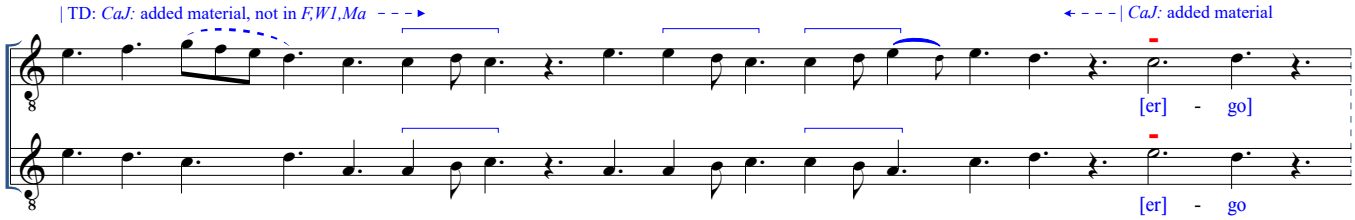
**CaJ,* f. Cr (no. 13), I: different setting of lines 1-2 (begins binding strip 27r, after a short gap of lost material)



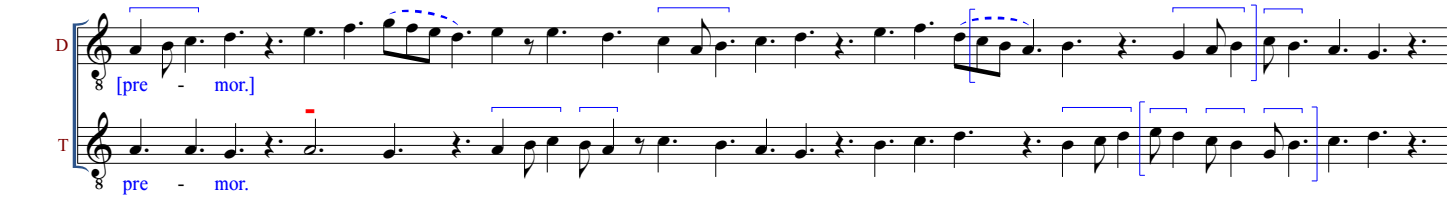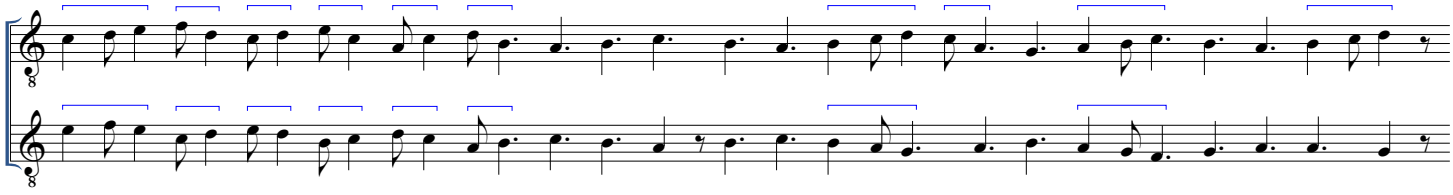


***CaJ,* f. Cr (no. 13), III: extended cauda over line 7,1

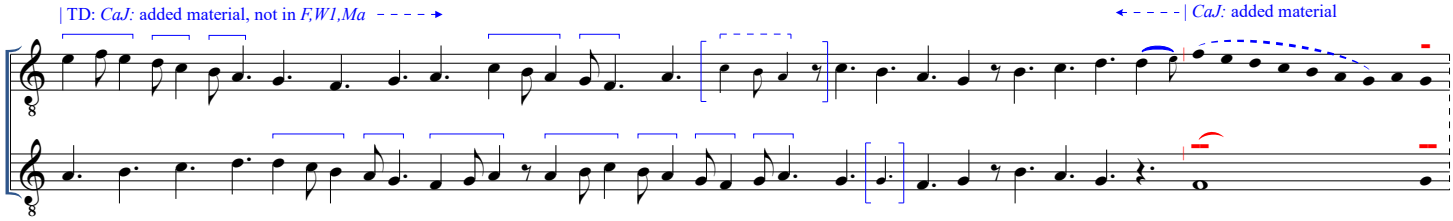




†*CaJ,* f. Cr (no. 13), V: extended cauda over line 10,1







GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO REDEMPTORI

Conductus (H1/145)

F, f. 341r (7,83)

I *Gloria in excelsis deo*,
redemptori meo,
Galileo sidereo,
bine maiestatis.
Et in terra pax hominibus,
non tamen omnibus.
Ergo quibus? Fidelibus
bone voluntatis.
Hinc amor, inde tremor,
inter utrumque premor.

Glory to God in the highest,
to my redeemer,
the heavenly Galilean
of twofold majesty.
And on earth peace to mankind,
but not for all.
To whom, then? To the faithful
of good will.
On one side is love, on the other, trembling,
and I am pressed between the two.

II *Alleluya*! Expositum
laudate invisibilem
patrem, filium, spiritum.
Magnum, ruffum, et humilem.
Christe, nostrum electrum,
tu lire nostre plectrum.
Angelicis adapta,
formam nostram reforma,
nos angelis conforma,
captivitate capta.

Alleluya! Praise the
unseen father, son, and
spirit now revealed.
Great, ruddy, and humble,
O Christ, our amalgam of silver and gold,
you are the plectrum of our lyre.
Attune us to the angelic,
reform our form,
and conform us to the angels,
now that captivity is captured.

III Ergo sit *gloria*
patri et filio,
et sit laus tercia
flamini tercio.
Patri potentia,
nato scientia,
flamini bonitas.
Trina est gratia
una essentia,
equalis deitas.

So *Glory be*
to the Father and to the Son,
and let a third praise arise
to the third, the Holy Spirit.
Let there be power to the Father,
knowledge for the Son,
goodness for the Spirit.
Grace exists in a three-fold
single essence,
a coexistent deity.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 83, f. 341r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II and III indicated by capitals. This and the following conductus in this source, *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343) – both with textual connections to items in the Mass liturgy – are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.* See below for further connections between these two pieces in the notes on the text and the observations on the music.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 8, f. 104v (95v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with I-III shown by plain painted initials. The piece occurs near the beginning of the fascicle, interrupting the final member of a series of four *Benedicamus domino* organa. These are then succeeded by an Agnus trope a2 *(Natus corde patris),* the conductus *Monstruosis fluctibus* (I3/209), and three motets transmitted without their Tenors, here entered as if two-part conductus. After this, an unbroken series of 12 conductus follow.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 15, f. 92r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with no initial for I in the space provided for it at the beginning of the system. Room is provided for absent initials beginning II as well as line 7 ("[E]rgo quibus"), and III is also missing its opening letter, but leaves no similar accommodation for it in the staves above. This and the following conductus in this source, *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343) – both with textual connections to items in the Mass liturgy – are in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.*

CaJ (GB-CJc QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1),[1] Fragment A, no. 13: f. Cr-Dr (each leaf is reconstructed from various extant binding strips):[2] a2; Strophes I-III, complete, but with various segments missing throughout,[3] with a large painted initial in red and blue, decorated with tracery, opening Stanza I, and with smaller red-painted initials beginning II and III. There are some significant variants from the other sources in the *cum littera* portions of lines 1-2, while the caudae that occur over line 7,1 ("Er[go quibus"]) and line 10,3 ("premor") are extended with material not transmitted elsewhere. These alternatives are supplied at the end of the transcription.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** The literal quotations from the verbal portions of the Mass liturgy that pepper this poem (indicated by italics in the text above), as well as the musical imagery in Strophe II, lines 16-17, suggest viewing this work as a companion piece to the conductus *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343), which follows it in both *F* and *Ma*[4] and also quotes from the Mass liturgy. In addition, the opening *cum littera* gestures in both pieces offer similarities (see the observations below on the music). **Lines 1, 5, 8:** cf. Luke, 2:14.[5] In its pre-Vulgate form as used in the conductus, this Gospel passage corresponds with the opening of the Gloria of the Mass, known otherwise as the Greater Doxology. See lines 21,3-24 for a reference to the Lesser Doxology, or *Gloria Patri.* **3,1:** although he was born in Bethlehem, Jesus's parents settled in Nazareth, in the region of Galilee. **4:** Christ is of two substances, human and divine, corresponding to the first two members of the Trinity: father and son. For an analogous take on this conceit, see Augustine's *Contra sermonem Arianorum,*

---

[1]Images available through DIAMM here.

[2] The individually foliated binding strips that originally constituted each leaf show the following numbers, reading from left to right of the indicated leaf: f. **Cr** (strips 34r, 31r, 19r, followed by a slight gap, 27r, 12r), f. **Cv** (12v, 27v, slight gap, 19v, 31v, 34v), f. **Dr** (22r, slight gap, 23r, larger gap, 13v). Folio Dv begins at the top left of the leaf with a setting of the conductus *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85). For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[3]The overall contents of each leaf show that f. **Cr** begins the piece at the top left and concludes incompletely after about 18L-22L of the cauda following line 10,3 ("premor"), thanks to a missing strip that contained a small portion of the leaf's right margin. Additional lacunae in this source (not reported in detail here) plague the other systems that contain this piece. **Cv** opens with the remainder of the previous cauda after a gap of about 3L-4L, and presses on with occasional losses up to the third syllable of line 18,3 ("refor[ma]"). Folio **Dr** follows on immediately thereafter, with the piece concluding at the bottom of the leaf, but with more significant internal losses due to wider gaps between the surviving strips.

[4]Out of four existing sources for *Gloria in excelsis* and seven for *Sursum corda*.

[5]Luke, 2:14: "Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis" ("Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace to men of good will.").

chapter 8.[6] See also the motets *Alpha bovi et leoni / Domino* (vdW 764/BD VI), line 11 ("giganti gemineo" – "the two-fold giant"); *Ecclesie princeps / [Et confiteor]* (vdW 112b / M12), in *Hu,* f. 128r), lines 3-4: "substancie gigans et gemine potentie patrie patris eximie" ("[the Lord is a] giant of the twin substance and excellent power of the father of heaven"); as well as the conductus *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), line 15: "gigas fati gemini" ("that giant of twin destiny"). **9:** presumably the two extremes here correspond with Christ ("love") and God ("trembling"), suggesting that the faithful believers mentioned in the previous lines will suffer the wrath of God if they do not willingly accept the love of the Son. **11,1:** the text recalls the Alleluia of the Mass. It is noteworthy that this stanza features the rather unusual musical feature of a repeated cauda, as the T voice of both the initial and concluding melismas to Strophe II are essentially identical. Perhaps not coincidentally, this happens to mirror the ABA, respond-verse-respond, structure of the performance of an Alleluia in the liturgical context of a Mass celebration. **11,2-13:** cf. Hebrews 11:3.[7] **12-14:** Mark Everist, in his *Discovering Medieval Song,* 187,[8] sees these lines as paraphrases of further portions of the Gloria of the Mass, recasting its middle and closing sections;[9] these contrast with the more literal citations elsewhere in the poem, italicized in its presentation above. **14,2:** possibly a reference to 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:12 and 17:42, describing David as a young man.[10] David is often regarded as an allegorical type of Christ; see, e.g., the *Catena aurea* of Thomas Aquinas, on Matthew, chapter 1, lectio 5, which quotes the *Glossa ordinaria:* "Mystice autem David est Christus, qui Goliam, id est Diabolum, superavit" ("In a figurative sense, David is Christ, who conquered Goliath, i.e., the Devil.").[11] **15,3:** almost certainly referring to the prophetic vision of

---

[6]Augustine's *Contra sermonem Arianorum,* chapter 8: "Apparet tamen idem ipse Christus, geminae gigas substantiae, secundum quid obediens, secundum quid aequalis Deo; secundum quid Filius hominis, secundum quid Filius Dei" ("So it appears that this same Christ is a giant composed of a twin substance, with respect to what is obedient and what is equal to God, corresponding to what is the Son of Man and what is the Son of the Father"). The Latin text is provided by *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Hipponensis episcopi, Opera omnia* (Paris: Gaume Bros., 1836), vol. 8, part 1: col. 968C.

[7]Hebrews 11:3: "Fide intelligimus aptata esse saecula verbo Dei: ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent." ("By faith we understand that the world was framed by the word of God; that from invisible things visible things might be made.").

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

[9]Specifically: "*Laudamus* te ... Deus *pater* omnipotens, Domine *Fili* ... cum Sancto *Spiritu* ... ."

[10]1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:12: "Misit ergo, et adduxit eum. Erat autem rufus, et pulcher aspectu, decoraque facie: et ait Dominus: Surge, unge eum: ipse est enim" ("He [Jesse] sent therefore and brought him [David]. Now he [David] was ruddy and beautiful to behold, and of a comely face. And the Lord said: Arise, and anoint him, for this is he."). 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 17:42: "Cumque inspexisset Philisthaeus, et vidisset David, despexit eum. Erat enim adolescens, rufus, et pulcher aspectu" ("And when the Philistine [Goliath] looked, and beheld David, he despised him. For he was a young man, ruddy, and of a comely countenance.").

[11]The Latin text is available here. It derives from: *Thomas Aquinas, Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia,* Padre Angelico Guarienti, ed. (Turin: Marietti, 1953).

God's glory in Ezekiel, 1:4,[12] 1:27,[13] 8:2,[14] where the word *electrum* is translated in the Douai-Rheims English rendering of the Bible as "amber." The word's alternative meaning of "alloy," especially its connotation of the melding of gold and silver, which seems implied here, unites two precious yet separate commodities, representing in this case divine and mortal, Father and Son. Furthermore, the result of the gold/silver amalgamation relates back to the ruddy color of David/Christ invoked in line 14,2. **16-17:** note the use of musical imagery here, a conceit that also appears in lines 5, 9-10, 18-19, and 22-23 of the related conductus *Sursum corda elevate* (G9/343), contiguously transmitted in both *F* and *Ma.* **18-19:** see Romans, 12:2.[15] **20:** see Ephesians, 4:7-10,[16] which paraphrases Psalm 67:19.[17] The particular mention of captivity and captives here[18] is related to what is often referred to as Christ's Harrowing of Hell, a non-scriptural account where, after his crucifixion, Jesus "descended into the lower regions of the earth" (Ephesians, 4:9) and led to Heaven a number of souls "imprisoned" there who were considered righteous for salvation, including, for example, Adam, Eve, and King Solomon. For more on this captive imagery, see the remarks on the text for the conductus *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), line 2,1, at *F*-7-23, f. 289v. **21,3-24:** directly quotes the opening part of the Lesser Doxology that concludes many items in the liturgy; for a reference to the Greater Doxology, i.e. the Gloria of the Mass, see the composite remarks above for lines 1, 5, and 8.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Connections with the conductus *Sursum corda elevate:*** For transcriptions of the following related passages in close succession, see the items provided for comparison at the end of the transcription of *Sursum corda elevate,* the very next work in *F*-7. Notice the similarities in *Gloria in excelsis* of contour and pitch between the first three notes in the T over the *cum littera* setting of "Glo[ria]" and those over "Sur[sum]," along with the musically repeated passage in *Sursum corda* on

---

[12]Ezekeil, 1:4: "Et vidi, et ecce ventus turbinis veniebat ab aquilone, et nubes magna, et ignis involvens, et splendor in circuitu ejus: et de medio ejus, quasi species electri, id est, de medio ignis" ("And I saw, and behold a whirlwind came out of the north: and a great cloud, and a fire infolding it, and brightness was about it: and out of the midst thereof, that is, out of the midst of the fire, as it were the resemblance of amber.").

[13]Ezekiel, 1:27: " Et vidi quasi speciem electri, velut aspectum ignis, intrinsecus ejus per circuitum: a lumbis ejus et desuper, et a lumbis ejus usque deorsum, vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu" ("And I saw as it were the resemblance of amber as the appearance of fire within it round about: from his loins and upward, and from his loins downward, I saw as it were the resemblance of fire shining round about.").

[14]Ezekiel, 8:2: "Et vidi: et ecce similitudo quasi aspectus ignis: ab aspectu lumborum ejus et deorsum, ignis: et a lumbis ejus et sursum, quasi aspectus splendoris, ut visio electri" ("And I saw, and behold a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins, and downward, fire: and from his loins, and upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the appearance of amber.").

[15]Romans, 12:2: "Et nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri: ut probetis quae sit voluntas Dei bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta" ("And be not conformed to this world; but be reformed in the newness of your mind, that you may prove what is the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God.").

[16]Ephesians, 4:7-10: "Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Propter quod dicit: 'Ascendens in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem: dedit dona hominibus.' Quod autem ascendit, quid est, nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terrae? Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos, ut impleret omnia." ("But to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the giving of Christ. Wherefore he [the Psalmist] says: 'Ascending on high, he led captivity captive; he gave gifts to men.' The fact that he ascended, what does that mean, except that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all the heavens, that he might fill all things' ").

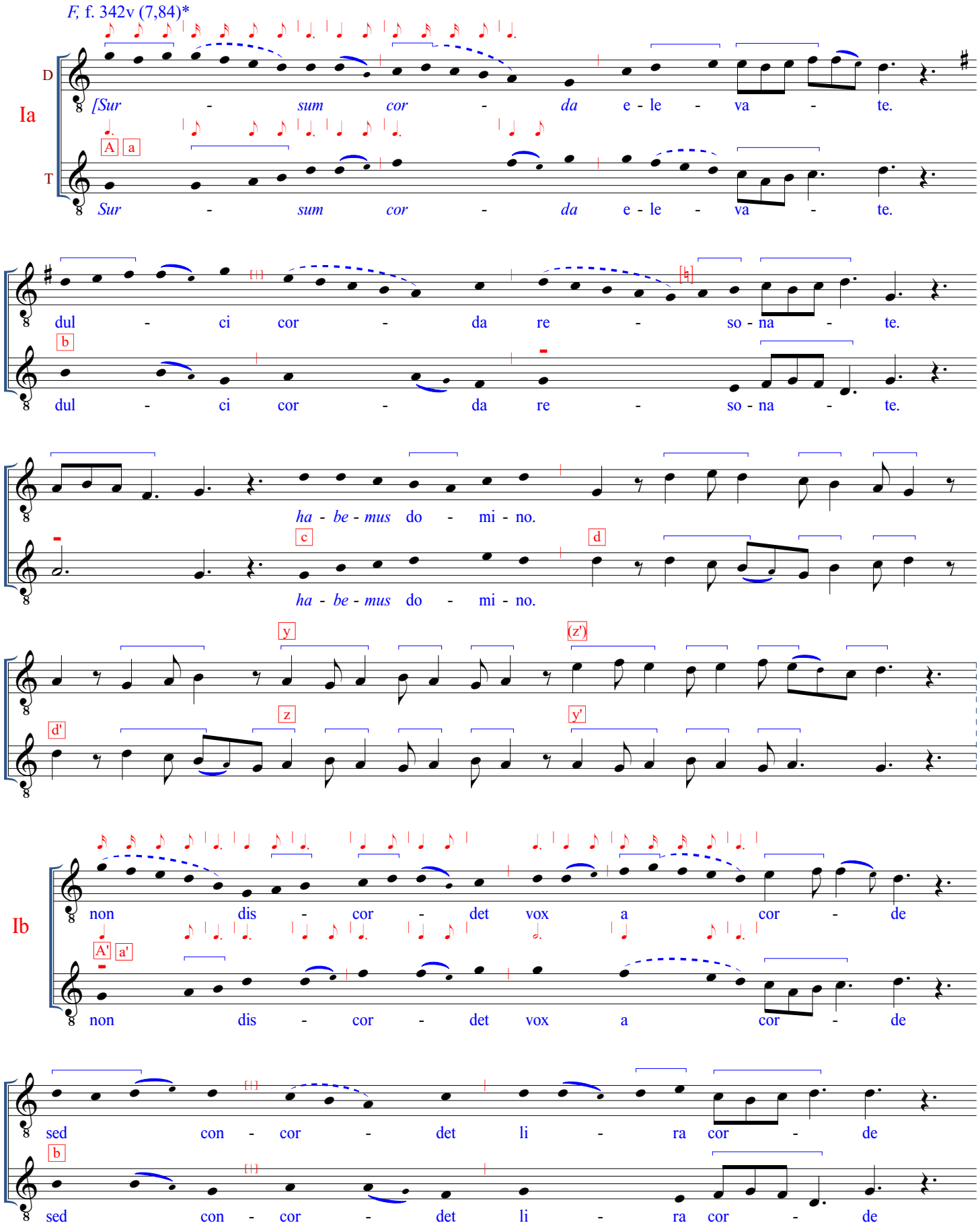
[17]Psalms, 67:19: "Ascendisti in altum, cepisti captivitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus; etenim non credentes inhabitare Dominum Deum" ("You have ascended on high, you have led captivity captive; you have received gifts in men; and indeed for those also that do not believe, the dwelling of the Lord God").

[18]The expression from the Epistle and the Psalm invite comparison to the frequent conceit of death itself being overcome by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), as in such passages as Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; see also Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137).
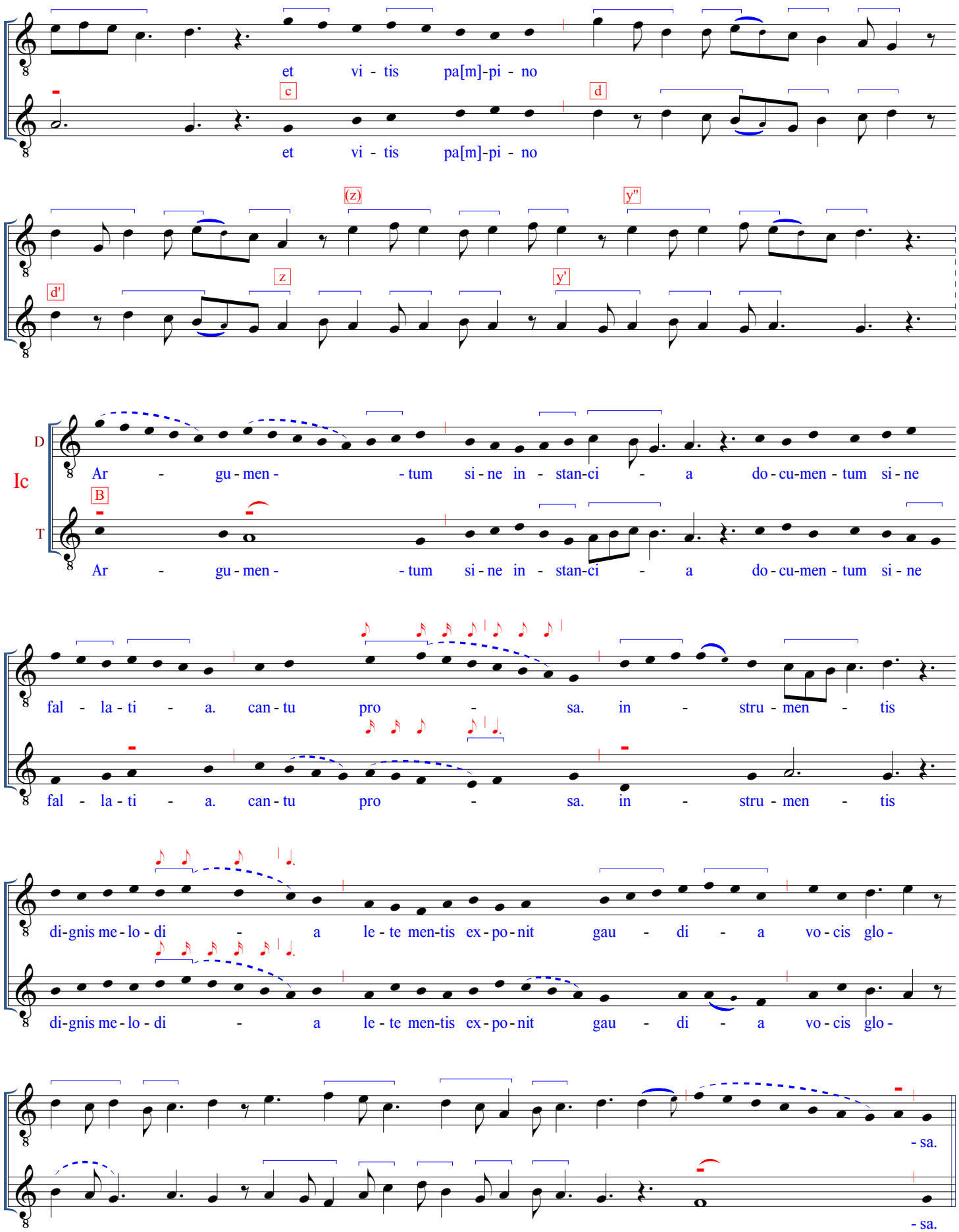
"non [discordat]" at lines 1,1 and 4,1, respectively). In the second instance in *Sursum corda,* it so happens that most of the D voice is also identical with "Gloria" of *Gloria in excelsis.* Similarly, the five T pitches over "[Glori]a in excelsis" in line 1,1-3 are identical to the setting of "habemus domi[no]" and the corresponding "et vitis pampi[no]" in *Sursum corda* (lines 3 and 6, respectively) in all sources but *CaJ,* which gives a contrasting reading (this is supplied as an alternative after the main transcription). These two conductus, furthermore, occur together and in the same order in both *F* and *Ma.* Such musical correspondences, as well as the rather prominent structural placement of the correlations as opening gestures in both works, suggest that they may been conceived in coordination with each other. **Line 1,1:** D: for the start of the *cum littera* setting of "Glo[ria]": *F:* 5C written 4C+1R; *W1:* 6C+siP=*gfedcb*+P*b; Ma,CaJ:* 4C, si; F: D: the 1 of 3li=*g* over ["Glo]ri[a]" is partially worn or erased. **1,3:** D: F: the *c* of "ex[celsis]" is partially worn or erased. **3,1:** D: F: *g* over last syllable of "galileo," corrected to *a* after *W1,Ma,CaJ.* **Caudae on lines 7,1; 10,3:** the extended versions of these cauda in *CaJ* are supplied at the end of the transcription. **Cauda at 7,1:** D: F,Ma: at L10 the added rest is prompted by the double strokes at this point in *W1,CaJ.* **Caudae at lines 11,1; 20,2:** for possible connections to the Alleluia of the Mass that are prompted by the repeated music in the T of these caudae (which respectively open and close the second stanza of this work), see the notes on the text for line 11,1. The latter instance of this cauda's music at line 20,2, with its different D melody, prompted the choice of the central TL rest in the former passage at L10 where both parts pause together. **15,1:** T: F: the extended rhythmic values supplied for the 4C=*cbag* figure at "chri[ste]" are prompted by the DL shape that this figure opens with in *Ma,* as well as the additional DL=*g* that follows the 4C in *W1.*

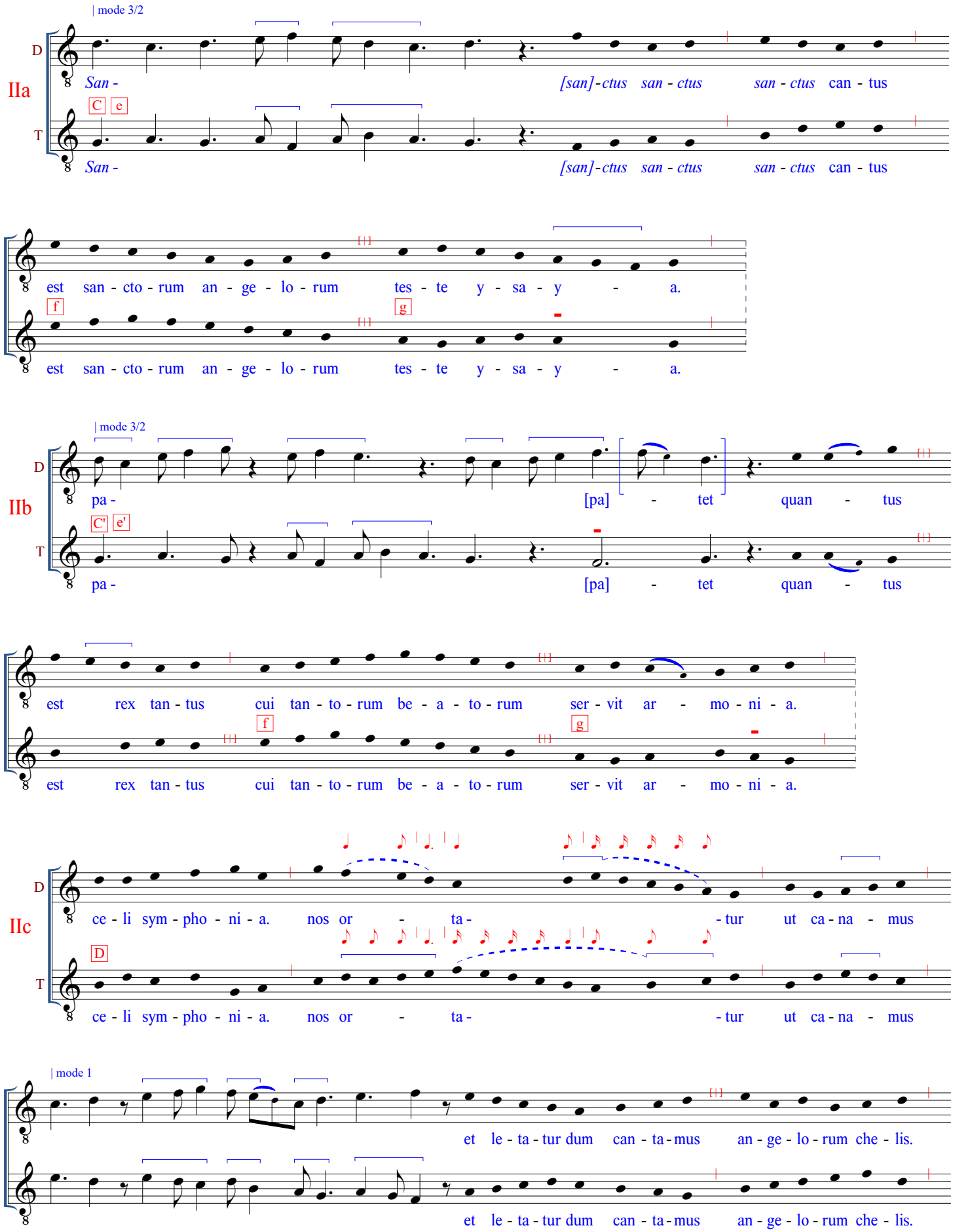
SURSUM CORDA ELEVATE

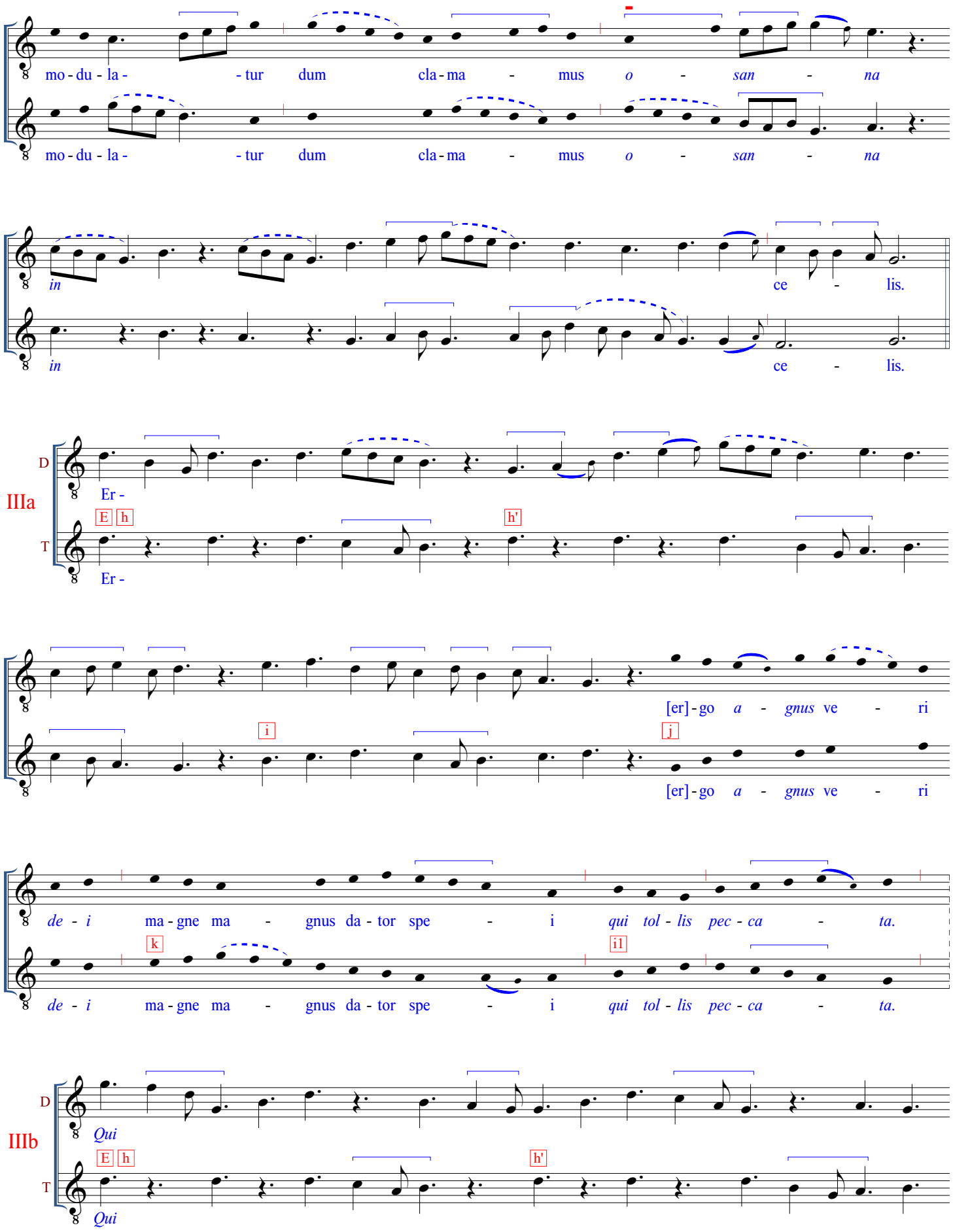
Conductus (G9/343)

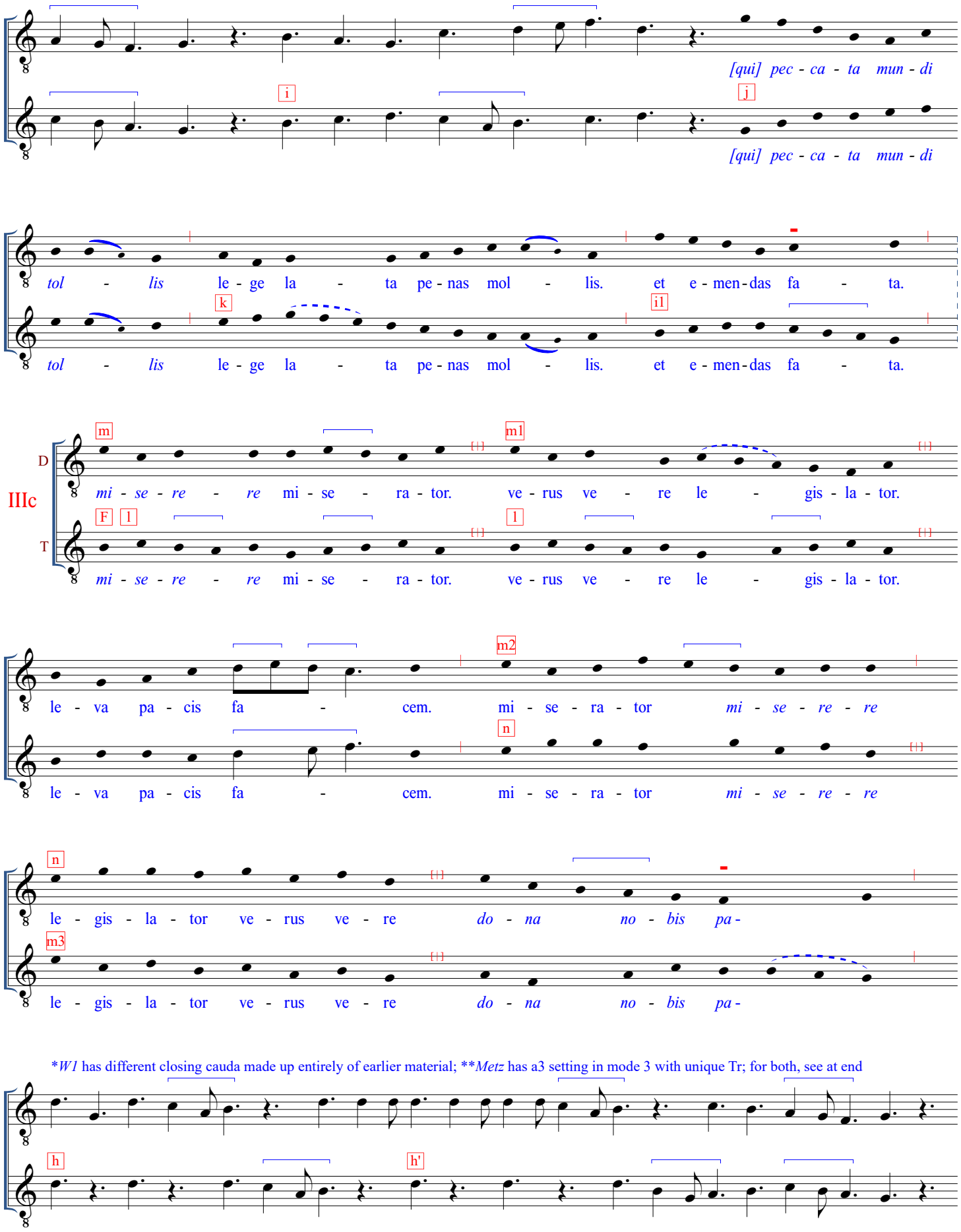


*For comparisons of related passages between *Sursum corda elevate* and *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145), see the end of the *Sursum* transcription.

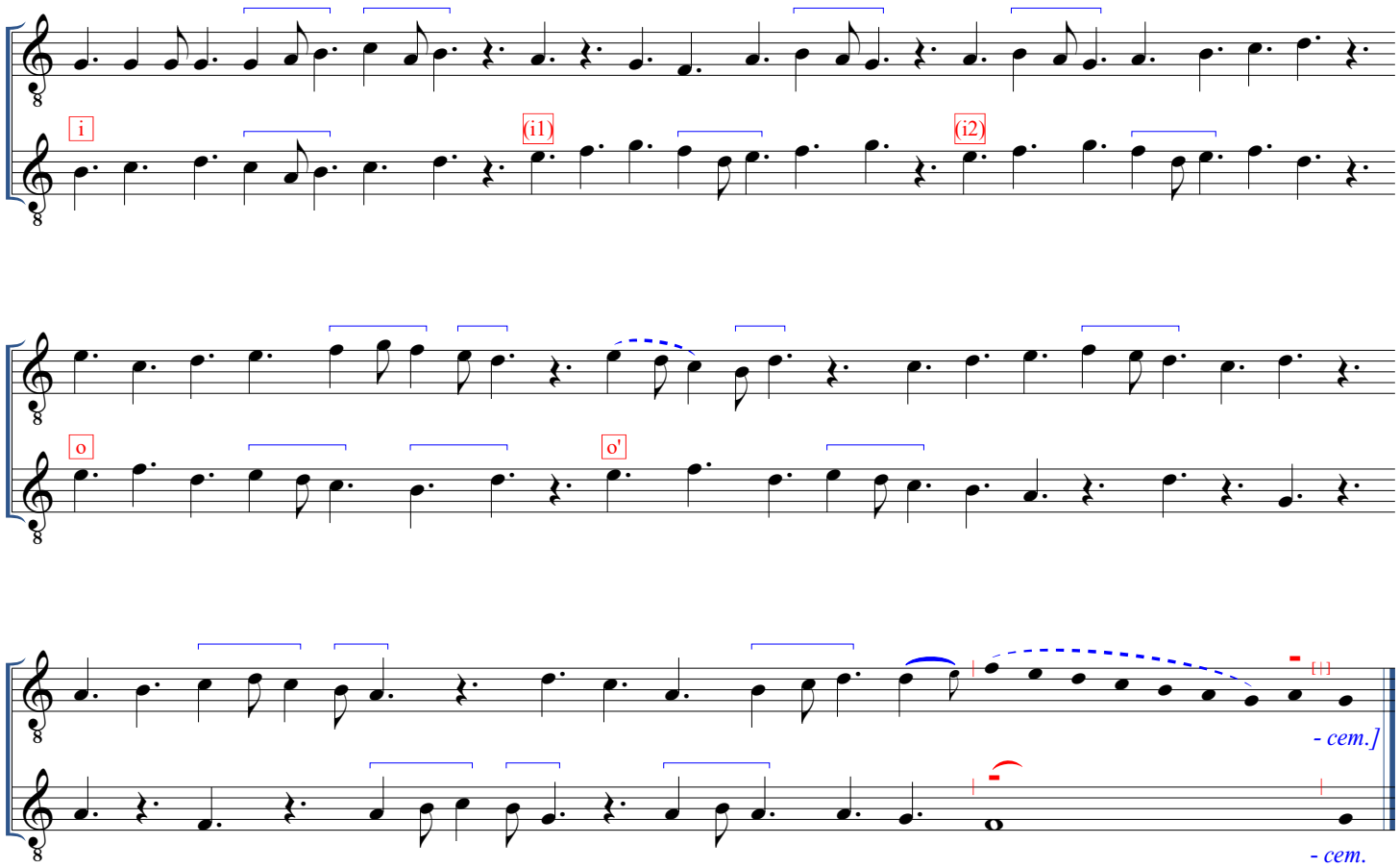

et vi - tis pa[m]-pi - no
c
d
et vi - tis pa[m]-pi - no
(z)
y"
d'
z
y'
D
Ic
B
T
Ar - gu - men - - tum si - ne in - stan-ci - a do - cu-men - tum si - ne
Ar - gu - men - - tum si - ne in - stan-ci - a do - cu-men - tum si - ne
fal - la - ti - a. can - tu pro - sa. in - stru - men - tis
fal - la - ti - a. can - tu pro - sa. in - stru - men - tis
di-gnis me - lo - di - a le - te men-tis ex - po - nit gau - di - a vo - cis glo -
di-gnis me - lo - di - a le - te men-tis ex - po - nit gau - di - a vo - cis glo -
- sa.
- sa.


| mode 3/2
D
IIa
San - [san]-ctus san - ctus san - ctus can - tus
C e
T
San - [san]-ctus san - ctus san - ctus can - tus
est san - cto - rum an - ge - lo - rum tes - te y - sa - y - a.
f g
est san - cto - rum an - ge - lo - rum tes - te y - sa - y - a.
| mode 3/2
D
IIb
pa - [pa] - tet quan - tus
C' e'
T
pa - [pa] - tet quan - tus
est rex tan - tus cui tan - to - rum be - a - to - rum ser - vit ar - mo - ni - a.
f g
est rex tan - tus cui tan - to - rum be - a - to - rum ser - vit ar - mo - ni - a.
D
IIc
ce - li sym - pho - ni - a. nos or - ta - tur ut ca - na - mus
D
T
ce - li sym - pho - ni - a. nos or - ta - tur ut ca - na - mus
| mode 1
et le - ta - tur dum can - ta - mus an - ge - lo - rum che - lis.
et le - ta - tur dum can - ta - mus an - ge - lo - rum che - lis.


mo - du - la - - tur dum cla - ma - mus o - san - na
mo - du - la - - tur dum cla - ma - mus o - san - na
in ce - lis.
in ce - lis.
IIIa
D
T
Er -
Er -
E h
h'
[er] - go a - gnus ve - ri
[er] - go a - gnus ve - ri
i
j
de - i ma - gne ma - gnus da - tor spe - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta.
de - i ma - gne ma - gnus da - tor spe - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta.
k
il
IIIb
D
T
Qui
Qui
E h
h'

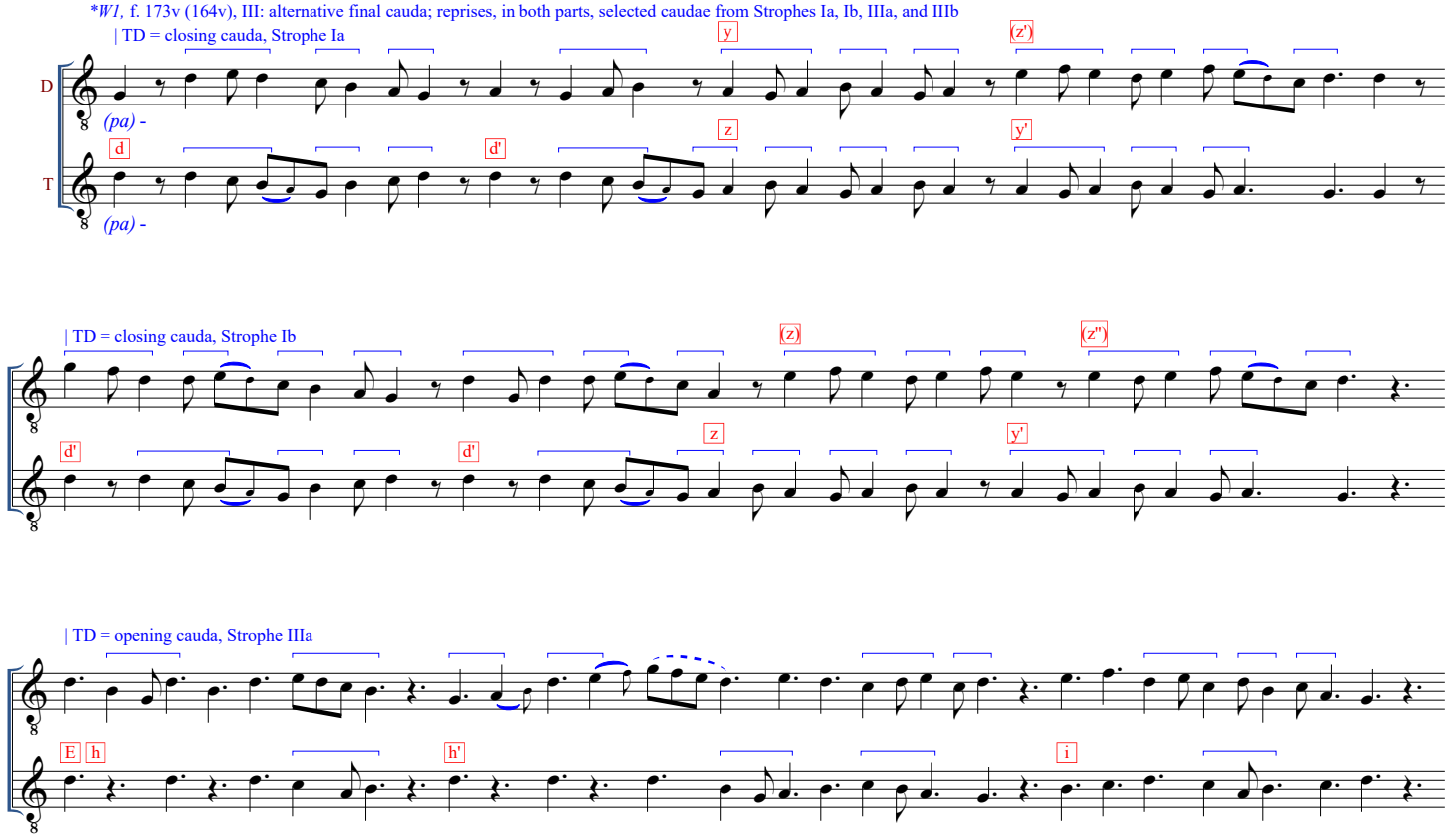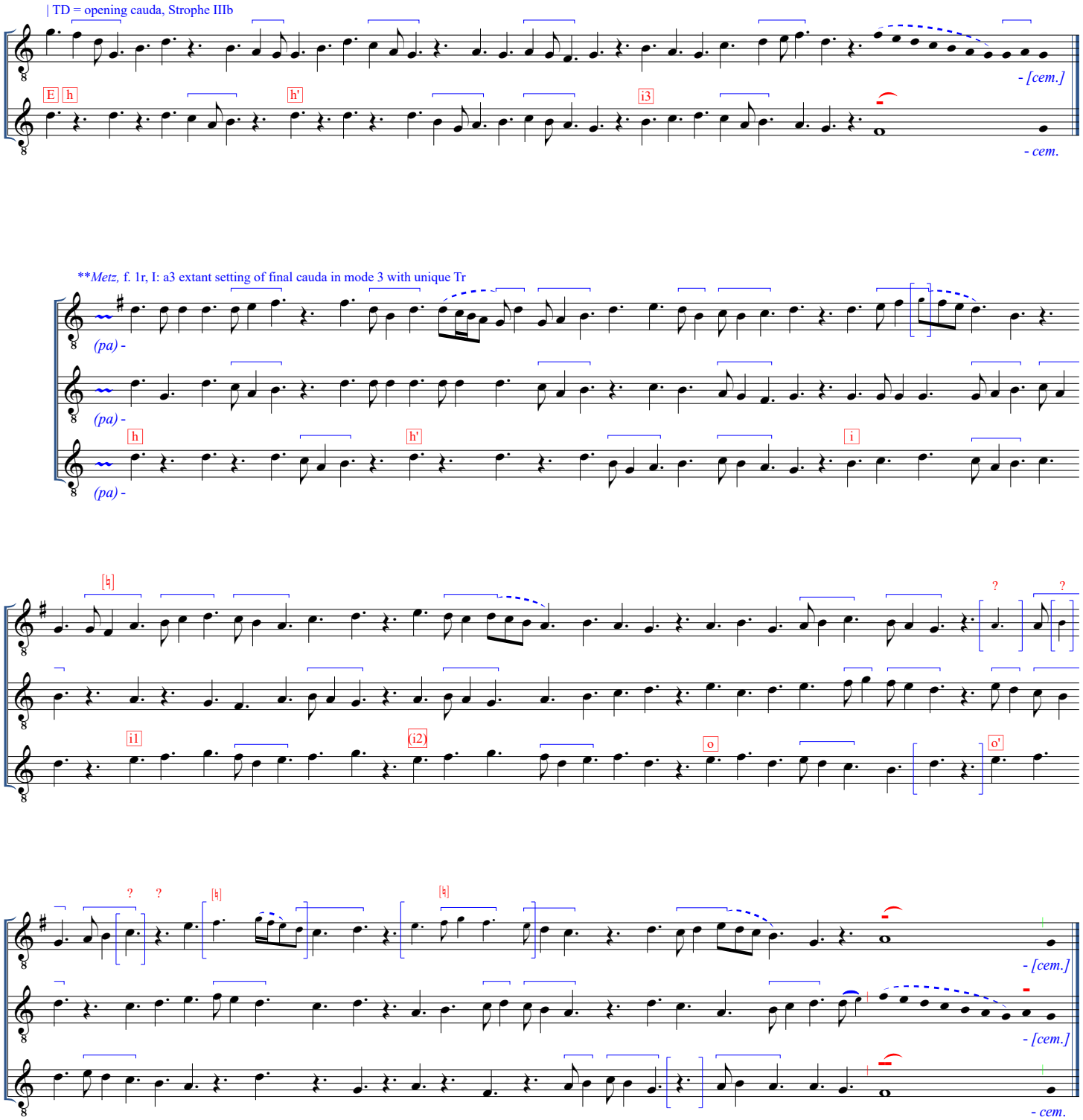


**W1* has different closing cauda made up entirely of earlier material; ***Metz* has a3 setting in mode 3 with unique Tr; for both, see at end



ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

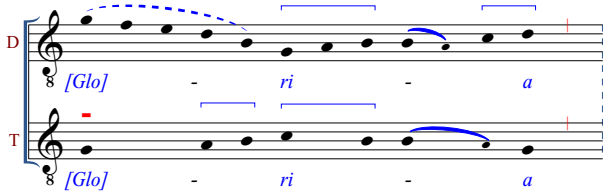
**W1,* f. 173v (164v), III: alternative final cauda; reprises, in both parts, selected caudae from Strophes Ia, Ib, IIIa, and IIIb





RELATED PASSAGES BETWEEN *Sursum corda elevate* AND *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145)

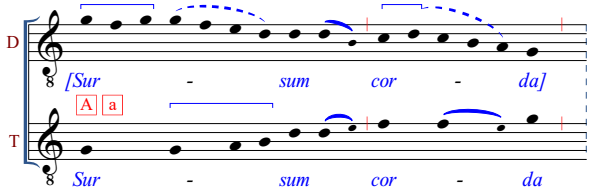
1a. *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori (F),* line 1,1 (compare *Sursum corda:* T of lines 1,1-2, TD of lines 4,1)



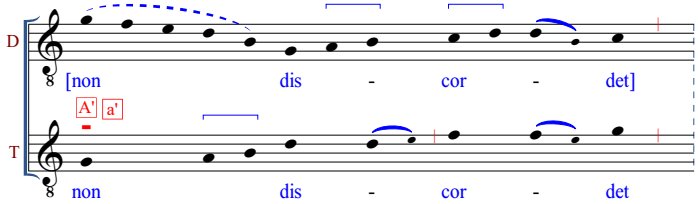
(continued)

(*Sursum corda, Gloria in excelsis:* related passages, continued)

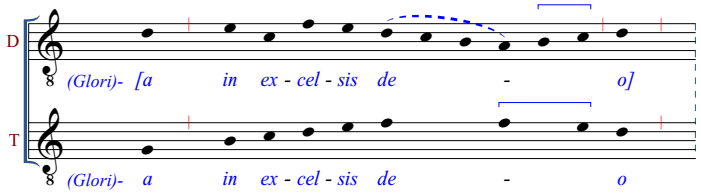
1b. *Sursum corda elevate (F),* line 1,1-2 (compare *Gloria in excelsis,* T of line 1,1)



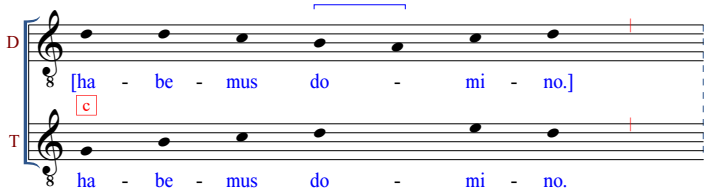
1c. *Sursum corda elevate (F),* line 4,1 (compare *Gloria in excelsis,* TD of line 1,1)



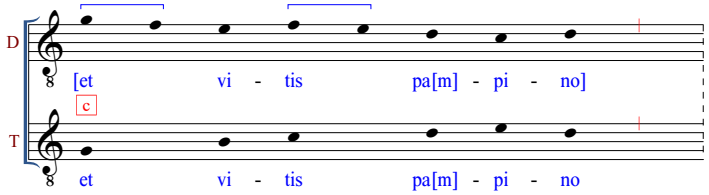
2a. *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori (F),* line 1,1-3 (compare *Sursum corda,* T of lines 3 and 6)



2b. *Sursum corda elevate (F),* line 3 (compare *Gloria in excelsis,* T of line 1,1)



2c. *Sursum corda elevate (F),* line 6 (compare *Gloria in excelsis,* T of line 1,1)



SURSUM CORDA ELEVATE

Conductus (G9/343)

F, f. 342v (7,84)

Ia	*Sursum corda* elevate.	*Lift up your hearts.*
	Dulci corda, resonate	Upon a sweet-sounding string, sound forth
	"*habemus* domino."	"*we lift them up* for the Lord."
Ib	Non discordet vox a corde,	Do not let voice discord with heart,
	sed concordet lira corde	but let lyre concord with harpstring
	et vitis pampino.	and vine with tendril.
Ic	Argumentum sine instancia,	A subject without impediment,
	documentum sine fallatia,	a teaching without deceit,
	cantu prosa.	is this poem in song.
	Instrumentis dignis melodia,	With instruments befitting the melody,
	lete mentis exponit gaudia	the explication of the voice
	vocis glosa.	expounds the joys of a cheerful mind.
IIa	*Sanctus, sanctus,* *sanctus* cantus	*Holy, holy, holy* is the
	est sanctorum angelorum,	song of the holy angels as
	teste Ysaya.	witnessed by Isaiah.
IIb	Patet quantus est rex tantus;	It is plain just how great this great king is;
	cui tantorum beatorum	the harmony of so many
	servit armonia.	blessed ones renders him service.
IIc	Celi symphonia	Heaven's symphony
	nos ortatur ut canamus,	urges us to sing,
	et letatur dum cantamus.	and is gladdened as we sing.
	Angelorum chelis	It attunes us to the harps of
	modulatur dum clamamus:	the angels as we declare:
	"*osanna in* celis!"	"*hosanna in* the heavens!"
IIIa	Ergo *agnus* veri *dei*	Therefore, *lamb of* the true *God,*
	magne magnus dator spei,	great giver of great hope,
	qui tollis peccata,	*you who take away sins,*
IIIb	*qui peccata* *mundi tollis*,	*you who take away the sins of the world,*
	lege lata, penas mollis	with the Old Law gone, you soften our pains
	et emendas fata.	and revise our fate.
IIIc	*Miserere,* miserator,	*Have mercy,* merciful one,
	verus vere legislator.	truly the true law-giver.
	Leva pacis facem.	Raise the torch of peace.
	Miserator, *miserere;*	Merciful one, *have mercy;*
	legislator verus, vere	true law-giver, truly
	dona nobis pacem.	*grant us peace.*

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 84, f. 342v: a2; Strophes Ia-IIIc, complete; with capitals heading Strophes Ic, IIa, IIIa, IIIb, as indicated by the extra spacing in the text above.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 86, f. 172r (163r): a2; Strophes Ia-IIIc, complete; a painted initial opens the piece and a slightly smaller red one begins IIa. Space is left for an initial to start IIIa that was never added, accompanied by a tiny guide letter "e." *W1* concludes this piece with a closing cauda differing from all other extant sources that draws all its material from both voices of prior caudae in Strophes Ia, Ib, IIIa, and IIIb. This melisma is supplied at the end of the transcription as an alternative reading.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 16, f. 94r: a2; Strophes Ia-IIIc, complete, with system-high space at the beginnings of Strophes Ia, IIa, IIIa, IIIb for initials that were never executed.

W2, fasc. 6, no. 7, f. 107v: a2; Strophes Ia-IIIc, complete, with a standard filigreed initial opening Ia, and capital letters heading Strophes IIa, IIIa, IIIb. The closing *punctus organi* cadence appears at the bottom of f. 110v written in a short series of staves aligned with the right margin, adding for the only time a fifth system to the typical four-system *ordinatio* used for the remainder of the fascicle.

US-NYcub N-66 (New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, N-66), f. Ar: a2; fragmentary. This repurposed double leaf (the visible side of which constitutes the two folios Zv and Ar) now serves as a protective endpaper to its host volume.[1] The contents of its obverse side are reportedly now completely obliterated.[2] Of the first visible elements, beginning on the upper right portion of the endpaper (f. Ar), the complete text of line 1, though slightly mutilated, is discernable, as well as some of the filigree decoration applied to the otherwise concealed body of the opening initial "S" for Strophe Ia. The music above the text of this system, though, is completely hidden from view. The three remaining systems visible on f. Ar give both the musical and verbal material of lines 2,1-5,3. The left half of the leaf (f. Zv) contains the heavily faded remnants of the final cauda of the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), with the unique addition of a Tr voice. This latter piece appears in *F* at 7,116, on f. 361v.

Metz (*F-ME 732bis/20; Metz, Médiathèque Verlaine-Pontiffroy-732 bis/20; (olim) Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Réserve précieux, MS 732bis/20;"Metz fragments"),* no. 1, f. 1r: a3, with an added Tr voice not known from other sources;[3] incomplete, with only the complete closing cauda and final text syllable extant and rendered in mode 3, all of which is supplied here as an alternative reading at the end of the transcription. Other works in this source show that *simplex* figures as well as rests are regularly distinguished as L and B in the *cum littera* portions of this work, and that a good number of the larger ligatures in these sections also show mensural modifications through the use of *sine proprietate* and *sine perfectione* shapes. The caudae on the other hand, here as elsewhere in *Metz,* appear to demonstrate modal notation throughout.[4]

---

[1]For a treatment of this MS, upon which much of this description relies, see Eva M. Maschke, "Neue Conductus Fragmente aus dem ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Frankfurt am Main," *Studi Musicali: Nuova serie* 1,2 (2010): 295-312, especially 298-306. As Maschke shows here, *US-NYcub N-66* originally came from the same source as the Frankfurt conductus fragments *(D-F Fragm. lat.VI.41).* For the latter items, see 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.

[2]For this detail, as well as more on this source couched as part of an extensive treatment of the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), see Eva M. Maschke, "*Porta salutis ave:* Manuscript Culture, Material Culture, and Music," *Musica Dsiciplina,* 58 (2013),167-229,

[3]The same feature of an added third voice extant only in *Metz* also obtains for the conductus *Ego reus confiteor* (H20/106).

[4]A study of the Metz fragments with black-and-white 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 ARCA repository only include those of ff. 1v-2r and thus do not offer the preserved segments of *Sursum corda.*

Hu, no. 155, f. 150v: a2; only the whole of Strophe IIIa-c ("Ergo agnus ...") transmitted as an independent piece, with a major painted initial to open it and no further divisions elsewhere in the text. The notation is mensural throughout, showing declamation in perfect Longs throughout nearly the entirety of the segment.

Text only:

WOc Add. 68: originally *Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 100 (=GB-Om 100),* f. d^{v}, this leaf was subsequently transferred to the collection of fragments that constitute *Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68 (=GB-WOc Add. 68),* as frag. xxxv, f. 4v (or page j) as part of an effort to reconstruct the so-called Worcester Fragments.[5] This leaf is also included as part of another reconstructive effort: *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d. 20 (=GB-Ob 20),* f. 32v (formerly *GB-Ob Bodley 862,* f. 29v). The setting here of *Sursum corda* appears as no. 24 in the content listing of *GB-WOc Add. 68* provided by William Summers and Peter Lefferts in their facsimile volume *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony;*[6] it appears as no. 63 in Luther Dittmer's edition of the Worcester Fragments.[7] The piece is apparently a2 and assumed to be fragmentary, although what more it might have contained cannot be determined at present, due to the absence of the subsequent folio. The remains offer a musical setting distinct from the other sources, with only the opening portions of text and music extant for two separately notated, adjacently written parts; these appear on the bottom two systems of the leaf, each headed by a filigreed painted initial. The remnants of the first voice, apparently a D given its higher range, set the text of lines 1-2; the subsequent part, a T, with its vocal text inscribed in contrasting red ink (corresponding to the conventions of the presentation of the tenors in the surrounding pieces in frag. xxxv), presents only a musical setting of the text of line 1 before the leaf ends. Both voices open with a cauda of ca. 15L.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** Musical imagery abounds in this poem (see lines 5, 9-10, 18-19, and 22-23), as well as references to musical-liturgical texts from the Mass.[8] Strophes I, II, and III, respectively, cite non-contiguous segments of text (italicized above) from the Preface, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei of the Mass. With such content, the poem seems to function almost as a companion piece to the conductus *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145), which precedes it in both *F* and *Ma* (out of four existing sources of the latter piece) and shows similar characteristics. In addition, the opening *cum littera* statements in both pieces invite points of comparison (see the observations below on the music). The use of word play throughout is akin to poems by Philip the Chancellor, although he has never been put forward as a probable author, nor do I press that issue here. **Versification:** Due to the frequent presence of internal rhyme in the text as given above, there are multiple ways to divide the poem into lines, and this presentation departs from those on both the CPI website, in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 3:ix), and in Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song,* 190. The adopted result was chosen for its compactness and the ensuing balance and parallelism among the stanzas. As a result, it offers

---

[5]Images available through DIAMM here; search "xxxv 4v."

[6]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), see pp. 37-38 and plate 287.

[7]Luther A. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription,* Musicological Studies and Documents, no. 2. [Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1957.

[8]For recent discussion of the liturgical and musical features within the conductus *Sursum corda,* see Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song,* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018) 189-192.

three larger 12-line strophes, with each one structurally divisible into both halves and quarters. Internal and contrasting rhymes are shown through extra horizontal spacing in the above text. The resulting poetic form of this work is thus rather complex and reflective as well of its musical setting. **Musical-Poetic Form:** The Tenor voice of each of the three major stanzas is set to an AAB musical form, wherein each repeated A section corresponds to the opening three lines of each stanza (designated in the text above as Ia and Ib for the first strophe and continuing similarly for the others), while the B sections (Ic, IIc, IIIc) comprise the six-line remainder. Further elements of musical repetition occur among the caudae; see the observations below. Each stanza, moreover, shares certain elements of its rhythmic organization and rhyme scheme with the others, but also departs from them in certain ways. The resulting relationships show, for example, that Strophes Ia, Ib, IIa, and IIb all have the same line length and accentual patterns (2(4p+4p)+6pp), while different correspondences obtain for each three-line half of Ic (2(4p+6pp)+4p). Furthermore, each three-line unit of Strophe III displays the same linear pattern of 2(4p+4p)+6p throughout. Strophe IIc, on the other hand, is independent structurally from all other three- or six-line divisions in the stanzas: 6pp+2(4p+4p)+6p+(4p+4p)+6p. The rhyme schemes that accompany each stanza are also interrelated, but in ways that sometimes cross over the inner divisions of the poem. For example, the "-ia" rhyme in lines 18 and 19 closes Strophe IIb and opens IIc, which thereby relates the two halves of this stanza together by rhyme in a manner not reflected elsewhere in the poem.
Textual notes: 1-6: these lines exploit a running pun *(annominatio)* on the Latin homonyms for "hearts" and "string" *(corda/c(h)orda).* **1-3:** quotes or paraphrases the central elements of the liturgical dialogue that precedes the text of the Preface of the Mass.[9] After the exchange, the priest picks up the text of the Preface itself, which is proper to the feast at hand, but which commonly begins with the words "Vere dignum et iustum est ... ."[10] The Preface is succeeded by the Sanctus, an Ordinary item of the Mass whose portions are also quoted in this conductus in lines 13 and 24, which open and close Strophe II. Further allusions to liturgical items of the Mass (in this case the Agnus Dei) appear throughout Strophe III (lines 25-36). **4-6:** an engaging series of associative images, wherein a greater object is asked to correspond in sentiment with one of its smaller components: the heart (as the seat of the entire body's feeling or emotions) with one's voice, the lyre with its string, the vine with its tendril. **13-15;24:** as noted, the opening and closing lines of this stanza continue to invoke the ceremonial text of the Mass celebration with their nod to the beginning and end of the text of the Sanctus, the Mass Ordinary item that follows (or concludes) the Preface, whose preamble is invoked in the first three lines of the poem. As line 15 indicates, the text for the Sanctus derives initially from Isaiah (6:3; cf. also Revelation, 4:8); it is then completed with Matthew, 21:9.[11] **16-18:** conceivably a nod to Psalm 67:18.[12] See the further remarks on this biblical passage in connection with the conductus *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89),

---

[9]The whole introductory dialogue to the Preface, begun by the priest *(P)* and answered by the congregation *(C),* is as follows, with the portions adapted by the conductus italicized: *(P)* "Per omnia saecula saeculorum." *(C)* "Amen." *(P)* "Dominus vobiscum." *(C)* "Et cum spiritu tuo." *(P) "Sursum corda." (C) "Habemus ad Dominum." (P)* "Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro." *(C)* "Dignum et iustum est." (P) "Vere dignum et iustum est ... ." Translation: *(P)* "Forever and ever." *(C)* "Amen." *(P)* "The Lord be with you." *(C)* "And with your spirit." *(P) "Lift up your hearts." (C) "We lift them up to the Lord." (P)* "Let us give thanks to our Lord God." *(C)* "It is worthy and just [to do so]." The Preface then begins: *(P)* "It is truly worthy and just ... ."

[10]For the text of the dialogue and some Prefaces in medieval Parisian liturgical sources, see, for example, the noted missal *F-Pn lat. 1112,* f. XCVIr (103r), as well as the series offered in *F-Pn lat. 830,* ff. 121r-122v. Images available here and here, respectively.

[11]The pre-Vulgate renderings of these biblical passages, though, are what one usually encounters in liturgical sources: "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis." ("Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, the heavens and earth are full with your glory. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest."). The Vulgate texts for these respective passages read, with nearly identical meaning throughout (differences in italics): Isaiah, 6:3: "... Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus, Deus *exercituum; plena est omnis terra gloria ejus*"; Matthew, 21:9: "... benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini: hosanna in *altissimis.*" – (... "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full with His glory"; "... Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.").

[12]Psalm 67:18: "Currus dei decem millibus multiplex, millia laetantium; Dominus in eis in Sina, in sancto" ("The chariot of God is attended by tens of thousands, thousands of them rejoicing: the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.").

lines 3-6. **19-24:** the mention of the concords *(symphoniae)* of heaven here invokes the concept of *musica mundana* developed by Boethius in his *De institutione musica* (book 1, chapter 2) as well as that of angel song; see the conductus *O qui fontem gratie* (H28/243), lines 30-36, 44-57 (Strophe III) for a text that dwells heavily on these musical and cosmic images. **20,2:** construed here as a form of "hortatur." **25-36:** throughout its course Strophe III relates segments corresponding to much of the liturgical text of the Agnus Dei, an additional instance in this poem of allusions drawn from the Mass ceremony (as seen earlier in lines 1-3, 13-15, and 24). The liturgical text of the Agnus Dei is derived from the exclamations of John the Baptist in John, 1:29.[13] **29-36:** in addition to its emphasis on the Agnus Dei, this part of the stanza invokes the widespread trope of the Lamb (the sacrificed Christ) as a new Moses that overturns the older Mosaic Law associated with the Old Testament, replacing it with the pact of the New Covenant, represented by the gift of grace by God through Christ. For a compilation of pieces within the Parisian conductus repertory that exploit this concept, see the notes on the text to the conductus *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192). **31-36:** for this second half of Strophe IIIc, notice how the same words are reordered chiastically within the first two verses of each three-line unit (lines 31-32 and 34-35).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** *W2* has a notable tally of readings that are preferred here to those in *F* and other sources for this text. **3,2:** F,W1,US-NYcub N-66: dominum; Ma: dominu (perhaps the result of an omitted horizontal abbreviation stroke over the final "u"). The adopted reading from *W2* is not transmitted in *Hu* and *WOc Add. 68.* The emendation is prompted by the apparent necessity that lines 3 and 6 should rhyme. Elsewhere *(F,W1,US-NYcub N-66)* the scribe has preferred the accusative case of this word, perhaps since it regularly appears in the response to the Preface of the Mass: "habemus ad dominum." **6,3:** F: papino; *Ma:* panpino; adopted reading from *W1,W2;* absent or lost from all other sources. **8,1:** F,W1,Ma: documentis; supplied from *W2* to regularize the rhyme scheme; not transmitted in *Hu,* lost from *US-NYcub N-66* and *WOc Add. 68*. **29,2:** F: latas; adopted reading from *W1,Ma,W2,Hu* which regularizes the rhyme scheme; absent from *US-NYcub N-66* and *WOc Add. 68.* **MUSIC: Connections with the conductus *Gloria in excelsis:*** Notice the similarities in contour and pitch in all sources of *Sursum corda* between the opening notes in the T over the *cum littera* settings of "Sur[sum]" (line 1,1) – along with the corresponding musically repeated passage on "non [discordat]" (line 4,1) – with that of the setting of "Glo[ria]" (line 1,1) in the conductus *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145). In the second instance in *Sursum corda,* it so happens that most of its D is also identical with that of "Gloria" in *Gloria in excelsis.* Similarly, the five T pitches over "habemus domi[no]" and the corresponding "et vitis pampi[no]" in *Sursum corda* (lines 3 and 6, respectively) are the same as the setting of "[Glori]a in excelsis" in line 1 of this conductus in all sources but *CaJ.* Such musical correspondences, as well as their rather prominent structural placement as the opening *cum littera* gestures in both works suggest that the two pieces may been conceived in tandem with each other. For transcriptions of these related passages in close succession, see the passages that follow the alternative readings in the transcription of *Sursum corda.*
Repetition among caudae: In addition to the restatement of entire T melodies (including caudae) in the first half of each strophe (see the above remarks on musical-poetic form in the notes on the text), the larger melisma that closes this entire piece in every applicable source but *W1* at first recapitulates the T of the cauda that begins Strophe IIIa and is repeated in IIIb (marked "h" and "h' " in the score). Then afterwards, it develops the closing T phrase in each of these two segments (marked with "i" and its variables), before going on and concluding with different material. Yet *W1,* as noted above, gives a different closing melisma (supplied at the end of the transcription); this example, analogously, is not only made up wholly of material from earlier caudae taken from Strophes Ia and Ib, IIIa, and IIIb, but it also quotes both voices. As usual, recollected phrases and motives throughout the piece are signaled by boxed lower case letters above the staves, with the additional element of some shorter reiterated motives in the opening portions of the piece being marked by letters drawn from the end of the alphabet ("z, y"). Longer, more extensive repeated segments are shown by boxed capital letters in the T

[13]John, 1:29: "Altera die vidit Joannes Jesum venientem ad se, et ait: 'Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.' " ("The next day, John [the Baptist] saw Jesus coming to him, and he said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sin of the world.' ").
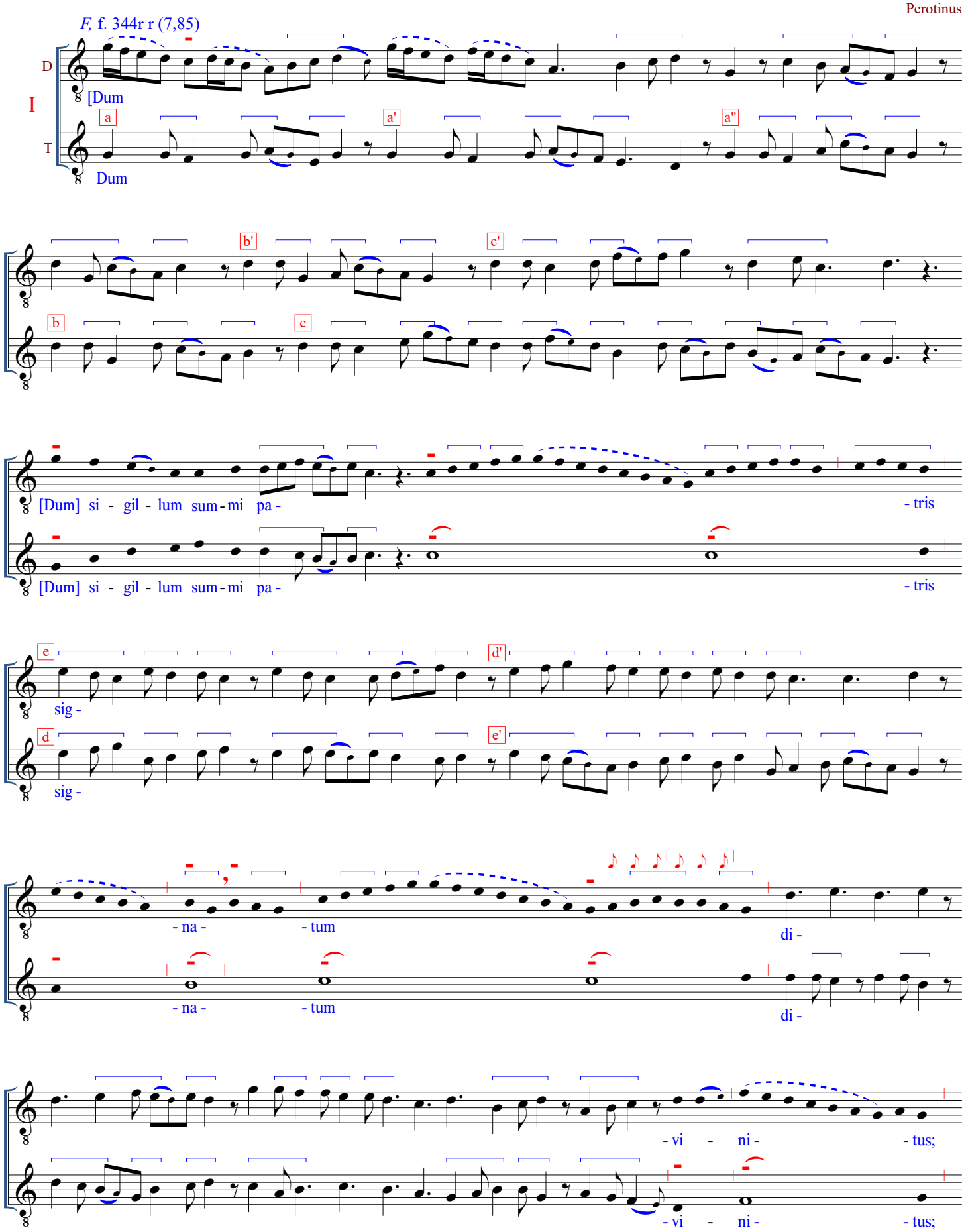
staff. **Syllabic-melismatic identity: 1.** TD of "[lira] corde" (end of line 5) presents a recurring short cadential flourish (4li,si), with motives from the D and/or T set to either one or two syllables at the ends of certain other passages in various voices (these are not individually marked in the score): **a.** D = T (with a similar D) of "[ele]vate" (line 1); **b.** TD = T (with D varied) of "[reso]nate" (end of line 2); **c.** T = D (transposed) of whole following short cauda on "[resona]te" (end of line 2); **d.** D = T (varied) of "[vox a] corde" (end of line 4); **e.** T = D (varied) of whole following short cauda on [lira cor]de" (end of line 5); **f.** T = similar T of "[instan]cia" (end of line 7, opening Strophe Ic); **g.** D (varied) = D of "[instru]mentis" (beginnning of line 10); **h.** T = similar D(T) of "[melo]dia" (end of line 10); **i.** TD = comparable TD of "[o]sanna" (beg of line 24, closing Strophe IIc). **2.** T of last phrase of cauda on "Er[go]" (line 25, opening of Str. IIIa – marked "i" in the score): **a.** = sim T of "qui tollis peccata" (line 28 – marked "i1"); **b.** = T of last phrase of cauda on "qui [peccata]" (line 28, starts second half of Str. IIIa – marked "i"); **c.** = sim T of "et emendas fata" (line 30, closes Strophe IIIb – marked "i1"). **Line 16,1:** D: F: siP,si=*feP*,*d* om over "[pa]tet"; taken from *W1,* which shows like *F* a DL=*f* in the T, not present in *Ma,W2;* lost from *US-NYcub N-66, Metz;* not in *Hu.* **Cauda at 25,1 (opens Strophe IIIa):** D: the irregularly notated opening rhythm of the second phrase (L9-L12) in this voice is clarified by *Ma* (=si,3li,3li+3C) and the mensural notation of *Hu.* **Final cauda:** *Metz,W2,Hu* show mode 3 throughout in contrast to the mode 1 of *F,Ma; W1* is unrelated; it is lost from *US-NYcub N-66.* In the alternative reading from *Metz,* those Tr passages in the transcription of the cauda that are cut away or worn to the point of illegibility have been reconstructed editorially; worn material that is visible but especially difficult to see is indicated by a "?" above the staff. D: in the second phrase, from L7-L11, the repeated *d* pitches are written LBBLLBBB in *F,* LBBLBBL in *Metz,* hence the different renderings between the two transcriptions. T: Metz: the om si=*d* and following stroke at L51-L52 worn away; confirmed by *F,Ma,W2,Hu; W1* is unrelated; lost from *US-NYcub N-66.* T: Metz: om stroke for the last rest at L72 supplied from *F,* not in *Ma,W2,Hu; W1* unrelated; lost from *US-NYcub N-66.*
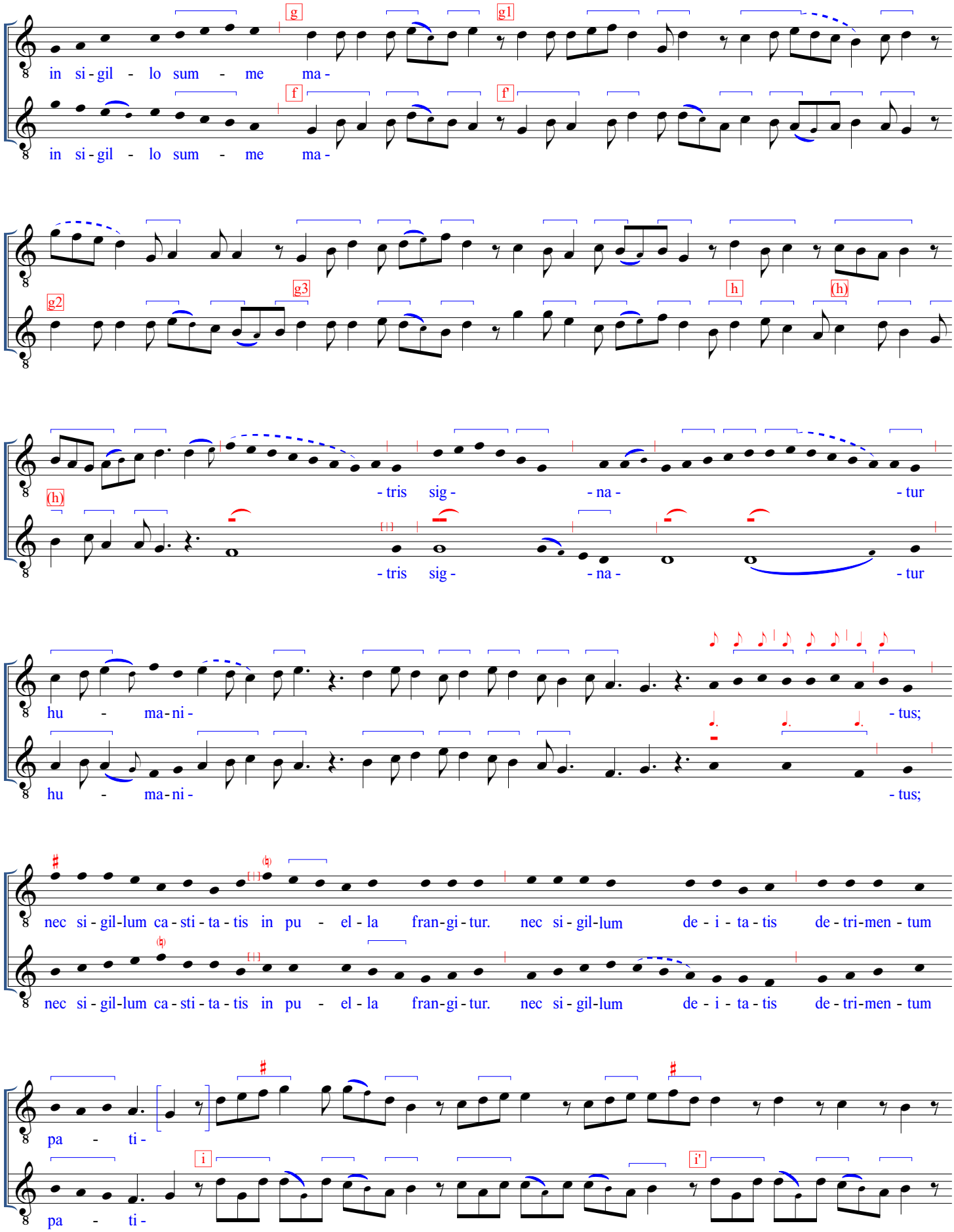
DUM SIGILLUM SUMMI PATRIS
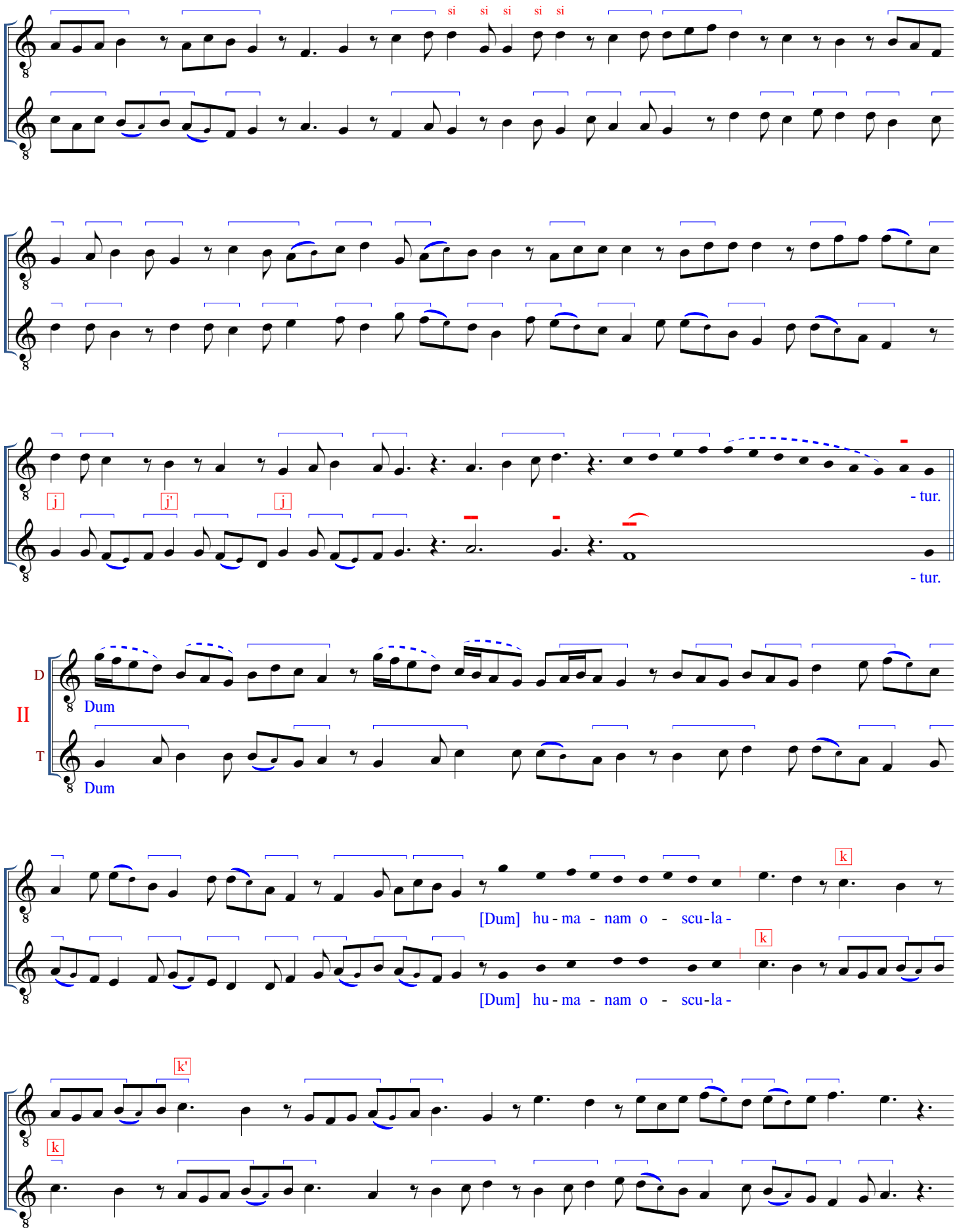
Conductus (J24/100)
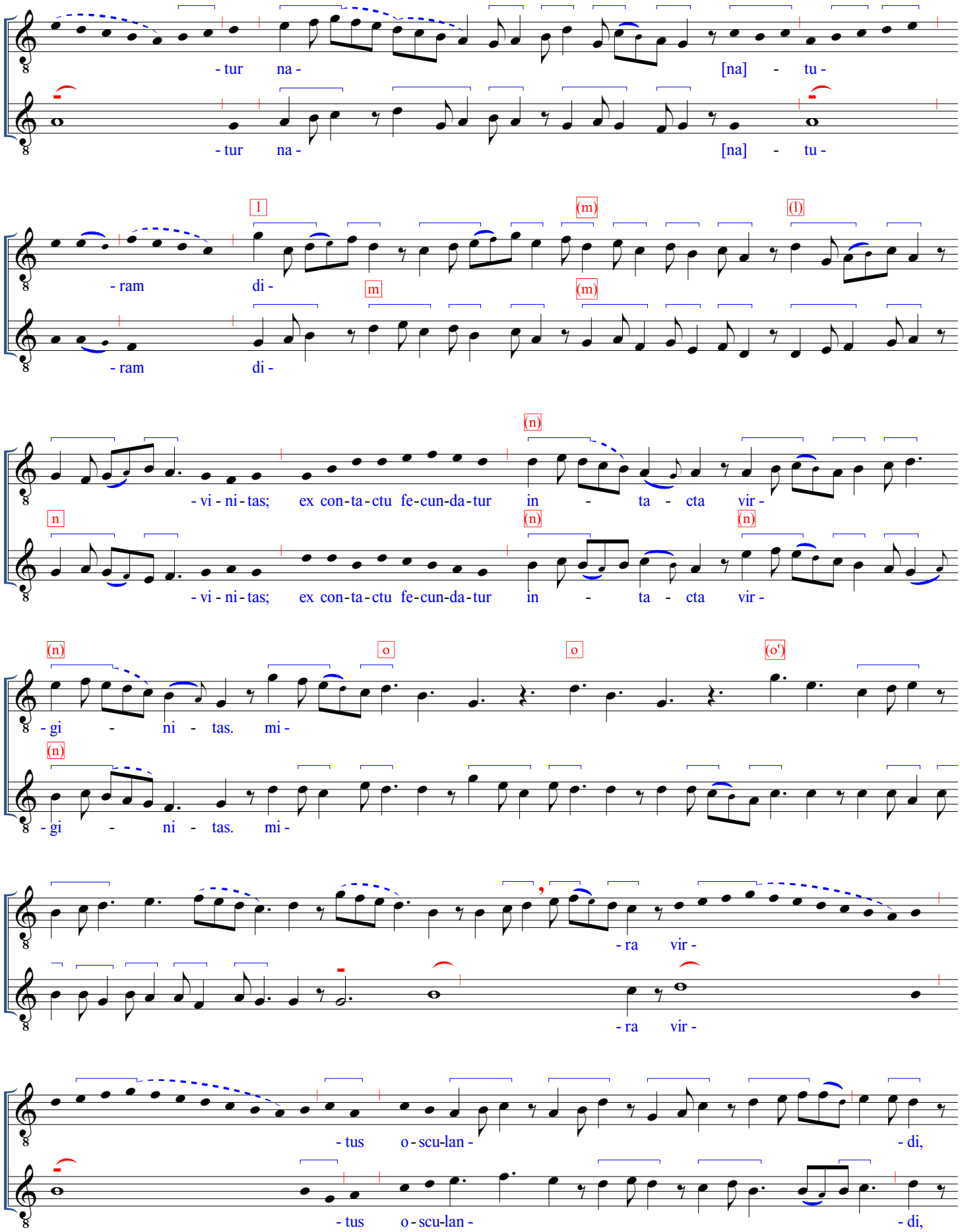
Perotinus
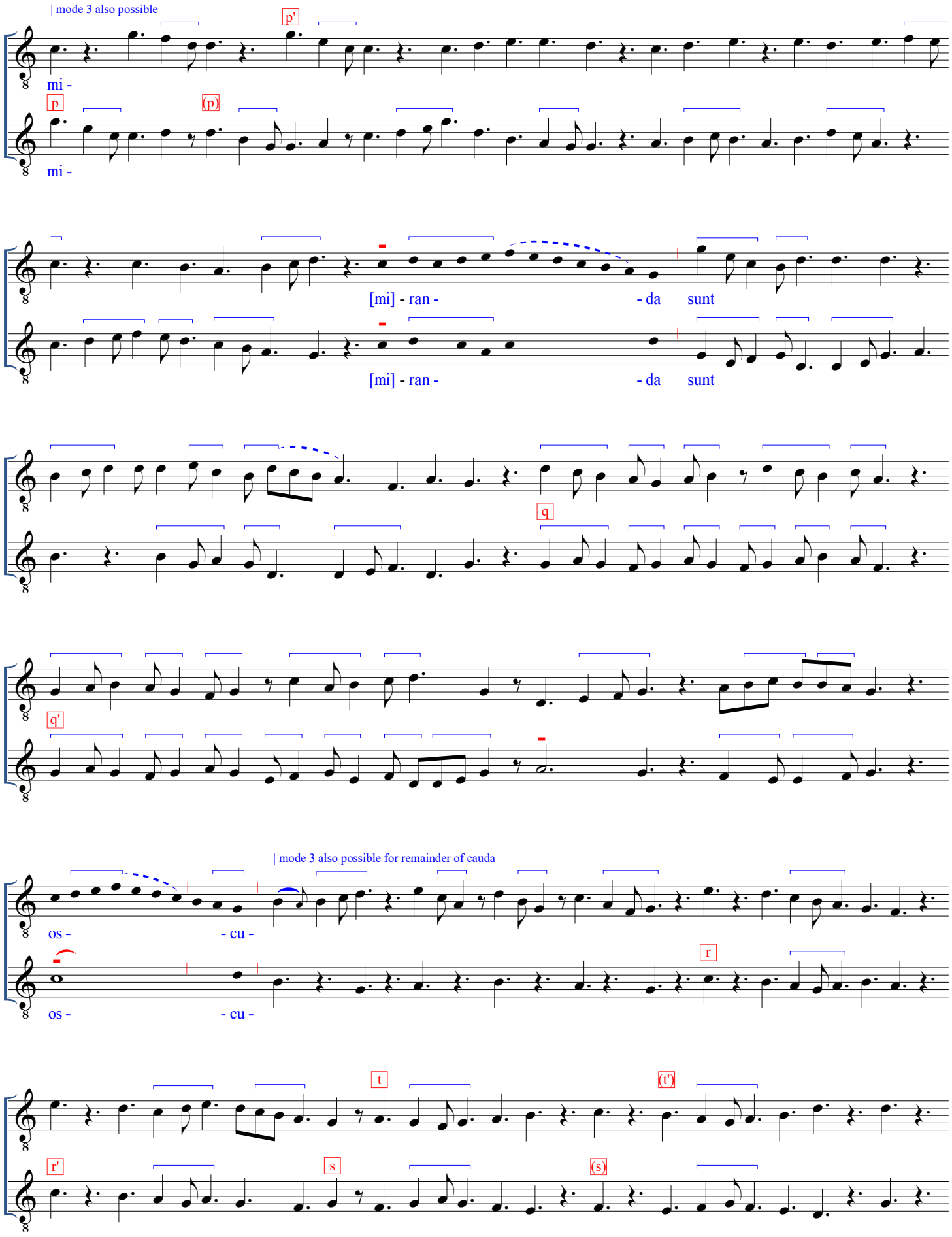
F, f. 344r r (7,85)
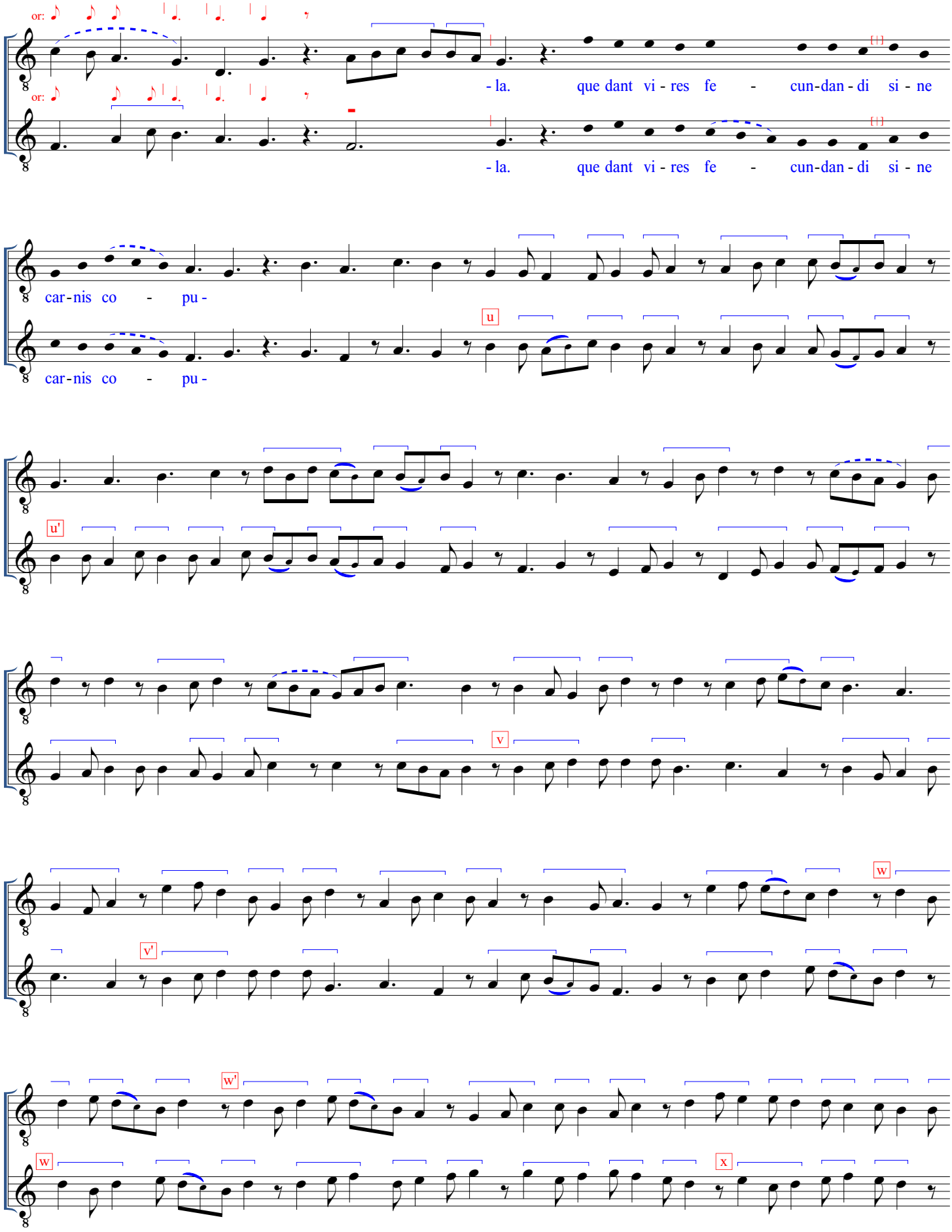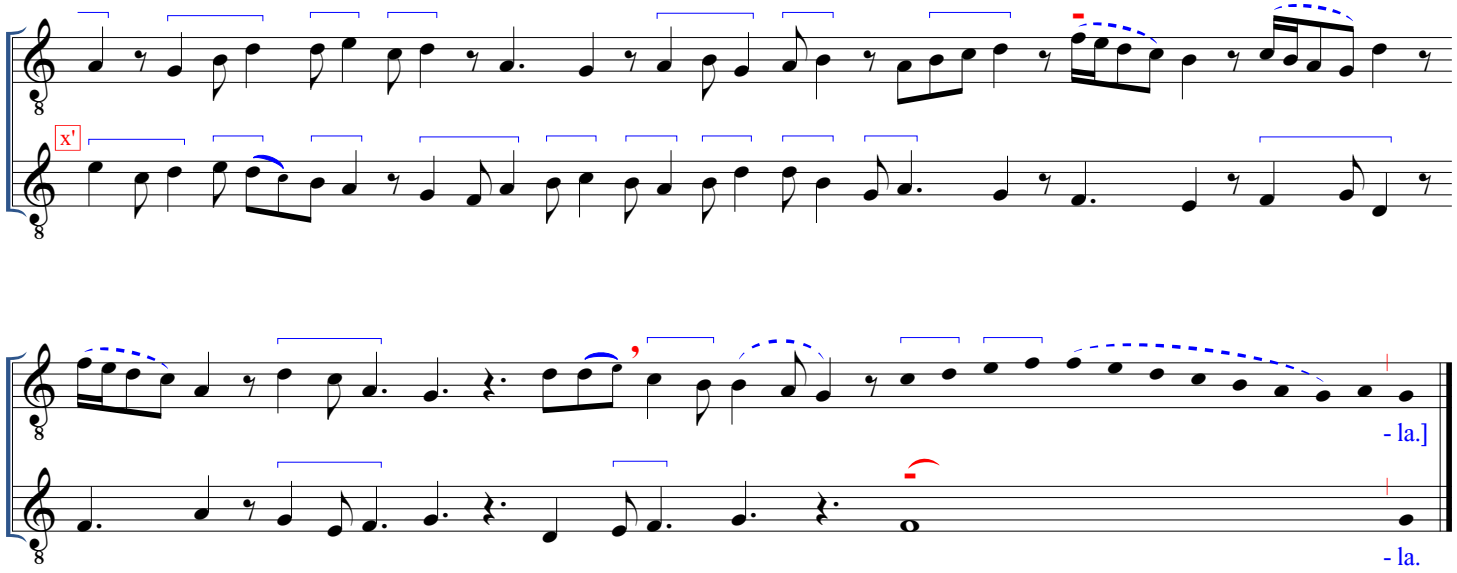



g
g1
f
f
in si - gil - lo sum - me ma -
in si - gil - lo sum - me ma -
g2
g3
h
(h)
(h)
- tris sig - na - tur
- tris sig - na - tur
hu - ma - ni - tus;
hu - ma - ni - tus;
nec si - gil - lum ca - sti - ta - tis in pu - el - la fran - gi - tur. nec si - gil - lum de - i - ta - tis de - tri - men - tum
nec si - gil - lum ca - sti - ta - tis in pu - el - la fran - gi - tur. nec si - gil - lum de - i - ta - tis de - tri - men - tum
pa - ti -
i
i'
pa - ti -


si si si si si
j
j'
j
- tur.
- tur.
II
D
Dum
T
Dum
k
[Dum] hu - ma - nam o - scu - la -
k
[Dum] hu - ma - nam o - scu - la -
k'
k


- tur na - [na] - tu -
- tur na - [na] - tu -
l (m) (l)
- ram di - m (m)
- ram di -
(n)
- vi - ni - tas; ex con - ta - ctu fe - cun - da - tur in - ta - cta vir -
n (n) (n)
- vi - ni - tas; ex con - ta - ctu fe - cun - da - tur in - ta - cta vir -
(n) o o (o')
- gi - ni - tas. mi -
(n)
- gi - ni - tas. mi -
- ra vir -
- ra vir -
- tus o - scu - lan - di,
- tus o - scu - lan - di,


| mode 3 also possible
p'
mi -
p
(p)
mi -
[mi] - ran - - da sunt
[mi] - ran - - da sunt
q
q'
| mode 3 also possible for remainder of cauda
os - - cu -
r
os - - cu -
t
(t')
r'
s
(s)


or:
- la. que dant vi - res fe - cun-dan - di si - ne
car-nis co - pu -
u
u'
v
v'
w
w'
x


x'
- la.]
- la.

DUM SIGILLUM SUMMI PATRIS

Conductus (J24/100)

F, f. 344r r (7,85)

I Dum sigillum summi patris,
signatum divinitus,
in sigillo summe matris
signatur humanitus,
nec sigillum castitatis
in puella frangitur,
nec sigillum deitatis
detrimentum patitur.

When the divinely imprinted
seal of the highest father
is imprinted in human form
on the seal of the highest mother,
neither is chastity's seal
on the maiden broken,
nor does the seal of the deity
suffer detriment.

II Dum humanam osculatur
naturam divinitas,
ex contactu fecundatur
intacta virginitas.
Mira virtus osculandi!
Miranda sunt oscula
que dant vires fecundandi
sine carnis copula.

When divinity kisses
human substance,
untouched virginity
conceives from the contact.
How astonishing is the effect of kissing!
Wondrous are the kisses
that grant the powers of conception
without the joining of flesh.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 85, f. 344r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with II indicated by the customary black-ink capital.

Hu, no. 152, f. 143r, a2: music and text for Strophe I only, headed by a large painted initial; mensural notation throughout. Following the conclusion of the piece, the last two-staff system at the bottom of f. 144v is left blank. The next leaf begins at the top right recto with a piece a3: the conductus *Ave maris stella virgo decus* (D1/34).

Text only:

GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI, f. 107v: text only of Strophes I-II; images of this folio of the source are presently unavailable to me.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attributions of text and music:** The poem has been attributed to Philip the Chancellor by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xvi), based on the image of the kiss in Strophe II, that he connects with Philip's conductus *Centrum capit circulus* (J38), in Strophe IIb, lines 23-24. In my view, this is less convincing a comparison than the conceit of the chaste kiss offered in the otherwise anonymous conductus *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144), lines 7-9. The music of *Dum sigillum* is attributed to Perotinus by Anonymous 4.[1] **Textual notes: 1-4:** the seal of

[1]Fritz 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

God the Father is his divinity, the seal of the Mother, the Virgin Mary, is apparently her chaste, "sealed" womb, which retains the stamp of her virginity after Christ's divine conception. **5-8:** just as Mary retained her maidenhood after Christ was conceived, so was God's divinity uncompromised when it assumed human form in Christ. **9-16:** Christ's conception, overstepping other natural laws, was not brought about by sexual means *(carnis copula),* but through the "chaste kiss" of Mary's acceptance of Gabriel's charge (see the story of the Annunciation in Luke, 1:26-38, and the above remarks on attributions).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** readings adopted below from *GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI* are drawn from the critical notes on this piece by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:116) and Dreves (*AH,* 20, no. 88, p. 88 [sic]), as the manuscript is presently unavailable to me. **2,1:** F: syllable divided as in MS; same in *Hu.* **9,2:** F: humanum; from *GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI.* **13,1:** F: mura, although the last ascender of the "u" in the first syllable is faded, as if possibly erased; taken from *GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI.* **14,3:** F: syllable divided as in MS; strophe not transmitted in *Hu.* **MUSIC:** This extensively configured setting is shot through with motivic recollection, and there are occasional passages of imitation and canon. Many correspondences are noted above the staff, but many more might be included; for example, note the similarities between the closing organal figures in the D over lines 2,1 ("signatum") and 4,2 ("[huma]ni[tus]"), along with the identical concluding D figures of the caudae over 14,2 ("sunt") and 14,3 ("[oscu]la"). Also remaining unmarked are a number of sequential passages, transposed repetitions, and possible antecedent-consequent relationships. **Line 3,1-3:** : T: F: music over "in sigillo summe" written 3 lower, likely due to failure to note a mid-staff clef change; reading taken from *Hu.* **5:** D: Hu: sig quad on *f* for "nec sigil[lum]," cancelled by system change without sig immediately afterwards. **8,1:** D: F: si=*g* over first phrase of "[pa]ti[tur]" om and following stroke erased; from *Hu.* D: Hu: sig quad on *f,* valid for first three phrases of the cauda on this word, cancelled by next system change at L15 of cauda. **12:** TD: F: the rhythms provided here for the *cum littera* portions of this line ("intacta virginitas") are justified by their identity with the *sine littera* figure on the first syllable of line 12,2 ("vir[ginitas]"). **13,1:** D: F: the apparent two 2li figures (with the second one seemingly plicated) placed just after the stroke before the syllable "[mi]ra" are written closely together, as if 4li, which could also be an intended reading. **Cauda on line 14,3:** D: F: the 4C figure in the penultimate phrase (at L45-L47) is given an unusual rhythmical reading here, in order to correspond with the preceding phrases; a more regularly transcribed alternative appears above the staff at this point.
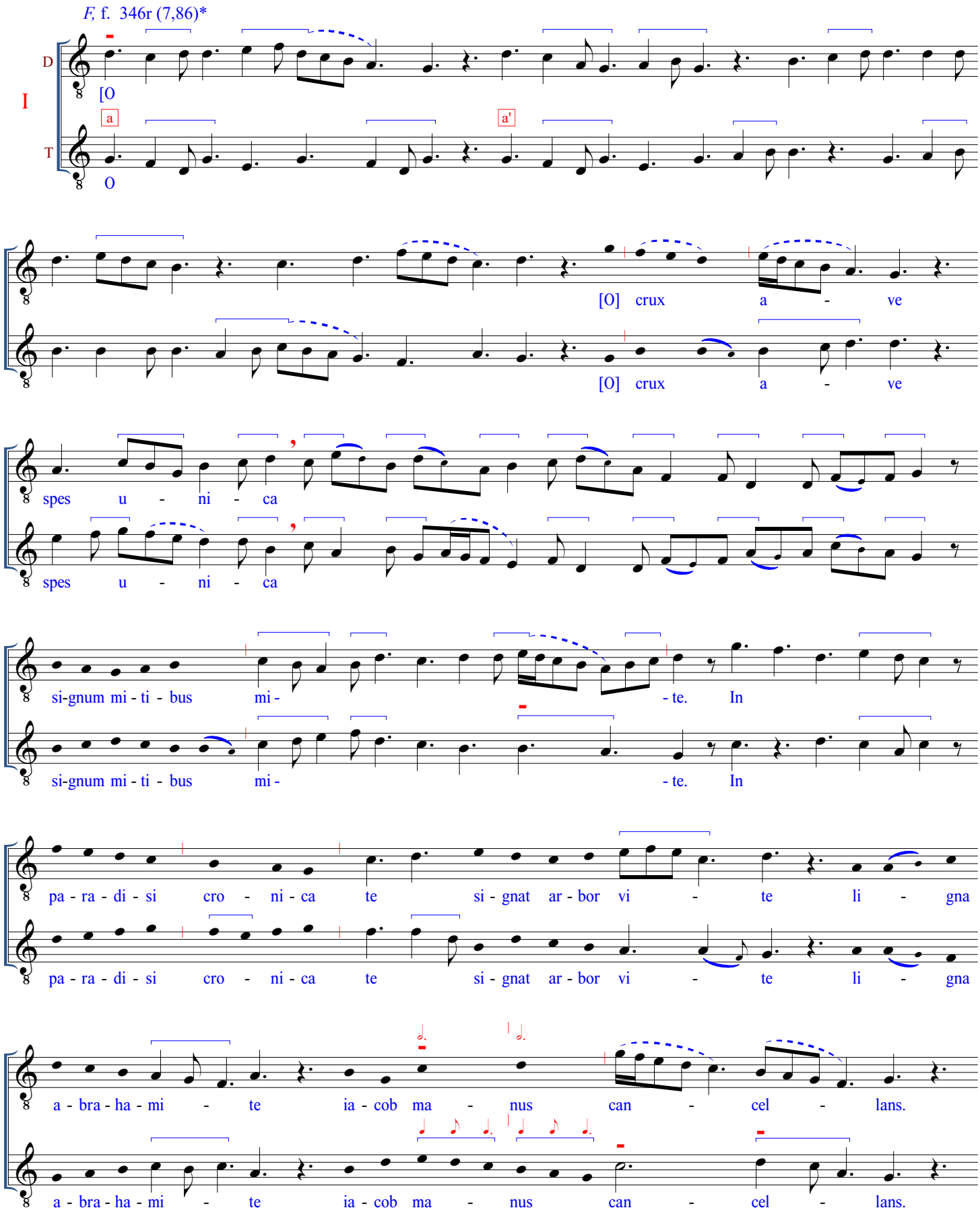
---

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 conductus along with many others such as *Beata viscera,* etc.").
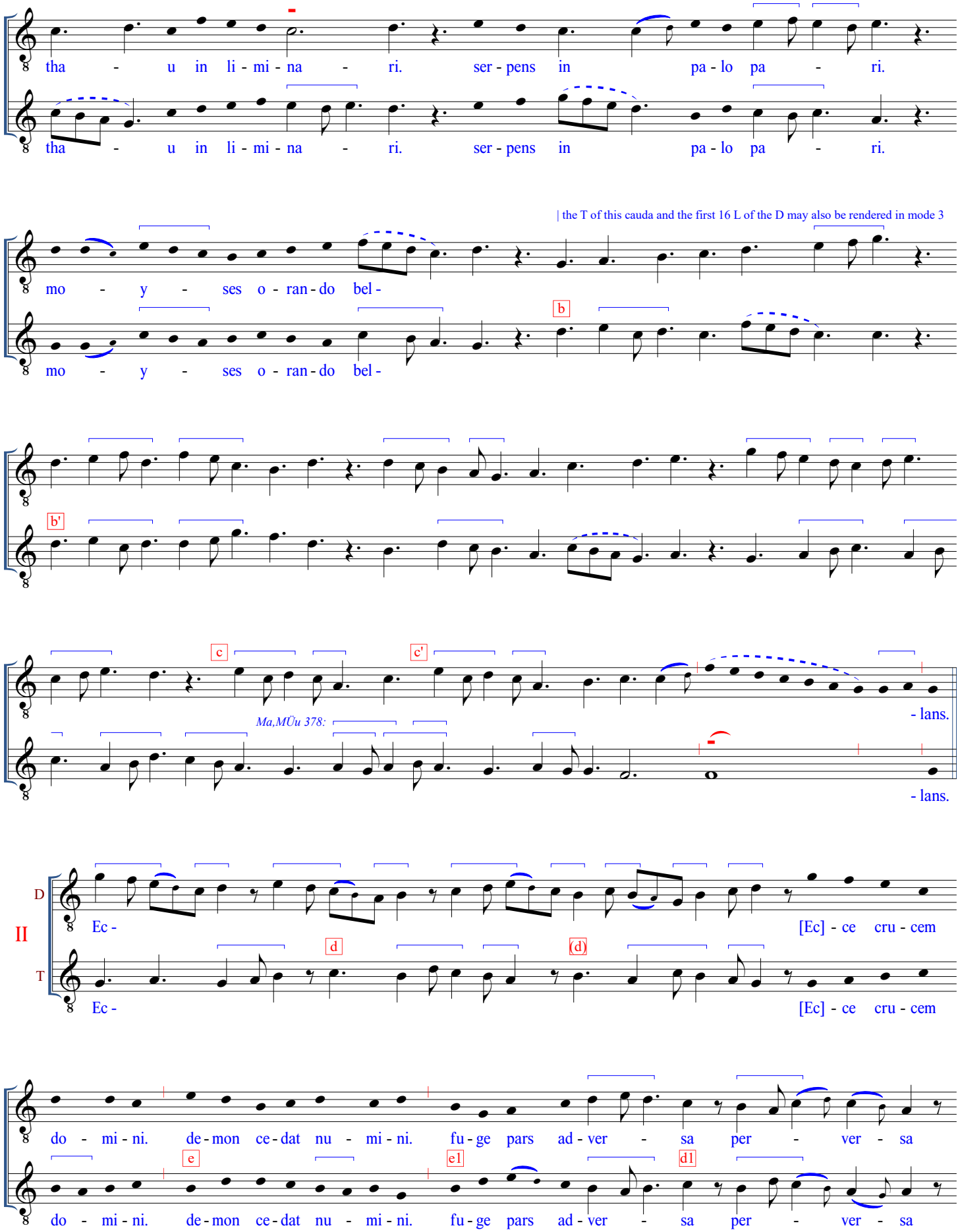
O CRUX AVE SPES UNICA
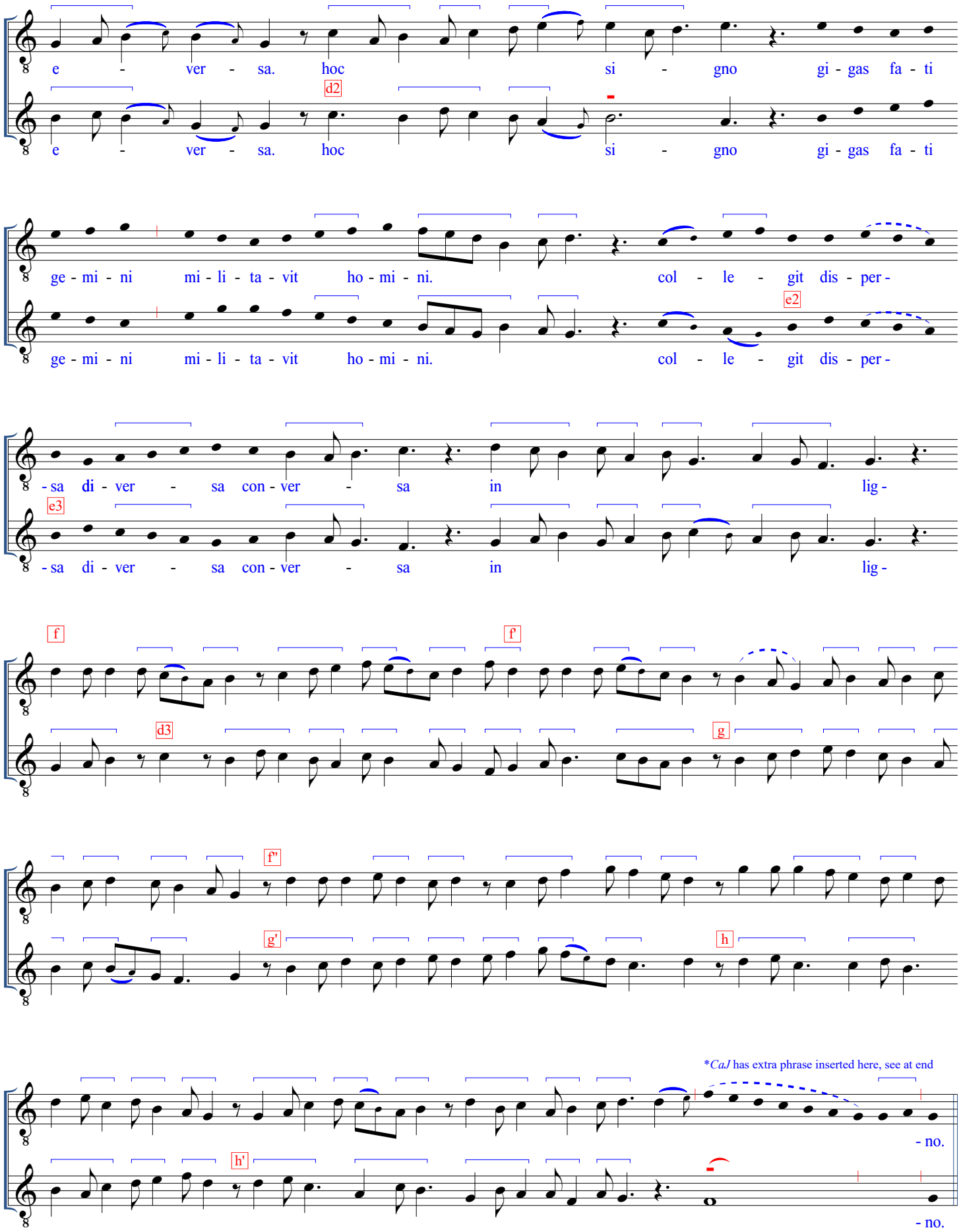
Conductus (H4/230)
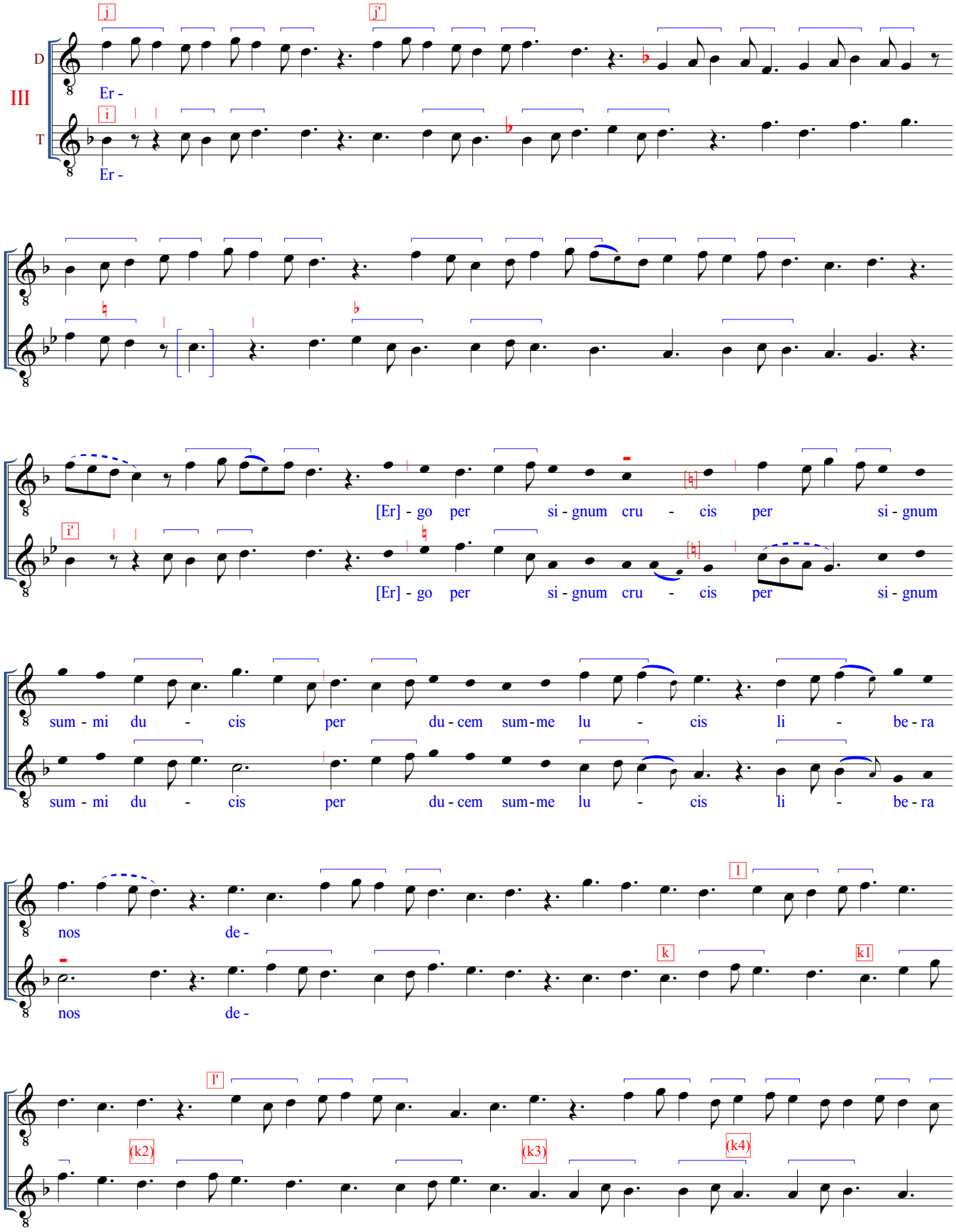
F, f. 346r (7,86)*
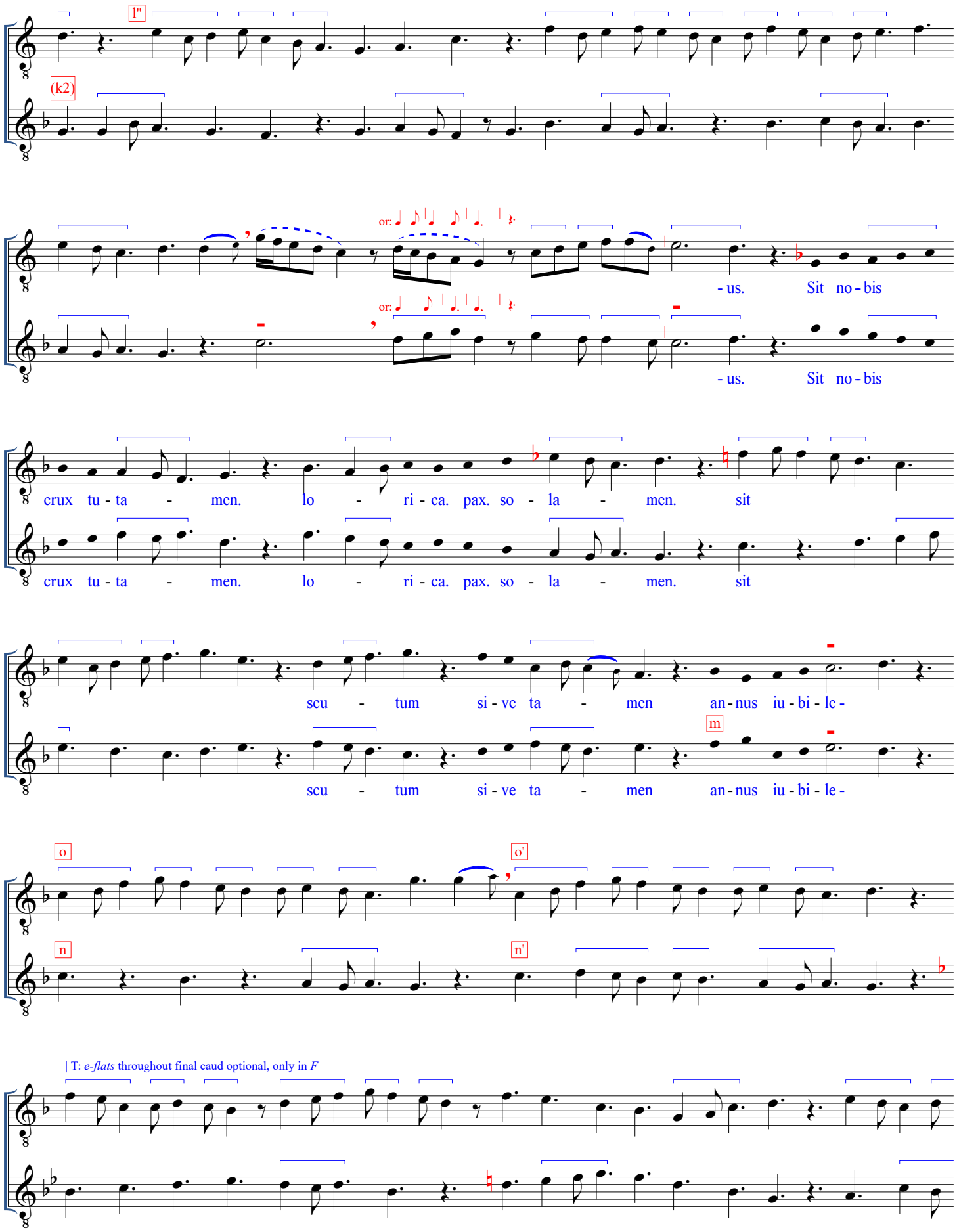


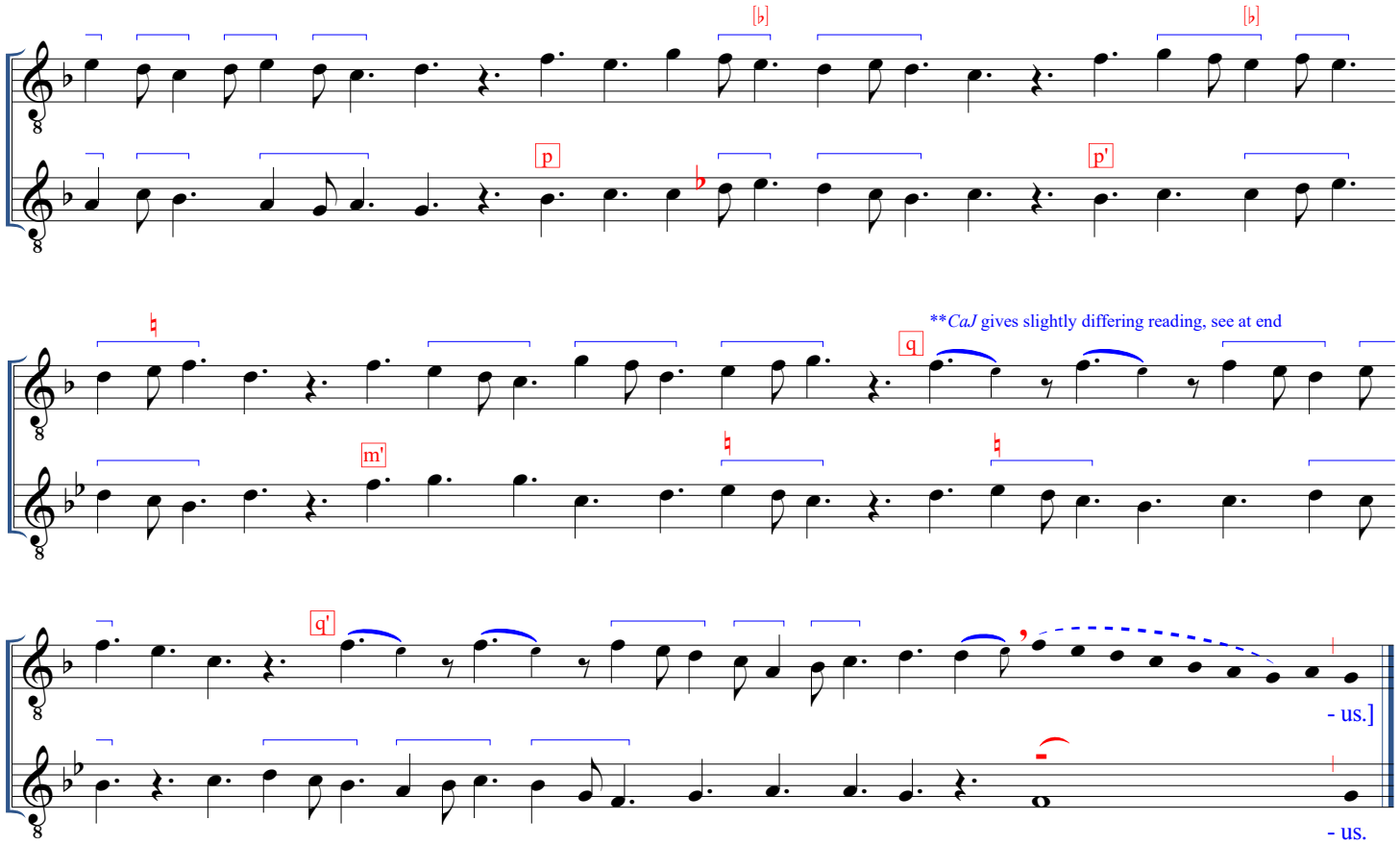
*This opening cauda may also be rendered in mode 3


tha - u in li - mi - na - ri. ser - pens in pa - lo pa - ri.
tha - u in li - mi - na - ri. ser - pens in pa - lo pa - ri.
| the T of this cauda and the first 16 L of the D may also be rendered in mode 3
mo - y - ses o - ran - do bel -
mo - y - ses o - ran - do bel -
b
b'
c
c'
Ma,MÜu 378:
- lans.
- lans.
II
D
T
Ec -
[Ec] - ce cru - cem
Ec -
[Ec] - ce cru - cem
d
(d)
do - mi - ni. de - mon ce - dat nu - mi - ni. fu - ge pars ad - ver - sa per - ver - sa
do - mi - ni. de - mon ce - dat nu - mi - ni. fu - ge pars ad - ver - sa per - ver - sa
e
e1
d1


e - ver - sa. hoc si - gno gi - gas fa - ti
d2
e - ver - sa. hoc si - gno gi - gas fa - ti
ge - mi - ni mi - li - ta - vit ho - mi - ni. col - le - git dis - per -
e2
ge - mi - ni mi - li - ta - vit ho - mi - ni. col - le - git dis - per -
- sa di - ver - sa con - ver - sa in lig -
e3
- sa di - ver - sa con - ver - sa in lig -
f
f'
d3
g
f''
g'
h
*CaJ has extra phrase inserted here, see at end
- no.
h'
- no.
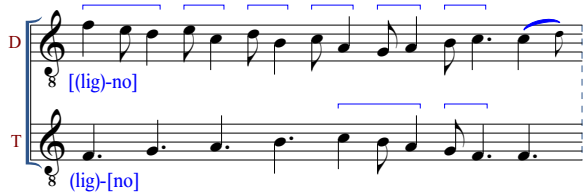

III
D
T
j
j'
i
i'
Er -
Er -
[Er] - go per si - gnum cru - cis per si - gnum
[Er] - go per si - gnum cru - cis per si - gnum
sum - mi du - cis per du - cem sum - me lu - cis li - be - ra
sum - mi du - cis per du - cem sum - me lu - cis li - be - ra
l
nos de -
k
k1
nos de -
l'
(k2)
(k3)
(k4)


l''
(k2)
or:
- us. Sit no - bis
crux tu - ta - men. lo - ri - ca. pax. so - la - men. sit
scu - tum si - ve ta - men an - nus iu - bi - le -
m
o
o'
n
n'
| T: *e-flats* throughout final caud optional, only in *F*
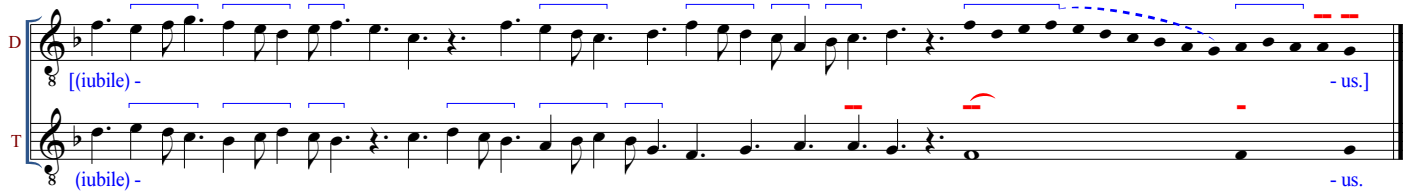


ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*CaJ, f. Ar, IV: added cauda phrase inserted prior to *punctus organi* closing Strophe II (line 19)



**CaJ, f. Av, V: differing reading for the end of the final cauda closing Strophe III (line 27)



O CRUX AVE SPES UNICA

Conductus (H4/230)

F, f. 346r (7,86)

I *O crux, ave, spes unica,*
signum mitibus mite;
in paradisi cronica
te signat arbor vite,
ligna Abrahamite,
Iacob manus cancellans,
thau in liminari,
serpens in palo pari,
Moyses orando bellans.

Hail, O Cross, our sole hope,
a gentle sign for gentle folk;
you are the tree of life,
as Eden's chronicle describes,
the kindling of Abraham's sacrifice,
Jacob crossing his hands,
the letter Tau on the doorpost,
the serpent on the matching pole,
and Moses waging war by praying.

II Ecce, crucem domini.
demon cedat numini.
Fuge, pars adversa;
perversa, eversa.
Hoc signo
gigas fati gemini
militavit homini.
Collegit dispersa,
diversa, conversa
in ligno.

Look! The demon yields the
Cross to the might of the Lord.
Begone, you hateful, overthrown,
overturned enemy.
Under this Cross's sign
that giant of twin destiny
fought for humanity.
On that hanging tree
he gathered together those scattered,
separated, and turned away.

III Ergo, per signum crucis,
per signum summi ducis,
per ducem summe lucis,
libera nos, deus.
Sit nobis crux tutamen,
lorica, pax, solamen;
sit scutum, sive tamen
annus iubileus.

And so, through the sign of the Cross,
through the sign of the highest leader,
through the leader of the highest light,
O God, free us.
Let the Cross be for us a safeguard,
a breastplate, peace, solace;
let it be as a shield, or even
a jubilee year.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 86, f. 346r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II and III headed by capitals. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1]

W1, fasc. 9, no. 23, f. 112v (103v): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with the beginnings of II as well as line 24 indicated by painted capitals (with both guide letters still visible), and with additional flourishing for the large initial of I and the smaller one of III.

Ma, fasc. 4, no. 17, f. 97r: a2; Strophes I-III, complete; the initials beginning each strophe were never entered in the spaces provided for them.

CaJ (Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1; GB-Cjec MS QB1), Fragment A, no. 10, f. Ar (consisting of the reconstituted strips (from left to right) 11v, 25r, 9v, 28v): a2; fragmentary, the two sides of the reconstructed

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

folio preserve the text and musical setting of the piece from "demon cedat numini" (line 11 in Strophe II) to the end with only occasional illegible or worn segments; a painted red initial heads Strophe III. There are occasional differences in details with readings from the other sources. These are provided as alternatives following the main transcription.[2]

D-MÜu378 (Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 378),[3] f. *2 (back flyleaf): a2; fragmentary, the two sides of the folio present the music and text of the piece from its beginning up through "summi lucis libera" (line 23,1 in Strophe III) with no significant omissions. The remains of a large, filigreed initial, two systems high, opens the piece, with smaller, upper-case blue/green painted initials for Stanzas II and III (the latter initial extremely faded).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1:** The Cross, as an overarching symbol for the acceptance of the grace granted by the new covenant, and thus all of Christianity, is the only means available for salvation. This opening line is also a quotation – hence its italicization above – from an internal stanza of later medieval redactions of the Latin hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt* by Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530-ca. 600-609), the renowned poet and bishop of Poitiers (from ca. 599-600 until his death). It was originally written ca. 569 on the occasion of the donation of a fragment of the Cross by the Byzantine emperor Justin II (reg. 565-574). The relic was transferred from Tours to the monastery of Saint-Croix in Poitiers.[4] The move was occasioned at the behest of St. Radegunda (ca. 520-587), one of the six wives of Clothar I (ca. 497-561), king of the Merovingian Franks and one of the four sons of Clovis I (ca. 466-ca. 511), himself the first Merovingian king and the first to adopt Christianity. The hymn *Vexilla regis* is used in a number of different places within the liturgy, depending on the locale; these include Mass on Good Friday, Vespers each day from the Saturday before Passion Sunday up to Maundy Thursday, and at Vespers of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross (3 May), and the Triumph of the Holy Cross (16 July). The cathedral of Note Dame in Paris also featured it unusually as part of its Good Friday ceremony for the Adoration of the Cross. For an example of the *Vexilla regis* hymn in the use of Paris, see the MS *F-Pn lat. 15181,* f. 260v (CCLv).[5] In this version, the line used in the conductus opens the seventh strophe, on f. 261r (CCLIr), which was itself a later addition to Fortunatus's original poem. Most other, more familiar versions of the hymn have it as the sixth strophe, but the Parisian

---

[2]Images available through DIAMM here. For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

[3]This source is an extant portion of a larger MS originally possessed by the Dominican library of Soest that originally included *GB-Csss 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. A later study by Maschke (link here) provides full-page images of the two leaves of this MS, as well as others mentioned above; see her "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156.

[4]For this and the following points, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500-1550* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 57-58.

[5]Image available here.

version includes the original second strophe that is frequently omitted elsewhere (see Wright, *ibid.*). For other citations in the Parisian conductus repertory of Fortunatus's poems, see the notes to the opening line of the conductus *Pange melos lacrimosum* (I15/258), and *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), line 34. **3-4:** the tree of life, planted in the garden of Eden (Genesis, 2:9)[6] is often understood in Christian exegesis as a prefiguration or typological symbol of the Cross of the crucifixion. The other examples that populate this strophe continue to exploit common associations with the Cross. **5:** in the story of Abraham's preempted sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis, 22:1-19; cf. also Hebrews, 11:17–19), the wood that Abraham collects for Isaac's sacrificial pyre is figuratively connected here with the Cross. **6:** According to Anderson (*NDRC,* 3:xii, note 3) the mention of Jacob's hands in this line refers to the story presented in Genesis, 27:1-30, where Jacob, aided by his mother Rebecca, deceived his nearly blind father Isaac. Rebecca covered Jacob's hands with the skins of kids (Genesis, 27:16) so that he might more closely resemble his hairy elder brother Esau. Through this duplicity, Jacob was able to usurp the blessing that Isaac intended to bestow upon his brother. According to this interpretation, the power of the Cross may be seen as nullifying the fraud of Jacob's deception, and Anderson backs this up with a quotation from the *Glossa ordinaria* that sees the skins as symbols for the sins of both Jews and Gentiles that Christ had assumed. He argues the same for a closely related phrase in the conductus *Novum sibi texuit* (I22/225), lines 23-24 (see Anderson, *NDRC,* 4: xxvii, note 11). Yet there is perhaps a more telling connection, adopted here, that relates more specifically to the Cross. This occurs in Jacob's subsequent blessing of his grandchildren Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph (see Genesis, 48:12-20). In this account, Jacob crossed his arms so that his right hand was placed on the head of Ephraim, the younger, who stood at Jacob's left, and his left hand on Manasseh, the elder, standing at his right. Thus the younger child of the two received the greater blessing, and this episode also invokes Jacob's earlier deception with his father Isaac. In this case, the word "cancellans" in the conductus does not connote striking something out, but rather signifies the action of Jacob latticing his hands, crossing them one over the other. As in *Novum sibi texuit,* the action in *O crux ave* recalls the figure of the Cross. **7:** the mark of lamb's blood put on the doorposts of the Israelites that rendered them immune from the tenth and final plague of Egypt, the killing of the Egyptians' firstborn (see Exodus, 12:1-29; specific references to the mark appear at verses 7, 13, and 22-23).[7] In the biblical passages, the shape of the marking on the door is not specified, but the use in the conductus text of the word "thau" to designate the specific marking – signifying the Greek (T) and Hebrew (ת) letters that correspond to the Latin "T" – additionally connects the passage in Exodus to events described in Ezekiel (see 9:4-6,[8] and cf. Revelation, 7:3). In Ezekiel's narrative, the inhabitants of Jerusalem are fated to die unless they are marked

---

[6]Genesis, 2:9: "Produxitque Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum pulchrum visu, et ad vescendum suave lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi, lignumque scientiae boni et mali" ("And the Lord God brought forth of the ground all manner of trees, fair to behold, and pleasant to eat of: the tree of life also in the midst of paradise: and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.").

[7]For example: Exodus, 12:22-23: "Fasciculumque hyssopi tingite in sanguine qui est in limine, et aspergite ex eo superliminare, et utrumque postem: nullus vestrum egrediatur ostium domus suae usque mane. Transibit enim Dominus percutiens Aegyptios: cumque viderit sanguinem in superliminari, et in utroque poste, transcendet ostium domus, et non sinet percussorem ingredi domos vestras et laedere" ("[Moses speaks:] And dip a bunch of hyssop in the blood [of a sacrificed lamb] that is at the door, and sprinkle the transom of the door therewith, and both the door cheeks [i.e., posts]: let none of you go out of the door of his house till morning. For the Lord will pass through striking the Egyptians: and when he shall see the blood on the transom, and on both the posts, he will pass over the door of the house, and not suffer the destroyer to come into your houses and to hurt you.").

[8]Ezekiel 9:4-6: "Et dixit Dominus ad eum: Transi per mediam civitatem, in medio Jerusalem, et signa thau super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium super cunctis abominationibus quae fiunt in medio ejus. Et illis dixit, audiente me: Transite per civitatem sequentes eum, et percutite: non parcat oculus vester, neque misereamini: senem, adolescentulum et virginem, parvulum et mulieres interficite usque ad internecionem: omnem autem super quem videritis thau, ne occidatis: et a sanctuario meo incipite. Coeperunt ergo a viris senioribus, qui erant ante faciem domus". ("And the Lord said to him [the old man with an inkhorn] : Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof. And to the others he said in my hearing: Go ye after him through the city, and strike: let not your eyes spare, nor be ye moved with pity Utterly destroy old and young, maidens, children and women: but upon whomsoever you shall see Thau, kill him not, and begin ye at my sanctuary. So they began at the ancient men who were before the house.").

with the sign of *tau*. Significantly, the letter *tau* is also associated with the Cross, as it originated as a marking similar to the Latin "x" before it developed into its later shapes. The *tau* character as a representation of the Cross is also associated with St. Anthony of Egypt (as in the shape of "St. Anthony's Cross"), and is connected particularly with St. Francis of Assisi (1181/1182-1226), who eventually adopted the *tau* sign as his signature. Furthermore, in Hebrew and other Semitic alphabets, *tau* is the final letter, and the Greek form of the character is regarded as symbolic of life or resurrection. **7,1:** in the musical setting the word "thau" is construed as a bisyllable, resulting in a 7p line that corresponds to the last six lines (as well as the second) of this stanza; cf. the remarks for line 9,1, below. **8:** Anderson's edition sees this verse as a reference to Exodus, 4:1-5 (and perhaps also Exodus, 7:8-12), where Moses' and Aaron's staves become serpents. There may be some association with these events, but more likely is the undeniable nod towards Numbers, 21:6-9, where, after praying to the Lord for aid, Moses sets up a bronze serpent upon a pole that cures the Israelites of deadly snake bites that had afflicted them after their war with the Canaanites. The bronze snake is frequently adduced as a figure for Christ (see John, 3:14),[9] and the pole on which it was erected thus corresponds to the Cross by recalling its basic figuration. **9:** Thanks to information supplied to me by Lena Wahlgren-Smith, the image in line 9 is also clearly associated with the Cross through its recollection of Exodus, 17:8-16. In this passage, Moses orders Joshua to assemble a force to fight against the Amalekites, who have attacked the Israelites at Rephidim. Moses indicates he will stand at the top of a nearby hill with his staff in his hands. During the battle, as long as Moses keeps his hands raised (one would suppose in cruciform fashion), the Israelites prevail in the conflict, whereas when he lets his hands slip down, the Amalekites gain the upper hand. When Moses begins to tire during the conflict, his brother Aaron and companion Hur provide a stone for him to sit on, while each of them assists Moses by holding up his arms, one on each side, until sunset. Joshua eventually achieves victory as a result, and the Lord commands Moses to take down the account of the battle on a scroll to deliver to Joshua, saying that God vows to destroy the whole tribe of the Amalekites. Moses also builds an altar that he calls "the Lord my exaltation" ("Dominus exaltatio mea" – see Exodus, 17:15 – more literally "the Lord, my raising up"). **9,1:** "Moyses" is treated as a three-syllable word in the musical setting, but the poet apparently considered it as a bisyllabic component of a 7p line, as there are no 8p lines, either in this strophe or throughout the rest of this through-composed lyric; cf. the remarks above for 7,1. **10-11:** through the crucifixion, the Cross is transformed from an instrument of torture and death to one of resurrection and life. **15:** Anderson's translation (*NDRC,* 3:xii) misconstrues this line. Its sentiment is revealed in a passage from Augustine's *Contra sermonem Arianorum,* chapter 8: "Apparet tamen idem ipse Christus, geminae gigas substantiae, secundum quid obediens, secundum quid aequalis Deo; secundum quid Filius hominis, secundum quid Filius Dei" ("So it appears that this same Christ is himself a giant composed of a twin substance, according to that what is obedient and what is equal to God [i.e., the human and divine]; according to what is the Son of man, and according to what is the Son of God [again, the human and divine].").[10] See also the conductus *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori* (H1/145), line 4, and the motets *Alpha bovi et leoni / Domino* (vdW 764/BD VI), line 11 ("giganti gemineo" – "the two-fold giant"), and *Ecclesie princeps / Et confitebor* (vdW 112b/M12, in *Hu,* f. 128r), lines 3-4: "substancie gigans et gemine potentie patrie patris eximie" ("[the Lord is a] giant of the twin substance and excellent power of the father of heaven"). **26,1-2:** cf. the Tr text of the motet *Mors que stimulo* (VdW 254/M18), lines 59-62 (in Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* 130): "Vivam, ut in tuto me signaculo crucis munio, Cristi scuto" ("I shall endure, as long as I protect myself with the sign of the Cross, Christ's shield."). **27:** Note that a jubilee year is again mentioned in the opening of the very next conductus in *F*-7: *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16), which otherwise treats the Albigensian Crusade. In the biblical tradition, a jubilee year occurred every fifty years (see Leviticus, 25:10-17); slaves were freed, debts forgiven, the cultivation of crops and fruits

[9]John, 3:14: "Et sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis" ("And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up.").

[10]The Latin text is provided by *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Hipponensis episcopi, Opera omnia* (Paris: Gaume Bros., 1836), vol. 8, part 1: col. 968C.

was forbidden, and all property returned to its hereditary owners. In Christian contexts, the proclamation of a jubilee year promised the remission of all sins. The first clear record of such a practice is spelled out in the bull *Antiquorum fida relatio,* promulgated by Boniface VIII on Feb. 22, 1300. Yet there are indications of earlier possible celebrations, including the references in the various conductus *Adest annus iubileus* (J56/8); *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16), which, as mentioned, follows *O crux ave* in *F*-7; *Condimentum nostre spei* (H8/67), line 9; *Sol de sole progrediens* (Q03/-), lines 46-47; and *Nunc angelorum gloria* (L98/-), in the final lines of either Strophe II or IV, depending on the specific version of the text. In addition, the medieval chronicler Aubry des Trois-Fontaines refers to the year 1208 as a jubilee year: "[anno 1208...] dicitur quod annus iste quinquagesimus sive iubileus et remissionis in curia Romana sit celebratus" ("[in the year 1208...] it is said that this year was to be celebrated as a fiftieth or jubilee [year] and one of remission in the Roman curia").[11]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 13,2:** F: conversa; "perversa" supplied from *W1,Ma,CaJ,D-MÜu378,* the last of which gives "pe[r]versa" due to trimming of the leaf's margin. **MUSIC: rhythmicization of certain *sine littera* portions:** The disposition of extended figures (DL and si,siP) and of ligatures of three or more notes over various portions of the *cum littera* segments of this piece allows for effective rhythmic performance of some texted sections, often in regular longs with occasional extensions to DL values for many syllables set to more than two notes; a number of such extensions, especially when they close phrases, are rendered rhythmically in this transcription. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1:** The T of the second phrase (L5-L8) of the cauda on "Ec[ce]" (line 10,1, opening Strophe II) = **1a:** T(D) of "[adver]sa perversa" (lines 12,3-13,1) = **1b:** T(D) of the opening of the subsequent cauda on "hoc" (line 14,1) = **1c:** the second phrase of the cauda on "lig[no]" (line 19,2, closing Strophe II), at L3-L6,1. **2:** the T of "annus iubile[us]" (line 27, final line of poem) = **2a:** the similar T of the eighth phrase of the following, closing cauda on "[iubi]le[us]" at L61-L64. In each case the occurrences are somewhat removed from each other and inexact, but striking nonetheless. **Cauda ending line 1:** this melisma, constructed nearly wholly of 2li, seems less likely to be rendered in mode 2 than the so-called "upbeat" form of mode 1 as presented here, due to the lack of a concluding 3li for the passage. **Line 5,2:** D: F: *g* for the last note of the word "abrahamite"; *a* supplied from *W1,Ma,D-MÜu378;* missing from *CaJ.* **Cauda, line 9 (closing Strophe I):** T: F: the 2li,3li figures at L39-41 (also in *W1*) are read in mode 1 here, corresponding to the 3li,2li ligation (also shown above the staff) in *Ma,MÜu 378;* missing from *CaJ.* Since the entire T passage is ambiguous and may be read in mode 3 as well as mode 1, an iambic reading is equally possible for this portion. **14-16:** *MÜu378* exchanges the music of the T and D for these three lines, from "hoc signo" through "homini," including the short following cauda. **Cauda closing line 19 (end of Strophe II):** prior to the *punctus organi* at the end of this melisma, *CaJ* uniquely inserts an extra phrase, provided at the end of the transcription as an alternative. **Cauda opening Strophe III (line 20):** T: F: the *e-flat* sig prior to L10 in the melisma appears only in *F,MÜu378.* T: F: the om si=*c* at L21 appears in all other MSS; conceivably the unique additional stroke in *F* preceding this omitted note might suggest reading the pair of strokes as two TL rests and thus obviate the omission without including the missing *c,* but this is challenged by the reading provided for the earlier double stroke in the T at the opening of this same cauda. **Cauda, line 23,3:** T: F: the 1 of the 4li=*defd* figure in the penultimate phrase at L63 of "de[us]"is written as L (with a palpable tail). A possible extended rhythmical reading for both voices is given as an alternative above the staves, but the D hints that the faster values may be the more appropriate choice, due to the prior 5C and the prevalence of B values in the phrase that follows. **Final cauda (closing Strophe III, line 27):** T: F: the appearance of *e-flats,* beginning at L21, then expressly cancelled at L29 and reinstated at L47,2 up through the end of the piece, is not confirmed by any other extant source; they may thus be viewed as optional for performance. In view of the motivic usage of the two siP (=*fe*P) D figures beginning at L69 of the cauda and repeating at L79, it seems that any *e-flats* used in the T should cease with the phrase ending with L60; otherwise the same repeated siP figure would likely require *e-flats* for its first occurrence and *e-naturals* upon the second. TD: CaJ: beginning at L69

[11]From *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium,* Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, ed., in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 889.

the remainder of the cauda, along with the closing *punctus organi* is rendered with a few rhythmic and pitch differences; this alternative is supplied at the end of the transcription.

ANNI FAVOR IUBILEI

Conductus (J25/16)

F, f. 347v (7,87)

I

D [An - ni fa - vor iu - bi - le - - i pe - - na-rum

T An - ni fa - vor iu - bi - le - - i pe - - na-rum

la - xat de - bi - tum. post pec - ca - to - rum

la - xat de - bi - tum. post pec - ca - to - rum

vo - mi-tum et ces - san - di pro - po - si - tum. cur-rant pas-sim o-mnes

vo - mi-tum et ces - san - di pro - po - si - tum. cur-rant pas-sim o-mnes

re - i. pro mer - ce - de re-gnum de - i le- - vi
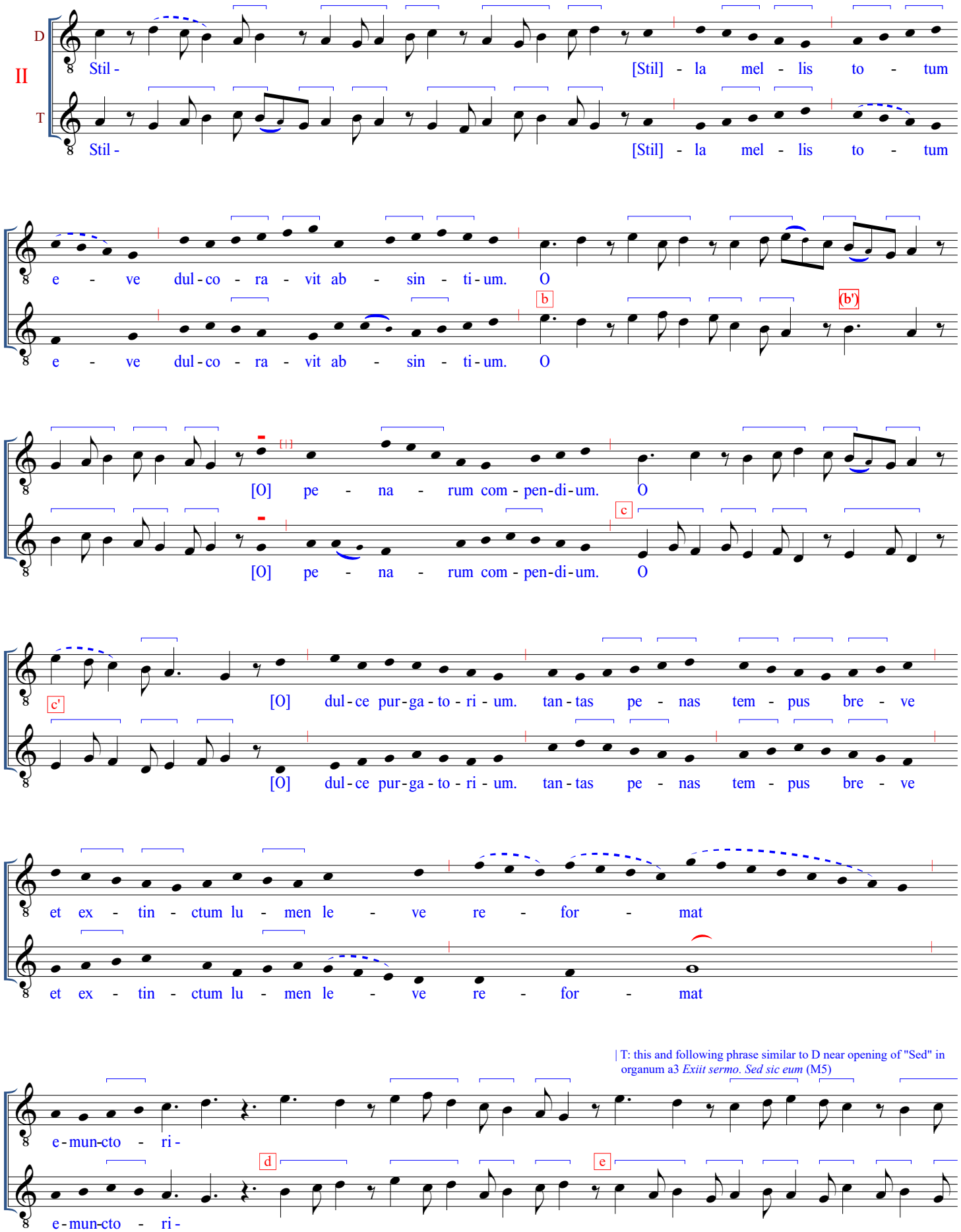
re - i. pro mer - ce - de re-gnum de - i le- - vi

pa - tet ex - po - si - tum.

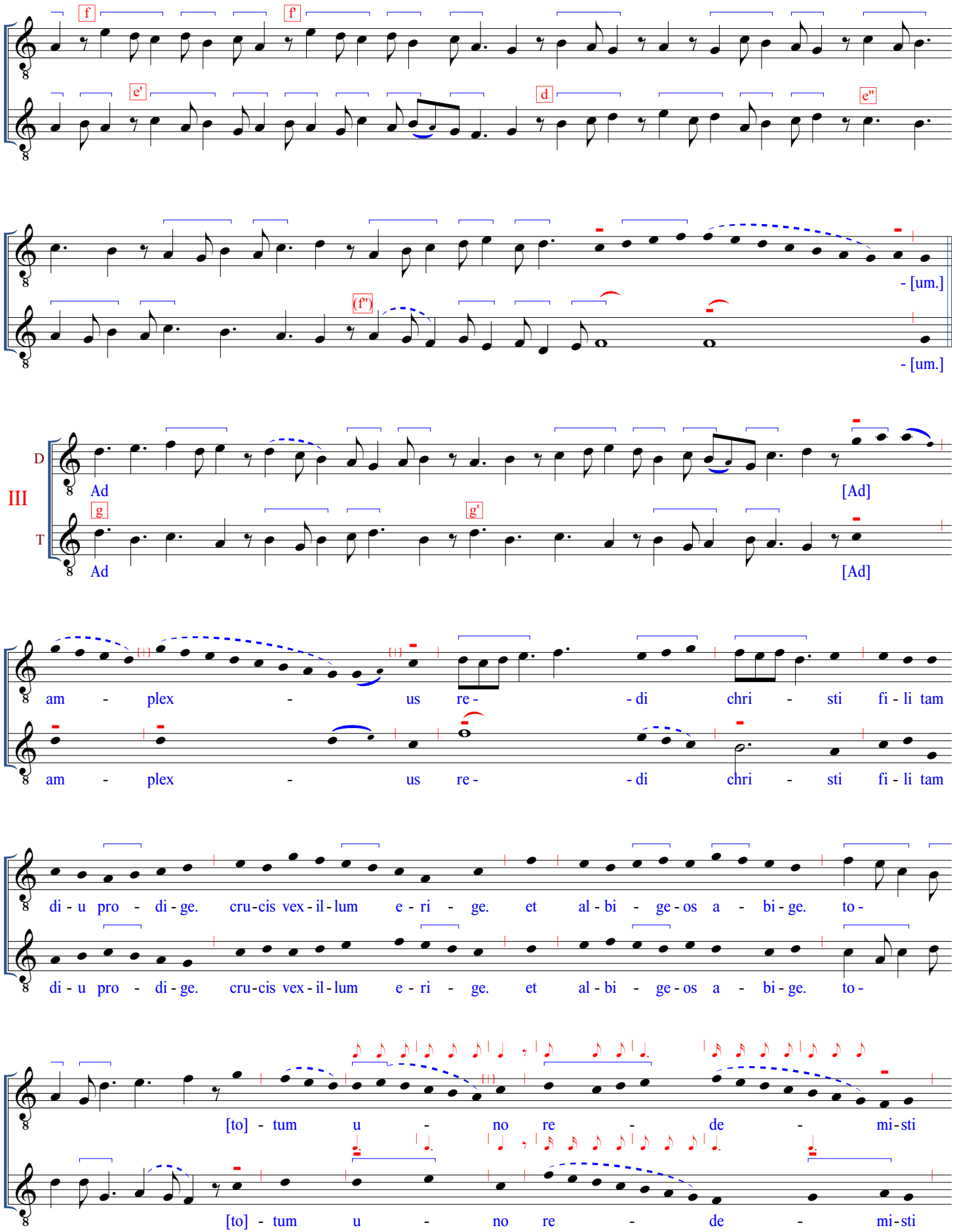
a
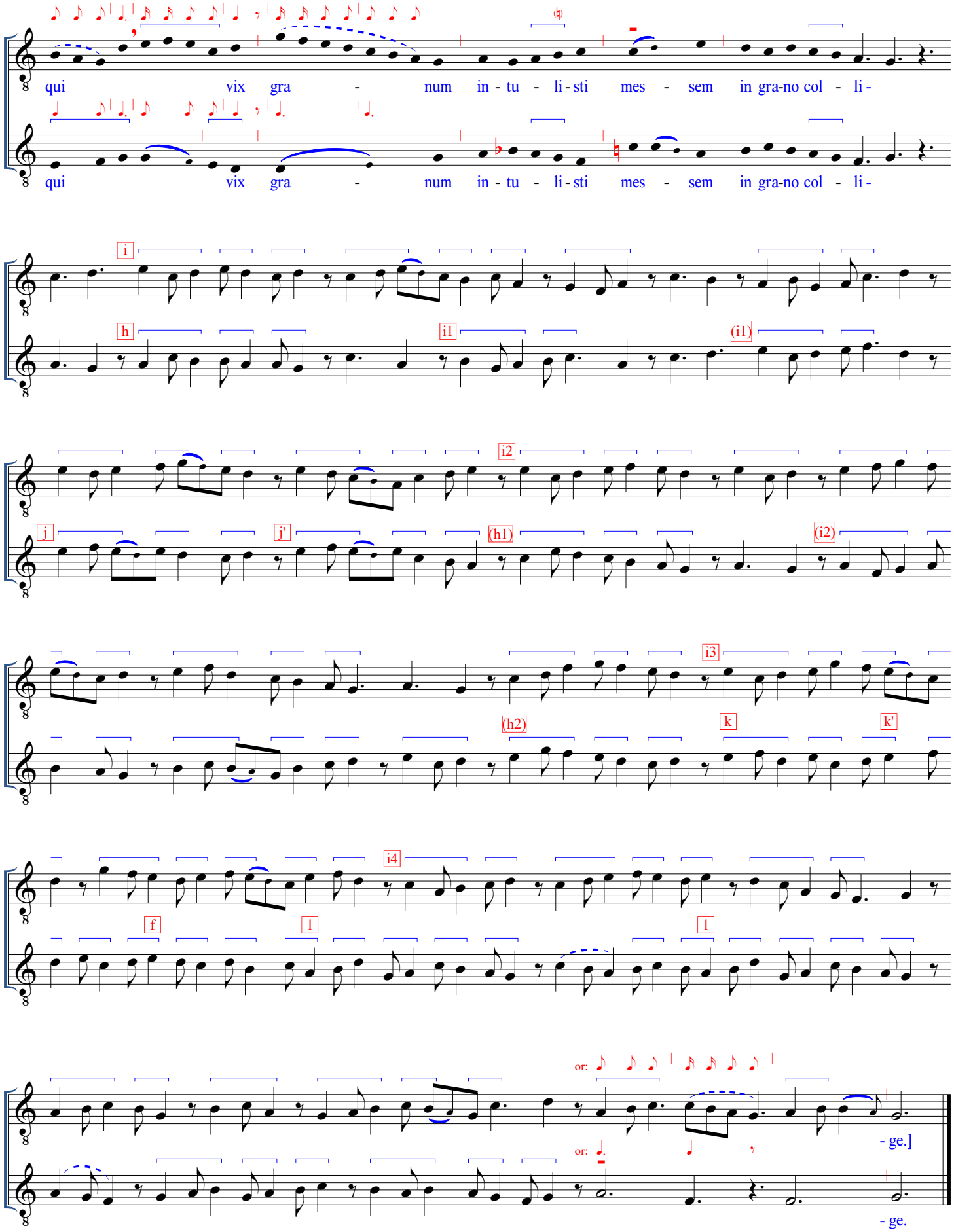
a'

pa - tet ex - po - si - tum.



| T: this and following phrase similar to D near opening of "Sed" in organum a3 *Exiit sermo. Sed sic eum* (M5)


f
f'
e'
d
e"
(f')
- [um.]
- [um.]
III
D
T
Ad
Ad
[Ad]
[Ad]
g
g'
am - plex - us re - di chri - sti fi - li tam
am - plex - us re - di chri - sti fi - li tam
di - u pro - di - ge. cru - cis vex - il - lum e - ri - ge. et al - bi - ge - os a - bi - ge. to -
di - u pro - di - ge. cru - cis vex - il - lum e - ri - ge. et al - bi - ge - os a - bi - ge. to -
[to] - tum u - no re - de - mi - sti
[to] - tum u - no re - de - mi - sti


qui vix gra - num in - tu - li - sti mes - sem in gra-no col - li -
qui vix gra - num in - tu - li - sti mes - sem in gra-no col - li -
i
h
i1
(i1)
i2
j
j'
(h1)
(i2)
i3
(h2)
k
k'
i4
f
l
l
or:
or:
- ge.]
- ge.

ANNI FAVOR IUBILEI

Conductus (J25/16)

F, f. 347v (7,87)

I Anni favor iubilei
penarum laxat debitum.
Post peccatorum vomitum
et cessandi propositum,
currant passim omnes rei.
Pro mercede regnum dei
levi patet expositum.

The benefit of a jubilee year
eases the debt of one's punishments.
After a purging of sins and the
intention to stop, all the guilty
should hasten from every direction.
The kingdom of God is
available for an easy price.

II Stilla mellis totum Eve
dulcoravit absintium.
O penarum compendium!
O dulce purgatorium!
Tantas penas tempus breve,
et extinctum lumen leve
reformat emunctori[um.]

A drop of honey has sweetened
all of Eve's bitterness.
O the sparing of the penalties!
O the sweet cleansing!
A short time reconciles punishments like this,
and a snuffer restores the delicate
light that was extinguished.

III Ad amplexus redi Christi,
fili, tam diu prodige.
Crucis vexillum erige.
et Albigeos abige.
Totum uno redemisti.
Qui, vix granum intulisti,
messem in grano collige.

Son, return to Christ's embrace,
you who were for so long wasteful.
Raise up the banner of the Cross
and drive away the Albigensians.
You have brought the whole back into one.
You, who scarcely brought in grain before,
now gather together a harvest in grain.

SOURCES:

F, fasc, 7, no. 87, f. 347v: a2; Strophes I-III complete, with II and III indicated by capitals, and with smaller upper-case "O" letters heading lines 10 and 11 within Strophe II.[1] The following work in *F*-7, *Artium dignitas* (I4/20), seems to mark a major break in the fascicle, as it begins with a large historiated initial, offers settings without extended caudae (if present), and, beginning with the subsequent piece at *F*-7,89 (*Gratuletur populus* [H6/147]), features mostly strophic musical settings.

CaJ (GB-CJc QB 1; Cambridge, Jesus College, MS QB 1),[2] Fragment A, no. 16, ff. Fv-Hr: a2; fragmentary, although most of the complete piece is extant. The first leaf (Fr-v) is reconstructed from five extant binding

[1]Due to their smaller size in comparison to the capitals that open the seven-line, isosyllabic stanzas as given above, as well as their overly frequent deployment in marking two adjacent poetic lines, these instances here are not considered significant markers and are not signaled by extra space in the above text, as is usually the case in these transcriptions. Note that the CPI website does not show the correct rhythmical analysis for the third strophe. It is actually identical to the other stanzas in terms of the placement of the end accents.

[2]Images available through DIAMM here. The individually foliated binding strips that originally constituted each folio show the following numbers, reading from left to right of the indicated leaf: **Fv** 32r, 8r, 21[r], 24[r], 6[r], followed by a gap from the missing strip, and 33v. **Gr:** 17r, 29r, 10r, 20v. **Gv:** 20r, 10v, 29v, 17v. **Hr:** 4r, 7r, 26r, 5r. For a catalog and correctly reconstituted images 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.

strips out of an original six, the missing segment of which accounts for the greater part of the losses within the work (details are enumerated below in the reporting of variants with *F*). The other two folios consist of four strips each, with some very small gaps between each of them, making up ff. Gr-v; and nearly the entire writing block is extant for the remainder of the piece concluding on f. Hr. The way *Anni favor* opens in *CaJ,* midway through the fourth system on f. Fv and headed by a small red, upper-case painted initial "A" without additional decoration – and this in contrast to the much larger, filigreed initials that head the other works transmitted in this portion of the MS – gives every indication that the scribe of *CaJ* considered it to be a continuation of the preceding work, the conductus *Age penitentiam* (H31/11), a piece that is otherwise transmitted separately in all its extant sources (in *F,* e.g., it appears five pieces earlier than *Anni favor* at 7,82. Strophes II and III of *Anni favor* in *CaJ* are headed by the same style of initial as Strophe I, alternating blue and red, respectively. Anderson's edition of *Anni favor* does not report anything beyond the material given on f. Fv in this source, suggesting he was unaware of the content on the other leaves. As a result, all variants from this source are collated below.

Text only: none.

Music only:

The T melody of the cauda over "[emuncto]rium" in the conductus (line 14,2, ending Strophe II) shares many elements with an extended passage in the organum a3 *Exiit sermo. Sed sic eum* (M5). In the organum, after the opening intonation and initial gesture of either 8L or 4L (depending on how the lengths of the rests are interpreted) that begins the verse section at "Sed," its D embarks on an extensive presentation of four phrases comprising 2(8L+10L), with the first pair of phrases beginning on *f,* the second on *b-flat,* and with both supported by *f* in the T. Each of these passages correlates quite closely with the material in the T of the conductus cauda from L10-L25, which starts on *c*. Later on in the same conductus cauda, from L32-L39 in the T, a segment related to both the earlier conductus and organum passages can also be heard, this time beginning with successive Longs.[3] It may be worthwhile to note that the *Exiit sermo* a3 has been attributed to Perotin by Heinrich Husmann.[4] The M5 organum triplum appears in:

F, fasc. 2, no. 3, f. 18r (verse beginning on f. 18v): a3.

W2, fasc. 2, no. 5, f. 14r (verse beginning on f. 14v): a3.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Historical references and dating the text:** various implications in this poem, especially the mention of "raising the banners of the Cross" and "driving out the Albigensians" in lines 17-18 (see also the notes below for lines 1-2), suggest this poem likely originated as a call to the Albigensian (or Cathar) Crusade (1209-1229). However, determining when the poem may have originated during this decades-long conflict is somewhat complicated and remains unclear. Sanders ("Style and Technique," 522, note 44),[5] for example,

---

[3]Thomas B. Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151. For discussion of the cauda, see 136-137, and note 63 for its relationship with the organum).

[4]Heinrich Husmann, ed., *Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa: Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Publikationen älterer Musik, no. 11 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1940; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), xxi-xxii.

[5]Ernest 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).

offers 1208, which I followed in a subsequent study.[6] More recently, in the Ph.D. thesis of Jacopo Mazzeo,[7] an argument is made for the year 1209, based on information supplied to him by Lena Wahlgren-Smith. In this reckoning, the content of Strophe III comes into play, which these scholars read as an allegory invoking Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, as depicted through the biblical figure of the Prodigal Son. Such an association is supported by several historical circumstances. As early as April 1207, in the runup to the Albigensian Crusade, Raymond, who had hesitated in rooting out members of the heretical Cathar sect within his lands, was excommunicated and his capital city of Toulouse placed under interdict – thus forbidding the celebration of any of the holy sacraments in its environs. This condemnation was initially leveled by the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau and later confirmed by Pope Innocent III. Pierre's eventual murder on 15 January 1208 (reputedly at Raymond's bidding) is often signaled as the motivation for the official proclamation of the Albigensian Crusade. Some two years after his excommunication, on 18 June 1209, Raymond underwent public penance at Saint-Gilles and was reconciled to the church, only to suffer two further excommunications, due to actions by ecclesiastical councils convened at Avignon in September 1209, and at Arles in February 1211.[8] Thus, although the year 1209 – the date of Raymond's reconciliation – is favored by Mazzeo as the date for the writing of the poem, the language of Strophe III (and the chance of further allusions to the reconciliation in lines 3-4) is not specific enough to determine whether or not the reconciliation had – or had not – transpired, or which of Raymond's several excommunications the poet may be raising. The reference to the jubilee year at the start of the poem, though, thanks to the report by Aubry des Trois-Fontaines (given in the notes to lines 1-2, below), suggests it would hail from no earlier than 1208. For further possible constraints as to the date, see the notes to line 12, which could place the possible time of composition no earlier than 1210. **Textual notes: 1-2:** Note that a jubilee year is also mentioned at the very end of the previous item in *F*-7, *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), which in the main treats the Cross of the Crucifixion. In the biblical tradition, a jubilee year occurred every fifty years (see Leviticus, 25:10-17): slaves were freed, debts forgiven, the cultivation of crops and fruits forbidden, and all property returned to its hereditary owners. In Christian contexts, as this poem spells out, the proclamation of a jubilee year promised remission of sins, and in the milieu of the Albigensian Crusade this was reflected in the Pope's promise of a plenary indulgence for the crusaders in 1208 (for more on this, see the notes to line 12). The first clear record of a so-called jubilee year is spelled out in the bull *Antiquorum habet fida relatio,* promulgated by Boniface VIII on Feb. 22, 1300, yet there are indications of earlier celebrations. The medieval chronicler Aubry des Trois-Fontaines (writing ca. 1230-1250), for instance, refers to the year 1208 as a jubilee year: "[anno 1208 ...] dicitur quod annus iste quinquagesimus sive iubileus et remissionis in curia Romana sit celebratus" ("[in the year 1208 ...] it is said that this year was to be celebrated as a fiftieth or jubilee [year], and one of remission in the Roman curia").[9] It is conceivable that this event may inform the date of composition of the text of *Anni favor* (see the introductory remarks above). For other references to a year of jubilee within the Parisian conductus repertory, see the notes to the text of *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230), line 27, *Condimentum nostre spei* (H8/67), line 9, as well as these opening two lines of *Anni favor iubilei* (J25/16). Additional mention of jubilees within the larger conductus repertory appears in *Adest annus iubileus* (J56/8),

---

[6]Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus."

[7]Jacopo Mazzeo, "The Two-Part *Conductus:* Morphology, Dating, and Authorship" Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Music, 2015, 193-194.

[8]For the preceding points, see, Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War,* Pivotal Moments in World History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 53, 95, 97, 108. The second of these excommunications was in affirmation of the first. It resulted when Raymond failed to meet conditions that would have voided his earlier condemnation (Pegg, p. 108). Additionally, it seems that Raymond was himself expecting to go through another ritual of reconciliation during the summer of 1210, but this was quashed by a refusal to allow Raymond to absolve himself from his existing charges by an ecclesiastical council convened in August 1210 at Saint-Gilles (see Pegg, *A Most Holy War,* 103).

[9]*Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium,* Paul Scheffer-Boichorst ed., in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 889.

line 1, *Sol de sole progrediens* (Q03/-), lines 46-47, and *Nunc angelorum gloria* (L98/-), in the final lines of either Strophe II or IV, depending on the specific version of the text. **3-4:** if the above assertions are correct that Count Raymond VI of Toulouse is the specific addressee of this poem (see the opening remarks to these notes), these lines might further hint at this ruler's reconciliation to the church in 1209, although, as noted above, whether such an event had occurred yet or not is unclear from the text. **6-7:** it is conceivable that these lines could be sarcastic; a similar tone seems to creep out as well in the final lines of the poem. **8-14 (Strophe II):** even with Anderson's ingenious explanations in his edition of this piece (*NDRC,* 5:vxii), the meanings and interconnections of the various allegories displayed in this stanza are still rather difficult to sort out. Anderson rightly sees the distinction between honey and wormwood ("bitterness") in lines 8-9 as juxtaposing the Virgin Mary and Eve, with Mary (invoked indirectly through the attribute *mellis stilla* – "drop of honey")[10] sweetening the bitterness of original sin brought on through Eve. This opposition continues through to the image of the snuffer (*emunctorium,* also translatable as forceps, wick trimmer, or douter) that appears at the end of the stanza. This same tool, interestingly, has two contradictory purposes, as it can both extinguish the light of a candle or lamp, as well as enable it to burn more efficiently by trimming the light's wick.[11] Thus, Eve and Mary respectively extinguished and rekindled the hope of salvation for mankind, represented by the "delicate, extinguished light" of line 13. With ammunition furnished by the *Glossa ordinaria* in its explications of Exodus, 37:23,[12] the snuffer is also identified allegorically with the Old and New Testaments, although the immediate identification of the implement with the two women is not directly specified in this or any of the other *Glossa* passages Anderson relates (nor could I find additional supporting evidence of such elsewhere in the same source); nonetheless, the leap is not a hard one to make. Hence, the image of the snuffer/trimmer implies the oppositional role that sweet forgiveness plays in thwarting bitter sin, and is buttressed by the contrary yet associated figures of the Old and New Testaments, allied as well with the earlier face-off in the poem between Mary and Eve. On a different issue, Anderson sees this second stanza as a possible interloper within the poem that departs from the emphasis on the Albigensian Crusade in the surrounding strophes.[13] Yet a clear connection to the other stanzas arises in the stress here on the cleansing effects of the forgiveness of sin in lines 10-11, an emphasis provoked by the reference to the jubilee year that opens the poem and which remains a prime subject throughout its course. **12:** in conjunction with the other information given here that may point to fixing a date for this text, the mention in this line that a "short time reconciles punishments" might conceivably recall the period of 40 days of service that was expected of crusaders in exchange for the plenary indulgence offered by the papacy as a reward for going on the Albigensian Crusade. Such an indulgence canceled the effects of the lingering temporal punishment that was still owed to sins whose eternal punishment was previously absolved through the sacrament of confession. Temporal punishment required spending time in purgatory in order to cleanse the earthly effects of a sin, which the offered indulgence revoked. As early as 1204 Pope Innocent III granted such indulgences to crusaders in the Holy Land, and in 1208 he extended this provision for those who would participate in the crusade against the Cathars in southern France. However, it was apparently not until 1210 that the condition for the indulgence was specified as a 40-day period of service *(quadrigesima).* Also this length of term, from the evidence of the documentary record, was not something the

---

[10]This same phrase begins a widely transmitted motet text devoted to the Virgin: *Mellis stilla maris stella rosa primula* (vdW 808 / Domino II or Alleluya).

[11]The word appears most frequently in the plural *(emunctoria).* It is often portrayed as a scissors-like implement, with the pairing of the blades emphasizing further the dual, oppositional conceits of the images found throughout the strophe.

[12]The text for the passage cited by Anderson comes from *PL,* vol. 113, col. 293B: "... *emunctoriis.* Quae in Isaia [6:6] forcipes appellantar, duo Testamenta, scilicet quibus peccata purgantur, quaeque intra se sancti Spiritus unione sociantur" ("... snuffers, which in Isaiah [6:6] are called 'forceps,' are the two Testaments, namely the things by which sins are purged, and which, in and of themselves, are associated with the union of the Holy Spirit" – translation slightly modified from Anderson's).

[13]Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xvii, note 2.

pope ever mandated himself, but was specified by the legates who represented his affairs.[14] Hence, if one accepts that the language in line 12 does indeed refer to this length of service, it would imply the poem's composition in or after 1210. **15-16:** references to Jesus's parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32). Here, in contrast to this fable's more prevalent significance as an allegorical reflection of God the Father and Christ the Son, or as a typological manifestation of the Old versus the New Law, the addressee of the poem is urged to return to the fold by taking up the Cross and driving out Albigensian heretics (see the above remarks concerning the dating of the conductus poem). For further representations of the Prodigal Son 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. **17-18:** see the opening remarks on the historical allusions in this poem. **19-21:** the frequent use of grain as a figure for saved souls seems to apply here, prompted by the biblical images of the wheat and chaff from the nearly identical expressions in Matthew 3:12[15] and Luke, 3:17, and by Jesus's parables of the sower (Matthew, 13:1-23, Mark, 4:1-20) and the wheat and the tares (Matthew, 13:24-30, explicated in Matthew, 13:36-43). Here the poem's addressee is commanded to gather all souls together as one, as if grain at harvest time, and restore them to salvation by taking up the Cross in the Albigensian Crusade and rooting out the heresy that threatens their chances for eternal life. It also makes clear that previously he has been remiss in fulfilling these duties, implying a bit more of the sarcasm that was conjectured above for lines 6-7.

Observations and Variants: all variant readings in *CaJ* are collated here, since the only the first of the four extant pages to contain this piece in this source was considered by Anderson in his edition (see *NDRC*, 5:116). **TEXT: 2,2:** CaJ: only "pe[narum]" remains. **3,3-4,1:** CaJ: last letter of "vomitum" and all of "et [cessandi]" cut away. **5,1:** CaJ: only "cura-" extent; it is unclear whether this denotes a different verb or merely a different spelling of the adopted reading "currant." **5,4:** CaJ: first letter of "rei" cut away. **7,2:** CaJ: only ["pa]tet" remains, with most of the first "t" gone. **7,3:** F: no concluding period; CaJ: part of concluding period still visible. **8,1:** CaJ: "Sti[l]l[a]" remains, with "a" partly visible. **8,4:** CaJ: last letter of "eve" cut away. **9,2:** CaJ: first two letters of "absintium" faded, with second "i" cut away (perhaps with a preceding "h" as well?). **10,1:** CaJ: "o" (whole word) entered over si figure in T (=*g*), following the cauda rather than placed at its start. **11,1:** CaJ: "o" (whole word) cut away. **11,3:** CaJ: only "purga[tori]um"extant, with "a" partially cut away. **12,2:** CaJ: the "n" of "penas" is partly excised. **13,2-3:** CaJ: most of the first syllable of "extinctum" and nearly all of the last two letters of "lumen" are gone. **14,1:** CaJ: "reforme[t]" is extant, showing a different mood from *F* in the form of this verb. **14,2:** F: final syllable of "emunctorium" and period at end of stanza never entered. CaJ: penultimate letter of "emunctorium" partly cut away. **15,2:** CaJ: last letter of "complexus" cut away. **15,3:** CaJ: last syllable of "redi" missing. **16,2:** CaJ: first letter of "tam" partially cut away. **17,1:** CaJ: final vowel of "crucis" gone. **17,3-18,1:** CaJ: "eri[ge]" only remains, with part of its "g" and part of the "t" of the following "et" also extant. **18,2:** CaJ: abigeos, differing from *F,* but probably signifying an erroneous spelling, since it means, as it stands, "cattle thieves." **18,3:** CaJ: only "abi[ge]" remains. **19,3:** CaJ: third syllable of "redemisti" faded. **20,2:** CaJ: "vix" completely cut away. **20,4:** CaJ: only "[int]ulisti" remains. **21,4:** CaJ: "college," differing from the "collige" preserved in *F,* but not in substance, as both these forms of the imperative exist collaterally. **MUSIC: General remarks:** As mentioned above in the observations on the verbal text, all variant readings from *CaJ* are included here. In addition to the el figures in *F,* indicated as usual above the staff, a number of the si figures in both voices are written with larger than usual tails, as if maybe to connote L rather than si (which figures also have their expected smaller tails here). These longer tails are not reported

[14]For this and the previous points in this discussion, see Rebecca Rist, "Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade: Pope Innocent III and the Plenary Indulgence," *Reading Medieval Studies,* 36 (2010): 95-112; particularly 95-97, 102.

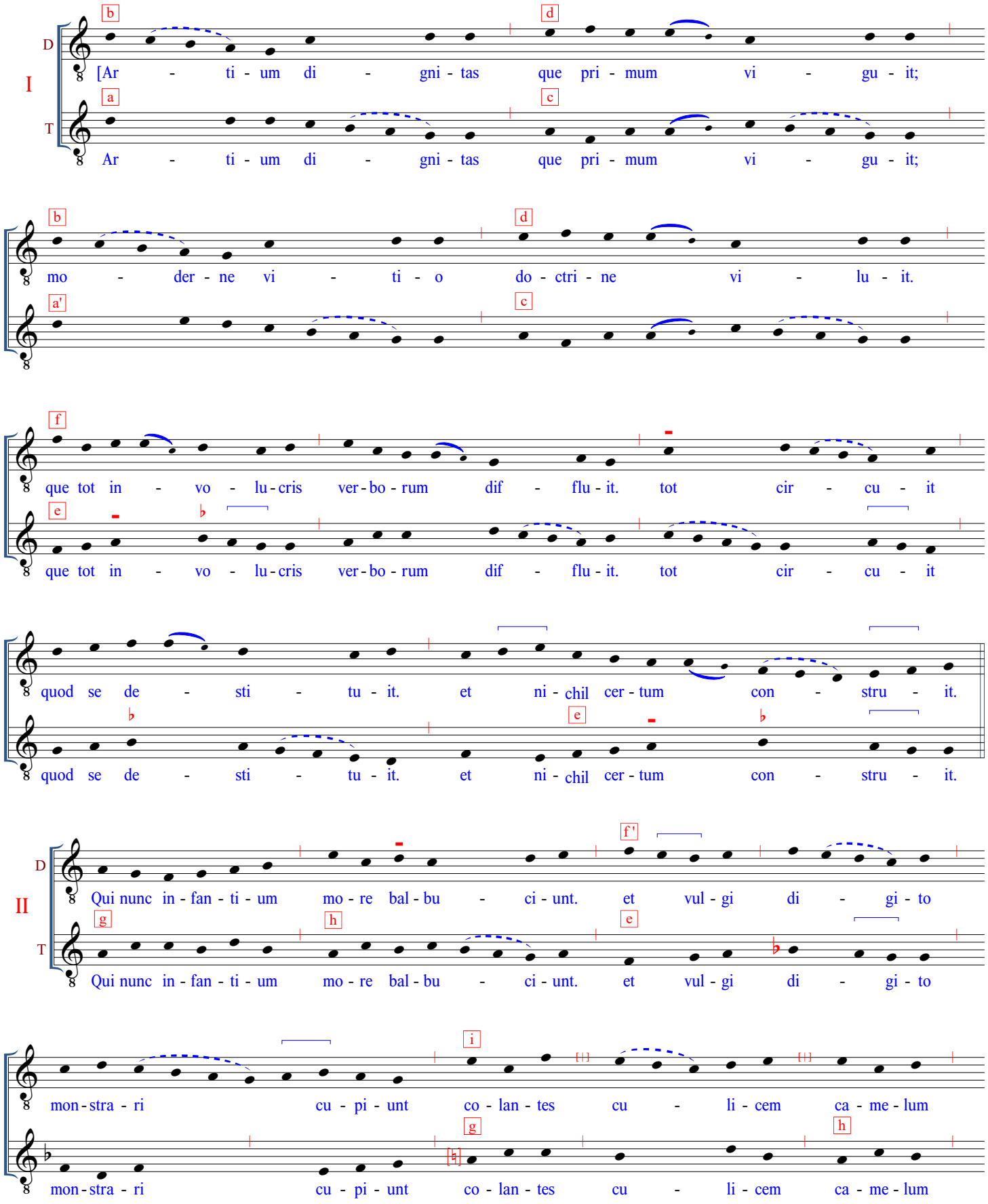
[15]Matthew, 3:12: "... et permundabit aream suam: et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili" ("... and he [the Messiah] will thoroughly cleanse his [threshing] floor and gather his wheat into the barn; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.").

individually in the commentary here, but could conceivably imply some type of rhythmic significance for delivery of the *sine littera* sections. **Line 1:** TD: CaJ: no notes el. **2,1-2:** T: CaJ: missing from note 6 of cauda (+2C=*gf*) up to "laxat"; D: CaJ: cut out, from note 5 of cauda (2li=*ca*) on "pe[narum]" (line 2,1) up to"laxat" (line 2,2). **2,3:** for "[debi]tum": T: F: 4li; adopted 3li,si reading from *CaJ;* D: CaJ: 3li,2li. **Cauda at line 3,1:** at L2-L3,1: T: CaJ: 3liP=*cdb* faded; D: CaJ: 2liP=*ac.* **Line 2,2:** D: CaJ: stroke follows. **4,1:** TD: CaJ: preceding stroke, and all of cauda missing. **4,2:** TD: CaJ: music over "ces[sandi]" absent and apparently never present in *CaJ* (although the material immediately prior to this on the leaf is cut away), since Tt is complete, with text syllables shifted one notational figure to the right, and with an added si note in each voice (T – faded – likely=*e,* D=*e*) over syllable "[cessan]di" to make up for the earlier musical omission; both MSS are back in agreement with "propositum" (line 4,3). **5,1:** for "[cur]rant": T: CaJ: note cut away; D: part of note remains. **5,4:** for "[re]i": T: CaJ: note cut away; D: some of 3 of 3li=*f* remains. **6,3-4:** T: CaJ: 3li over "reg[num]" faded; D: CaJ: 1 and some of 2 of 5C over "de[i]"cut away. **7,1:** T: F: opens with 3li,2li,2li=*def,ef,ga* over "le[vi]"apparently missing some material compared with D; adopted reading from *CaJ;* TD: CaJ: stroke precedes "[le]vi." **7,2:** TD: CaJ: music extant only over "[pa]tet." **Cauda at 7,3 (closing Strophe I):** CaJ: notes 4-6 of T, 3-6 of D cut away; D: no P throughout. D: CaJ: stroke at L9 and P at L11 om, stroke after L13 faded; T: CaJ: P at L10,2 om, *f* and stroke at L12 faded; CaJ: from L14-L17: D: 2li'3li=*ca'dbg* faded; T: CaJ: last 4 notes and strokes of Strophe I faded. ***Punctus organi* closing Strophe I:** D: CaJ: 3li for opening si,2li=*abc.* **Cauda opening Strophe II (at line 8,1):** CaJ: D: 2-3 of 3li (=*cb*) at L2 cut away, T: 3 of 3li(=*b*) at L3 cut away; T: CaJ: 1 of 3li at L7=*a.* D: F: erroneous extra preceding stroke partly obscured by note before "[Stil]la," as if to cover an error. **Line 8,2:** TD: CaJ: 2li over "mel[lis]" cut away; stroke following "mellis" om. **8,4:** T: CaJ: si=*f* at "e[ve]"=DL?; TD: CaJ: all material for "[e]ve" cut away, following stroke remains. **9,2:** TD: CaJ: all material for "ab[sintium]" faded; CaJ: over "[absin]ti[um]": note cut away in T; 2 of 2li (=*e*) cut away in D. **Cauda at line 10,1:** CaJ: music over L9-L12 om in T; final 2li(=*ag*) over L11-L12 om in D. **Line 10,2:** CaJ: siP figure over "pe[narum]" in T; 3 for 3li over "[pe]na[rum]" in D. **10,3-11,1:** T: CaJ: siP over "[com]pen[dium]" for 2li in *F;* TD: CaJ: material over "[compendi]um" and first 6L of following cauda faded; TD: CaJ: final figures at L9-L10 in cauda and over following syllable "O" of line 11,1 cut away. **11,2-3:** D: CaJ: siP for si over "dul[ce]"; T: CaJ: si=*f* over "[dul]ce" faded. CaJ: music over "[purga]tori[um]" cut away in T; D missing only the first of its two notes. **12,2-3:** T: CaJ: no stroke after "penas," music over "[tem]pus" faded. **13,2-4:** TD: CaJ: music over "ex[tinctum]" cut away; T: CaJ: 3li for 3C over "le[ve]." **14:** over "re[format]" T: CaJ: 2si=(*f,g*); D: CaJ: 3li for 3C; the two si notes over "[re]format" (=*f,g*) el, the second exceptionally so; T: CaJ: siP for 2li over "[emun]cto[rium]"; TD: CaJ: 2li for 2si over "[emuncto]ri[um]." **Cauda closing Strophe II (at line 14,2):** T: CaJ: 2li,2li=*ba,gc* at L12,2-L14,1 cut away; D: CaJ: material from L13,2-L15,2 cut away, leaving remains of the last note of the 3li at L16; TD: CaJ: no stroke at L27; D: CaJ: no stroke at L28; T: F: erased stroke precedes 2li=*ab* at L29,2; T: CaJ: material from L29-L33,1 of cauda cut away; D: stroke and 3li,si=*cab,c* from L31-L34 of cauda cut away; T: CaJ: 3li for 3C at L 40-L41. ***Punctus organi* closing Strophe II (at line 14,2):** T: CaJ: penultimate note of Strophe II *(=f)* very elongated, with added prior stroke; TD: CaJ: strokes before last note of Strophe II cut away. **Cauda opening Strophe III (at line 15,1):** CaJ: T: 3li=*bgb,* D: 3C=*dcb* at L5-L6 smudged; T: CaJ: 2si=*c,a* at L10-L11 faded. **Line 15:** TD: CaJ: music over figures immediately following cauda cut away; TD: CaJ: music over "[am]plex[us]" worn; TD: CaJ: music over "re[di]" cut away. **17:** T: CaJ: music over "[cru]cis" cut away; TD: CaJ: music over "[vex]illum" faded; D: CaJ: music over "[eri]ge" cut away. **18:** T: CaJ: music over "et [albigeos]" cut away; D: CaJ: added stroke follows "albigeos"; TD: most of music over "[a]bi[ge]" cut away. **Cauda opening line 19:** D: CaJ: 3liP=*fedc*P opens; T: CaJ: 3li for 3C closes. **Line 19,2-3:** TD: CaJ: music over "u[no]" faded; CaJ: over "re[demisti]": T: part of 5 and all of 6 of 7C cut away; D: 4 of 4li cut away; CaJ: over "[re]demisti": T: si=*f* very el, next 3 notes very worn; D: most of 6 and all of 7 of 7C and following 2 notes very worn, with ending *g* slightly visible. **20,2-3:** CaJ: cut away over "vix": T: 2li=*ed,* D: 4li,si=*efec,d;* T: CaJ: very el note over "gra[num]" without P; D: extra 2li,siP=*ba,*P*a* follows 7C at "[gra]num." **20,4:** D: F: note for "in[tulisti]" placed on top line of the T staff below; D staff implies (by extension) *d,* T staff *e;* CaJ: unfortunately cut away along with T. The adopted D reading *(e)* duplicates the lowest note the D has reached so far, and is preferred to

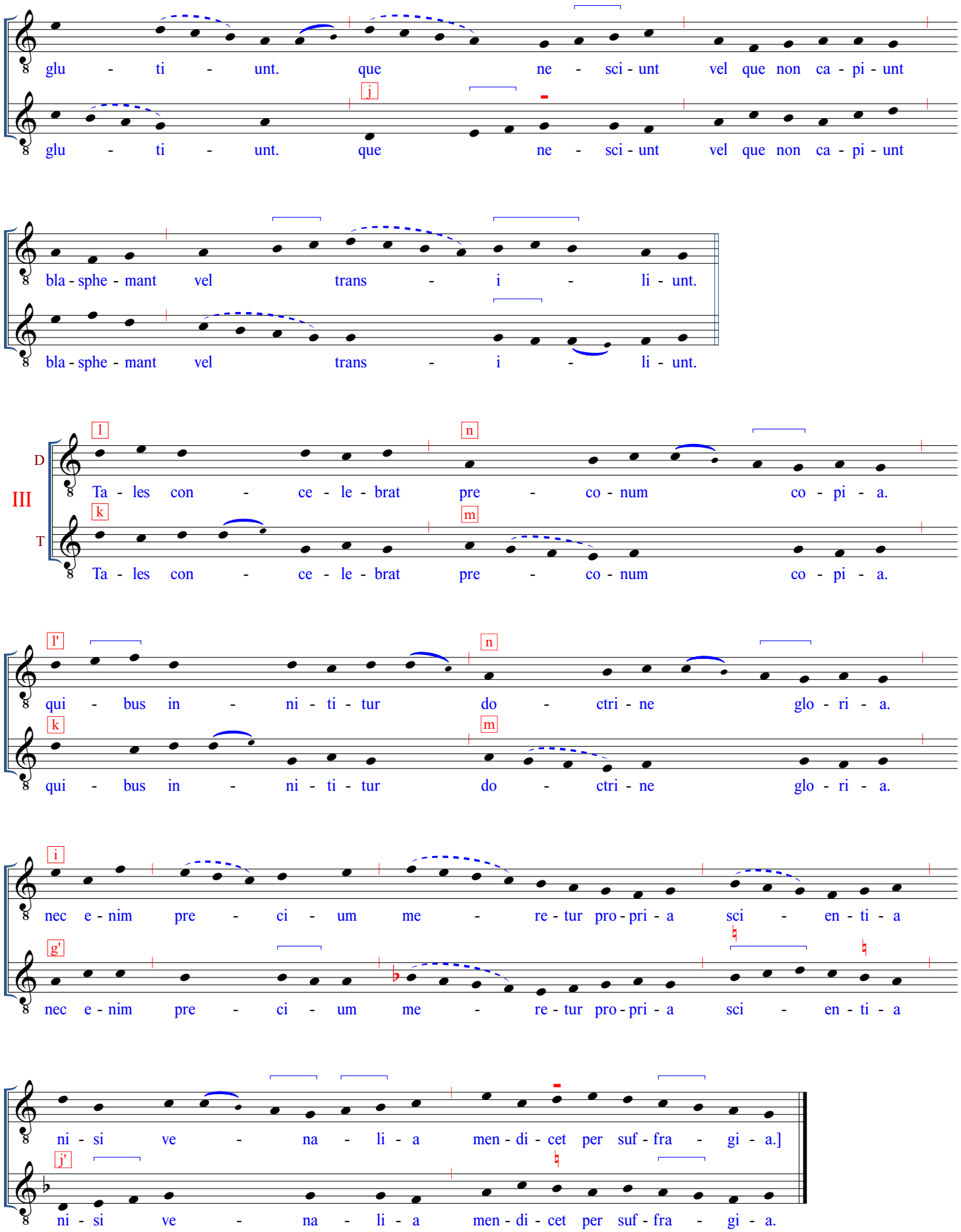
extending the D's range down an additional note by choosing *d.* TD: CaJ: all material over "in[tulisti]" cut away, no evidence of *b-flat* sig. **21,1:** TD: CaJ: material over "mes[sem]" very worn, no *b-natural* sig visible; D: CaJ: no stroke after "messem." **Cauda closing Strophe III (over line 21,4):** T: CaJ, no stroke follows at L11; D: CaJ: 3li=*cba* at L12-L13; D: CaJ: no stroke follows L15, L17; T: CaJ: phrase at L22-L25 om, D complete; TD: CaJ: no strokes follow L35; at L43: T: F: stroke entered in small space between surrounding figures, thus rather difficult to see, D: CaJ: stroke follows; D: CaJ: 3C for 3li at L55; T: CaJ: stroke follows *d* at L60; T: CaJ: 3li for 3C at L64; T: CaJ: 3li for 3C at L72-L73, no stroke follows; D: CaJ: no stroke follows L74; T: CaJ: gives 3si=*a,f,g* from L82 to end of piece, with first note not el and last 2 notes greatly el with no intervening strokes; D: CaJ: 3li+3C=*abc+bag* from L82-L85, with final note at L88 greatly el.

ARTIUM DIGNITAS
Conductus (I4/20)

F, f. 349r (7,88)*



**W1* has *b-flat* signatures in both parts to start. They last through line 4 in the T and line 3 in the D, and may be used as an option for performing the *F* version.


glu - ti - unt. que ne - sci - unt vel que non ca - pi - unt
j
glu - ti - unt. que ne - sci - unt vel que non ca - pi - unt
bla - sphe - mant vel trans - i - li - unt.
bla - sphe - mant vel trans - i - li - unt.
l
n
D
III
Ta - les con - ce - le - brat pre - co - num co - pi - a.
k
m
T
Ta - les con - ce - le - brat pre - co - num co - pi - a.
l'
n
qui - bus in - ni - ti - tur do - ctri - ne glo - ri - a.
k
m
qui - bus in - ni - ti - tur do - ctri - ne glo - ri - a.
i
nec e - nim pre - ci - um me - re - tur pro - pri - a sci - en - ti - a
g'
nec e - nim pre - ci - um me - re - tur pro - pri - a sci - en - ti - a
ni - si ve - na - li - a men - di - cet per suf - fra - gi - a.]
j'
ni - si ve - na - li - a men - di - cet per suf - fra - gi - a.

ARTIUM DIGNITAS

Conductus (I4/20)

F, f. 349r (7,88)

I Artium dignitas,
que primum viguit,
moderne vitio
doctrine viluit.
Que tot involucris
verborum diffluit.
Tot circuit
quod se destituit,
et nichil certum construit.

The dignity of the liberal arts,
which at first flourished,
has grown worthless, thanks
to the flaws of modern teaching.
It wastes away
from so much gibberish.
It talks in so many circles
that it destroys itself,
and establishes nothing as certain.

II Qui nunc infantium
more balbuciunt,
et vulgi digito
monstrari cupiunt –
colantes culicem,
camelum glutiunt.
Que nesciunt
vel que non capiunt,
blasphemant vel transiliunt.

Those now who babble
in the manner of infants,
and who crave to be
pointed out by the crowd –
in straining out a gnat,
they swallow a camel.
What they don't know
or don't grasp,
they blaspheme or brush aside.

III Tales concelebrat
preconum copia,
quibus innititur
doctrine gloria;
nec enim precium
meretur propria
scientia,
nisi venalia
mendicet per suffragia.

An army of hucksters
celebrates these types, those
on whom the fame of
teaching has settled;
for their own
knowledge doesn't
merit a prize,
unless it should beg for it
through bribes.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 88, f. 349v: a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II and III headed by conventional capitals. This and the next 12 pieces in *F*-7 also appear without a break, but in a different order, in *OxRawl.* A major division at this point in the fascicle is indicated by the large, two-system-high historiated initial "A" that starts this piece. It depicts the Seven Liberal Arts (all conventionally rendered as female) as handed down from classical antiquity by the early fifth-century writer Martianus Capella in his *prosimetrum: De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury)*.[1] The members of the *trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic or Dialectic, from left to right) occupy the upper portion of a split-level scene bifurcated horizontally by the crossbar of the "A." The *quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, again from left to right) appears in the area below.[2] The characters can be identified by the

[1]An online English translation which also gives access to the Latin text is available here.

[2]For a corresponding identification and description of the figures, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972): 1-18, at pp. 7-8.

following means: Grammar sits on some sort of support, engrossed in a book sustained by a lectern. Interestingly, features of her presentation in the miniature correlate with her description in Martianus's *De nuptiis* (see the opening of his book 3). She is represented as an elderly woman (complete with a veil covering her hair and some facial wrinkles), who holds a long, slightly curved implement in each hand. These tools most likely include a knife, which Martianus describes as an implement she deploys to eradicate the linguistic faults that children make.[3] Grammar is the only one of the trivium that conforms readily to her description in the *De nuptiis.* Next, Rhetoric gestures with raised hands as if orating, apparently in conversation with Logic, whose own open right hand is slightly elevated, with her index finger pointing upward (perhaps to raise an objection?). Below, Arithmetic appears to be counting on the fingers of her hands as she engages Music, who shows no obvious attributes to aid in her identification, but who – like Logic above – slightly raises an open hand, this time with the palm facing her interlocutor. Lastly, Geometry, also corresponding to her portrait in Martianus (the only member of the quadrivium to do so) and Astronomy both appear to confer. The former is measuring a green-colored globe with a pair of compasses,[4] while the latter – looking back at Geometry over her shoulder – raises an orb of some kind, rendered with target-like concentric circles and bisected by a slightly crooked thin black line, shaped somewhat like a lightning bolt.

This is the fourth and last historiated initial to appear in *F*-7. The other examples are: *Fraude ceca desolato* (G4/133), at *F*-7,1 *Austro terris influente* (G1/26) at *F*-7,31, and *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85) at *F*-7,77. Inconsistent with the prior illustrations, the one for *Artium dignitas* does not begin at the very top left of the leaf, but like them it also does not start a gathering (*F*-7,1 excepted). In the case of *Artium dignitas,* the divide in the MS here seems to imply more of a shift in style for the works that follow, rather than the switch back to wider transmission patterns that was noticeable with the previous mid-fascicle illuminations. At this point in *F*-7, *Artium dignitas* signals a turn to settings that either have no caudae or very modest ones.[5] Similarly, beginning with the very next piece – *Gratuletur populus* (H6/147) at *F-7,*89 – not only strophic poems but strophic musical settings are favored,[6] a preference that applies to nearly all subsequent pieces until *Frater en Iordanus* (J36/131) at *F*-7,109, a unique, single-stanza poem that never saw music entered on its staves. Subsequently, with *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54) at *F*-7,110 – inaugurating a series of four works (*F*-7,110-113) that have been claimed as poems by Philip the Chancellor[7] – pieces with

---

[3]See the edition and translation of Martianus supplied in the previous note, Book 3, Section 224 (describing Grammar): "... Nam ex eodem, scalprum primo uibranti demonstrabat acumine, quo dicebat circumcidi infantibus uitia posse linguarum ..." ("... and from this same [polished box she carried with her], she first brandished a scalpel with a gleaming point, with which she said she could excise linguistic offenses in children.").

[4]*De nuptiis,* Book 6, Section 580 (describing Geometry): "Et cum dicto prospicio quandam feminam luculentam radium dextera, altera sphaeram solidam gestitantem ..." ("And with this said [the prior speech], I see before me a certain woman bearing a shining probe in her right hand, and a solid sphere in her other ... ."). Here, fascinatingly, the objects correlate to Martianus's vision even in terms of which hands Geometry holds them.

[5]Eleven of the 22 pieces in this segment of the fascicle present some sort of cauda. No work contains more than 24L in total (this is *Luxuriant animi* [J31/202 – at *F*-7,102], with 3 caudae of 4L,4L, and 16L), even with generous interpretations of the length of rests. The setting here with the least amount of cauda activity is that of *Si deus est animus* (H32/324 – *F*-7,95), with a single internal cauda of 4L (this piece does, though, feature a brief, formulaic melisma on its penultimate syllable consisting of 7 D notes over 3 in the T).

[6]The exceptions are *Non habes aditum* (J29/209 – f. 353r, at *F*-7,100), *Involutus in erroris* (J30/187 – f. 353v, at *F*-7,101), *Homo per potentiam* (J33/161– f. 355v, at *F*-7,106), and the unnotated *Frater en Iordanus* (J36/131 – f. 356r, at *F*-7,109), all of which survive only as single-stanza settings. Of these, all but the first are unique to *F*-7 (the only other extant source for *Non habes aditum* is *OxRawl*) and all, conceivably, at one time could have transmitted extra strophes.

[7]These are, in addition to *Caput in caudam vertitur: Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39/65), and *Luget Rachel iterum* (J40/199). The second of these is vouched for Philip by at least two medieval sources, the others are modern attributions.

more frequent and ambitious caudae return, and strophic poems drop out in favor of single-stanza and sequence-form texts.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 15, f. 108r (99r): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with alternating red and blue-green painted initials of approximately the same size and type for all stanzas, entered to the immediate left of the writing block, as if beginning new pieces. The following work, the conductus *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/354), opening at the top of the next leaf (f. 109r [100r]), interestingly, lacks a blue-green starting initial.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 13, f. 237r (8r): text alone of Strophes I-III, complete; the piece is laid out with stanzas encompassing four lines of written text, with slightly larger marginal initials for II-III than the ones supplied to the left of the other verses; rubric: "De hiis qui usurpant arcium dignitatem" ("On those things that usurp the dignity of the arts"). This is the second piece to appear in *OxRawl* after the preceding now-lost folio 236 (7); it follows an incomplete version of the conductus *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/276), seen much earlier at *F*-7,4, f. 267v. Note that this and the next 12 pieces in *F*-7 appear together in *OxRawl,* although in a different order.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This diatribe on the weaknesses and corruption of modern teachers of the liberal arts recalls some of the tone and content of a number of works associated with Philip the Chancellor, although he has not been put forward as the poet of this poem, nor do I make a strong argument here for his authorship. For a sample of these relationships, see especially the conductus *Veritas equitas largitas* (K62/375), lines 58-63 (from Strophes 15-16), 103-108 (Strophe 26), 146-151 (Strophe 36); *Mundus a munditia* (F17/212), lines 43-46 (Strophe VIII); and the motet *Error popularis / Domino* (vdW 41/M1), lines 14-16, 26-28, all of which are quoted, and the points they make explored, in Payne, "Chancellor *versus* Bishop," 290-291, 299-300.[8] **10-11:** perhaps, as Anderson suggests (*NDRC,* 4:iv, note 2), this may be a nod to Wisdom, 12:24-25, speaking about those who incurred the Lord's wrath by living foolishly and unjustly.[9] **12-13:** Anderson offers a possible evocation of Horace, *Odes [Carmina],* book 4, no. 3, lines 21-24, in addressing Melpomene, the muse of tragedy: "... / totum muneris hoc tui est, / quod monstror digito praetereuntium / Romanae fidicen lyrae: / quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est." ("... / this bounty is entirely yours, / that of being pointed out by the finger of the passersby / as a harper on the Roman lyre. / If I am inspired and pleasing – if indeed I do please – it's all due to you."). **14-15:** from Jesus's castigation of the scribes and Pharisees who focus on minutiae, but miss the bigger picture in Matthew, 23:24.[10] **19-27 (Strophe III):** in this stanza the criticism expands outward from the worthless teachers to include those supporters who grant them honors and prizes, ones they have

---

[8]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 XIIIe siècle,* Gilbert Dahan, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, eds., 265-306, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, no. 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

[9]Wisdom, 12:24-25: "Etenim in erroris via diutius erraverunt, deos aestimantes haec quae in animalibus sunt supervacua, infantium insensatorum more viventes. Propter hoc tamquam pueris insensatis judicium in derisum dedisti." ("For they went astray for a long time in the ways of error, holding those things for gods which are the most worthless among beasts, living after the manner of children without understanding. Therefore you have sent a judgment upon them as senseless children to mock them.").

[10]Matthew, 23:24: "Duces caeci, excolantes culicem camelum autem glutientes" ("Blind leaders, who strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel.").

amassed by resorting to bribery. For some further examples of this topic in the main Parisian sources, see, in addition to the pieces mentioned in the general remarks above, *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), *Vhe proclamet clericorum* (F19/357), *Si mundus viveret* (E10/327), *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), *Non habes aditum* (J29/221), *Virtutum thronus frangitur* (J11/385), and *Consequens antecedente* (H2/68).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 19,2:** F,OxRawl: concelebrant; adopted reading from *W1,* as I see the subject as "copia." **MUSIC: General remarks:** For some suggestions on performance, see the remarks on line 9, below. In addition to the musical repetitions at the level of the poetic line that are signaled by boxed letters over the staves, this piece is rich with further motivic interaction on a smaller scale. In particular is the falling, four-note scalar descent seen at first in the D (from *d-a*), then in the T (from *c-g*) within the opening line of the poem. This figure appears throughout the setting, beginning on the following pitches, from low to high: *a, b-flat, c,d, e* (at line 15,2 – over "glutiunt") and *f.* Furthermore, although each stanza is musically through-composed, every one presents, in at least one voice, some type of *pedes* plus *cauda* formation (AAB) in the manner of Dante's description of typical song forms *(cantio)* from his *De vulgari eloquentia.*[11] This attribute, along with the simplicity of the setting and the prevalence of 6pp verses throughout the strophic poem suggests a date prior to ca. 1200 (see *idem,* p. 121; and also Payne, "The Music and Texts of the Conductus," 1063-1065[12] **Accidentals:** *W1* has *b-flat* sigs in both parts to start the piece; these last through line 4 in the T and line 3 in the D, and may be used as an option for performing the *F* version. All other unbraced accidentals above the staff derive from *W1.* **Line 9:** TD: for the last four syllables in Strophe I, *W1* features doubled or elongated figures for all but the 3C, and for the penultimate (the 2 of 2li) and final notes in this phrase: T: W1: 2si,si(el), 2li with 1 el,si=*aa,b,ag,g;* D: W1: si,siP,3C,2li with 1 el, si=*a,*P*a,b,ag,g.* Performers may wish to extend these values in the same ways that they might lengthen the doubled plica (si,siP) and el shapes seen elsewhere in this version. For additional suggestions on performing a piece with this style and verse structure, see Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation," especially the results of the discussion on pp. 399-400 and the specific remarks on *Artium dignitas,* at 399, note 52.[13] **24-25:** T: F: the *b-flat* sig preceding this phrase is expressly canceled in *W1* by a sig quad on *b* that heads the music set to line 25 ("scientia"). This indicator has prompted the reading of the remaining T *b* notes as natural to the end of the *F* version.

[11]On this feature, see Thomas B. Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151, at 119-121.

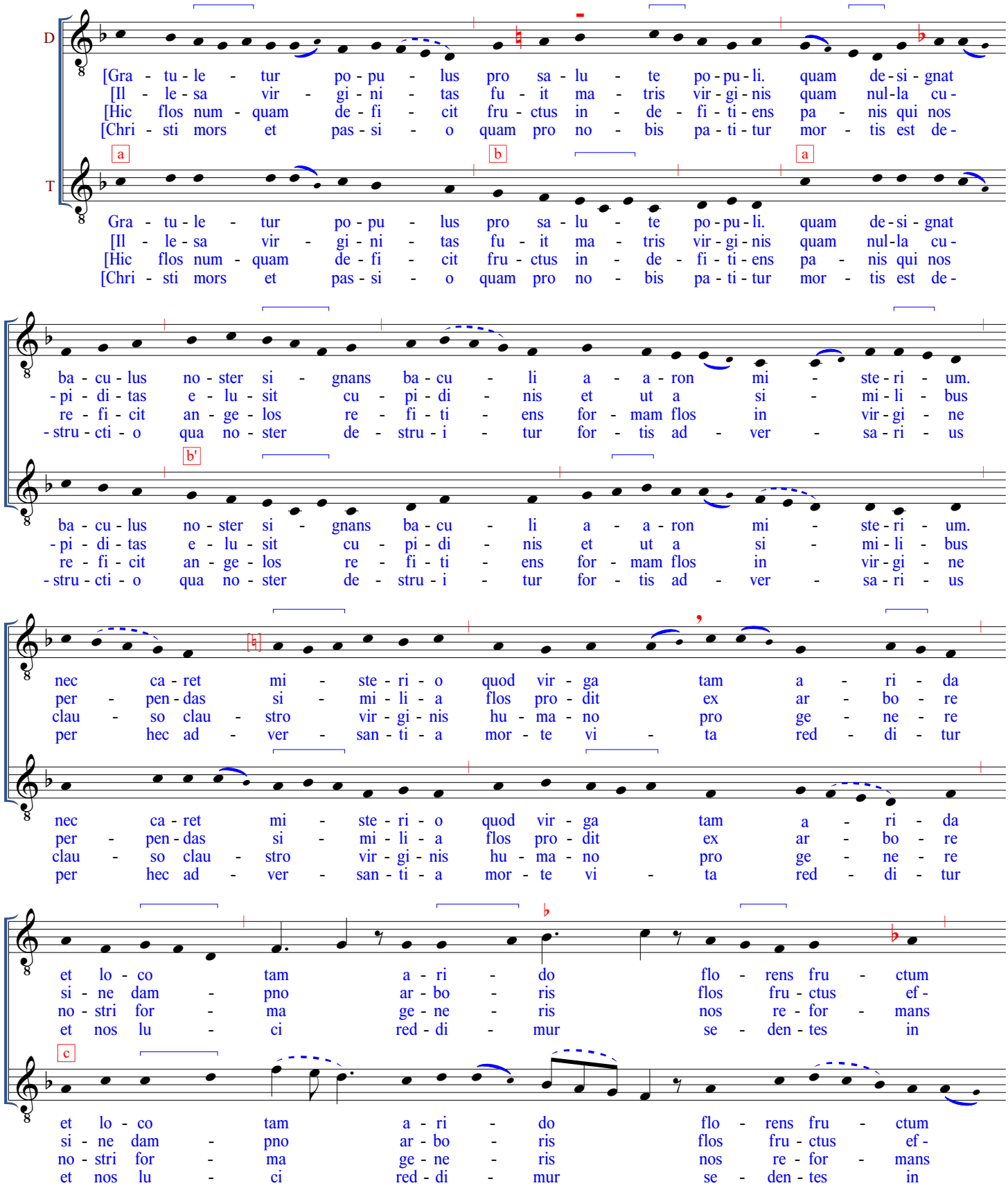
[12]Thomas B. Payne, "Latin Song II: The Music and Texts of the Conductus," *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music.* 2 vols., Mark E. Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, eds., 2: 1048-1078 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

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

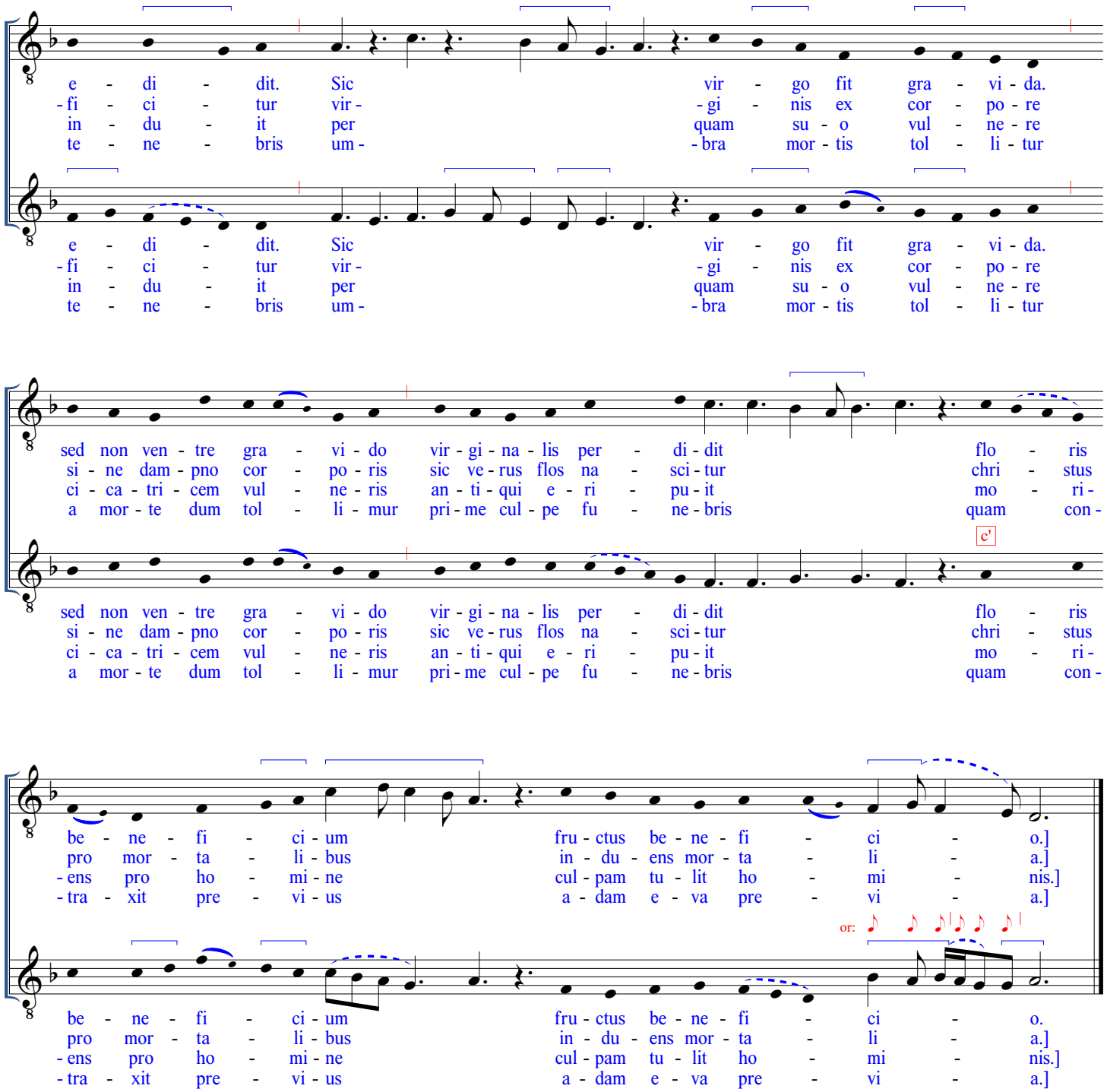
GRATULETUR POPULUS

Conductus (H6/147)

F, f. 349v (7,89): Strophe I; *W1,* (9,27) f. 115v (106v): Strophes II-IV*



**W1,* unlike *F* and *Ma* (the latter with *b-flat* sigs throughout its transmission of the T alone), has no signatures in either part to start, although its D opens with an erased sig that could be either *b-flat* or *b-natural,* or perhaps both. With the last two syllables of "[miste]rio" (line 6,3), *b-flat* sigs appear in both voices to the end of the piece in *W1.* The lack of sigs may provide an alternative for performing the *F* version.


e - di - dit. Sic vir - go fit gra - vi - da.
- fi - ci - tur vir - - gi - nis ex cor - po - re
in - du - it per quam su - o vul - ne - re
te - ne - bris um - - bra mor - tis tol - li - tur
e - di - dit. Sic vir - go fit gra - vi - da.
- fi - ci - tur vir - - gi - nis ex cor - po - re
in - du - it per quam su - o vul - ne - re
te - ne - bris um - - bra mor - tis tol - li - tur
sed non ven - tre gra - vi - do vir - gi - na - lis per - di - dit flo - ris
si - ne dam - pno cor - po - ris sic ve - rus flos na - sci - tur chri - stus
ci - ca - tri - cem vul - ne - ris an - ti - qui e - ri - pu - it mo - ri -
a mor - te dum tol - li - mur pri - me cul - pe fu - ne - bris quam con -
c'
sed non ven - tre gra - vi - do vir - gi - na - lis per - di - dit flo - ris
si - ne dam - pno cor - po - ris sic ve - rus flos na - sci - tur chri - stus
ci - ca - tri - cem vul - ne - ris an - ti - qui e - ri - pu - it mo - ri -
a mor - te dum tol - li - mur pri - me cul - pe fu - ne - bris quam con -
be - ne - fi - ci - um fru - ctus be - ne - fi - ci - o.]
pro mor - ta - li - bus in - du - ens mor - ta - li - a.]
- ens pro ho - mi - ne cul - pam tu - lit ho - mi - nis.]
- tra - xit pre - vi - us a - dam e - va pre - vi - a.]
or:
be - ne - fi - ci - um fru - ctus be - ne - fi - ci - o.
pro mor - ta - li - bus in - du - ens mor - ta - li - a.]
- ens pro ho - mi - ne cul - pam tu - lit ho - mi - nis.]
- tra - xit pre - vi - us a - dam e - va pre - vi - a.]

GRATULETUR POPULUS

Conductus (H6/147)

F, f. 349v (7,89): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 115v (106v) (9,27): Strophes II-IV

I Gratuletur populus
pro salute populi,
quam designat baculus
noster, signans baculi
Aaron misterium;
nec caret misterio
quod virga tam arida,
et loco tam arido,
florens fructum edidit.

Let the people be glad
for the people's salvation,
which our staff represents,
signifying the mystery
of Aaron's staff;
and there is no shortage of mystery
as to how a stick so dry,
and in a place so dry, came to
flower and brought forth fruit.

Sic virgo fit gravida.
Sed non ventre gravido
virginalis perdidit
floris beneficium,
fructus beneficio.

In just the same way, a virgin became pregnant.
But not even with a pregnant womb
did the privilege of her virginal
flower lapse, thanks to
the privilege of its fruit.

II [Illesa virginitas
fuit matris virginis;
quam nulla cupiditas
elusit cupidinis.
Et ut a similibus
perpendas similia:
flos prodit ex arbore,
sine dampno arboris;
flos fructus efficitur
virginis ex corpore,
sine dampno corporis
Sic verus flos nascitur,
Christus, pro mortalibus
induens mortalia.

The virgin mother's
virginity was spared;
no lustful longing
deceived her.
And so that you may ponder
like things with like:
a flower sprouts from a tree,
with no injury to the tree;
a flower becomes a fruit
from the body of a virgin,
with no injury to her body.
That's how Christ – the true flower –
is born, donning our mortal
coil for mortals' sake.

III Hic flos numquam deficit –
fructus indefitiens,
panis qui nos reficit,
angelos refitiens –
formam flos in virgine,
clauso claustro virginis,
humano pro genere
nostri forma generis,
nos reformans, induit.
Per quam suo vulnere,
cicatricem vulneris
antiqui eripuit.
Moriens pro homine
culpam tulit hominis.

This flower never fails –
this unfailing fruit,
this bread that feeds us
and feeds angels –
this flower, within the virgin,
enclosed in the virgin's enclosure,
for the benefit of humankind,
took on form in the form
of our kind, reforming us.
Whereby, through his own wound,
he tore away the scar
of the ancient wound.
Dying for mankind,
he carried off mankind's sin.

IV Christi mors et passio,
quam pro nobis patitur,
mortis est destructio,
qua noster destruitur
fortis adversarius.
Per hec adversantia,
morte vita redditur,
et nos luci reddimur,
sedentes in tenebris.
Umbra mortis tollitur,
a morte dum tollimur
prime culpe funebris,
quam contraxit previus
Adam, Eva previa.]

The death and suffering of Christ,
which he suffered on our account,
is the destruction of death,
by which our strong
adversary is destroyed.
Through these adversities,
life is restored by death,
and we, sitting in darkness,
are restored to light.
The shadow of death is removed,
as we are removed from the death
of the first deadly sin,
which our forefather Adam
and foremother Eve incurred.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 89, f. 349v: a2; Strophe I only, with a slightly larger, black-ink, upper-case "S" opening line 10, indicated by an extra space in the above text of Strophe I. No provision here for further text stanzas.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 27, f. 115v (106v): a2; Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-III written at the bottom of f. 115v (106v), and IV in the same place on the facing leaf, 116r (107r); these additional stanzas protrude into the lower margin of each leaf, below the writing block and extending to the left and right edges of each page. The piece is headed by a large painted initial at the left margin of the first system, with the other stanzas given similar, but much smaller indications in red and blue-green; the initial for II is mostly worn away.

Ma, fasc. 6, no. 5, f. 125v: a1 (T); Strophe I only, with the typical lack of provision for further stanzas in this source, with no initial in the staff-high space provided for it at the start of its first system, and with a similar space in the midst of this system following the setting of the first eight syllables of the piece. This latter break serves visually to separate the start of *Gratuletur populus* from the end of the previous work, whose final three syllables appear near the right margin of the writing block. A similar mid-system space occurs at the end of *Gratuletur,* providing an area for the absent opening initial of the following piece.[1] Similar to *F, Ma* provides a slightly larger upper-case letter to open line 10; and, like some other conductus transmitted in *Ma*-6, *Gratuletur* appears among motets (three of which are unique to this MS).[2] Yet, perhaps significantly, *Gratuletur* seems to be the only conductus in *Ma*-6 that was reduced to a single voice (a feature otherwise applied only to the motets in the first gathering of the fascicle).[3]

---

[1]This is the motet *Homo quo vigeas / [Et gaudebit]* (vdW 313 / M24). The work preceding *Gratuletur populus* in *Ma*-6 is the motet *In Bethleem Herodes iratus / [In Bethleem]* (vdW 98/M8). Each of the three works is transmitted a1, with the tenors of the motets omitted from *Ma.* More information on the contents of *Ma*-6 appears in the following footnotes.

[2]The three unique motets, transmitted sequentially as *Ma*-6,26-28, include *Yoanne Yelisabet gravida visitatur / Iohanne* (VdW 383a - *olim* 914/M29), *Ovibus pastoris mens seduli / ?* (VdW 915 / T unidentified), and *Ave gloriosa plena gratie / ?* (VdW 916/T unidentified). Each of these pieces is formatted in score as a motetus/triplum pair and followed by an unlabeled tenor.

[3] The first of the two quinion (5-bifolio) gatherings that make up *Ma*-6 (ff. 123-132, transmitting *Ma*-6,1-17) includes 10 motets, all lacking tenors. Seven of these motets, like the conductus *Gratuletur populus,* are transmitted a1, presenting only their Mot voices (*Ma*-6,3-4, 6-8, 14-15). The last of the pieces in this gathering, the double motet *Ypocrite / O quam sancta / [Et gaudebit]* (vdW 317/316/M24), first offers its Mot and then its Tr written one after the other (*Ma*-6,16-17), while two previous motets, *Qui servare puberem / [Domine]* (vdW 59/M3) and *Formam hominis / [Gloria]* (vdW 643/O2) appear successively in score as single-texted, Mot/Tr pairs a2 (comprising *Ma*-6,10-11). The remainder of the works within this gathering, except for the a1 version of *Gratuletur*

Text only:

OxRawl, no. 8, f. 6v (235v): this MS originally transmitted the text alone of Strophes I-IV, complete, but all of IV is now missing (lines 43-56), thanks to the present loss of f. 7 (236); rubric: "De illesa virginitate beate virginis parturientis" ("On the intact virginity of the childbearing blessed virgin" – note the opening words of Strophe II). The complete text was consulted, though, and its variants lodged, before the loss (see Anderson, *NDRC,* 3:203, and the edition in *AH,* 20:46-47, no. 14). The extant initials for II and III in *OxRawl* are rendered slightly larger as part of a layout that presents the opening letter of each couplet aligned in a separate column that precedes the rest of the verse lines. Lines 21-22 are also missing from this source with no apparent break, as the copyist appears to have inadvertently passed over to line 23 from line 21, which both start with the same word.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:**

Attribution: This poem is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung: eine Blutenlese aus den Analecta hymnica mit literarhistorischen Erlauterungen,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1909), 2:25-26. It is not widely considered to be one of his works (it is not included in the listing of Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions,"[4] for instance) and I do not press that case here. **Versification:** In addition to signaling the poet's didactic tone and the use of punning *(annominatio)* and antithesis throughout, the above editors call attention to the artfully constructed stanzas of this conductus. They rightly describe it as "a combination of two four-line stanzas with crossed rhymes [i.e., abab cdcd], within the second of which [that is, after the sixth line of each strophe] a six-line stanza with the rhyme scheme abc abc is inserted." But the construction is even more involved. Within each stanza, each pair of lines, with the exception of the ninth and twelfth verses, regularly terminates with closely related words. These may be different cases of the same noun or adjective, different forms of the same verb, or paired words with the same root. Also, the ninth and twelfth lines of each stanza, which are the only ones not to participate in the conceit, habitually rhyme with each other, but with no others in the strophe. **Textual notes: 1-2:** as the poem goes on to explain, the "people's salvation" of line 2 is the birth of Christ (finally stated concretely in lines 26-27,1), as embodied in a number of floral, horticultural, and biblical images. The opening two stanzas focus primarily on the Virgin Mary's role in this event, while the second half of the poem turns to Jesus himself. **3-4,1:** in the conductus repertory, references to a rod or staff of office in the context of a liturgical feast are frequently tied to celebrations for the feast of the Circumcision on 1 January. On this day at Notre Dame of 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.[5] For further references to Circumcision and the closely

---

populus, are conductus transmitted in two-part score. In contrast, the second gathering of *Ma*-6 (ff. 133-142, containing *Ma*-6,18-30) opens with 11 consecutive motets a2, each one this time followed by a notated tenor part. Two conductus, the unique *Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317) and *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228), both a2, then wrap up this last fascicle of *Ma.*

[4]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[5]For 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 un 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.

associated Feast of Fools, see the notes for the conductus *Ysyas cecinit* (C4/188), lines 25 and 27. An explicit connection to Circumcision, rather than to the Christmas season in general, does not seem to arise in *Gratuletur populus,* but the association of this poem with such a celebration would be entirely feasible. It also seems noteworthy that the poetic voice in these opening lines lays claim to the staff *(baculus noster)*, thus implying that someone inhabiting the persona of the cantor or precentor (or possibly even the bishop) is delivering at least this opening stanza. **4,2-9,3:** this portion is given over to the image of Aaron's flowering staff (see Numbers, 17:1-8),[6] a typological symbol widely interpreted as a reflection of the miraculous impregnation of the Virgin Mary (also foreseen by Isaiah, 11:1, supplied in the notes to lines 21-28, below), while the staff's flowers and fruit – described as almonds in the biblical narrative – represent Christ; see, for example, the discussion of both these symbols in the textual notes for the conductus *Ysayas cecinit* (C4/188), line 5,2-3, and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287), lines 1-2. **10-20:** here the miracle of Christ's birth by a virgin who retained her maidenhood after the event (the essence of the content of lines 10-14) is explored with further reflection on the arboreal and floral images raised previously in the first stanza of the poem. The language in line 10 expressly connects these allegories with that of the virgin birth, as do the expressions of lines 26-28. **21-28:** having already arisen in the context of lines 4,2-9, the Marian symbol of the tree (or rod, shoot, stick, staff, branch, etc.) and the floral references to Christ are further contemplated. These associations are prompted particularly by Isaiah, 11:1;[7] note also the opening line of the triplum from the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius eius* (vdW 647/648/O16), as well as the text of its host chant, the Marian responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16).[8] **27,2-28:** Christ, in becoming incarnate and mortal, took on lowly human flesh, debasing his outward godliness but retaining his divinity undiminished, and exposed himself to mortal suffering and death;[9] see, for just two further examples of this conceit in the Parisian conductus repertory, *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 2-4 and 17-20, and *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 10-14. The image reappears in lines 35-37 of *Gratuletur populus.* **29-37:** further treatment here of Christ as a flower taking on the sins of mankind through his incarnation (see the notes for lines 4,2-9,3 and 21-28), along with an additional symbolic identification of him with manna. On manna as a figure for Christ or his body (and thus offering an obvious nod towards the Eucharist), 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. Notably, in the last reference, and also in Wisdom, 16:20, manna is described as "angel food" or the "bread of angels."[10] **38-42:** as lines 41-42 clarify, Christ's own wound is the suffering that led to his death, or death

---

[6]Numbers, 17:8: "Sequenti die regressus invenit germinasse virgam Aaron in domo Levi: et turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores, qui, foliis dilatatis, in amygdalas deformati sunt" ("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.").

[7]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.").

[8]"Styrps Iesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus" ("The stem of Jesse produced a branch *[virga],* and the branch a flower; and on this flower rested the kind Spirit. The branch is the virgin mother of God, the flower is her son.").

[9]See Philippians, 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.").

[10]Psalm 77: 23-25: "Et mandavit nubibus desuper, et januas caeli aperuit. Et pluit illis manna ad manducandum, et panem caeli dedit eis. Panem angelorum manducavit homo; cibaria misit eis in abundantia" ("And he [God] had commanded the clouds from above, and had opened the doors of heaven. And had rained down manna upon them to eat, and had given them the bread of heaven. Man ate the bread of angels: he sent them provisions in abundance."). Wisdom, 16:20: "Pro quibus angelorum esca nutrivisti populum

itself. In taking on the sins of all by sacrificing himself, Christ effectively healed the "ancient wound" of original sin and replaced Mosaic law with a new covenant whereby people might achieve heavenly salvation through Christ's gift of grace. **43-49:** for the frequent conceit of death (or, as here,"our strong adversary," implying the Devil) being overcome or destroyed by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137). Hence, as line 49 of *Gratuletur populus* states: "life is restored by [Jesus's] death." **50-51:** see Psalm 106:9-10.[11] For more on Christ as a light illuminating earlier darkness, see Isaiah, 9:2: "populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam: habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est eis" ("The people who walked in darkness, have seen a great light: for those living in the region of the shadow of death, light is risen to them"). For the Lord giving light or sight to the blind, see Psalm 145:8,[12] as well as Exodus, 4:11, and the various miracles of Jesus healing the blind (in Matthew, 20:29-34; Mark, 8:22-26 and 10:46-52; Luke, 18:35-43; and John, 9:1-41). The account in John is the main subject of the conductus *In terram Christus expuit* [J7/185]. **52-56:** this figure invokes the deception of Adam and Eve by the serpent in Genesis, 3. This event brought original sin (the "first deadly sin" alluded to in line 54) upon mankind through the eating of the forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge (see also Romans, 5:12-21; 1 Corinthians, 15:22).[13] Mary's giving birth to Jesus redeemed mankind and negated the effects of original sin, restoring humanity to its initial state before the Fall. Here, interestingly, the poet seems to hold both Adam and Eve equally culpable for their sin, whereas the typical ploy is to lay greater weight for the blame onto Eve for initially succumbing to the serpent's temptation (Genesis, 3:1-6); see, for example, the chastisement of Eve set in opposition to the praise of Mary that runs throughout the conductus *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *W1* is used to establish the texts of Strophes II-IV, all verbal variants from this source are collated here. **3,1:** F: quem; adopted reading taken from *W1,Ma,OxRawl.* **4,2:** F: signat; reading taken from *W1,Ma,OxRawl.* **5,1:** both the poetic scheme and musical setting show this word ("aaron") construed as a tri-syllable. **7,3:** W1: tamen; reading from *F,Ma,OxRawl.* **13,2:** F: beneficum; reading from *W1,Ma,OxRawl.* **20,1:** OxRawl gives "perpendens," which conceivably could suit, but the adopted reading seems to fit better with the "ut" clause that contains it. **20,2:** W1: written as if spelled "similta"; proper reading confirmed by *OxRawl.* **23,3:** W1: written effititur; spelling from *OxRawl.* **27,1:** W1: the abbreviated name is written completely in Greek characters here, as also in *OxRawl:* "χρς." **30,1:** W1: prius; from *OxRawl.* **30,3:** W1: non; from *OxRawl.* **36,2:** W1: causa; from *OxRawl.* **40,1:** curiously Hans Walther ("Die poetische Anthologie des cod. Oxford Rawl. C. 510," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 3 [1966], 218-227, at 218, note 2), reports (I think mistakenly) that *OxRawl* gives "antiquam." **44,1:** W1: qua; the adopted reading is from *OxRawl* via the edition in *AH,* 20:46-47, no. 14. The *W1* reading could suffice, and arguably might be favored due to the use of the same word to open line 46, below, however the accusative rather than ablative seems preferable and smoother in this instance. **MUSIC: Accidentals:** *W1,* unlike *F* and *Ma* (the latter with *b-flat* sigs throughout its transmission of the T alone), has no signatures in either part to start, although its D opens with an erased sig that could be either *b-flat, b-natural,* or perhaps both. With the last two syllables of "[miste]rio" (line

---

tuum, et paratum panem de caelo praestitisti illis sine labore, omne delectamentum in se habentem, et omnis saporis suavitatem" ("Instead of which things [i.e., calamities] you did feed your people with the food of angels, and gave them bread from heaven prepared without labour; having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste.").

[11]Psalm 106:9-10.: "Quia satiavit animam inanem, et animam esurientem satiavit bonis. Sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis; vinctos in mendicitate et ferro" ("For he [the Lord] has satisfied the empty soul, and has filled the hungry soul with good things. Such as sat in darkness and in the shadow of death: bound in want and in iron").

[12]Psalm 145:8: "Dominus inluminat caecos. Dominus erigit adlisos. Dominus diligit iustos" ("The Lord gives light to the blind. The Lord lifts up the downcast. The Lord loves the just").

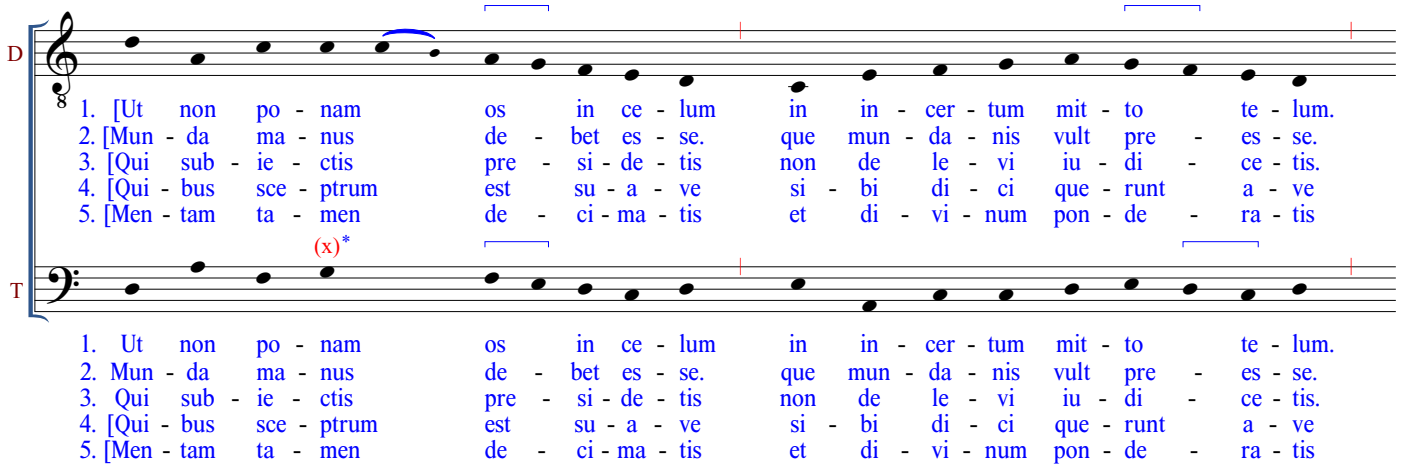
[13]1 Corinthians, 15:22: "Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur" ("And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.").

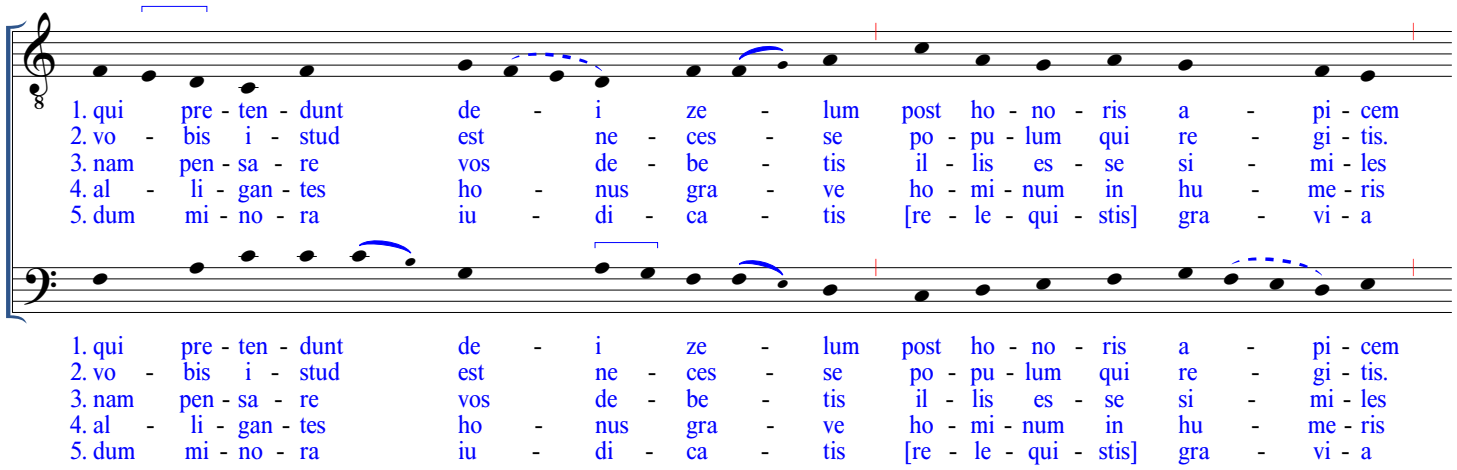
6,3), *b-flat* sigs appear in both voices to the end of the piece in *W1*. The lack of sigs may provide an alternative for performing the *F* version. **Line 1:** T: Ma: both here and in line 3, the third syllables of the verses are written with the special form *Ma* uses for extended notes. Performers may wish to extend these values in the same ways that they might lengthen the syllables under doubled plica (si,siP), el , and 3li shapes seen elsewhere in this piece. **5,1:** T: F: si,2li figure=*g,ab* over "aa[ron]" here written 3li, possibly due to confusion over the syllabic underlay of this word (see the observations on the text for this line, above); taken from *W1,Ma.* **6,3:** T: F,Ma: 3li=*aga* for "mi[sterio]"; reading adopted from *W1* to avoid the use of the exact same figure in both parts. See also the above remarks on accidentals. **14,2:** D: F: note that over the last two syllables in the piece, the same melismatic figure, written a fifth higher, concludes the previous line (on "[benefici]um"); this relationship has prompted the adopted rhythmic interpretation, and the more leisurely pace of the occasional *sine littera* segments elsewhere in this piece also suggests the slower interpretation of the ligatures adopted here.

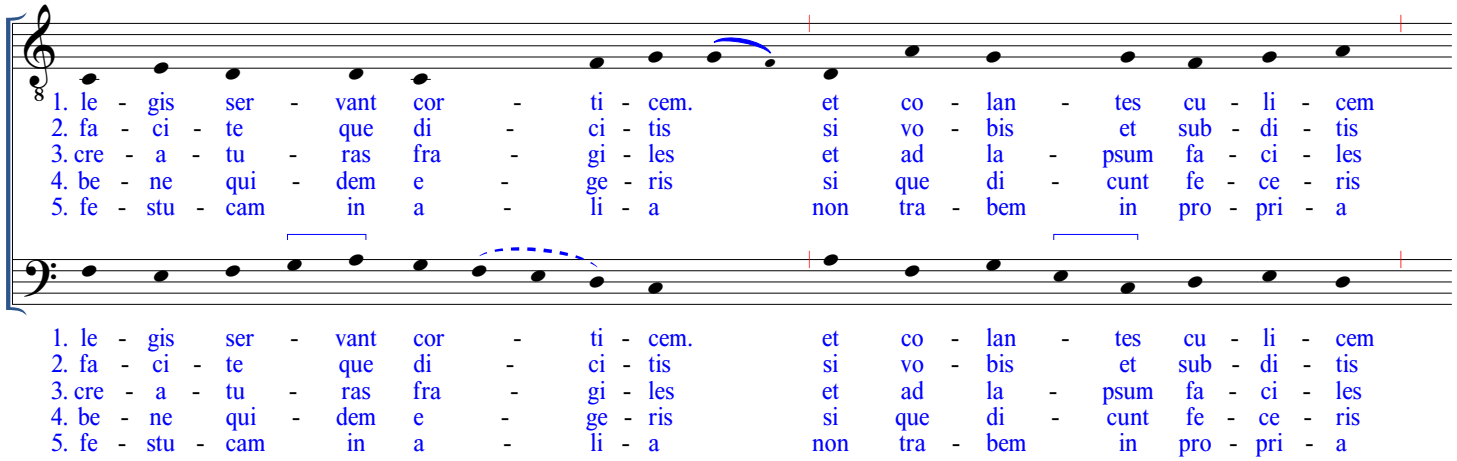
UT NON PONAM OS IN CELUM

Conductus (I5/354)

F, f. 350r (7,90): Strophes I-III; *W1,* f. 109r (100r) (9,11): Strophes IV-V

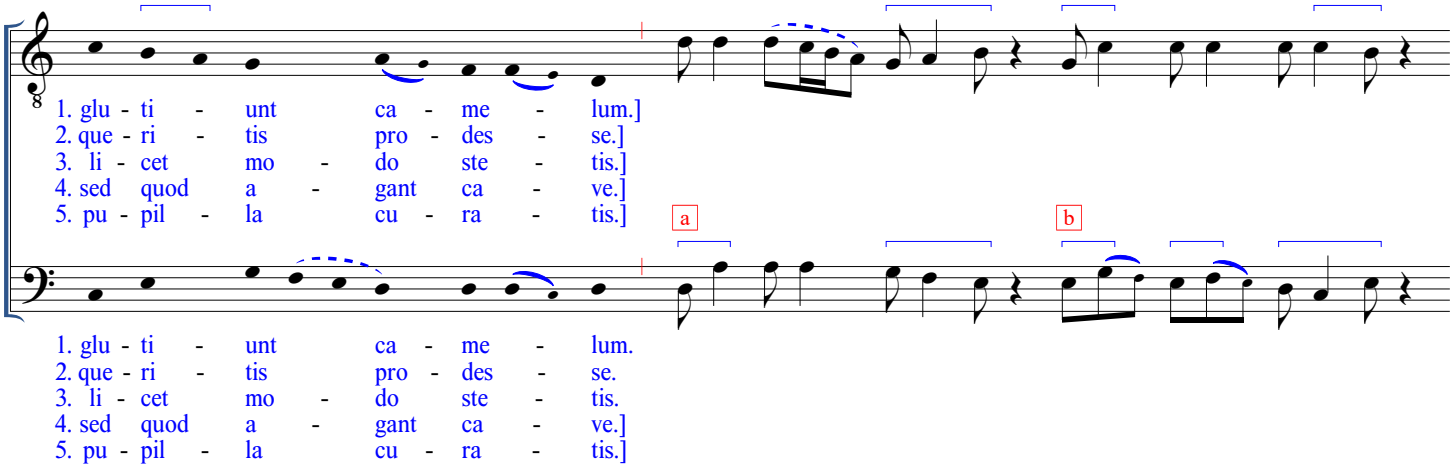


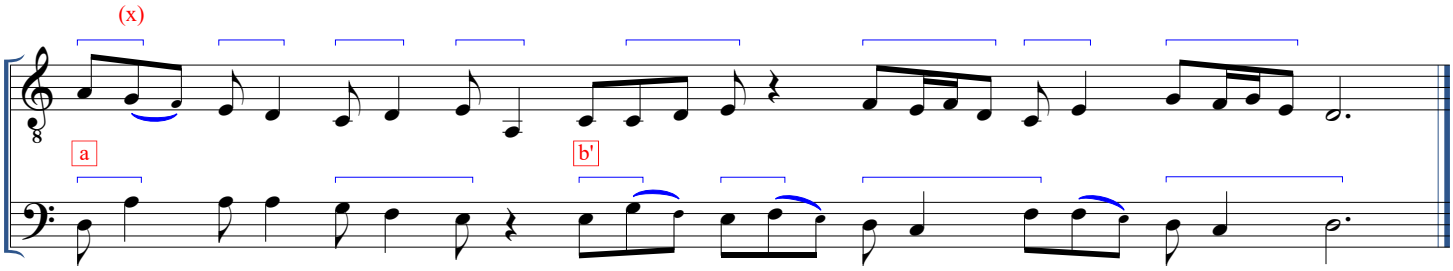




*For the corresponding passage, see the D of the closing cauda at L9,2 and the observations on syllabic/melismatic identity in the music.

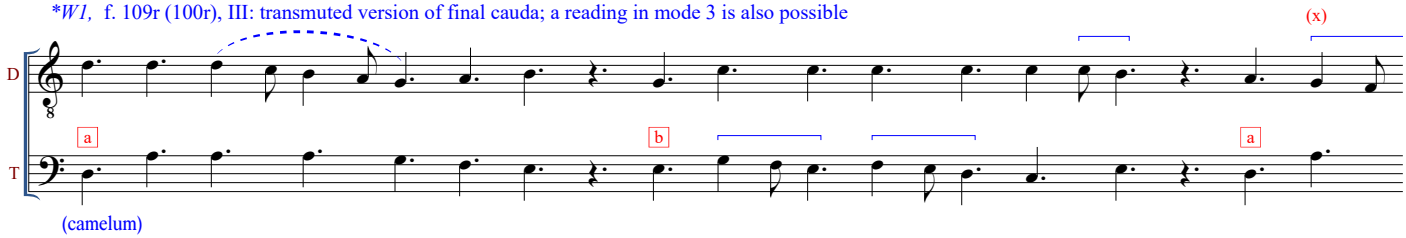
**W1* has a different rhythmic realization for this cauda, see at end

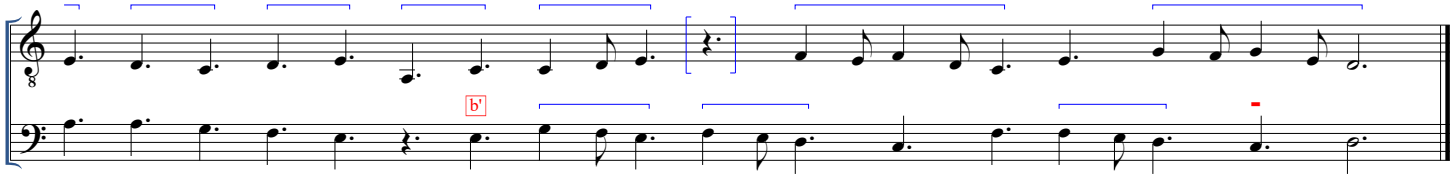




ALTERNATIVE READING:

**W1,* f. 109r (100r), III: transmuted version of final cauda; a reading in mode 3 is also possible





UT NON PONAM OS IN CELUM

Conductus (I5/354)

F, f. 350r (7,90): Strophes I-III; *W1,* f. 109r (100r) (9,11): Strophes [IV]-[V] (entered in *W1* as II-III, with II entered as IV in *W1* – see the two leftmost columns in the presentation of the text, below)

F	*W1*		
I	I	Ut non ponam os in celum,	So as not to set my mouth against the heavens,
		in incertum mitto telum.	I loose a shaft into the unknown.
		Qui pretendunt dei zelum	Those who assert zeal for God
		post honoris apicem	as less important than the peak of honor
		legis servant corticem,	observe only the shell of the law,
		et, colantes culicem,	and, straining out a gnat,
		glutiunt camelum.	they swallow a camel.
II	IV	Munda manus debet esse	The hand that wants command over
		que mundanis vult preesse.	worldly matters should be unstained.
		Vobis istud est necesse	For those of you who rule the
		populum qui regitis.	populace, this is indispensable.
		Facite que dicitis,	Practice what you preach,
		si vobis et subditis	if you wish to be of use
		queritis prodesse.	to yourselves and your subjects.
III	-	Qui subiectis presidetis,	You who preside over your subjects,
		non de levi iudicetis,	should not judge them triflingly,
		nam pensare vos debetis	for you should consider yourselves
		illis esse similes	to be fragile creatures
		creaturas fragiles,	like them,
		et ad lapsum faciles,	and prone to fall,
		licet modo stetis.	even though you now stand tall.
[IV]	II	[Quibus sceptrum est suave	Those who find the scepter agreeable
		sibi dici querunt ave,	ask to be greeted with “Hail,”
		alligantes honus grave	binding a heavy burden
		hominum in humeris.	onto men’s shoulders.
		Bene quidem egeris	You will indeed have done well
		si que dicunt feceris.	if you have practiced what they preached.
		Sed quod agant cave.	Just beware of how they may act.

The following strophe appears solely in *W1* as the third of four stanzas, while others in this source are rearranged in comparison to *F* and *OxRawl* (as indicated by the stanzaic order in the second column in the presentation of the text here).

[V]	III	Mentam tamen decimatis	You, though, levy tithes on a mint leaf
		et divinum ponderatis.	and mull over the divine.
		Dum minora iudicatis	Although you deliver judgment on minor things,
		[relequistis] gravia.	you leave weighty matters behind.
		Festucam in alia	You worry about the speck
		non trabem in propria	in someone else’s eye,
		pupilla curatis.]	not the beam in your own.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 90, f. 350r: a2; Strophes I-III only, with II-III headed by capitals and written in a prepared, empty area within the writing block at the end of the last system that holds the work;[1] the closing caudae of the version in *F* implies a quicker rhythmic mode than the one in *W1.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 16, f, 109r (100r): a2; four strophes in the order I, [IV,] [V,] II, as shown in the text above, with the residual strophes entered in the empty space after the end of the last system and spilling out of the writing block into the right margin. The opening initial for this piece was never entered; yet, since the previous and following initials of the other works are both executed in red paint, it appears the illuminator allowed for an alternating blue-green letter here that was inadvertently omitted.[2] The closing cauda (given as an alternative reading here) is written mostly in augmented values in comparison to *F.*

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 11, f. 236r (7r): the folio that contained the entirety of this work and several others is presently missing.[3] For an edition based on this source prior to the loss, see *AH*, 21:136-137, no. 195, along with corrections to this offered by Hans Walther in "Die poetische Anthologie."[4] According to this publication, *OxRawl* transmitted the text alone of Strophes I-[IV] only, presumably in that order; rubric: "Quales debent esse qui volunt preesse" ("How those who wish to rule should be").

US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 712.59),[5] no. 4, verso (the shelfmark refers only to a single leaf): a single folio ruled for music a2 that was never included; only part of the text is extant, from line 1 (headed with a large blue initial with red filigree) through the first syllable of line 4,2 ("ho[noris]"). Variants collated here as *Beinecke 712.59.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** The strophes happen to share the same poetic structure as the conductus *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369), at *F*-6,30. Many of the numerous Biblical allusions in this poem come from

---

[1] This is the first time additional stanzas have been included in *F*-7 for a strophic musical setting since the attempts with four successive pieces that began at *F*-7,48 with *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1), f. 316v. One out of two additional versicles were included in the subsequent transmission of the strophic sequence form of *Redit etas aurea* (I9/312), at *F*-7,53. For this and further details on the inclusion of additional strophes in *F-7,* see the discussion in the source reports on the *F* versions of *A deserto veniens; Roma gaudens iubila* (I9/31), f. 318r (at *F*-7,52); and *Artium dignitas* (I4/20), f. 349r (at *F*-7,88).

[2]The preceding work in *W1* is *Artium dignitas* (I4/20), which, unusually, supplies each of its through-composed strophes with the same type of large painted initial, as if each stanza begins a new piece. The subsequent work, the red-initialed *Cortex occidit littere* (I6/69), is followed by *O quotiens [vos] volui* (J1/244), unique to W1, which bears an initial with additional filigree decoration.

[3]Lost from *OxRawl* with f. 236 (7) are, in order of their appearance: Strophe IV of *Gratuletur populus* (H6/147), *Debet se circumspicere* (I10/83), *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155]), *Ut non ponam* (I5/354) and lines 1-6 of *Puer nobis est natus* (H25/276)

[4]Hans Walther, "Die poetische Anthologie des cod. Oxford Rawl. C. 510," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 3 (1966), 218-227, at 219.

[5]Images of this MS are available here: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10543807. See also the study by Eva M. Maschke, which also includes images of this and related sources: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156 (link here).

Jesus's speech against the hypocrisy of scribes and Pharisees (Luke, 11:37-54; Matthew, 23:1-39; Mark, 12:35-40). These correspondences suggest the poetic conceit of adopting the voice of Christ in this general admonition to rulers, which, based on the evidence of lines 29-30, could also include leaders of the church and the clergy. Such a technique appears frequently in the poetry of Philip the Chancellor, although, besides the admonitory tone of the poem, there is no additional evidence that Philip authored it, nor has it been put forward as one of his works elsewhere in the literature. **Strophic inclusion and order:** No one source preserves all the extant strophes of this poem, and one may readily question both the ordering of the stanzas as presented here and whether the five-strophe version of the text as given above ever existed. Performers and readers should therefore feel free to determine which stanzas to include or consider, and to rearrange their sequence within the poem, if they see fit. Strophes I-III are given as above because they correspond to the sequence in *F* and to the reported order in *OxRawl;* [IV] and [V] then follow. The first of these is so ordered because, according to *AH,* it succeeds III in *OxRawl* – which has so far followed the order in *F* – and [V] is presented as a quasi-independent element, since it appears uniquely as the second strophe of the four transmitted in *W1*. I bracket the numerals of the last two stanzas here to indicate both their absence from *F* and their variability in ordering among the sources. The question of inclusion and order of the stanzas is further complicated by the shift to a singular second-person addressee in [IV]. See the remarks below for lines 26-28. **Textual notes: 1-2:** these two lines are drawn from biblical references (see the remarks on the individual verses below for the citations). Line 1 echoes a passage from the Psalms that condemns those who have risen to power on earth despite having committed evil and sacrilegious deeds; it sets them in contrast to the lowly and more virtuous. Line 2 draws on a narrative from the Old Testament that describes how King Ahab sustained a mortal injury during his war to recover Ramoth-Gilead. While marching out to battle, Ahab was struck by an arrow fired at random by a certain member of one of the forces. These contexts help to construe the opening of the text by suggesting that the poet, in order not to condone the sins committed by wicked and powerful men (e.g., blaspheming God in heaven and injuring those on earth with their speech), must therefore express views that may inadvertently wound them. A similar view may be seen in certain interpretations of the poem *The Arrow and the Song,* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: "I shot an arrow in the air; it fell to earth, I know not where" (lines 1-2). **1:** see Psalm 72:9.[6] **2:** 3 Kings (1 Kings), 22:34.[7] A similar account appears in 2 Paralipomenon (2 Chronicles), 18:33. **6-7:** Matthew, 23:24.[8] **8-9:** on the virtue implied by clean hands, see, e.g., James, 4:8;[9] Job, 17:9; 2 Samuel (2 Kings), 22:21; Psalm 17:25. **12-14:** cf. the related expressions in lines 26-28. **17-21:** cf. Proverbs, 16:18.[10] **22-23:** possibly evoking the opening of the sequence *Verbum bonum et suave* (J59/367), an a2 setting of which appears, e.g., among the conductus collections in the main Parisian manuscripts *W1* and *W2*.[11] **24-25:**

---

[6]Psalm 72:9: "Posuerunt in caelo os suum et lingua eorum deambulavit in terra" ("They have set their mouth against heaven: and their tongue has passed through the earth.").

[7]3 Kings (1 Kings), 22:34: "Unus autem quidam tetendit arcum, in incertum sagittam dirigens, et casu percussit regem Israhel inter pulmonem et stomachum." ("And a certain man bent his bow, shooting at a venture [i.e., at random], and chanced to strike the king of Israel [Ahab] between the lungs and the stomach").

[8]Matthew, 23:24: "Duces caeci, excolantes culicem camelum autem glutientes" ("Blind leaders, who strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel.").

[9]James, 4:8: "Appropinquate Deo, et appropinquabit vobis. Emundate manus, peccatores: et purificate corda, duplices animo" ("Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners: and purify your hearts, ye double minded.").

[10]Proverbs, 16:18: "Contritionem praecedit superbia, et ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus" ("Pride goes before destruction: and the spirit is lifted up before a fall.").

[11]Verbum bonum et suave (J59/357), lines 1-4: "Verbum bonum et suave / personemus illud ave / per quod Christi fit conclave / virgo mater filia" ("Let us sound forth the good and sweet word, that 'Ave,' through which a virgin, both mother and daughter of Christ, becomes his habitation.").

Matthew, 23:4.[12] **26-28:** the shift from plural to singular in the forms of the second-person verbs in these lines suggests that the poet is changing the addressee of the poem in some way. Alternatively, one might conclude that this stanza was an independently executed supplement to the poem that did not maintain consistency in the verb forms. If a change of subject is ventured, exactly who might be implied by the switch is not readily apparent. Based on the expressions of lines 27-28, which derive from the Gospel (see below), it appears that the person addressed is not (at least not yet?) a ruler, and therefore could be a ruler's subject, or a potential leader themselves; one might even hypothesize the poet addressing themselves here. The basic thrust behind these lines is therefore: "do what they say, not what they do." For the Gospel citation, see Matthew, 23:3, which happens to use plural second-person forms, unlike the conductus stanza.[13] **29-31:** see Luke 11:42.[14] A similar passage is cited from Matthew in line 32 (q.v.). **32:** this line lacks three syllables in the unique source for this strophe *(W1);* it has been completed from Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:vi, with recourse to Matthew, 23:23.[15] **33-35:** see Matthew, 7:5.[16] There are related passages in Luke, 6:41-42; and Matthew 7:3-4.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** All variant readings from both *W1* and *US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59* are collated here (the latter as *Beinecke 712.59*) – the first because it is used to supply the additional strophes [IV]-[V] for this transcription, the second because it was unknown to Anderson and therefore not included in his catalog and edition (*NDRC,* 4:91). **1,1:** W1: omitted initial. **3,4:** Beinecke 712.59: delum; this is not a known Latin word, as far as I can find. Conceivably the scribe graphically misinterpreted the correct and similarly shaped opening letter "t." **9,2:** W1: mundandis. **10,2:** W1: istud vobis (possibly written "nobis"). **12,2:** W1: qui. **14:1:** F: creditis, from *W1.* **29,1:** W1: Mentem; a variant spelling with wider dissemination ("mentam"), has been adopted here on editorial initiative, so as not to confuse this word with the accusative case of the more frequently encountered "mens." **32:** W1: ob gravia; the text lacks three syllables here; completed via Anderson (see the notes on the text for line 32). **MUSIC:** No variants. **Syllabic/Melismatic identity:** in the T, the rising-fifth motive that opens the piece, as well as 12 successive pitches traversing the two musical phrases set to its initial couplet – "[ut non po]nam os in celum / in incerto mitto [telum]" – are equivalent, respectively, to the leaping fifth in the T that opens the first and third phrases (at L1 and L9) in the closing cauda on "[came]lum," and to the 12 consecutive pitches in the cauda's third D phrase, beginning with its second note, *g.* The larger correspondence is indicated by an unboxed "(x)" above the D staff at L9,2. **Cauda:** The closing cauda is presented in different rhythmic redactions in the two extant musical sources. The more expansive reading of *W1* appears as an alternative at the end of the transcription. The apparent inconsistency that results in the interpretation of the series of 2li in the second and third phrases in the D seems to imply scribal initiative in rearranging the rhythms in *W1;* this might, therefore, argue for favoring the *F* version as primary.

---

[12]Matthew, 23:4: "Alligant autem onera gravia et inportabilia, et inponunt in umeros hominum; digito autem suo nolunt ea movere" ("For they bind heavy and insupportable burdens, and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of their own they will not move them.").

[13]Matthew, 23:3: "Omnia ergo quaecumque dixerint vobis, servate et facite, secundum opera vero eorum nolite facere; dicunt enim et non faciunt." ("All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do you not; for they say, and do not.").

[14]Luke 11:42: "Sed vae vobis, Pharisaeis, quia decimatis mentam et rutam et omne holus, et praeteritis iudicium et caritatem Dei. Haec autem oportuit facere, et illa non omittere" ("But woe to you, Pharisees, because you tithe mint and rue and every herb, and pass over judgment and the charity of God. Now these things you ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.").

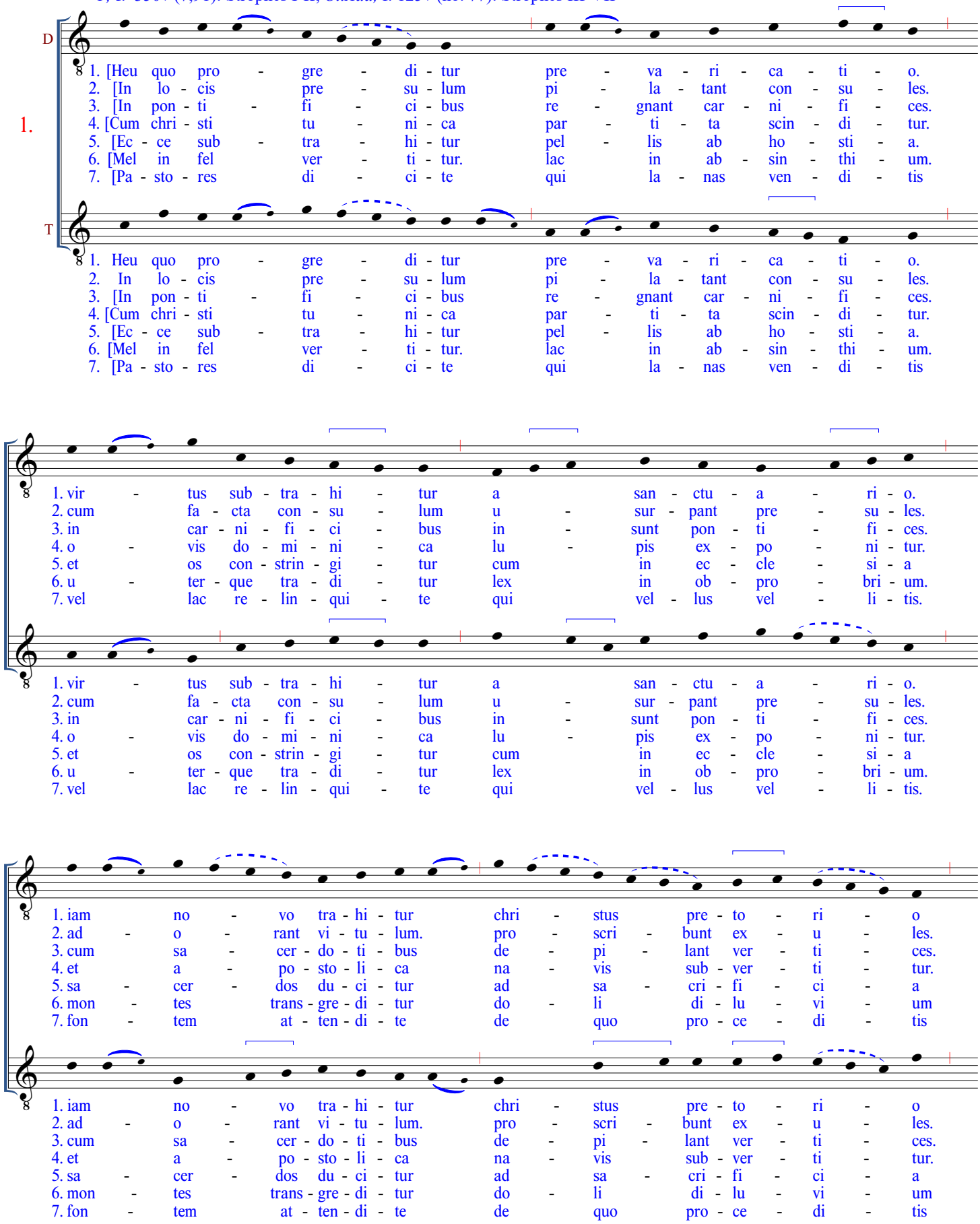
[15]Matthew, 23:23: "Vae vobis scribae et Pharisaei, hypocritae, quia decimatis mentam et anethum et cyminum et reliquistis quae graviora sunt legis: iudicium et misericordiam et fidem. Haec oportuit facere, et illa non omittere." ("Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you tithe mint, and anise, and cumin, and have left the weightier things of the law; judgment, and mercy, and faith. These things you ought to have done, and not to leave those undone.").

[16]Matthew, 7:5: "Hypocrita, eice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc videbis eicere festucam de oculo fratris tui" ("You hypocrite, cast out first the beam in your own eye, and then shall you see to cast out the mote [speck] out of your brother's eye.").

HEU QUO PROGREDITUR – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (J26/155)

F, f. 350v (7,91): Strophes I-II; *OxAdd,* f. 125v (no. 77): Strophes III-VII



1. cum pe - trus u - ti - tur pi - la - ti gla - di - o.]
2. pro - pi - nant po - cu - lum quo chri - ste pro - cul es.]
3. et in ab - ba - ti - bus ab - ba - tant sim - pli - ces.]
4. im - mo pi - ra - ti - ca pup - pis ef - fi - ci - tur.]
5. non te sub i - gi - tur im - mo sub tal - li - a.]
6. cum ca - ro ven - di - tur et pel - lis o - vi - um.]
7. vel chri - sto par - ci - te quem cru - ci - fi - gi - tis.]

1. cum pe - trus u - ti - tur pi - la - ti gla - di - o.
2. pro - pi - nant po - cu - lum quo chri - ste pro - cul es.
3. et in ab - ba - ti - bus ab - ba - tant sim - pli - ces.]
4. im - mo pi - ra - ti - ca pup - pis ef - fi - ci - tur.]
5. non te sub i - gi - tur im - mo sub tal - li - a.]
6. cum ca - ro ven - di - tur et pel - lis o - vi - um.]
7. vel chri - sto par - ci - te quem cru - ci - fi - gi - tis.]

Fauv, no. 6 f. 2r[c]

2. T He - u quo pro - gre - di - tur pre - va - ri - ca - ti - o.

vir - tus sub - tra - hi - tur a san-ctu - a - ri - o. Iam no - vo tra - hi - tur

chri - stus pre - to - ri - o Cum pe - trus u - ti - tur pi - la - ti gla - di - o.

Fre - tus con - si - li - o fal - vel - li le - di - tur su - per - na le - gi - o

iu - ste con - que - ri - tur sup - pli-cat i - gi - tur pa - tri et fi - li - o quod de re - me-di - o

in hoc me - di - o E ve - sti - gi - o pro - vi - de - at spi - ri - tus

al - - mus.

HEU QUO PROGREDITUR – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (J26/155)

F, f. 350v (7,91): Strophes I-II; *OxAdd,* f. 125v (no. 77): Strophes III-VII

I
Heu, quo progreditur
prevaricatio!
Virtus subtrahitur
a sanctuario.
Iam novo trahitur
Christus pretorio,
cum Petrus utitur
Pilati gladio.

Oh! See how wrongdoing
is advancing!
Virtue is carried off
from the sanctuary.
Christ is now dragged away
by a new Roman guard,
when Peter uses
Pilate's sword.

II
In locis presulum,
pilatant consules,
cum facta consulum
usurpant presules.
Adorant vitulum.
Proscribunt exules.
Propinant poculum.
Quo, Christe, procul es!

In the places of bishops,
statesmen play Pilate,
while bishops usurp
the acts of statesmen.
They worship the calf.
They banish exiles.
They proffer the cup.
O Christ, how distant you are!

III
[In pontificibus,
regnant carnifices.
In carnificibus,
insunt pontifices.
Cum sacerdotibus,
depilant vertices,
et, in abbatibus,
abbatant simplices.

Among pontiffs,
butchers reign.
Among butchers,
reside pontiffs.
In the company of priests,
simpletons pluck the hair from the tops
of their heads, and, among abbots,
they act the part of an abbot.

IV
Cum Christi tunica
partita scinditur,
ovis dominica
lupis exponitur
et apostolica
navis subvertitur –
immo piratica
puppis efficitur.

When Christ's tunic
is divided and torn,
the Lord's sheep
is exposed to the wolves
and the apostles'
boat is capsized –
in fact, it becomes
a pirate ship.

V
Ecce, subtrahitur
pellis ab hostia,
et os constringitur
cum in ecclesia
sacerdos ducitur
ad sacrificia.
Non sub te, igitur,
immo sub tallia.

Look – the skin is
removed from the victim,
and the mouth is gagged,
when in church
the priest is led
to the sacrifices.
Hence he is not subject to you, [Christ,]
but rather to payment.

VI
Mel in fel vertitur,

Honey is turned into gall,

	lac in absinthium.		milk into wormwood.
	Uterque traditur		Each law is dragged down
	lex in obprobrium.		into disgrace.
	Montes transgreditur	45	A deluge of fraud
	doli diluvium,		crosses the mountains,
	cum caro venditur		when the flesh and hide
	et pellis ovium.		of the sheep is sold.
VII	Pastores, dicite,		Shepherds – you who sell
	qui lanas venditis;	50	the wool, you who shear
	vel lac relinquite,		the fleece – speak!
	qui vellus vellitis.		Beware of the source
	Fontem attendite		from which you spring:
	de quo proceditis,		either leave the milk behind,
	vel Christo parcite,	55	or spare Christ,
	quem crucifigitis.]		whom you are crucifying.

[Additional text following directly on Strophe I in *Fauv:*]

	Fretus consilio		The reliance on the counsel
	Falvelli leditur.	10a	of Fauvel suffers injury.
	Superna legio		Rightly does the
	iuste conqueritur.		heavenly legion complain.
	Supplicat, igitur,		Therefore, let it implore
	patri et filio,		the Father and the Son
	quod de remedio	15a	that the favorable Spirit
	in hoc medio		may instantly
	E vestigio		provide for a remedy
	provideat spiritus almus.		in the midst of all this.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 91, f. 350v: a2; Strophes I-II only, with the text of II headed by a capital and filling an empty portion prepared for it within the writing block at the end of the piece.

Fauv, no. 6, f. 2r^{c}: a1 (T): Strophe I, only, in mensural notation, with an additional concluding series of ten poetic lines, not found elsewhere (supplied above in the text after Strophe VII of the *F* version as lines 9a-18a), that connects the poem to the *Fauvel* romance. New music accompanies the added poetry, and its final cauda gives almost the appearance of an appended motet tenor, with the closing text "... spiritus almus." The music in this cauda portion does not appear to correlate with the passage on the same text in the verse of the well-known responsory *Styrps Yesse. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16), set in two- and three-part organum in the *Magnus liber organi.* The complete *Fauv* version appears as an alternative following the redaction of *F.*

Text only:

OxAdd (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 44; GB-Ob Add. A. 44), no. 77, f. 125v: text only of Strophes I-VII complete, written continuously on the page as if in prose, and headed by a filigreed initial, and with II-VII indicated by capital letters (the one heading V is relatively small in size); the rubric: "Contra pontifices pilatisantes" ("Against prelates acting like Pilates"), forms the last element at the bottom of f. 125v; the poem

itself begins at the top of f. 126r with what appears to be an authorial attribution, "Eraclius," in the right margin, along with two instances of a listing in Roman numerals reading "lxxv"; see below in the notes on the text for more on the possible ascriptions of this poem.

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 10, f. 236r (7r): Strophes I-IV, only; the folio 236 (7) that held this piece is now lost from the MS; readings consulted here derive from those given by Guido Maria Dreves in *AH,* 21:147, no 209, along with the corrections to it supplied by Hans Walther,[1] since both of them saw and commented on the source prior to the leaf's disappearance; rubric: "De pontificibus officium suum usurpantibus" ("On prelates usurping their office").

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attributions and possible dating:** In addition to the supposed attribution in *OxAdd* to the otherwise unknown Eraclius, a figure similarly signaled as the author of four other items in this MS,[2] this text is offered as a possible work of Philip the Chancellor by Peter Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," 591).[3] Prominent in terms of his style here, is the way that so many of the metaphors and images in this poem, particularly biblical ones, are conceptually inverted so that their original actions, sense, or meaning is turned upside down. For the potential connection of *Heu quo progreditur* to the contested election of William of Auvergne as bishop of Paris, see the notes to line 45, as well as those to 43-44, below. If the connection to the election is sound, it would mean that this poem could be dated sometime between late1227-1236. Alternatively, C.L. Kingsford, along with his transcription of this poem in "Some Political Poems of the Twelfth Century," *The English Historical Review,* 5 (1890): 311-326, on 322-323, conjectures that the poem could be English in origin and queries whether it might "refer to the constant employment of bishops in secular offices during the reigns of Henry II and Richard I." This hypothesis has not, to my knowledge, provoked further consideration in the literature. **Textual notes: 1,1:** "Heu" is considered a monosyllable according to the structure of the poem and the musical setting in *F.* The version in *Fauv,* though, presents it bi-syllabically, which causes a disjunction between music and poem for this line. On the way that the *Fauv* music scribe contended with the problem, see below in the observations on the music of the *Fauv* version at line 1. **5-6:** see Mark, 15:16,[4] as well as the similar passage in Matthew, 27:27. **7-8:** cf. Luke, 22:38.[5] The metaphor of the two swords, which represent the powers of the spiritual and temporal ruler, respectively, was a common medieval symbol, often invoked during the Investiture controversy. As exemplified by Saint Bernard in *De consideratione,* Christ delivered both "swords" to the pope, who then handed the temporal power over to the sovereign for use as a privilege, not as a

[1]Some corrections/additions to the edition in *AH* are provided in Hans Walther, "Die poetische Anthologie des cod. Oxford Rawl. C. 510," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 3 (1966): 218-227, at 219.

[2]These are *Omnis vere confitens* (f. 54v), *Ab humilitate in superbiam* (f. 55v), *Ecce quales entes quales* (f. 56v), and *In instructione rudium nepotum* (f. 57r). For further consideration of the attribution, see A. G. Rigg, "Eraclius Archipoeta: Bekynton Anthology Nos. 14, 15, 20, 77," *Medium Aevum,* 53 (1984): 1-9.

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

[4]Mark, 15:16: "milites autem duxerunt eum intro in atrium praetorii et convocant totam cohortem" ("the soldiers then led him [Jesus] into the atrium of the court of the palace and called together the whole regiment")

[5]Luke, 22:38: "at illi dixerunt: 'Domine ecce gladii duo hic,' at ille dixit eis, satis est" ("but they [the disciples] said: 'Lord, behold, here are two swords,' but he [Jesus] said to them, 'it is enough.' ").

right.[6] Philip the Chancellor himself speaks of the primacy of the Church in the control of the two swords in his *Summa de Bono*.[7] In the case of this poem, the various roles have been intermingled to disastrous effect. **13:** for the worshiping of the golden calf, see Exodus, 32:1-35. Interestingly, at the end of this passage, the Levites, the eventual priestly class, are not associated with this exercise of idolatry as they are here; they sided with Moses and were commanded by him to kill their fellow Hebrews who refused to follow him. There may also, perhaps, be an attendant meaning here of lusting after gold; see lines 39-40. **15:** in addition to the various connotations here of irresponsible drinking and officiating at mass, there may possibly be a nod here towards the bitter drink given to Christ during the Crucifixion: see the similar accounts given in Matthew, 27:48; Mark, 15:36; Luke, 23:36; John, 19:28-29.[8] **18-19:** in addition to the remarks below in line 45, another use of the word "carnifices" (here rendered as "butchers") arises in the text of the motet triplum voice *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* (VdW 316/M24), line 2, also attributed to Philip the Chancellor. **22:** plucking the hair from the crown of one's head would effectively create a tonsure, a mark of clerical status. **25-26:** for the division of Jesus's garments during the Crucifixion and its parallels beyond the Gospels, see Matthew, 27:35; Mark, 15:24; Luke, 23:34; John, 19:23-24[9]; and Psalm 21:19. The passage in John is especially pertinent to the poem, since in the dividing up of Jesus' clothes his seamless tunic was not torn but was gambled for specifically by the soldiers who had crucified him. According to the *Glossa ordinaria* (see, e.g., PL,114, col. 347), the intact garment signifies the unity of the church.[10] Since the tunic in the conductus has now been torn in pieces, this indicates how severe and deplorable the present abuse has become. For an additional appearance in the conductus repertory of Christ's clothes being rent, see Philip the Chancellor's *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), lines 31-32. **27-28:** among the numerous biblical examples of wolves as a metaphor for evil, see Ezekiel, 22:27;

---

[6]From *De consideratione*, book 4, chap. 3, para. 7: "Uterque ergo ecclesie et spiritalis scilicet gladius et materialis; sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero et ab ecclesia exerendens. Ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis, et iussum imperatoris" ("Both swords belong to the Church, the spiritual and the material; the one is to be used to defend the Church, but the other must be banished from the Church; the one is wielded by the priest, the other by the soldier, but of course with your [the pope's] consent, and at the command of the Emperor"). The Latin text used here (I have modernized the punctuation) comes from the incunabulum edition of Pieter van Os (Zwolle, 1486); the English rendering is from George Lewis, trans., *Saint Bernard: On Consideration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 104.

[7]"Et nota quod non sine causa dictum fuit illud: 'Ecce duo gladii hic,' quorum licet unus dicatur pertinere ad sacerdotium et alter ad regnum, tamen uterque in veritate ecclesie est" ("And note that not without reason was it said: 'Behold, here are two swords'; and although it may be said that one of them pertains to the priesthood and the other to the kingdom, nevertheless each of them actually belongs to the church.") From Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis: Summa de Bono,* 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985). See vol. 2:1048, lines 258-260.

[8]John, 19:28-29: "Postea sciens Jesus quia omnia consummata sunt, ut consummaretur Scriptura, dixit: 'Sitio.' Vas ergo erat positum aceto plenum. Illi autem spongiam plenam aceto, hyssopo circumponentes, obtulerunt ori ejus" ("Afterwards, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said: 'I thirst." Now there was a vessel set there full of vinegar. And they [the attending soldiers], putting a sponge full of vinegar and hyssop, put it to his mouth.").

[9]John, 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 impleretur, 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.").

[10]*PL,* 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.").

Matthew, 7:15,[11] 10:16; Luke, 10:3; John, 10:12; and Acts, 20:29. **29-30:** see Matthew, 8: 23-27; Luke 8:22-24; and Mark, 4:35-39, where Jesus stills the storm threatening to capsize the boat in which he and the apostles are traveling. In the case of the conductus, though, the vessel founders. **33-34:** see Leviticus, 7:8, which specifies that the priest who offers a sacrifice is given the victim's skin.[12] **35-38:** cf. Isaiah, 53:6-8; and especially verse 7 on silent sacrificial victims.[13] **39-40:** Anderson's emendation to "talia" (*NDRC,* 5:xix) is unnecessary, as the word "tallia" ("payment") is vouched for by Du Cange, *Glossarium,*[14] Possibly a pun is intended, as "tallia" (or "talea") can also refer to cutting, such as the skinning or fleecing of a sacrificial victim and possibly cutting out the tongue of someone so they won't speak (see lines 35-38). The "you" referred to in line 39,3 is likely Christ, based on the second-person exclamation in line 16. **41-42:** the figure of the milk and honey that flowed throughout the promised land occurs dozens of times in the Bible (e.g., Exodus, 3:8, 3:17, and 33:3).[15] Here the metaphors associated with salvation have become bitter and poisonous. Note also the recollection of the milk image in line 51. **43-44:** as Anderson suggests (*NDRC,* 5:xix), the Old and New Testaments could be invoked here, but in view of the specific context of this poem, the invocation of the two laws here seems more likely to recall the figure of the two swords from lines 7-8. It is also just possible that there could be a reference to the *lex vocalis et realis* that appears in the motetus text of *Error popularis / Dominus* (vdW 44/M1), lines 45-48.[16] If so, this could be another way in which *Heu quo progreditur* may tie into the series of poems that Philip the Chancellor wrote against Bishop William of Auvergne (for more on this, see the following remarks on line 45). **45:** the image of fraud crossing the mountains could connect this poem to a number of other conductus and

---

[11]Matthew, 7:15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces" ("Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.").

[12]Leviticus, 7:8 "Sacerdos qui offert holocausti victimam, habebit pellem ejus" ("The priest that offers the victim of holocaust, shall have the skin thereof.").

[13]Isaiah 53:7: "Oblatus est quia ipse voluit et non aperuit os suum: sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur et quasi agnus coram tondente obmutescet et non aperiet os suum" ("He [the prophesied Christ] was offered up because he wished it, and he did not open his mouth: he shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb before his shearer he shall be silent, and not open his mouth.").

[14]Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis,* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887). The reference may be consulted online: https://logeion.uchicago.edu/tallia; see the fifth entry.

[15]E.g., Exodus, 3:8 "Et sciens dolorem ejus, descendi ut liberem eum de manibus AEgyptiorum, et educam de terra illa in terram bonam, et spatiosam, in terram quae fluit lacte et melle ..." ("And knowing their sorrow, I [the Lord] am come down to deliver them [the Israelites] out of the hands of the Egyptians, and to bring them out of that land into a good and spacious land, into a land that floweth with milk and honey ... .").

[16]*Error popularis / Dominus* (vdW 44/M1), lines 41-48: "Spiritualis / cibus exigitur, / qui cum sepultura venum traditur. / Ergo numinis honor impenditur; / et realis / et vocalis. / et destruitur. / lex quam dederat dominus" ("Spiritual sustenance is peddled and put up for sale with a funeral. That's how God's office is paid for; and both the letter and spirit of the law that the Lord gave is destroyed."). Here the phrase including the terms "lex vocalis et realis" could be rendered more literally as "the law that the Lord gave, both in its universal and specific senses (or properties)." The terms "realis" and "vocalis" as they are used here invoke philosophical language in referring to the distinctions between nominal and essential properties. For definitions along these lines, see the following from the *Mitrale* of Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), a treatise on the liturgy (text quoted from PL, 213 (1855): col. 47): "Vocalis est cum per voces res mediantibus intellectibus significantur, de qua logica loquitur. Realis est cum per unam rem, res alia figuratur. Vocalis est ex humana institutione. Realis vero ex divina, sicut enim homo per vocem, sic Deus per creaturas et opera, suam indicat voluntatem. Vocalis autem est univoca, aut aequivoca. Realis autem profundior est; quia quot sunt proprietates, tot significationum diversitates, utraque est in mensae pedibus necessaria; et ideo clarum est scientiam artium ad cognitionem divinarum proficere Scripturarum." (" 'Vocal' is when things are signified through words with the mediation of the intellect, about which logic speaks. 'Real' is when through one thing, another thing is represented. Now 'Vocal' comes from human action, 'Real,' however, from divine. For just as man through his voice, so does God indicate his will through his creations and works. 'Vocal' is either univocal [having one meaning] or equivocal [with several meanings]. 'Real,' though, is more profound; because however many properties there are, there are just as many varieties of meanings. And both are necessary for [the philosophical metaphor of] the feet of the table; and therefore it is clear that knowledge of the arts is beneficial for the understanding of the divine scriptures.").

motet texts that criticize bishops, nearly all of which have been attributed to Philip the Chancellor. The conductus are: *Deduc Syon uberrimas* (G8/85), *Mundus a mundicia* (F17/212) and *Veritas equitas largitas* (K62/375); the motets: *Error popularis / Dominus* (VdW 44/M1, not previously attributed to Philip but now likely his work, given its connection to the event – see also the remarks for lines 43-44), *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (VdW 451/M37), and the triplum voice of the double motet *Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle / Et gaudebit* (VdW 316/315/M24) – for the latter, see also the above remarks for lines 18-19. All these poems deplore the papal appointment of William of Auvergne as bishop of Paris during the controversy that attended that city's episcopal election in 1227-1228.[17] In the case of *Heu quo progreditur,* the installation of William by papal provision could be seen as the "deluge of fraud" that traveled so far overland. **48,3:** "sheep" here may also connote a fool. **49-50:** as indicated by line 35, the priests – like a sacrificial victim – are mum in the face of the abuse; the poet urges them to speak. **51-56:** a bit difficult to construe, since the use of "vel" at the start of lines 51 and 55 suggests some choice is required. Apparently the poet urges the pastors either to serve Christ, or face leaving behind the milk that was referred to in line 42. This use of the milk figure, along with the image of honey in line 41, suggests the salvation of the promised land (see the remarks for lines 41 and 42, above). **52,2:** for this connotation of "attendite," see the quotation of Matthew, 7:15, given above. **15a,2-3:** "provideat" often takes an object with "de."[18] **17a:** "instantly" is an idiomatic meaning for "e vestigio."[19] The idiom also appears in the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – VdW 761/BDVI), line 20, transmitted as *F*-6,58, at f. 250r.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since the *Fauv* version is also supplied in transcription here, all of its variants are collated in addition to those from *F* and *OxAdd:* **2:** Fauv: prevaricacio, from *F.* **3,2:** Fauv: substractur, from *F.* **5,3:** Fauv: traditur, from *F.* **7,2:** Fauv: possibly written pertus, from *F.* **16,3-4:** F: procules, the two words are run together. **34,3:** OxAdd: ostia, an alternative spelling; the editorially adopted orthography used here is to avoid confusion with the word "ostia" meaning "door." **39-40:** Anderson's emendation (*NDRC,* 5: xix) is unnecessary, see the *Notes on the Text* for these lines. **51,1; 55,1:** Anderson's reading (*NDRC,* 5: xix) of these same words as "ut" is in error; they clearly indicate the abbreviation for "vel," a reading supported by C.L. Kingsford; see his "Some Political Poems" (citation above), 323. **MUSIC: *F* version:** no variants. ***Fauv* version:** the transcription of this source is fairly strict in terms of interpreting the ligatures, the L,LP *tangendo conjunctim* figures, as well as the numerous L rests, according to Franconian principles. **Line 1:** T: Fauv: from all appearances, the opening word "Heu" is musically set as a bi-syllable here, whereas in *F* it is treated monosyllabically; this may account for the extra *c*=L (in comparison to the reading in *F*) that appears on the penultimate syllable of the line ("[progre]di[tur]"). But there is also, interestingly, an apparently superfluous repeated *d*=L at the conclusion of this phrase which might also accommodate the added syllable without need for the *c;* these repeated *d* notes I have joined by a dashed tie in the *Fauv* transcription. **7,3:** I do not read the concluding tail of the figure on the first syllable of "ut[itur]" as a P, rather as an indication for a Long. **15a:** T: Fauv: the six syllables of this line are accorded five notational figures; to accommodate the extra syllable, the 3li over "quod de" has been broken into 2li,si in the score.

---

[17]See my study on the music and poetry prompted by this event: "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 19. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017). For the possibility that *Heu quo progreditur* could be devoted to the bishop's election, see p. 286, note 58. Note also the chapter in this volume that has the contested election as its subject: Franco Morenzoni, "Le conflit pour l'election de l'évêque de Paris en 1227-1228 d'apres 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).

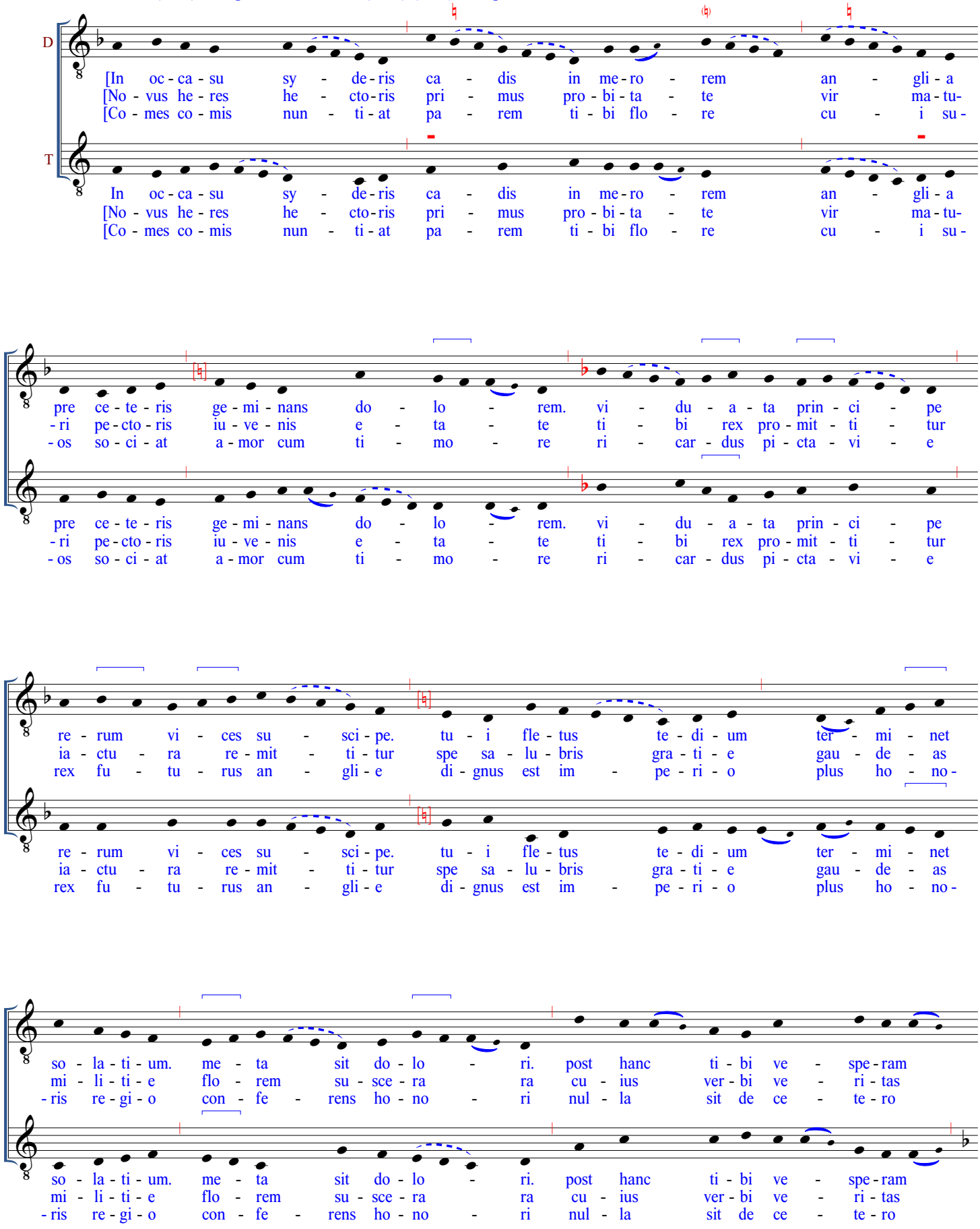
[18]See Charlton T. Lewis, and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary...,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v. "provideo," I.B.2; available online at: https://logeion.uchicago.edu/provideo.

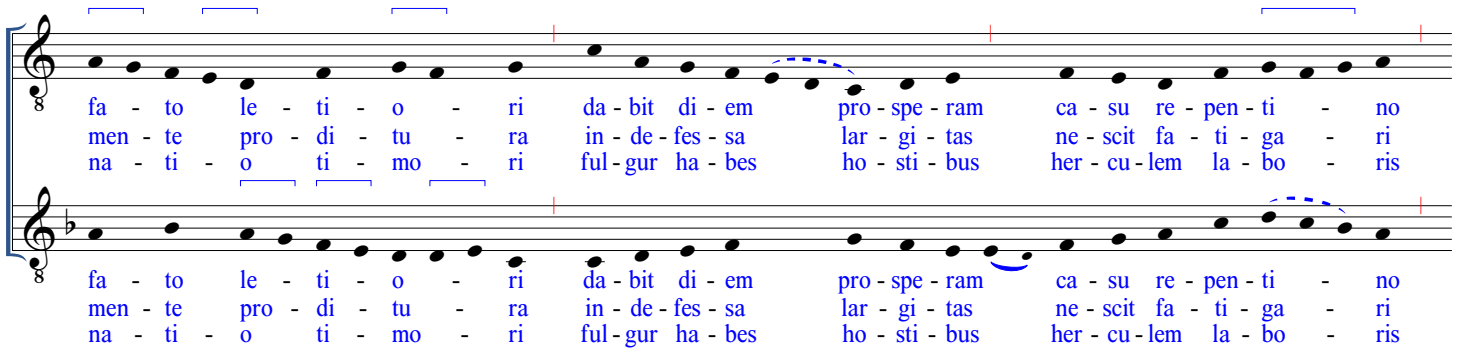
[19]See https://logeion.uchicago.edu/vestigium, *LewisShort,* II.B.b

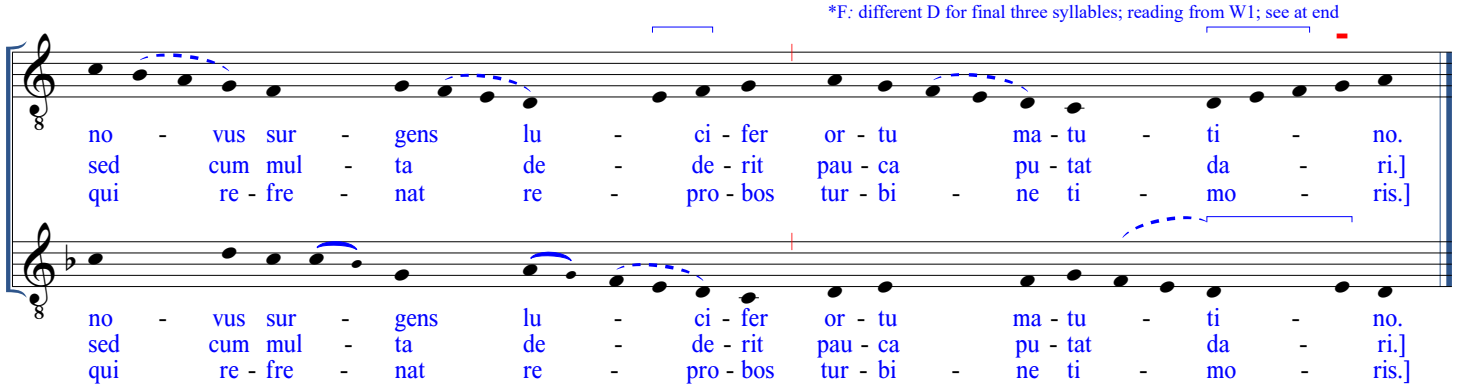
IN OCCASU SYDERIS

Conductus (I11/178)

F, f. 350v (7,92): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 117r (108r) (9,30): Strophes II-III

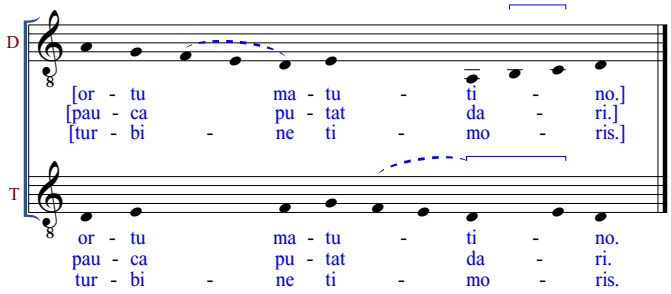






ALTERNATIVE READING:

**F,* f. 351r, III: line 15, with D of last three syllables departing from *W1*



IN OCCASU SYDERIS

Conductus (I11/178)

F, f. 350v (7,92): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 117r (108r) (9,30): Strophes II-III

I	In occasu syderis,	With the falling of a star,
	cadis in merorem,	England, you descend into
	anglia, pre ceteris,	a grief beyond all others,
	geminans dolorem.	doubling your sadness.
	Viduata principe,	Widowed of your prince,
	rerum vices suscipe.	accept the change in circumstances.
	Tui fletus tedium	Let comfort put an end to
	terminet solatium.	the weariness of your tears.
	Meta sit dolori.	Let there be a limit to sorrow.
	Post hanc tibi vesperam,	After this eventide,
	fato letiori,	thanks to a happier fate,
	dabit diem prosperam,	a new bringer of light, rising
	casu repentino,	out of this unexpected event,
	novus surgens lucifer,	will grant you a favorable day
	ortu matutino.	with the morning sunrise
II	[Novus heres Hectoris,	A new heir of Hector,
	primus probitate,	foremost in prowess,
	vir maturi pectoris,	a man of mature disposition,
	iuvenis etate,	but young in age,
	tibi rex promittitur.	is promised you as king.
	Iactura remittitur	The deficit is restored
	spe salubris gratie.	through the hope of saving grace.
	Gaudeas militie	You should rejoice that you will
	florem susceptura,	receive the flower of knighthood,
	cuius verbi veritas	the truth of whose words
	mente proditura.	will issue from his soul.
	Indefessa largitas	Tireless generosity
	nescit fatigari,	never sleeps,
	sed cum multa dederit,	but though he has given many things,
	pauca putat dari.	he considers little to be given.
III	Comes comis nuntiat	This considerate count indicates
	parem tibi flore.	that he is your peer in distinction.
	Cui suos sociat	Love, along with fear,
	amor cum timore.	unites his subjects to him.
	Ricardus Pictavie,	Richard of Poitiers,
	rex futurus anglie,	the king of England to be,
	dignus est imperio,	is worthy of the kingdom,
	plus honoris regio	conferring even more honor
	conferens honori.	on the royal honor.
	Nulla sit de cetero	From now on, no
	natio timori;	people should be fearful;
	fulgur habes, hostibus	you possess a thunderbolt, a Hercules
	Herculem laboris,	of hardship for your enemies,
	qui refrenat reprobos	one that curbs the wicked

turbine timoris.] 45 with a whirlwind of fear.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 92, f. 350v: a2: Strophe I only, with no provision for further stanzas. The following piece in *F*-7, the conductus *Pange melos lacrimosum* (I15/258), is also a planctus on the death of a European royal personage; cf. the position of *In occasu syderis* in *OxRawl.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 30, f. 117r (108r) (9,30): a2; Strophes I-III, complete, with II-III headed by painted initials much smaller than the one starting the piece and entered in the lower right margin of the leaf, outside the writing block and aligned respectively with the last two systems on the folio.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 17, f. 238r (9r): text alone of Strophes I-III, complete, with the first letter of each line as laid out on the page arrayed in a vertical column, separating them slightly from the remainder of each verse. For the entirety of I, this column is occupied by the opening initial). II and III are headed by old-style pilcrows (℄), extending slightly into the left margin; rubric: "Item alia commendatio" ("Item: another commendation"). The title refers back to the previous piece in *OxRawl,* the conductus *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298), which also commemorates King Richard I of England, and bears a similarly indefinite rubric; cf. the position of *In occasu syderis* in *F.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** David A. Traill has published an analysis of this text that has richly informed a number of the observations presented here.[1] In his study, Traill argues that Philip the Chancellor is the likely poet of *In occasu syderis.* This assertion is based on its placement in *OxRawl* after *Redit etas aurea* – another poem that Traill believes is by Philip – as well as similarities in verse structure and certain linguistic and topical echoes with other poems, several of which Traill also gives to Philip. At present this attribution has not seen wide confirmation. **Subject and date:** The poem mourns the death of a member of the English royal family and praises the future King Richard I ("Lionheart," reg. 3 September 1189-6 April 1199) as the new heir to the throne. A number of other datable conductus in the Parisian repertory involve members of the English royal family; see, in addition to *In occasu syderis* (I11/178) and *Redit etas aurea* (I8/298), *Eclypsim patitur* (I7/105), *Anglia planctus itera* (K12/14), and the indirect nod given in *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228). Note that all of these, except for *Novus miles,* are also given to Philip the Chancellor by Traill in his various publications. Primary considerations for determining the possible date of the poem hinge on identifying the individual mourned in its opening five lines. The identity of this departed figure has been under dispute. For example, notwithstanding the use of "principe" in line 5,2, both Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xii, note 1) and Christopher Page (in his liner notes to the audio CD *Music for the Lion-Hearted King*)[2] propose King Henry II of England (reg. 5 March 1133-6 July 1189). The same individual is also implied by Sanders in his study of datable conductus

[1]"Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart," *The Journal of Medieval Latin,* 28 (2018): 1-13; see especially 3-6.

[2]Gothic Voices, directed by Christopher Page, *Music for the Lion-Hearted King,* audio compact disc (Hyperion CDA 66336: London, 1989); see pp. 15-16 of the accompanying booklet.

("Style and Technique," 521).[3] A further candidate, though, is Richard's older brother, Henry, known as the Young King (28 February 1155-11 June 1183).[4] The younger Henry is noted for his participation in two rebellions against his father. The first of these, from 1173-1174, where he allied himself both with Richard and his younger brother Geoffery II, Duke of Brittany (1158-1186), is acknowledged in the conductus *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228), lines 25-30. A second campaign, during which the younger Henry met his death, arose in 1183, where the two siblings were now pitted against their father and brother Richard. Henry the Young King is proposed as the one mourned in *In occasu* in my article "Datable 'Notre Dame' Conductus," 106, and note 7;[5] and later by Traill in "Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart," 5. Traill's claim rests on the description of Richard as "Hector's new heir" in the opening line of Strophe II of *In occasu,* which he regards as being old news by the time of Henry II's death in 1189. This set of circumstances thus suggests the composition of the poem in the year 1183, with the death of the young Henry as the motivation for writing the song. Yet Traill also notes (5, note 12) that Richard's succession was not necessarily affirmed until 10 March 1186 at the earliest, at a conference in Gisors between Henry II and Philip II Augustus of France (reg.1180-1223). This later year may be of consequence in furnishing a connotation for the expression in line 4, "geminans dolorem" ("doubling your grief"), which echoes the opening of *Anglia planctus itera* in suggesting that two recent dolorous events had occurred.[6] If the same situation of a twofold death obtains for *In occasu* as with *Anglia planctus,* the date of 1186 might better satisfy the events. In this case, the second loss invoked here would be that of Geoffrey of Brittany, whose passing may also be recounted in the text of *Eclypsim patitur* as well as in *Anglia planctus*.[7] A dear friend and close ally of Philip Augustus, Geoffrey died in Paris on 19 August 1186, reportedly as the result of an accident at a tournament, and was buried with full pomp in Notre Dame cathedral. Hence, the proposed time of composition of *In occasu* offers several possibilities: Geoffrey's death (19 August 1186) – the second of the two – could apply as an early boundary that would accommodate both the younger Henry's earlier death (11 June 1183) and the clarification of Richard's status at the March 1186 meeting at Gisors. The poem, therefore, could date from shortly after Geoffrey's passing. But even so, Henry II may still lay claim to the "fallen star" of *In occasu,* again inviting the date of 1189 for the poem's composition. This is because, despite the evidence brought forward by Traill concerning the affirmation of Richard's succession in 1186, tensions and doubts between Henry and Richard prevailed on this matter until just a few days before King Henry's death. The ongoing resistance of his father to Richard's claim at last crumbled on or about 4 July 1189, where Henry tangled with and lost to Richard and Philip Augustus at Ballan, near Tours, and where he was forced to consent, among other things, to recognize Richard indubitably as his successor. Very ill at the time, Henry repaired to Chinon after the concession and died just a few days later, on

---

[3]Ernest 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). Anderson, Page, and Sanders seem to be following the lead offered by Léopold Delisle, "Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 22 (1885): 82-139, at 119, note 1.

[4]Henry the Young King had been crowned on 14 June 1170 by his father prior to the latter's demise, a practice earlier adopted by the Capetian monarchs of France to avoid disputes over royal succession.

[5] Thomas B. Payne "Datable 'Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001): 104-151.

[6]*Anglia planctus itera,* lines 1-4: "Anglia planctus itera / et ad luctum revertere. / Dupplex dampnum considera, / dupplici merso sydere" ("England, repeat your laments / and return to your grief; / look on the double injury, / engulfed by a duplicitous heaven."). On this question, see Anderson's edition of *Anglia planctus* in *NDRC,* 6:xx, note 2.

[7]See my notes on the text for *Eclypsim patitur,* where the matter is still somewhat in doubt, but where the general consensus at present seems to favor Geoffrey of Brittany, rather than the Henry the Young King as the subject.

6 July.[8] As a result, all three dates, 1183, 1186, and 1189, have various degrees of legitimacy for prompting the writing of *In occasu sideris,* with the latter two perhaps slightly more preferable due to the speculation about the significance of line 4. Lastly, 1189 might ultimately work best of all, if the "doubled (i.e., "twinned") grief" of line 4 is considered to apply to two individuals of the same rank, since both Henrys had been officially crowned monarch at the time of their passing. **Textual notes: 4-5:** on the possible significance of this "doubled sadness," and candidates for the "prince" that has left England a widow, see the above discussion on the possible subjects and dates allocated to this poem. **16:** For details on just how "new" an heir Richard was to his father, see the above discussion on the subject of the poem. The reference here to Hector, the Trojan prince and warrior, may not be merely figural, nor may it necessarily denote King Henry II. According to Traill (Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart," 5, note 11), the royal families of both England and France claimed to descend from the Trojans. Note also the mythological reference to Hercules in line 43. **19:** depending on the various proposed dates for the writing of this poem, Richard, born 8 September 1157, would have been either 25 (11 June 1183), 28 (19 August 1186), or 31 (6 July 1189). **31-32:** since the addressee of the poem throughout is a personified England, these lines indicate that Richard will be a ruler equal in renown to the kingdom itself. **35:** at the time of his succession Richard was Count of Poitiers in addition to other titles, including Duke of Aquitaine; both of these honorifics he received from his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), wife of Henry II from 19 December 1154. **38-39:** cf. the remarks for lines 31-32; here England, the addressee of the poem, will confer even greater honor on Richard, already honored by the crown that has come to him. **40-41:** with these lines, which include the second of three references to fear that arise in this stanza (see also lines 34 and 45), the implication seems to be that none of the territories that Richard will control as king should be afraid. From 1188-1189 in particular, Richard's pursuit of the succession had led to numerous military conflicts with his father, all of them conducted in English-held lands on French soil.[9] **41,1:** note that "fulgur" is neuter. **42-45:** in addition to the reference to the hero Hector of classical antiquity in line 16, here the future king Richard is compared to the Roman demigod Hercules (with an indirect nod to the fabled series of twelve labors the champion accomplished – "Herculem laboris") and the thunderbolt and whirlwind associated with Hercules's father, Jupiter, god of the sky and air.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *W1* supplies the poetry for Strophes II-III here, all of its variants are collated in addition to any from *F.* **7,1:** W1: cui; *F* reading also in *OxRawl.* **11,1:** W1: facto; *F* reading also in *OxRawl.* **42,2:** W1: habens; reading from *OxRawl.* **MUSIC: Line 45:** D: F: 2si,2li,si=*e,↓a,bc,d* for "[ma]tutino," the final three syllables to be set; adopted reading from *W1.* The *F* reading appears as an alternative at the end of the score. It has been rejected in the main transcription due to the fact that this very last gesture expands the range of the D to low *a,* three notes beyond its previous nadir of *c* while also surpassing the bottom end of the T (the same *c*). The highest note in the D, though, is the *d* above middle *c,* so the range is still well within the limits one may encounter in some of the more expansive conductus melodies. Hence, the *F* reading may be substituted if wished, but to me it appears likely to be a compounded transposition error that the scribe attempted to correct by closing the entire piece on a unison, the preferred final interval in most of the a2 pieces in *F*-7.

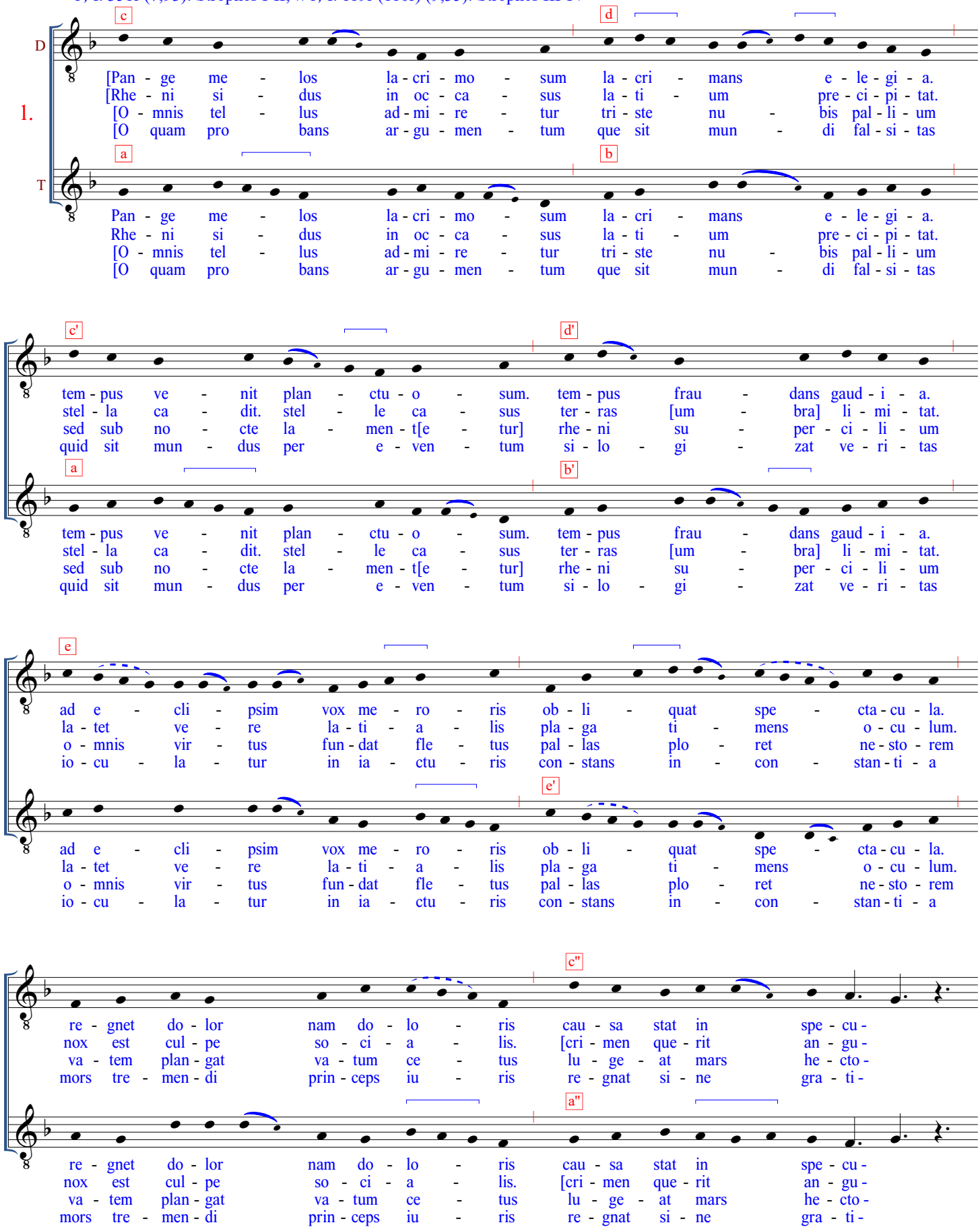
[8]For information on these events, see Wilfred Lewis Warren, *Henry II,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 620-626. This is the same work that Traill relies on for his discussion of the succession question.

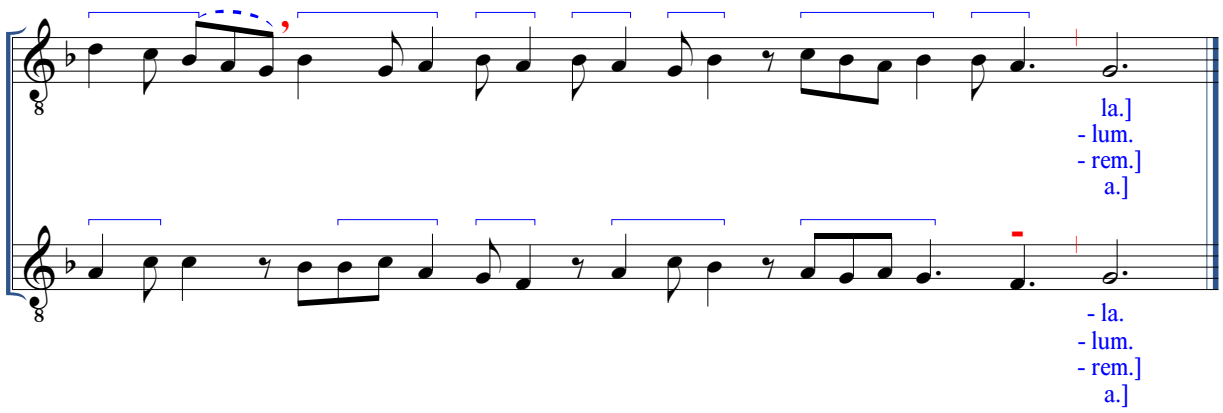
[9]Again, see Warren, *Henry II,* pp. 620-626.

PANGE MELOS LACRIMOSUM – *F* and *W1* versions

Conductus (I15/258)

F, f. 351r (7,93): Strophes I-II; *W1,* f. 119r (110r) (9,35): Strophes III-IV





W1, f. 119r (110r) (9,35)

F: d c b-flat (="c" motive)

2.

D [Pan - ge me - los la - cri - mo - sum la - cri - mans e - le - gi - a.
[Rhe - ni si - dus in oc - ca - sus la - ti - um pre - ci - pi - tat.
[O - mnis tel - lus ad - mi - re - tur tri - ste nu - bis pal - li - um
[O quam pro bans ar - gu - men - tum que sit mun - di fal - si - tas

a b

T Pan - ge me - los la - cri - mo - sum la - cri - mans e - le - gi - a.
Rhe - ni si - dus in oc - ca - sus la - ti - um pre - ci - pi - tat.
O - mnis tel - lus ad - mi - re - tur tri - ste nu - bis pal - li - um
O quam pro bans ar - gu - men - tum que sit mun - di fal - si - tas

c'

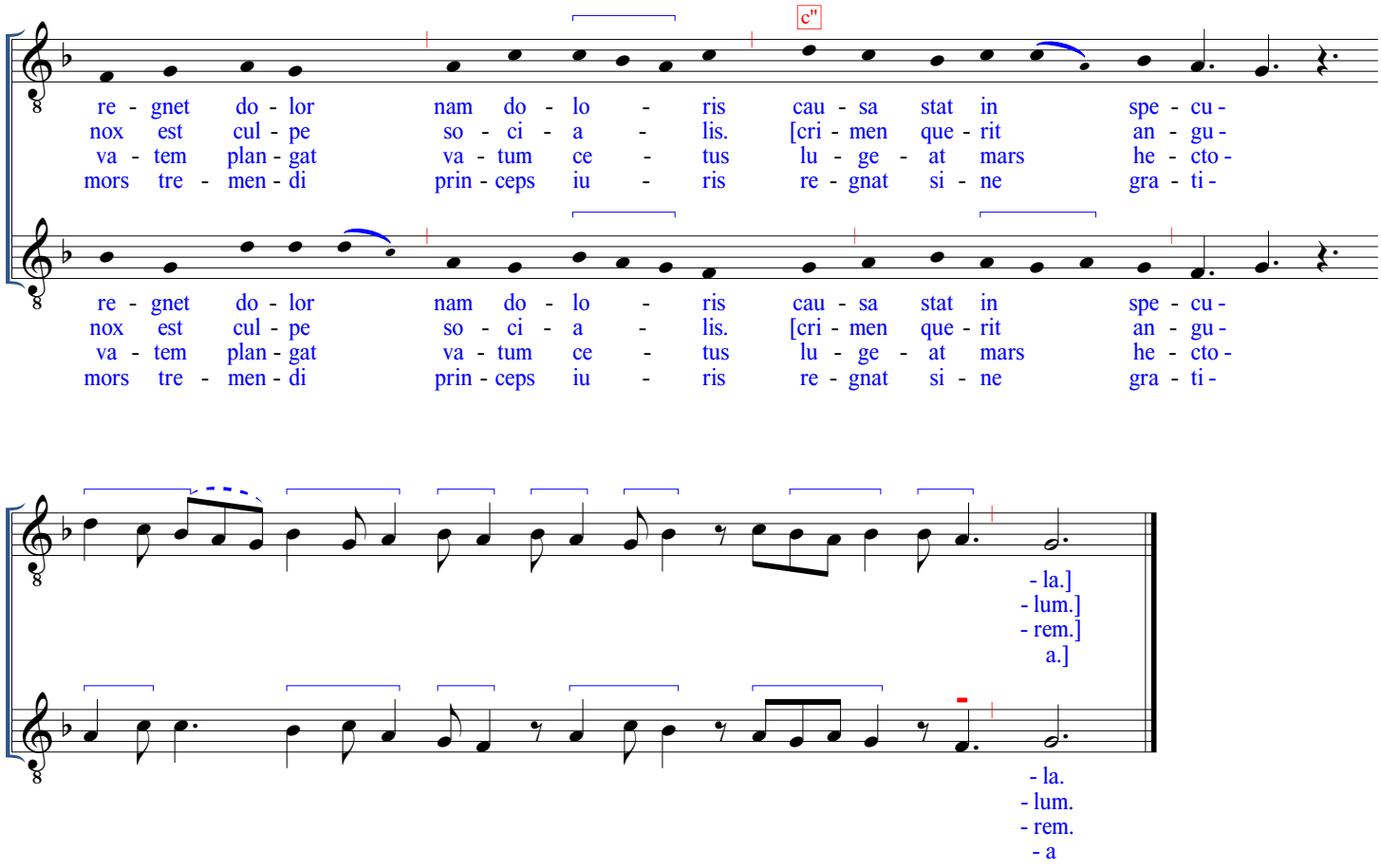
tem - pus ve - nit plan - ctu - o - sum. tem - pus frau - dans gaud - i - a.
stel - la ca - dit. stel - le ca - sus ter - ras [um - bra] li - mi - tat.
sed sub no - cte la - men - t[e - tur] rhe - ni su - per - ci - li - um
quid sit mun - dus per e - ven - tum si - lo - gi - zat ve - ri - tas

a b'

tem - pus ve - nit plan - ctu - o - sum. tem - pus frau - dans gaud - i - a.
stel - la ca - dit. stel - le ca - sus ter - ras [um - bra] li - mi - tat.
sed sub no - cte la - men - t[e - tur] rhe - ni su - per - ci - li - um
quid sit mun - dus per e - ven - tum si - lo - gi - zat ve - ri - tas

ad e - cli - psim vox me - ro - ris ob - li - quat spe - cta - cu - la.
la - tet ve - re la - ti - a - lis pla - ga ti - mens o - cu - lum.
o - mnis vir - tus fun - dat fle - tus pal - las plo - ret ne - sto - rem
io - cu - la - tur in ia - ctu - ris con - stans in - con - stan - ti - a

ad e - cli - psim vox me - ro - ris ob - li - quat spe - cta - cu - la.
la - tet ve - re la - ti - a - lis pla - ga ti - mens o - cu - lum.
o - mnis vir - tus fun - dat fle - tus pal - las plo - ret ne - sto - rem
io - cu - la - tur in ia - ctu - ris con - stans in - con - stan - ti - a


c"
re - gnet do - lor nam do - lo - ris cau - sa stat in spe - cu -
nox est cul - pe so - ci - a - lis. [cri - men que - rit an - gu -
va - tem plan - gat va - tum ce - tus lu - ge - at mars he - cto -
mors tre - men - di prin - ceps iu - ris re - gnat si - ne gra - ti -
re - gnet do - lor nam do - lo - ris cau - sa stat in spe - cu -
nox est cul - pe so - ci - a - lis. [cri - men que - rit an - gu -
va - tem plan - gat va - tum ce - tus lu - ge - at mars he - cto -
mors tre - men - di prin - ceps iu - ris re - gnat si - ne gra - ti -

- la.]
- lum.]
- rem.]
a.]
- la.
- lum.
- rem.
- a

PANGE MELOS LACRIMOSUM – *F* and *W1* versions

Conductus (I15/258)

F, f. 351r (7,93): Strophes I-II; *W1,* f. 119r (110r) (9,35): Strophes III-IV

I Pange melos lacrimosum,
lacrimans, elegia.
Tempus venit planctuosum,
tempus fraudans gaudia.
Ad eclipsim vox meroris
obliquat spectacula.
Regnet dolor, nam doloris
causa stat in specula.

sing a tearful song,
Elegy, as you weep.
A lamentable time has come,
a time stealing away joyful things.
A voice of mourning
turns our sights to an eclipse.
Let sorrow reign, for the cause
of sorrow stands in plain view.

II Rheni sidus in occasus
Latium precipitat.
Stella cadit, stelle casus
terras umbra limitat.
Latet vere Latialis
plaga, timens oculum.
Nox est culpe socialis,
[crimen querit angulum.]

A shining light of the Rhine
plunges Latium headlong into sunset.
A star falls, and the star's fall
wraps the lands in shadow.
The Roman region lies completely
hidden, fearing the eye of the sun.
Night is allied to guilt,
and crime seeks a place to hide.

III [Omnis tellus admiretur
triste nubis pallium,
sed sub nocte lament[etur]
Rheni supercilium.
Omnis virtus fundat fletus.
Pallas ploret Nestorem.
Vatem plangat vatum cetus.
Lugeat Mars Hectorem.

Let the whole globe marvel
at the cloud's sad shroud,
but within the darkness let it
lament this pinnacle of the Rhine.
Let every virtue shed tears.
Let Pallas mourn a Nestor.
Let the crowd of visionaries lament a visionary.
Let Mars bewail a Hector.

IV O quam probans argumentum
que sit mundi falsitas!
Quid sit mundus per eventum
silogizat veritas.
Ioculatur in iacturis,
constans inconstantia.
Mors, tremendi princeps iuris,
regnat sine gratia.]

O, how convincing an argument
that the falsity of the world prevails!
With this event, truth demonstrates
just what this world represents.
Constant in inconstancy,
it delights in deprivations.
Death, the prince of that dreadful law,
rules without favor.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 93, f. 351r: a2; Strophes I-II only, with the text of II provided in an empty area within the writing block at the end of the last system to hold the work. The setting of both voice parts, but especially the D, departs on occasion from the musical setting in *W1.* Both versions are provided here for comparison. The previous piece in *F*-7, the conductus *In occasu syderis* (I11/178), is also a *planctus* on the death of a European royal personage.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 35, f. 119r (110r): a2; Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV entered separately, headed by smaller painted initials (the guide letters of III and IV are still partly visible), and inscribed in the lower right margin

of the leaf outside the writing block opposite the last two systems on f. 119r (110r). The setting of both voice parts, but especially the D, departs on a number of occasions from the musical setting in *F;* both versions are given here. This and the previous work in *W1,* the conductus *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), are adjacent and in the same order in *OxRawl.*

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 20, f. 239r (10r): text only of Strophes I-IV, complete, with the first letters of each couplet (beginning with line 5) arrayed in a vertical column separating them slightly from the remainder of each verse (for lines 1-4, this column is occupied by the opening initial); and with II -IV headed by old-style pilcrows (℄) extending slightly into the left margin; rubric: "Planctus cuiusdam" ("someone's lament"). This and the previous work in *OxRawl, Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108) are adjacent and in the same order in *W1.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Subject and date:** Léopold Delisle[1] has raised the possibility that this poem is a lament on the death of the Frederick I of the Hohenstaufens, nicknamed "Barbarossa" (December 1122-10 June 1190), crowned as Holy Roman Emperor on 18 June 1155 in Rome by Pope Adrian IV (reg. 1154-1159). Known especially for his military prowess and for his efforts to expand his territories into Italy and Germany, Frederick died while journeying to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade (1189-1192). He drowned in the river Saleph (now Göksu) near Silifke Castle in what is now Turkey. The various accounts of his death differ as to how he succumbed. Frederick's demise ultimately doomed the enterprise of the Third Crusade, where the emperor was allied with Philip II Augustus of France, as well as Richard I (Lionheart) of England. The campaign itself was halted by the treaty of Jaffa on 2 September 1192, executed between Saladin and King Richard. Delisle's proposal was likely prompted by the combined imagery connecting the Rhine river with Rome/Latium, as well as the invocation of deities and heroes from Greek, Roman, and Trojan history that are all closely associated with war and battle; see the discussion of specific details below. **Textual notes: 1-2:** the opening line, which appears to invoke a personified Elegy, recalls the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* by the poet Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530-ca. 600-609), also bishop of Poitiers (from ca. 599-600 until his death). Both poems share their verse structure in terms of syllable count and accent placement, although Fortunatus's stanzaic structure is made up of non-rhyming tercets. *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium* was associated liturgically with Passiontide, which may explain why it may have prompted a sorrowful association for the conductus poet. This poem was also the model for the later hymn, *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium,* by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), written for the newly instituted feast of Corpus Christi. For other citations in the Parisian conductus repertory of Fortunatus's poems, see the notes to the opening line of *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230) and *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), line 34. The latter poem precedes the transmission of *Pange melos* in both *W1* and *OxRawl.* **5-6:** the image of an eclipse appears frequently in the Parisian conductus repertory; it figures prominently in the *planctus* that mourn the passing of royalty or other renowned individuals; see, for example, in addition to *Pange melos* (I15/258), the openings of *Sol eclypsim patitur* (K83/331 – on the death of Ferdinand III, king of León and Castile, 1252),[2] *Eclypsim patitur* (I7/105 –

[1]Léopold Delisle, "Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France,* 22 (1885): 82-139, on p. 119, n. 2.

[2]On this candidate, rather than the more frequently encountered Fernando II, who died in 1188, see Payne, "Datable 'Notre Dame' Conductus," 110, note 18, 143; and David Catalunya, "Music, Space, and Ritual in Medieval Castile, 1221-1350" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Würzburg, 2016), 54-55. The earliest mention I know of the claim for Ferdinand III as the subject of *Sol eclypsim patitur*

mourning either Geoffery of Brittany or Henry the Young King, two sons of Henry II of England), *Eclypsim passus tociens* (K33/104 – on the passing of the theologian Petrus Cantor, 1197), and the opening couplet of Strophe II (lines 10-11) of *Anglia planctus itera* (K12/14 – again proposed for either Geoffery or Henry the Younger, and possibly including their father as well). Further lamentable heavenly imagery appears in lines 9-12. **9-12:** In addition to eclipses, the metaphor of the falling star also arises frequently in those conductus that mourn the deaths of great personages. For examples, see, in addition to the pieces cited in the notes to line 5-6, the opening statement of *In occasu syderis* (I11/178), which precedes *Pange melos* in *F*-7. **15-16:** both the expressions in these two lines smack of the proverbial, but I have not been able to locate likely correspondences. **22; 24:** the respective pairing of the figures in these two lines, the Greek deity Pallas Athena and the Roman god Mars with the Greek and Trojan warrior heroes Nestor and Hector, indicate the extent of respect for the fallen warrior celebrated in the conductus. In each case the mortal champion is so renowned that he is lamented by one of the gods. Furthermore, the Pallas/Nestor pair connotes wisdom, age, eloquence, and venerability in addition to skill in war. It may also be significant that it is Hector, rather than Achilles, who is invoked here, since his death produced such a great outpouring of mourning and sorrow in Homer's *Iliad.* Nestor, as well as his prominent role in the third book of Homer's *Odyssey,* also appears throughout the *Iliad;* see, for example, his first appearance in book 1, lines 247-284. Nestor and Hector are also mentioned in close proximity in the conductus *Presul nostri temporis* (C2/271), lines 5 and 8.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since *W1* supplies the poetry for Strophes III-IV here, all its variants are collated in addition to any from *F.* Corrections to *W1* derive from *OxRawl* and Dreves's edition in *AH* referred to below. **8,1:** W1: "causa" written twice over an intervening page break, the first time abbreviated, then in full, and both times overlaid with the appropriate syllabic music. **8,3:** W1: final syllable om at end of cauda. **10,1:** W1: latum; from *F,OxRawl.* **12,2:** W1: om; from *F,OxRawl.* **13,2-3:** W1: vera satialis; from *F; OxRawl:* vere glacialis. **16:** F: entire line om; *W1:* first word om and space left for it; reading from *OxRawl.* **19,4:** W1: last two syllables om; from *OxRawl.* **22,2:** W1,OxRawl: plorat; adopted reading from *AH,* 21:130, no.186; it seems reasonable to retain the subjunctive mood here from the previous statements in this stanza. **23,2:** W1,OxRawl: planget; reading again taken from *AH,* 21:130, no. 186, for same reason as line 22,2. **23,3:** W1: possibly written "natum"; reading confirmed by *OxRawl.* **24,1:** W1: luget; reading from *OxRawl.* **31,3-4:** W1: principis verus; reading supplied from *OxRawl.* **MUSIC: Line 1,1-2:** D: W1: opening three syllables ("Pange me[los]") written 3 lower than *F.* Although acceptable as is and retained in the *W1* transcription, the *F* reading could serve as an option, which would allow the D figures as well as the T phrases in lines 1 and 3 to correspond. **5,1-3:** D: W1: written 3 lower for five syllables ("ad eclipsim vox"); supplied from *F,* which avoids a harmonic sixth, although the reading as it stands could serve as an option. **6:** D: F,W1: both readings, though slightly different, feature a harmonic seventh at different places over 6,2 ("spectacula") in this line atop the same T reading; one could propose corrections for either of the sources. Here they are given as they stand. **8,4:** TD: F,W1: the string of three parallel seconds over "[do]lo[ri s]," could suggest an attempt at text-painting; the readings are identical in both musical MSS.

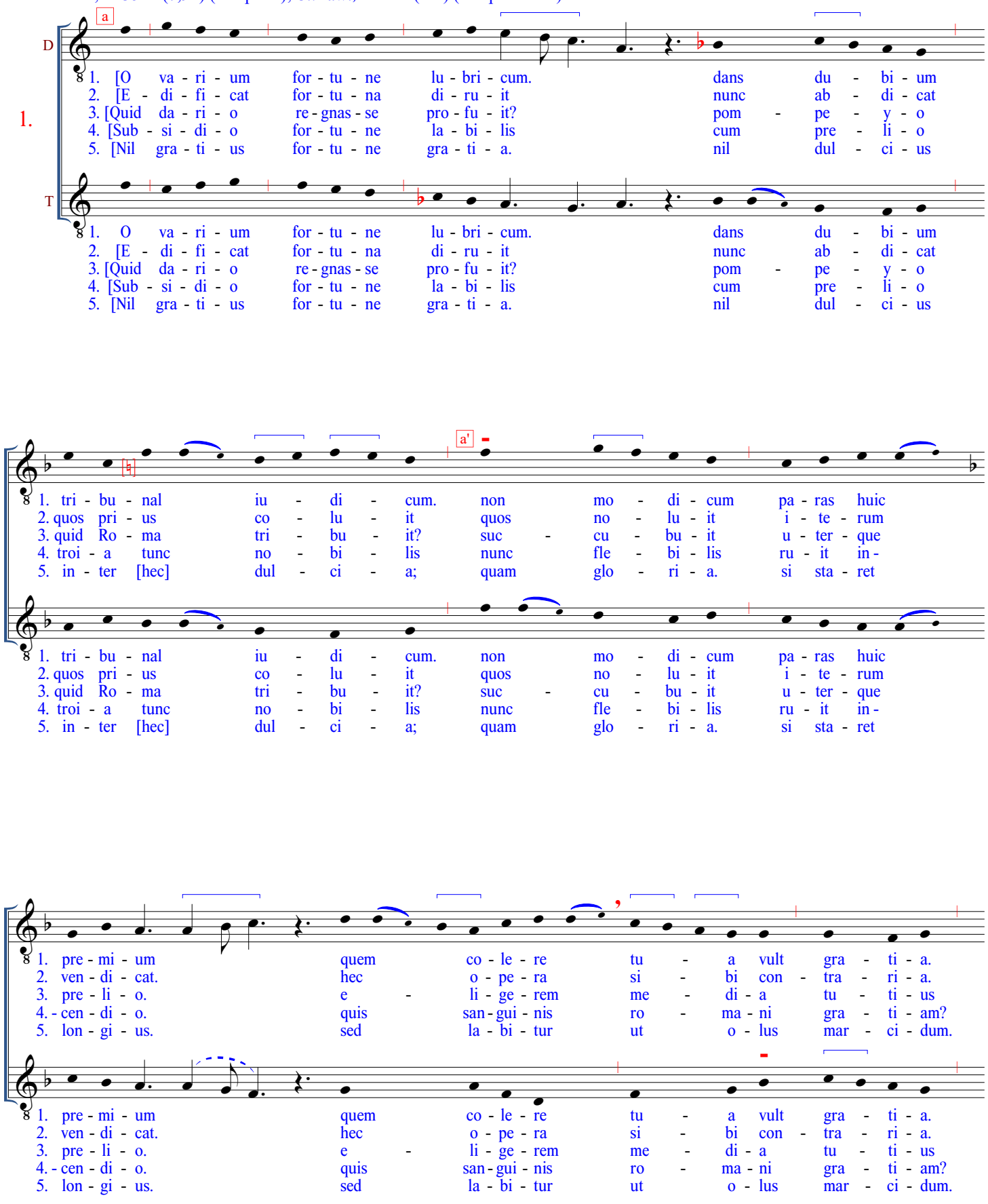
---

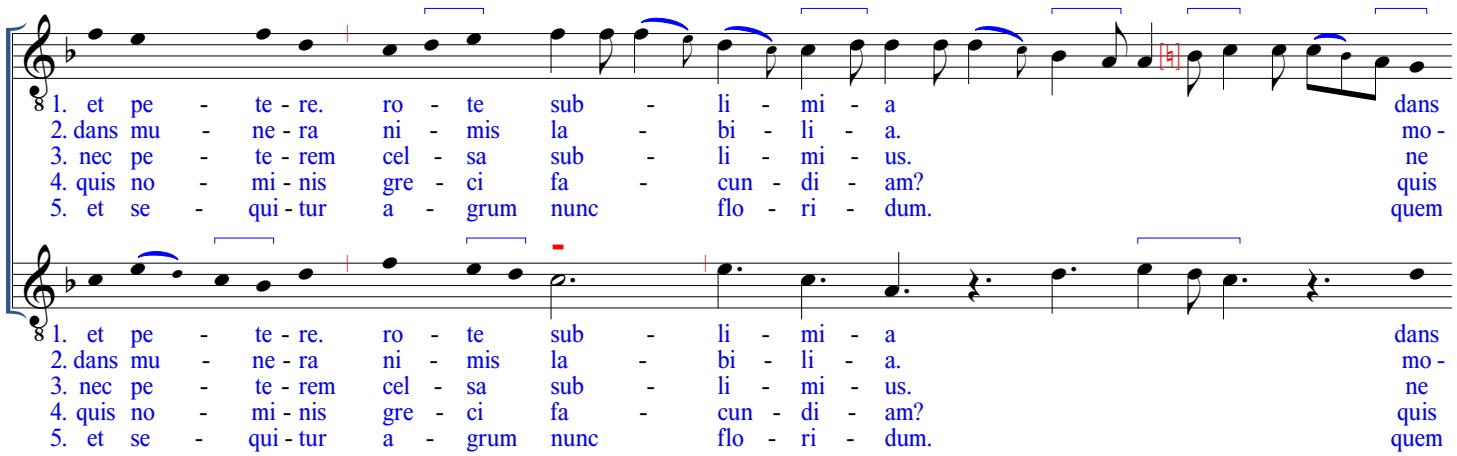
is in Janthia Yearley, "A Bibliography of P1anctus in Latin, Provença1, French, German, English, Italian, Catalan, and Galician-Portuguese from the Time of Bede to the Early Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society,* 4 (1981): 12-52.

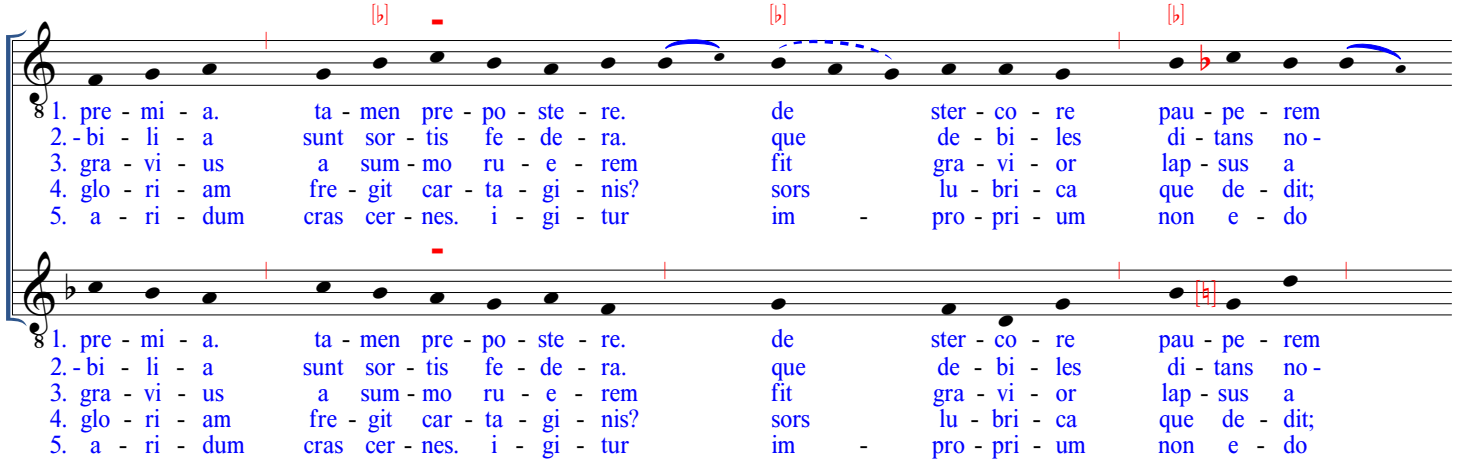
O VARIUM FORTUNE LUBRICUM – *F* and *Fauv* versions

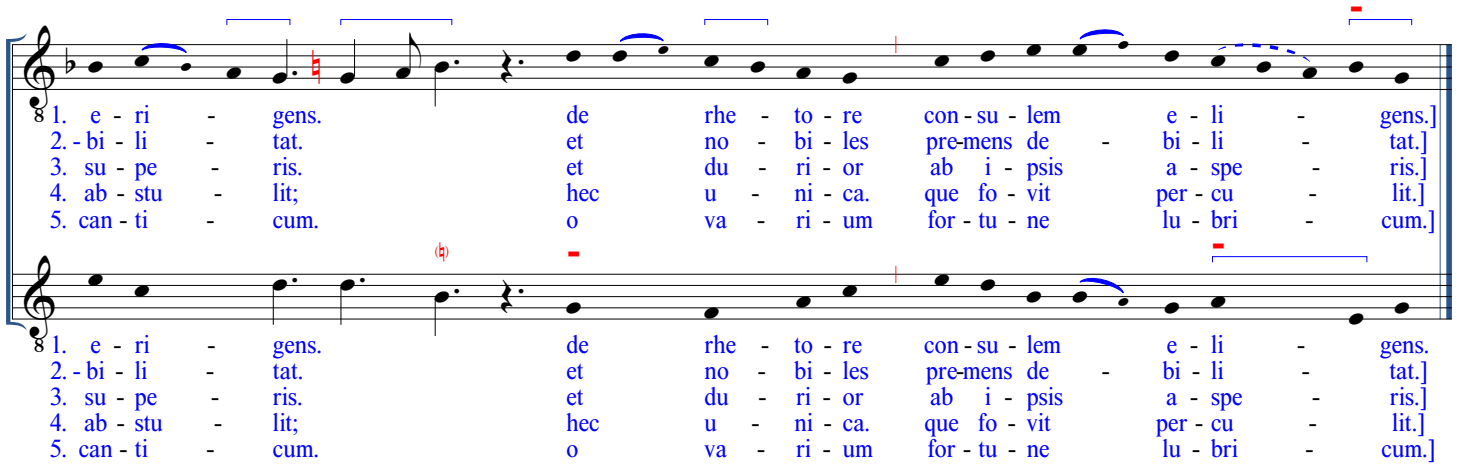
Conductus (J27/247)

F, f. 351v (7,94) (Strophe I); *OxRawl,* f. 241r (12r) (Strophes II-V)

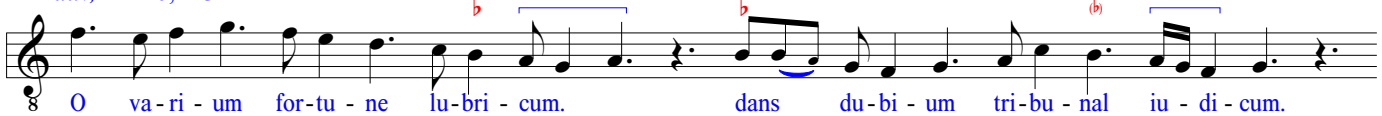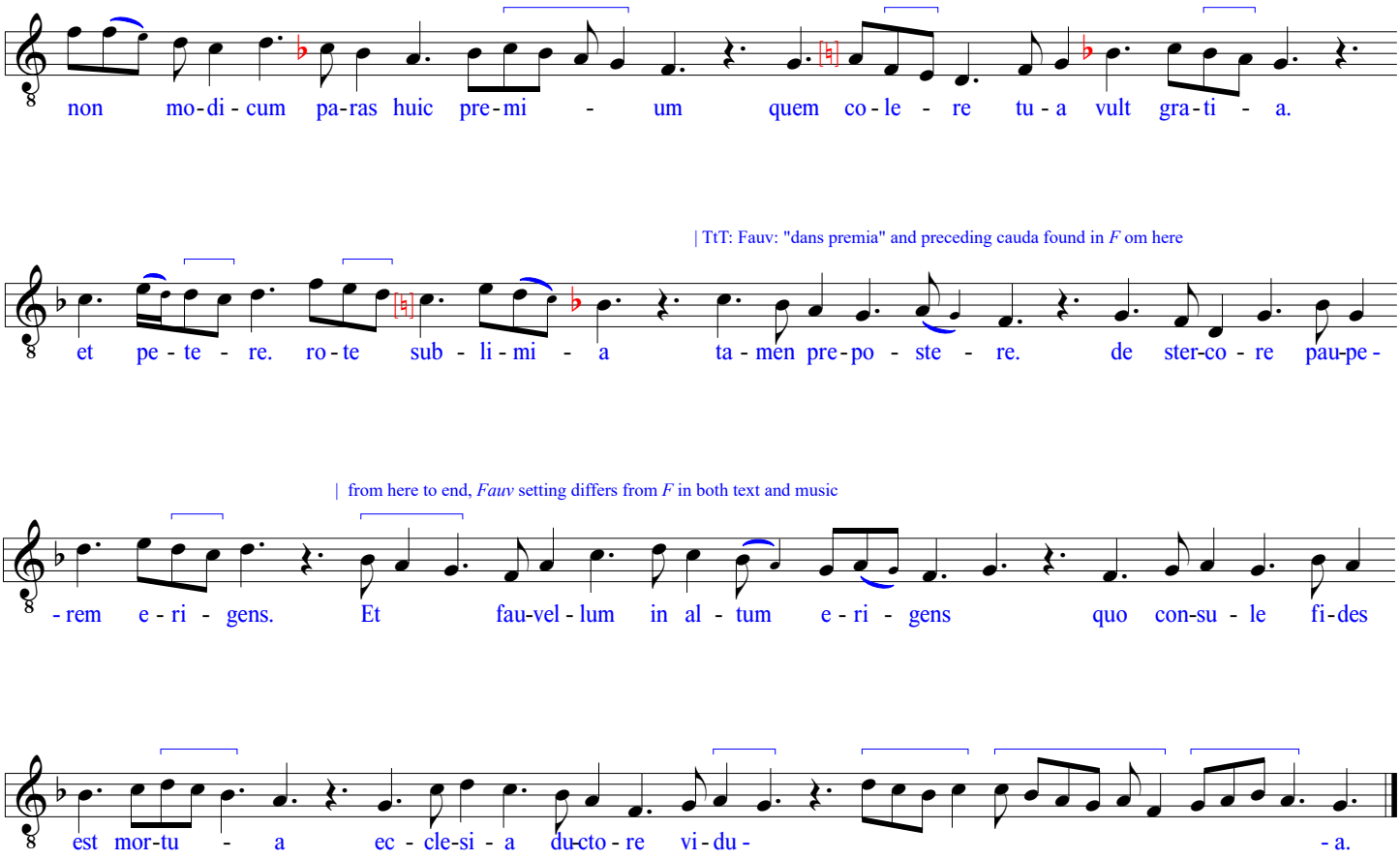








Fauv, no. 10, f. 3v




non mo-di-cum pa-ras huic pre-mi - um quem co-le - re tu-a vult gra-ti - a.
| TtT: Fauv: "dans premia" and preceding cauda found in *F* om here
et pe-te - re. ro-te sub - li-mi - a ta-men pre-po - ste - re. de ster-co - re pau-pe-
| from here to end, *Fauv* setting differs from *F* in both text and music
-rem e-ri - gens. Et fau-vel-lum in al - tum e-ri - gens quo con-su - le fi-des
est mor-tu - a ec - cle-si - a du-cto-re vi-du - -a.

O VARIUM FORTUNE LUBRICUM – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (J27/247)

F, f. 351v (7,94) (Strophe I); *OxRawl,* f. 241r (12r) (Strophes II-V)

I	*O varium*	*Fortune lubricum,*		*O the fickle, slippery state of Fortune,*
	dans dubium	tribunal iudicum.		rendering a tribunal of judges uncertain.
	Non modicum	paras huic premium		You provide no little reward to the one
	quem colere	tua vult gratia,		your favor wishes to cultivate
	et petere	rote sublimia,	5	and to strive for the heights of the wheel,
	dans premia	tamen prepostere,		granting rewards, however irregularly,
	de stercore	pauperem erigens,		raising a poor man up from the dungheap,
	de rhetore	consulem eligens.		electing a windbag as consul.
II	Edificat	Fortuna, diruit.		Fortune – she builds up, she demolishes.
	Nunc abdicat	quos prius coluit,	10	At one time she rejects those she earlier cultivated,
	quos noluit	iterum vendicat.		at another she reclaims those she wished ill.
	Hec opera	sibi contraria,		These efforts are contrary to each other,
	dans munera	nimis labilia.		giving gifts that are far too slippery.
	Mobilia sunt	Sortis federa:		Inconstant are the pacts of Destiny:
	que debiles	ditans nobilitat,	15	she ennobles, enriching the feeble,
	et nobiles	premens debilitat.		and enfeebles, oppressing the noble.
III	Quid Dario	regnasse profuit?		What did it avail Darius to have been king?
	Pompeyo	quid Roma tribuit?		What did Rome offer to Pompey?
	Succubuit	uterque prelio.		Each man fell in battle.
	Eligerem	media tutius,	20	Had I chosen a safer middle ground
	nec peterem	celsa sublimius,		and not sought heights so loftily,
	ne gravius	a summo ruerem.		I might not have tumbled so heavily from the top.
	Fit gravior	lapsus a superis		A fall from high places becomes heavier
	et durior	ab ipsis asperis.		and harder than one from hardships alone.
IV	Subsidio	Fortune labilis,	25	With the assistance of slippery Fortune,
	cum prelio	Troia, tunc nobilis,		Troy, once noble in battle,
	nunc flebilis,	ruit incendio.		now lamentable, fell in flames.
	Quis sanguinis	Romani gratiam?		Who shattered the favor of the Roman race?
	Quis nominis	Greci facundiam?		Who crushed the eloquence of those of Greek name?
	Quis gloriam	fregit Cartaginis?	30	Who subdued the glory of Carthage?
	Sors lubrica	que dedit, abstulit,		A slippery Destiny granted, then took these things away;
	hec unica,	que fovit, perculit.		what this singular lady supported, she overturned
V	Nil gratius	Fortune gratia.		Nothing is more agreeable than Fortune's favor,
	nil dulcius	inter [hec] dulcia		nothing is sweeter among such sweets
	quam gloria.	Si staret longius!	35	than glory. If only it lasted longer!
	Sed labitur	ut olus marcidum;		But it decays like a rotten harvest;
	et sequitur	agrum nunc floridum.		and it follows that the field you will see
	quem aridum	cras cernes. Igitur		flowering now is withered tomorrow. Therefore
	improprium	non edo canticum:		I utter this not unsuitable song:
	O varium	*Fortune lubricum.*	40	*O the fickle, slippery state of Fortune!*

[Additional text following directly on line 7 in *Fauv:*]

et Favellum in altum erigens.	8a	and raising Fauvel on high.
Quo consule fides est mortua,		With him as consul, faith is dead,
ecclesia ductore vidua.	10a	and the church bereft of a leader

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 94, f. 351v: a2; Strophe I only, with no room for further text.

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana),[1] no. 14, f. 47v: a1 (almost certainly the T), in unheightened neumes; Strophes I-IV only, in the order I, II, IV, III. The opening initial is illuminated with the face of a bearded man, possibly surrounded by a monk's cowl, while the smaller, simpler ones starting the remaining stanzas use the same red ink or paint.

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146 [Roman de Fauvel]), no. 10, f. 3v[b]: a1 (T), in mensural notation; Strophe I only, with musical and textual differences that connect the poem to the context of the *Fauvel* romance (see the end of the text above, the separate transcription following the *F* version, and the commentary below for further details).

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 29, f. 241r (12r): text only, Strophe I-V complete, with only a guide letter to begin Strophe II, and the other initials sometimes appearing within the interior of the writing block, since the text is inscribed successively with no other major breaks, as if it were prose; rubric: "de mutabilitate fortune" ("On Fortune's fickleness").

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** Philip the Chancellor has been suggested as the possible author of this text by David Traill,[2] a proposal that has not found larger acceptance in the literature so far. **Versification:** the poem has several notable structural features. First of all, *O varium* is presented here in eight-line, isosyllabic 10pp stanzas. Although, quite acceptably, it often appears in other editions as regularly alternating couplets of 4pp and 6pp verses, since the use of a regular caesura after the fourth syllable is a common feature of 10pp verse, and thus may argue for the splitting of the 10pp line. The impetus to divide the longer lines is no doubt also prompted by the regular placement of rhymes at both the caesura and end of each verse, as well as the coherent, interlocking scheme of these rhymes within each stanza (a,b / a,b / b,a / c,d / c,d / d,c / e,f / e,f – line breaks here signaled by "/"; the caesurae by ","). In addition, in the fullest presentation of the text in *OxRawl,* the concluding line of the poem echoes its start (hence the italicization of those lines above), a feature noticeable in several other conductus, such as: **a)** *Celum non animum* (E1/56 – after *O varium* in *CB*), **b)** *Hac in anni ianua* (E6/148), **c)** *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195), **d)** *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229), **e)** *Si deus est animus* (H32/324, discounting its companion contrafact *Notum fecit dominus*) – the piece that just happens to follow *O varium* in

[1]Images of *CB* available here.

[2]See his "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36," *Studi medievali,* ser. 3, 47 (2006), 267-286, at 284.

F-7 – and **f)** *Verbum pater exhibuit* (E5/368, where the last line of every strophe also recurs as the first line of the following one). The same feature of repeated lines at start and finish is also noticeable in the poem **g)** *Magnus maior maximus* (-/-), preserved in *CB* on f. 5v. Similar practices also occur to a related extent in **h)** *Ad honores et honera* (K78/7), **i)** *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur* (J41/360), and **j)** *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73). Some of these poems, moreover, occur in close proximity to each other in *F,* even if the manuscript does not transmit all the applicable strophes; see the discussion of the textual features of *Verbum pater exhibuit* and the works that follow it in *F*-6. **Textual notes: 1:** the female personification of Fortune, often with an accompanying wheel as an attribute (see line 5), occurs frequently in medieval literature. A depiction of these two figures appears, for example, on the opening folio of the *Carmina Burana* manuscript *(CB)* that later transmits *O varium.*[3] Other treatments of this topic within the conductus repertory can be found in: **a)** *Gaudet Favellus nimium* (L21/-), **b)** *Homo cur degeneras* (K68/157), **c)** *Luxuriant animi* (J31/202), **d)** *O labilis sortis* (K30/234), **e)** *O virtutes perditas* (Q32/-), and in the *Fauv* redaction of **f)** Philip the Chancellor's *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49/308). **2:** it is not completely clear whether "tribunal" (neuter) is the subject or object of this clause, or if "dubium" is a noun or an adjective; the line can therefore be construed in a number of ways. Given the way the stanza continues, however, it does appear most likely that the subject of "dans" is Fortune, as reflected in the translation. **5:** on Fortune's wheel, see the remarks for line 1. **7:** expressions nearly identical with this line occur in Psalm 112:7: "et de stercore erigens pauperem"; and I Kings [I Samuel], 2:8: "et de stercore elevat pauperem." **8:** I go for what I think is a likely sarcastic tone here, suggested by the reference to Juvenal, *Satires,* 7,197-198: "si Fortuna uolet, fies de rhetore consul; / si uolet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor" ("If Fortune wills it, you will be made a consul from an orator; if this same lady so wills, you will be made an orator from a consul."). **9:** see Horace, *Epistles,* I, 1, 100: "diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis" ("[My judgement] pulls down, it builds up, it changes squares to circles"); and cf. Jeremiah, 1:10.[4] **10-11:** the temporal comparison between these two clauses is signaled by "nunc ... iterum" used in the manner of "nunc ... nunc." **15-16:** see the related passages from Matthew, 23:12, and Luke, 14:11, cited below in the text variants given for lines 23-24. **17-32:** Strophes III and IV, both especially prominent in their use of Greek, Roman, and other antique historical and literary references, are exchanged in *CB* and may be performed in this order, if wished. **17-18:** two prominent warriors who met bitter ends: line 17 refers to Darius III, also known as Artashata or Codomannus (380-330 BCE, reg. from 336 BCE), the Persian ruler ignominiously defeated multiple times by Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE, reg. from 336), most notably at the battles of Issus (333 BCE) and Gaugamela (a.k.a. Arbela, 331 BCE). Darius met his death at the hands of conspirators in his own retinue. Line 18 cites as example Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus ("Pompey the Great," 106-46 BCE), the Roman general and statesman. He was part of the first Roman triumvirate of 60 BCE with Julius Caesar and Marcus Licinius Crassus. Pompey's competition with Caesar for the leadership of Rome eventually led to a falling out between them and plunged the region into civil war. Pompey died after fleeing to Egypt; for more, see the remarks for line 19. **19:** actually the *CB* reading for 19,3 ("gladio" – "by the sword") is more precise, since both Darius and Pompey were assassinated, rather than killed in battle. **20,2-3:** cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 2,137: "... medio tutissimus ibis" ("you will go most safely by the middle course"), a quite fitting analogy for the language of the poem here, as it comes from the mouth of Apollo counseling his son Phaeton on the proper handling of the sun chariot he intends to drive, with eventual disastrous consequences. Ovid's saying became so proverbial that its language was often paraphrased in ways that sometimes more closely approach the expression as found in this poem; see, for a later example, a marginal note by King James I in a letter sent to him by Francis Bacon on 28 April 1616, and included in published versions of Bacon's correspondence: "I say with Apollo, *'Media tutius itur,'* if it may stand with law." **28-30:** the single word "fregit" in line 30 supplies

[3]See the source description of *CB* within the transcription of the conductus *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119).

[4]Jeremiah, 1:10: "ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas, et dissipes, et aedifices, et plantes" ("Behold, I have today set you up over nations and over kingdoms, that you may root up, and demolish, and lay waste, and scatter, and build, and plant.").

the verb for each of these three clauses. **36:** cf. Psalm 36:2.[5]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** the various versions have a number of alternative readings, some of which could substitute, if so wished, for the text as presented above; hence, all textual variants are collated here. Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxi, and *Analecta hymnica,* 21:102-103, no. 152 (here *AH21*), have also been consulted – yet, as seen below, these reports sometimes conflict (see lines 21,1 and 34,4). **2,1:** F: dan, with the "-n" partially erased so that it almost appears to be a "-t." **2,4:** Fauv: iudicium, a superfluous syllable. **3,2:** huic is treated as a monosyllable in both the poem and musical setting. **3,3:** CB: parans; Fauv: panis. **4,3-5:** Fauv: vult tua gracia, the first two words are exchanged. **5:1:** Fauv: quem. **5,4:** OxRawl: similia. **6,1-2:** Fauv: dans premia om, along with the music with no hint of absence. **6,2:** OxRawl,CB: dubia. **6,3:** CB: tandem. **7-8:** Fauv: replaced with three lines in a different musical setting; see the appendage to the end of the text above, and the *Fauv* transcription given after the one in *F.* **7,3:** CB: originally om; added in small script above the place it belongs, replete with little neumes. **8,2:** F: recthore, supplied from CB; OxRawl: rectore. **9,3:** OxRawl: dirruit, from CB. **15-16:** CB: these lines are exchanged, except for the first word of each. **18,1:** CB: pompeio, rendered as a four-syllable word in the poem and musical setting. **18,3:** OxRawl: "Roma" unusually capitalized. **19,3:** CB: gladio. **20,1:** CB: eligere. **21,1:** OxRawl: et (so in Anderson, but not reported in AH21); CB: quam. **21,2-3:** CB: petere rote. **22,1**: CB: et. **22,4:** OxRawl: sompno, from CB. **22,5:** CB: ruere. OxRawl: some additional text follows here at the end of the page, apparently reading "no" or "vo," and followed by some letters difficult to construe; there is also a marking before this addition that might indicate a strikeout or correction. The following line 23, beginning at the top of the verso overleaf, though, shows no connections or omissions. **23-24:** CB: replaced by: omnis qui se exaltant hodie / humiliabitur cras misere ("Each one who exalts himself today will be wretchedly humbled tomorrow"); cf. Matthew, 23:12[6] and the similar passage in Luke, 14:11. This substitution, however, does not respect the otherwise coherent pattern of internal rhyme seen throughout the rest of the poem; it also overrides the expected caesura after the fourth syllable in line 24. **23,5:** OxRawl: prosperis, from Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxi and AH21. **26,1:** CB: cur. **26,3-5:** CB: troiarum nobiles. **27,3:** CB: om. **28,1:** CB: qui. **28,3:** for some reason AH21 and Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xxi) give "Troiani" against all sources, thus removing Rome completely from consideration. **28,4:** CB: gratia. **29,4:** CB: facundia. **30,4:** CB: kartaginis. **31,2:** CB: originally entered as "lubrice," corrected with a small "a" above the text line. **34,4:** OxRawl: om, but not reported in AH21. **36,4:** alternative orthography for "holus." **MUSIC: General remarks:** The various short caudae or melismatic extensions throughout the *F* redaction of this piece suggest a performance of the *cum littera* portions in long values for each syllable with frequent extensions, especially on each line's first, fourth, seventh and tenth syllables. See the discussion of this piece in Knapp, "Musical Declamation," at 397-399.[7] The mensural rendition of *O varium* from *Fauv* has been supplied for comparison following the version from *F.* **Syllabic/melismatic identity:** a recurrence of a very short cadential motive at the end of several phrases or caesurae, sometimes transposed or varied as follows: **1)** the T and D on "[lubri]cum" (line 1) – this consists of the final three-note T motive *a,g,a,* and the accompanying D motive *edc,a* (which is often varied upon its reappearance). These figures are equivalent or similar to: **1a)** the T(D) of "dubium" (line 2), with the T down a second *(gfg)*, the D down a third *(cb,a,g);* **1b)** the T of "iudicum" (line 2), down a second *(gfg),* the D unrelated; **1c)** the T(D) of "modicum" (line 3), with the T up a fifth *(dcd),* the D up a third *(gf,e,d);* and **1d)** the D(T) of "gratia" (line 4), parts exchanged, with the T down a third *(cb,a,g),* the D down a second *(gfg).* **Notes on the music: Line 3,5:** D: F: flat sig preceding "premium" written 3 lower.

---

[5]Psalm 36:2: "quoniam tamquam fœnum velociter arescent, et quemadmodum olera herbarum cito decident" ("for they [evildoers] shall quickly dry up like grass, and like green herbs shall soon die away.").

[6]Matthew, 23:12: "Qui autem se exaltaverit, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur" ("He who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself shall be exalted").

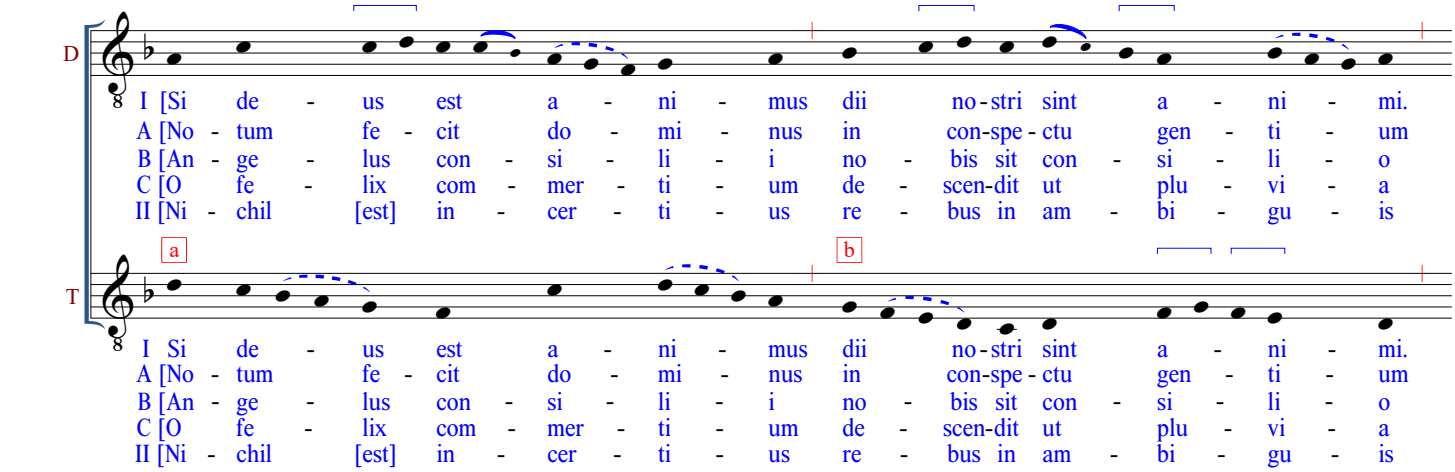
[7]Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 32 (1979): 383-407.

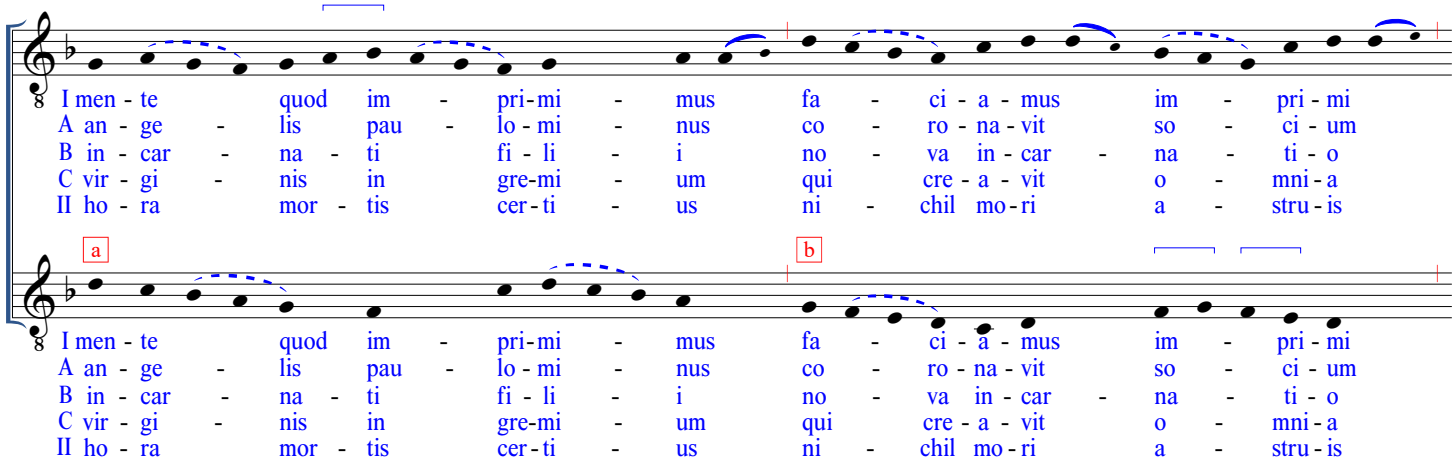
7,2: D: F: extra si=*a* over "[ster]co[re]." **Cauda at end of line 5:** the four syllables of line 5,4 ("sublimia") have been rendered rhythmically so as to preserve the sequential motives that continue in the following cauda. The cauda is om in *Fauv.* **Line 6,1-2:** T: Fauv: om along with the verbal text and preceding short cauda on line 5,4, with no indication of absence. **8,4:** D: F: the very last figure in this voice lacks an expected descending stroke on its left side (which does appear in the similar figure in the T), making it appear *sine proprietate.*

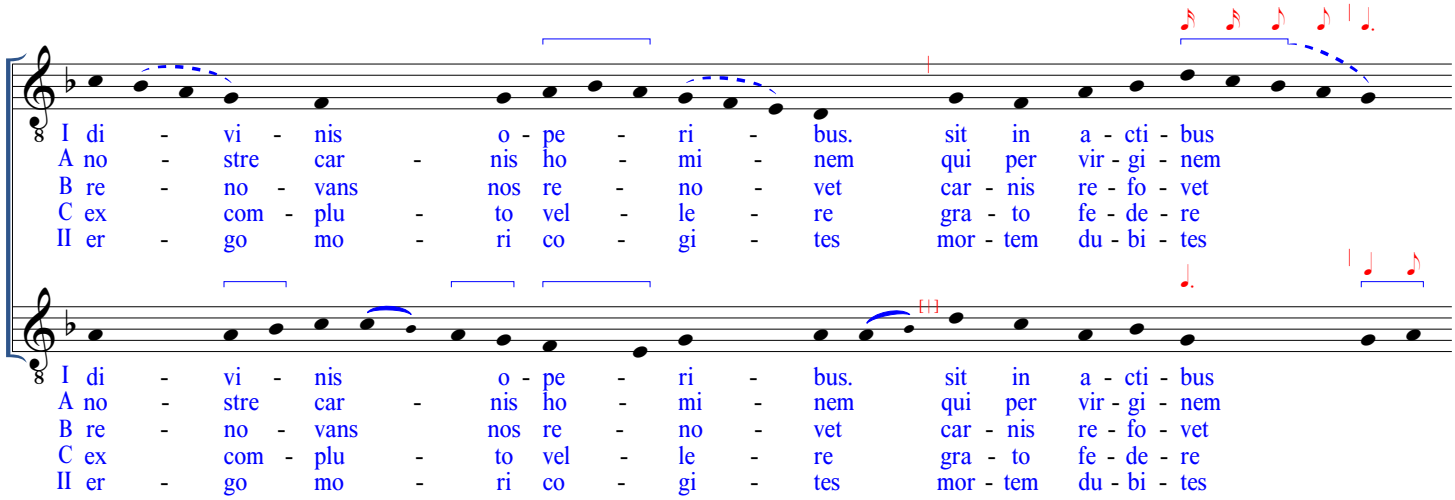
SI DEUS EST ANIMUS – NOTUM FECIT DOMINUS

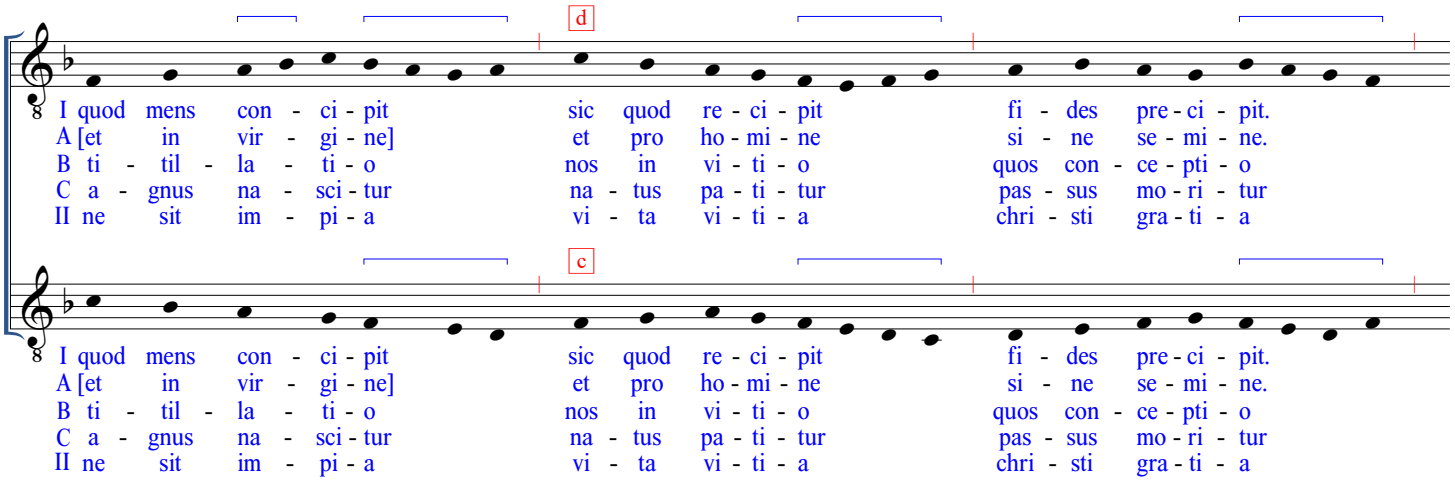
Conductus: (H32/324)

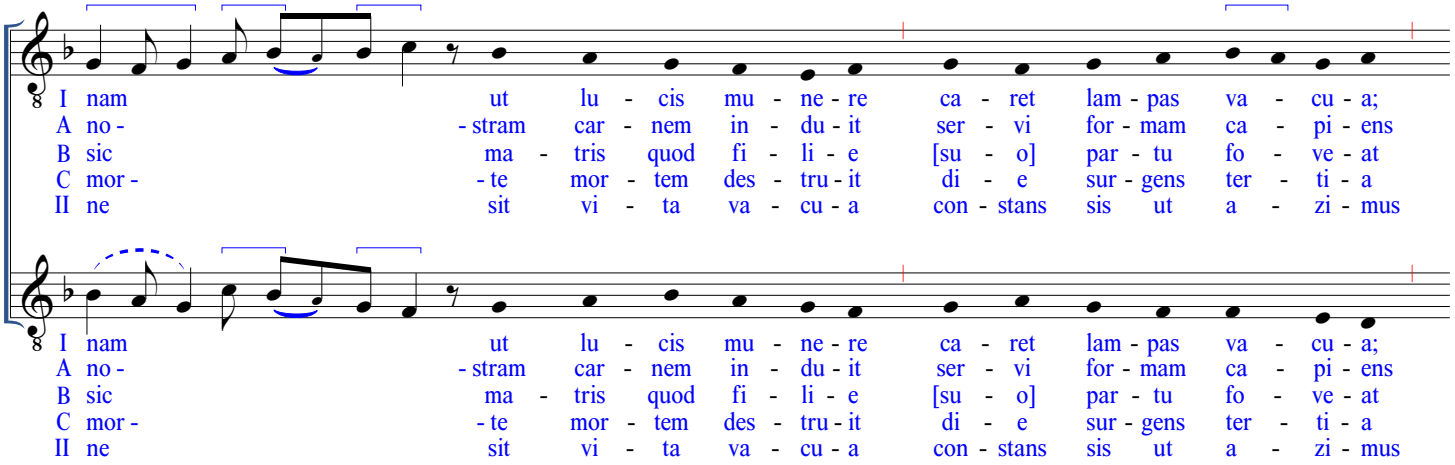
F f. 352r (7,95): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 114v (105v) (9,25): Strophes A, B, C, II

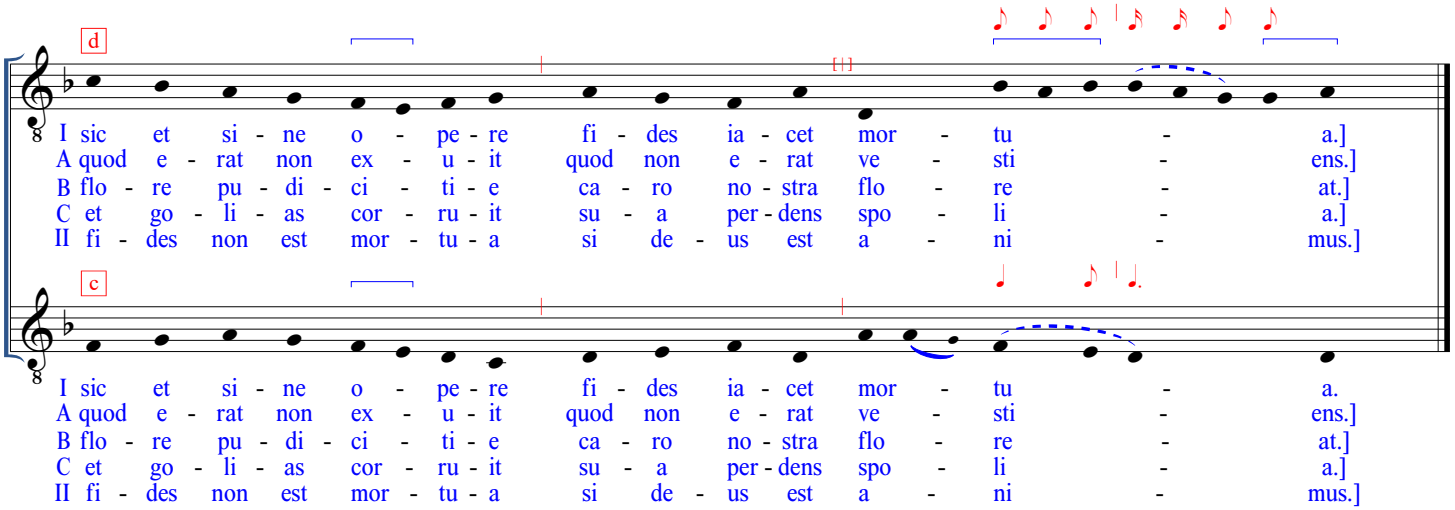







d
I quod mens con - ci - pit sic quod re - ci - pit fi - des pre - ci - pit.
A [et in vir - gi - ne] et pro ho - mi - ne si - ne se - mi - ne.
B ti - til - la - ti - o nos in vi - ti - o quos con - ce - pti - o
C a - gnus na - sci - tur na - tus pa - ti - tur pas - sus mo - ri - tur
II ne sit im - pi - a vi - ta vi - ti - a chri - sti gra - ti - a
c
I quod mens con - ci - pit sic quod re - ci - pit fi - des pre - ci - pit.
A [et in vir - gi - ne] et pro ho - mi - ne si - ne se - mi - ne.
B ti - til - la - ti - o nos in vi - ti - o quos con - ce - pti - o
C a - gnus na - sci - tur na - tus pa - ti - tur pas - sus mo - ri - tur
II ne sit im - pi - a vi - ta vi - ti - a chri - sti gra - ti - a


I nam ut lu - cis mu - ne - re ca - ret lam - pas va - cu - a;
A no - - stram car - nem in - du - it ser - vi for - mam ca - pi - ens
B sic ma - tris quod fi - li - e [su - o] par - tu fo - ve - at
C mor - - te mor - tem des - tru - it di - e sur - gens ter - ti - a
II ne sit vi - ta va - cu - a con - stans sis ut a - zi - mus
I nam ut lu - cis mu - ne - re ca - ret lam - pas va - cu - a;
A no - - stram car - nem in - du - it ser - vi for - mam ca - pi - ens
B sic ma - tris quod fi - li - e [su - o] par - tu fo - ve - at
C mor - - te mor - tem des - tru - it di - e sur - gens ter - ti - a
II ne sit vi - ta va - cu - a con - stans sis ut a - zi - mus


d
I sic et si - ne o - pe - re fi - des ia - cet mor - tu - a.]
A quod e - rat non ex - u - it quod non e - rat ve - sti - ens.]
B flo - re pu - di - ci - ti - e ca - ro no - stra flo - re - at.]
C et go - li - as cor - ru - it su - a per - dens spo - li - a.]
II fi - des non est mor - tu - a si de - us est a - ni - mus.]
c
I sic et si - ne o - pe - re fi - des ia - cet mor - tu - a.
A quod e - rat non ex - u - it quod non e - rat ve - sti - ens.]
B flo - re pu - di - ci - ti - e ca - ro no - stra flo - re - at.]
C et go - li - as cor - ru - it su - a per - dens spo - li - a.]
II fi - des non est mor - tu - a si de - us est a - ni - mus.]

SI DEUS EST ANIMUS – NOTUM FECIT DOMINUS

Conductus (H32/324)

F f. 352r (7,95): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 114v (105v) (9,25): Strophes A, B, C, II

I	*Si deus est animus,*	*If God is a spirit,*
	dii nostri sint animi.	Let our spirits be as gods.
	Menti quod imprimimus	What we imprint on the mind
	faciamus imprimi	we should cause to be imprinted
	divinis operibus.	by godly workings.
	Sit in actibus	Let what the mind conceives
	quod mens concipit,	be in our actions,
	sic quod recipit	so that it receives
	fides precipit.	what faith commands.
	Nam ut lucis munere	For just as an empty lamp
	caret lampas vacua,	lacks the gift of light,
	sic et sine opere	so also does faith lie dead
	fides iacet mortua.	without works.

As alternatives to the full presentation given here, the three strophes below designated A, B, and C, which appear to constitute an independent poem, may either be omitted, placed after Strophe II, or performed separately.

A	[Notum fecit dominus	The Lord made it known
	in conspectu gentium:	in the sight of the Gentiles:
	angelis paulominus	he crowned an ally, slightly
	coronavit socium,	lesser than the angels,
	nostre carnis hominem,	a man made of our flesh,
	qui per virginem,	who through a virgin,
	[et in virgine,]	and in a virgin,
	et pro homine,	and for mankind,
	sine semine,	without seed,
	nostram carnem induit,	donned our flesh,
	servi formam capiens	taking on the form of a servant.
	Quod erat non exuit	He did not cast off what he was
	quod non erat vestiens.	in putting on what he was not.
B	Angelus consilii	Let the angel of council
	nobis sit consilio.	be in council for us
	Incarnati filii	Let this new incarnation
	nova incarnatio,	of the incarnate son,
	renovans, nos renovet.	the renewer, renew us.
	Carnis refovet	The titillation of
	titillatio	the flesh encourages
	nos in vitio,	us in vice,
	quos conceptio	we whom the impregnation
	sic matris quod filie	of this mother/daughter
	[suo] partu foveat,	so encourages through her own birthing,
	flore pudicitie	that our flesh flourishes
	caro nostra floreat.	with the flower of chastity.

C O felix comertium!
Descendit ut pluvia
virginis in gremium
qui creavit omnia.
Ex compluto vellere
grato federe
agnus nascitur.
Natus patitur,
passus, moritur.
Morte mortem destruit,
die surgens tertia,
et Golias corruit
sua perdens spolia.

What a happy exchange!
He who made everything
descended like rain
into the lap of a virgin.
And out of a bedewed fleece,
through a joyful pact,
a lamb is born.
The son suffers,
and, suffering, dies.
He destroys death with his death,
rising on the third day,
and Goliath collapses,
losing his spoils.

II Nichil [est] incertius
rebus in ambiguis
hora mortis; certius
nichil mori astruis.
Ergo mori cogites.
Mortem dubites
ne sit impia.
Vita vitia
Christi gratia,
ne sit vita vacua.
Constans sis ut azimus.
Fides non est mortua
si deus est animus.]

Nothing is more uncertain
in uncertain matters
than the hour of death, and you affirm
that nothing is more certain than dying.
Therefore, you should ponder dying.
You should consider death,
so it not be unrighteous.
Avoid vices
through the grace of Christ,
lest your life be worthless.
Be constant as unleavened bread.
Faith is not dead
if God is a spirit.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 95, f. 352r: a2; Strophe I only, with no space provided for further text. This and the following work, *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), are in the same order in *OxRawl.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 25, f. 114v (105v): a2; all five stanzas transmitted in the order I, A, B, C, II, complete, with I set to music in the usual way, and the remaining strophes entered in the right margin outside the writing block. They start about halfway down the page and aligned with the text ruling of the third system, thus seemingly continuing in the margin directly from where the musical setting of *Si deus* leaves off. The final portion of Strophe II finishes up at the bottom of the leaf, written from margin to margin outside the writing block below the last system on the page. As a result the residual strophes for *Si deus* lie opposite, and as if connected to, the following piece in *W1,* the motet *Qui servare puberem / [Domine]* (vdW 59/M3), presented here without its opening initial, and – as usual for the motets in *W1* – absent its tenor. Painted initials head each stanza of *Si deus,* with a guide letter still visible for Strophe C.

W2, fasc. 7, no. 23, f. 143r: a2: Strophe I only, headed with the typical filigreed initial, with a bit of remaining space covered by staff lines at the end of the final system, but with no indication that any further text was intended for inclusion, as is usual for the conductus in this source.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 18, f. 238v (9v): text alone of Strophes I, A, B, C, in that order. As in some of the other layouts in this source, the text is set out linearly with about two verses for each line; the beginning of each of these (excepting the first two, which are crowded out by the large opening initial) is headed by a larger letter, set in a vertical column that is separated somewhat from the rest of the text in each line. The start of each subsequent stanza is signaled by pilcrows in the left margin; rubric: "De incarnatione christi et integritate beate virginis" ("On Christ's incarnation and the chastity of the Blessed Virgin"). This and the following work, *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), are in the same order in *F.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** The commentary on this work has benefitted enormously from the discussions and editions of this piece in Anderson, *NDRC* (3:xxxv-xxxvi), Thurston, *Conductus Collections* (1:36)[1] and Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song* (78-82);[2] these citations are referred to below by their authors' names. **The Question of Multiple Poems:** As noted within the above text and translation and implied by the main heading to this piece, the five strophes that make up the most complete transmission of this lyric are often conjectured to be two different poems.[3] One consists of Strophes I and II as presented here, which reflect on the importance of pursuing good works in preparing for one's eventual end; the other – beginning *Notum fecit dominus* – comprises A, B, and C and treats Christ's incarnation and birth by the Virgin Mary. These stanzaic designations correspond to the labels on the CPI website,[4] and the order of the strophes here follows that of *W1,* the only source to contain them all. Interestingly, the rubric in *OxRawl* relates only to the "second" poem, even though its transmission includes Strophe I to start off. As a result, there are various opportunities for including or excluding certain stanzas from consideration or performance. The possibility of interlarded poems in the case of *Si deus* and *Notum fecit* is analogous to that seen in some other conductus lyrics. The case is perhaps most like that of *Ysayas cecinit – Titire tu patule* (C4/188), except the supposedly conjoined poems in the latter case are recorded sequentially after each other in the only source that provides all the stanzas *(W1),* not in a nested fashion as with the *Si deus – Notum* pair. Also, the situation with *Si deus – Notum fecit* seems to contrast with those of *Trine vocis tripudio – Trahunt in precipitia* (E4/351) and *Quid tu vides Ieremia* (D4/287). For the former pair, the two proposed siblings are actually transmitted as separate items in one of their sources *(OxRawl),* while the latter duo suggests that, rather than two different poems, the two stanzas supplied after the first are intended as alternatives for each other. Even so, a few features tie together the *Si deus – Notum fecit* group, which may at least argue that they were conceived in tandem, or that one was fashioned with knowledge of the other. The structure of the stanza in terms of its sequence of line lengths and accentual patterns is unusual, if not unique, and the rhyme scheme is exactly the same for all five strophes. Also related is the fact that each stanza in each poem opens with a citation of some kind. For I-II, these come either from late-antique didactic or patristic works; for A-C they are liturgical/biblical. Furthermore, it seems interesting that *W1,* which alone presents the entire textual complex, nestles A-C between I and II, a strategy also implied, though

---

[1]Ethel 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).

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

[3]As, for instance in the editions of Anderson and Thurston above, as well as that of Janet Knapp, ed., *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices,* Collegium musicum, no. 6, ([New Haven]: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965), see pp.144-145.

[4]Found here: https://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#/.

incompletely, by *OxRawl.* As a result, the presentation in *W1* offers another instance of a conductus that closes with a recall of its opening line (hence the italicization of both here), a feature also seen in the work immediately preceding this piece in *F*-7, *O varium fortune lubricum* (J27/247). See the remarks on this latter work's versification for a list of other conductus that open and close with identical – or nearly so – lines. **Textual notes: 1:** derived from John, 4:24,[5] this is a direct quotation of the opening words of the widely transmitted *Distichs of Cato (Catonis Disticha),* book 1, distich 1: "Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt, / Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus" ("If God is a spirit, as the songs tell us, He is to be worshiped above all with a pure mind.").[6] For more on this work, see the textual notes to the two conductus *Fas et nefas ambulant* (F7/119), line 13*,* and *Cum animadverterem* (I12/73), line 1. For an excellent discussion of the use of the *Distichs* in the conductus repertory, with particular focus on *Cum animadverterem,* see Mary Channen Caldwell, "Singing Cato."[7] **10-11:** a likely reference, as proposed by Anderson, to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, from Matthew, 25:1-13. The empty lamp is associated with those who are unprepared for the coming of the Lord, as suggested by the last verse of the Gospel citation: "Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem, neque horam" ("Watch therefore, because you know not the day nor the hour."). This conceit is picked up in lines 53-56 and permeates Strophe II. **11,2:** "lampas" is nominative singular. **12-13:** see James, 2:17.[8] See also Bernard of Clairvaux, in *PL,*183, col. 936C.[9] **14-15:** from Psalm 97:2.[10] As Thurston observes, the beginnings of Strophes A, B, and C all recall texts that serve as liturgical items, most prominently in feasts associated with Christmastide; one may search the texts of the *Cantus Index* for examples of similar incipits.[11] In this case the most obvious representative is the verse to the Christmas/Circumcision gradual *Viderunt omnes. Notum fecit dominus* (M1, see the *Cantus Index,* ID no. g00554a); cf. also the remarks for lines 27 and 40-41. **16-18:** see Psalm 8:6,[12] referring to mankind, which is also cited in Hebrews, 2:7,[13] and with slightly different language in

---

[5]John, 4:24: "Spiritus est Deus: et eos qui adorant eum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare." ("God is a spirit; and they that adore him, must adore him in spirit and in truth.").

[6]The text is cited 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), 16. The translation is from Everist, p. 79, although one is provided by Chase in rhyming verse.

[7]Mary Channen Caldwell, "Singing Cato: Poetic Grammar and Moral Citation in Medieval Latin Song, *Music and Letters,* 102 (2021): 191-233; see especially 10-18.

[8]James, 2:17: "Sic et fides, si non habeat opera, mortua est in semetipsa" ("So faith also, if it have not works, is dead in itself.").

[9]*PL,*183, col. 936C: "Sine fide enim impossibile est placere Deo (Hebr. xi,6); fortasse et displicere necesse erit. Denique omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est (Rom. xiv,23). Erat fides, sed mortua. Quomodo enim non mortua sine operibus?" ("For without faith it is impossible to please God [Hebrews 11:6]; and perhaps it will be necessary to displease [him]. Finally, all that is not from faith is sin [Romans, 14:23]. There was faith, but it was dead. For how can it not be dead without works?")

[10]Psalm 97:2: "Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum; in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam" ("The Lord has made known his salvation: he has revealed his justice in the sight of the Gentiles.").

[11]http://cantusindex.org/.

[12]Psalm 8:6: "Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis: gloria et honore coronasti eum" ("You have made him [the son of man] a little less than the angels, you have crowned him with glory and honour.").

[13]Hebrews, 2:6-7: "Quid est homo quod memor es ejus, aut filius hominis quoniam visitas eum? Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis: gloria et honore coronasti eum: et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum" ("What is man, that you are mindful of him: or the son of man, that you visit him? You have made him a little lower than the angels: you have crowned him with glory and honour, and have set him over the works of your hands.").

2:9,[14] referring to Jesus. On the adoption of the specific reading for line 18,1 ("nostram") that emphasizes Christ's humanity here, rather than his divinity, see the variant reading for that word reported below. **23-24:** on Christ humbling himself through his incarnation, see Philippians, 2:7-8;[15] for some additional appearances of this image in the conductus repertory, see the remarks on the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. **25-26:** a common conceit in the conductus repertory: God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ. 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 *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 35-36. **27:** for fuller citations of the expression of Christ as the angel of good (or great) council, see the notes to the text of lines 11-12 in the conductus *Exultemus socii* (J17/115). As with the beginnings of stanzas A and C, "angel of council" is a phrase that appears in a number of liturgical items, including sequences and antiphons. Both Thurston and Anderson point out its presence, for example, within the Christmas sequence *Letabundus exsultet fidelis chorus* (*olim* L129/-,[16] *Cantus Index* ID 508017), line 7. See also the remarks for lines 14-15 and 40-41. **28,3:** the word "consilio" might otherwise be rendered here in the adverbial sense of "resolutely." **35-37:** a difficult passage to construe, but I believe the language pertaining to the mother and the daughter refers to Mary's dual role in the conception of Christ as both daughter of the Father and mother of the Son, a common conceit that encouraged reflection in the conductus repertory and in medieval literature at large. Hence, those who may suffer from the temptations of the flesh are encouraged by the example of Mary's chaste conception and delivery of Jesus to pursue chaste lives themselves. **40-41:** another set of liturgical references, as pointed out by Thurston and Anderson, most notably to an antiphon for the octave of Christmas, *O admirabile commercium* (*Cantus Index,* ID no. 003985). See also the remarks for lines 14-15 and 27. In addition, line 41 appears as a refrain in the conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/33), and a close variant of it ("descendit sicut pluvia") arises in the conductus *A solis ortus cardine processit* (F22,Q23/5), line 19 (not the abecedarian hymn). These expressions likely derive either from Matthew, 7:24-27,[17] which recounts the parable of the house built on rock and the one built on sand, or – more likely given the image of the fleece that follows soon after in line 44 – from Psalm 71:6.[18] The image of rain and fleece in close proximity also arises in Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (I) (F16/39), lines 14-15; on divinity appearing as

---

[14]Hebrews, 2:9: "Eum autem, qui modico quam angeli minoratus est, videmus Jesum propter passionem mortis, gloria et honore coronatum: ut, gratia Dei, pro omnibus gustaret mortem" ("But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour: that, through the grace of God, he might taste death for all.").

[15]Philippians, 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.").

[16]Anderson has L129 signaled for deletion in the hand-annotated version of his conductus catalog due to his reclassification of it as a sequence.

[17]Matthew, 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.").

[18]Psalm, 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.").

rain, see Hosea, 6:3.[19] . **44-46:** the dew that collected on Gideon's fleece, as recounted in Judges, 6:36-40, is symbolic of Christ, God's power, and Christ's grace; 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 also the reference in Thurston to *PL,*175, col. 678B, which comments on the meaning of the fleece in a manner similar to that given above. Christ is represented as a sacrificial lamb here, as prefigured in John the Baptist's exclamation to Jesus in John, 1:29.[20] **49:** for the frequent conceit of death being overcome or destroyed by death (i.e., by Jesus's sacrifice and resurrection), see Hebrews, 2:14-15; Romans, 6:9; 1 Corinthians, 15:26-27, 54-55; and Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* p. 27 (note to lines 136-137). **51-52:** as Thurston notes, Goliath is a figure for the devil, in opposition to David, a frequent type for Christ. See, e.g., the *Catena aurea* of Thomas Aquinas, on Matthew, chapter 1, lectio 5, which quotes the *Glossa ordinaria:* "Mystice autem David est Christus, qui Goliam, id est Diabolum, superavit" ("In a figurative sense, David is Christ, who conquered Goliath, i.e., the Devil.").[21] **53-55:** Anderson notes the corresponding passage in the *Meditations* of Anselm of Canterbury; see *PL,*158, col. 741A: "Nihil certius morte, nihil hora mortis incertius" ("Nothing is more certain than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour of death."). This saying went on to become essentially proverbial, as it appears in multiple contexts. **63:** see 1 Corinthians, 5:7-8,[22] where the unleavened bread representing "sincerity and truth" is set in opposition to the leavened bread representing the sinful behavior associated with "malice and wickedness." **64-65:** see the remarks for lines 1 and 12-13.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Any variants from Strophe I of *W1* are also included here, as it is the main source for all but the first strophe. A number of the editorial emendations are taken from the edition in *Anelecta hymnica,* 20:49, no. 17 (listed here as AH). **2,1:** F: the word "dii" is treated monosyllabically in both the poem and musical setting. **13,1:** F: last letter of "fides" partially worn; confirmed by *W1,OxRawl.* **13,3:** F: extra period after first syllable of "mortua," perhaps because the remaining syllable continues on a lower system. **16,1:** W1: angelus; from *OxRawl.* **18,1:** OxRawl has "sue," which is also acceptable. The adopted reading from *W1* stresses Christ's humanity ("a man of *our* flesh) over his divinity ("a man of *his* [i.e., God's] flesh"). **20:** W1: om; from *OxRawl.* **24,1:** OxRawl has the curious "sue," as it does in line 18,1. **31:** W1: renovans non innovi; OxRawl: innovans nos removet; reading from AH. **34:** W1: nos initio; adopted reading from *OxRawl,* following AH, *ibid.* **36,1:** W1: sit; from *OxRawl.* **36,4:** W1: filio; from *OxRawl.* **37,1:** W1: om; from *OxRawl.* **49:3:** W1: destruens; from *OxRawl.* **50,2:** W1: surrexit; from *OxRawl.* **53,2:** om; supplied editorially. **61,1:** spelled "cristi," in contrast to the typical practice of beginning with the Greek letters chi-rho (χρ); changed for consistency throughout these transcriptions. **62,3:** W1: vite; from AH. **63,3:** W1: ut; from AH. **63,4:** W1: apparently written twice, with the first instance partially erased. **MUSIC: General remarks:** See the discussion of this piece in Everist. *Discovering Medieval Song,* 78-82, which demonstrates how the disposition of different musical textures (syllabic versus more and less neumatic text setting) is closely aligned with the changes in verse structure within the stanza. Hence, the opening group of five 7-syllable proparoxytonic lines

---

[19]Hosea, 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.")

[20]John, 1:29: "Altera die vidit Joannes Jesum venientem ad se, et ait: 'Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi' " (" The next day, John saw Jesus coming to him, and he said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sin of the world' ").

[21]The Latin text is available here. It derives from: *Thomas Aquinas, Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia,* Padre Angelico Guarienti, ed. (Turin: Marietti, 1953).

[22]1 Corinthians, 5:7-8: "Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Itaque epulemur: non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae: sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis" ("Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new paste, as you are unleavened. For Christ our pasch [i.e., Passover] is sacrificed. Therefore let us feast, not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.").

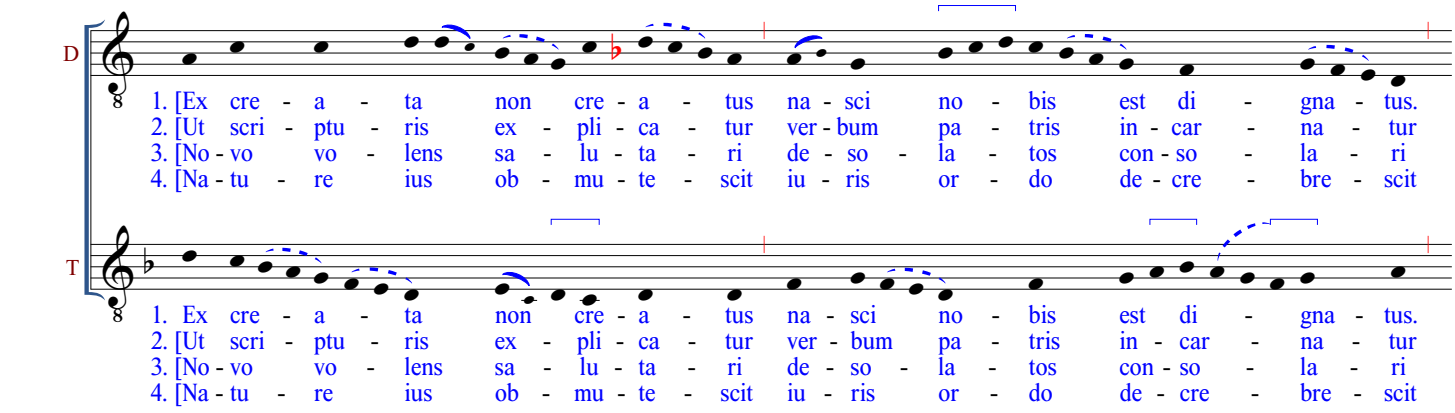
shows a tendency towards a more ornate neumatic setting, the following series of four 5pp verses is strongly syllabic with regular flourishes of neumatic writing confined to their final syllables, while the closing four lines, reverting to a 7pp construction, open with the only appreciable cauda in the piece, and continue with a setting that is almost strictly syllabic outside the ending flourish on the penultimate syllable of the stanza. For an analogous display of varied correlations between musical style and poetic structure in the conductus repertory, see *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), along with the discussion of its features as given in Payne, "Music and Texts of the Conductus," 2:1061-1062.[23] **Variants: Line 13,1:** T: F: *c,d* for *d,e* of "fides"; reading from *W1,W2.*

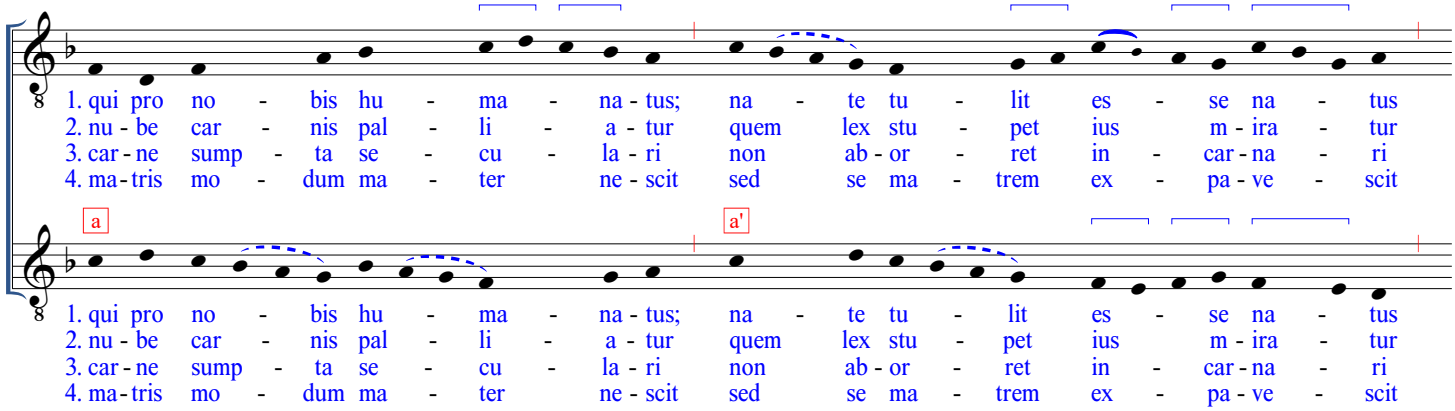
[23]Thomas B. Payne, "Latin Song II: The Music and Texts of the Conductus." *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music.* 2 vols., Mark E. Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, eds., 2: 1048-1078. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

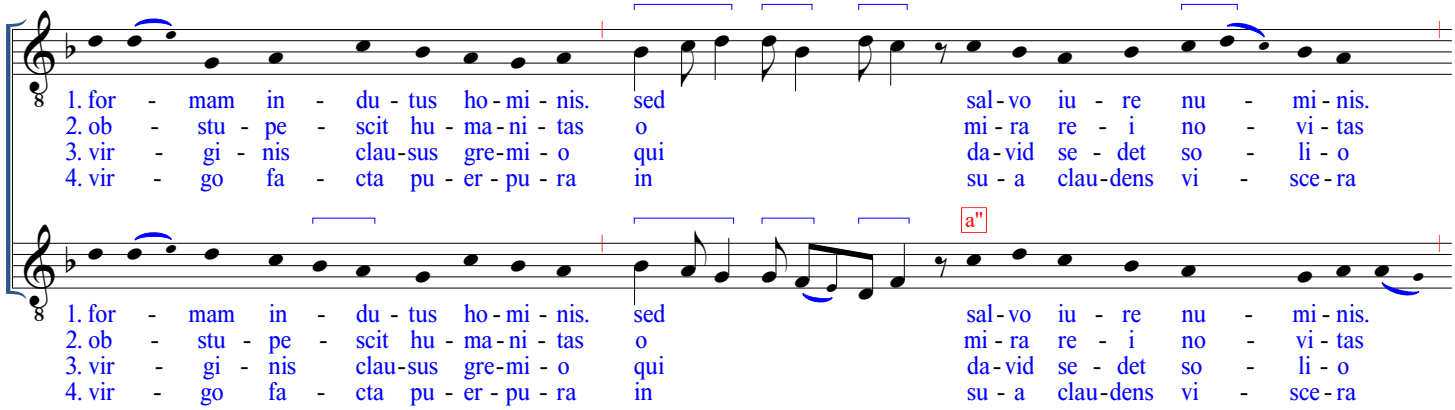
EX CREATA NON CREATUS

Conductus (I14/108)

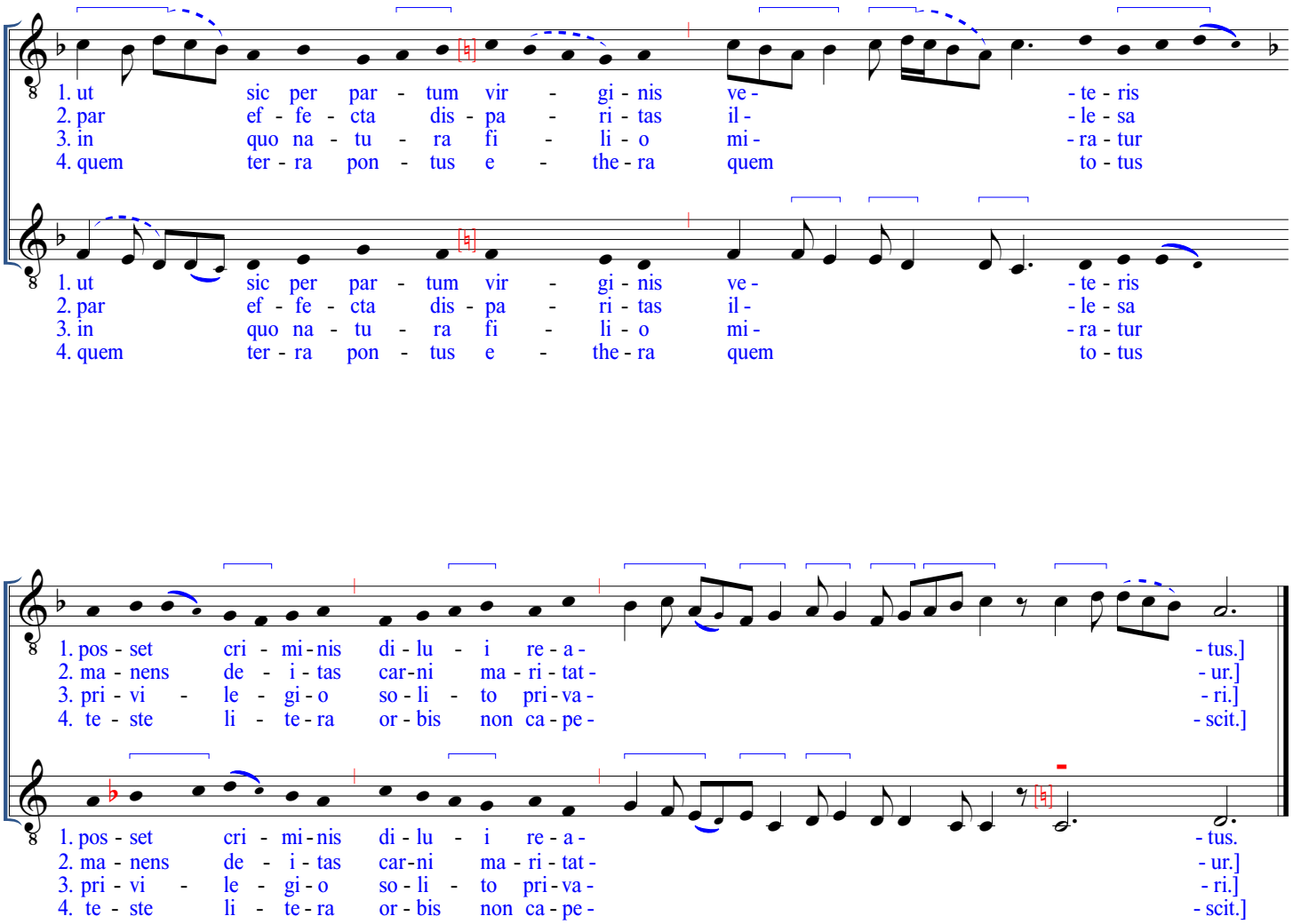
F, f. 352r (7,96): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 118v (109v) (9,34): Strophes II-IV*







*W1 has *b-flat* signatures throughout both parts, allowing alternatives to the occasional *b-natural* readings here.


1. ut sic per par - tum vir - gi - nis ve - te - ris
2. par ef - fe - cta dis - pa - ri - tas il - le - sa
3. in quo na - tu - ra fi - li - o mi - ra - tur
4. quem ter - ra pon - tus e - the - ra quem to - tus
1. ut sic per par - tum vir - gi - nis ve - te - ris
2. par ef - fe - cta dis - pa - ri - tas il - le - sa
3. in quo na - tu - ra fi - li - o mi - ra - tur
4. quem ter - ra pon - tus e - the - ra quem to - tus

1. pos - set cri - mi - nis di - lu - i re - a - tus.]
2. ma - nens de - i - tas car - ni ma - ri - tat - ur.]
3. pri - vi - le - gi - o so - li - to pri - va - ri.]
4. te - ste li - te - ra or - bis non ca - pe - scit.]
1. pos - set cri - mi - nis di - lu - i re - a - tus.
2. ma - nens de - i - tas car - ni ma - ri - tat - ur.]
3. pri - vi - le - gi - o so - li - to pri - va - ri.]
4. te - ste li - te - ra or - bis non ca - pe - scit.]

EX CREATA NON CREATUS

Conductus (I14/108)

F, f. 352r (7,96): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 118v (109v) (9,34): Strophes II-IV

I Ex creata, non creatus
nasci nobis est dignatus.
Qui pro nobis humanatus,
nate tulit esse natus,
formam indutus hominis,
sed salvo iure numinis.
ut sic per partum virginis
veteris posset criminis
dilui reatus.

From her who was created, the one who was
not created deigned to be born for us.
The one made human for us bore
being the son of his daughter,
taking on the form of a man, but
through an unassailable authority of divine will,
in such a way that the guilt of the ancient
offense could be swept away
by a virgin giving birth.

II [Ut scripturis explicatur,
verbum patris incarnatur.
Nube carnis palliatur
quem lex stupet ius miratur.
Obstupescit humanitas.
O mira rei novitas!
Par effecta disparitas.
Illesa manens deitas
carni maritatur.

As is set forth in scripture,
the Word of the Father is made flesh.
It is covered by a cloud of flesh
that dumbfounds the law and makes judgment marvel.
Humanity is stupefied.
O the wondrous novelty of the event!
Inequality has become equal.
Godliness, remaining unimpaired,
is wed to flesh.

III Novo volens salutari
desolatos consolari
carne sumpta seculari,
non aborret incarnari.
Virginis clausus gremio,
qui david sedet solio,
in quo natura filio
miratur privilegio
solito privari.

Wishing that the desolate
be consoled through new salvation
by taking on worldly flesh,
he did not shrink from being incarnated.
Nestled in the lap of a virgin,
he sits on David's throne,
on which Nature wonders at
the deprivation by the son
of his customary privilege.

IV Nature ius obmutescit.
Iuris ordo decrebrescit.
matris modum mater nescit,
sed se matrem expavescit,
virgo facta puerpura,
in sua claudens viscera
quem terra pontus ethera,
quem totus, teste litera,
orbis non capescit.]

The law of nature is rendered speechless.
The proper workings of the law recede.
The mother knows not the ways of a mother,
yet is greatly astounded at becoming a mother,
since as a virgin she has born a child,
enclosing in her womb the very
one whom earth, sea, and sky,
indeed the whole world, as scripture
witnesses, cannot contain.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 96, f. 352r: a2; Strophe I only, with no space for further text, and with the last several notational figures (preceded by signaling clefs and a sig) and final text syllable occupying the very end of the first system of the following piece, *Veneris prosperis* (J28/359). This and the previous work, *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus* (H32/324), are in the same order in *OxRawl.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 34, f. 118v (109v): a2; Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV headed by painted initials (a guide letter is visible for II and partially for III) and entered at the bottom of f. 118v (109v) under the first system of the piece; the first line of II begins in the left margin, with the remainder continuing underneath in five lines of extended writing, running from the left to right margins and inscribed outside the writing block. An upper case letter begins line 6.

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 19, f. 238v (9v): text only of Strophes I-IV, complete and laid out like the majority of works in this source, with the first letter of each inscribed line separated by a thin, empty column from the rest; II-IV are headed by pilcrows in the left margin; rubric: "De effectu et commodo incarnationis christi" ("On the outcome and benefit of the incarnation of Christ"). This and the previous work, *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus* (H32/324), are in the same order in *F.*

US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 712.59),[1] no. 3, verso (the shelfmark refers only to a single leaf): ruled for music a2 that was never entered; text only, supplied for Strophes I-IV, complete. A filigreed, illuminated red initial heads the work, with the residual stanzas, headed by alternating blue and red undecorated letters, entered within the right margin after the final system allotted to the piece and continuing into the end of the first system of the following work, *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/354). Insufficient space for the final lines sees them entered outside the writing block in the margin to the left of the staves of the second system of *Ut non ponam.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-2:** central to the orthodox idea of the consubstantiality of Christ with God is that Christ ("the Word") existed with God before his conception and incarnation on earth (see John, 1:1-3).[2] For further discussion of this and related points, see the notes to the text of the conductus *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2, and the additional references there. Hence, Mary, who as a mortal was created in a normal fashion through her own birth, gave birth to Jesus, who was not created but incarnated, being in existence with God from the beginning. **4:** the common conceit of Mary's dual role as both daughter of God the Father and mother of his Son. **7-9:** Mary's giving birth to Jesus redeemed mankind and negated the effects of original sin ("the ancient offense" of line 8), prompted by Eve's succumbing to the temptation of the diabolical serpent in Genesis, 3. **10-11:** see John, 1:14.[3] **13-14:** the frequent trope of Christ's birth overstepping the bounds of natural law; for discussion and references to other items in the conductus repertory, see the notes to the text of *O felix Bituria* (E8/232), lines 23-24. This conceit is explored further in the rest of the poem. **16:** in Jesus, as lines 17-18 explain, the separate, unequal qualities of divinity and mortality are combined equally in a single

---

[1]Images of this MS are available here: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10543807. See also the study by Eva M. Maschke, which also includes images of this and related sources: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156 (link here).

[2]John, 1:1-3: "In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est" ("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. All things were made by him: and without him was made nothing that was made.").

[3]John, 1:14: "Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis" ("And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.").

entity who is also one with the other members of the Trinity, the Father and Holy Spirit. **17-18:** God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ, see, for example, the conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), Strophe I and *passim,* and *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 9-14. **21-22:** Christ willingly submitted to incarnation as a human, humbling himself by doing so, though it meant his inevitable sacrifice for mankind that resulted in his crucifixion and death; see, for example, Philippians, 2:7-8.[4] **23-24:** See Luke, 1:32;[5] in this context, the throne of David also connotes the Virgin Mary, in whose lap Jesus is sitting (line 23). Mary traced her ancestry back to David. **25-29:** further contemplation of God's power to bend natural law to his will, as in the comments to lines 13-14, above. In this case Nature is additionally astounded at Christ/God taking on human form and thus forgoing certain advantages of his divinity (see the remarks for lines 21-22). **30:** Mary conceived Jesus without sexual intercourse, therefore she did not have full knowledge of the "way of a mother." **31:** the verb here – "expavescit" – normally implies fear and dread, which would be unusual qualities to describe Mary's reaction to her role in the incarnation. I therefore lean towards Anderson's connotation of awe (*NDRC,* 4:xv), rather than fear, but it is a difficult word to render properly in this context. **33-36:** Anderson (*NDRC,* 4:xv, note 6) notes the use of comparable language in the text of the verse for the Marian gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis. Virgo dei genetrix* (M32): "Virgo dei genetrix quem totus non capit orbis in tua se clausit viscera factus homo" ("Virgin, mother of God, the whole world cannot hold him, the one made man who encloses himself in your womb."). Similar expressions can be found in a number of other Marian liturgical items, see the *Cantus Index* (http://cantusindex.org/). **34:** an apparent reference to the opening line of the Marian hymn *Quem terra pontus aethera* (or *sidera*), attributed to the poet Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530-ca. 600-609), also bishop of Poitiers (from ca. 599-600 until his death). For other citations in the Parisian conductus repertory of Fortunatus's poems in addition to *Ex creata,* see the notes to the opening lines of *O crux ave spes unica* (H4/230) and *Pange melos lacrimosum* (I15/258). **35-36:** on the inability of the universe to contain God, see 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 8:27.[6]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** All variant readings from both *W1* and *US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59* are reported here (the latter as "Beinecke"), the first because it is used to supply the additional strophes II-IV for this transcription, the second because it was unknown to Anderson and therefore not collated in his edition (*NDRC,* 4:94). **6,1:** W1: set. **8,2:** W1: possit. **13,4-5:** Beinecke: partially effaced by wormholes. **22,2:** Beinecke: abhorret, as in *OxRawl.* **25,2:** W1,OxRawl,Beinecke: qua; the adopted reading, "quo," not supported by any of the extant sources appears in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xv, and *AH,* 20, p. 50, no. 18, though it is not reported in the latter. Perhaps the choice of gender here in the MSS was influenced by the allegorical association of the thrones (neuter noun) of David and Solomon with Mary (feminine). **25,3:** W1: nature, as is *OxRawl;* taken from *Beinecke.* **28,1:** W1: verus; from *OxRawl,Beinecke.* **28,3:** W1,Beinecke: decrebescit; reading from *OxRawl.* **36,1:** Beinicke: mundus ("world"), an equally acceptable reading. **MUSIC:** W1 has *b-flat* signatures throughout both parts, allowing alternatives to the occasional *b-natural* readings here. **Line 7,1:** T: F: 3li=*fec* for the opening figure of the cauda; adopted reading (3C,siP=*fed,d*) from *W1* gives better consonance.

---

[4]Philippians, 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.").

[5]Luke, 1:32 "Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur, et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris ejus: et regnabit in domo Jacob in aeternum" ("He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the most High; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever.").

[6]1 Kings (1 Samuel), 8:27: "Ergone putandum est quod vere Deus habitet super terram? si enim caelum, et caeli caelorum, te capere non possunt, quanto magis domus haec, quam aedificavi? " ("Is it then to be thought that God should indeed dwell upon earth? for if heaven, and the heavens of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house which I [Solomon] have built?").

VENERIS PROSPERIS
Conductus (J28/359)

F, f. 352v (7,97): Strophe I; *OxRawl,* f. 239r (10r) (no. 21): Strophes II-IV

D
[Ve - ne - ris pro - spe - ris u - sa suc - ces - si - bus
[So - li - tum de - bi - tum red - di - te ve - ne - ri
[Iu - pi - ter ar - bi - ter re - rum in - sti - tu - it
[Vi - ve - re te - ne - re sa - ta - gam i - gi - tur

T
Ve - ne - ris pro - spe - ris u - sa suc - ces - si - bus
[So - li - tum de - bi - tum red - di - te ve - ne - ri
[Iu - pi - ter ar - bi - ter re - rum in - sti - tu - it
[Vi - ve - re te - ne - re sa - ta - gam i - gi - tur

tur - ba na - scen - ti - bus flo - ri - bus te - ne - ris.
iu - ve - nes te - ne - ri lau - des et me - ri - tum
ni - chil dum li - bu - it fi - e - ri tur - pi - ter
qui io - vem se - qui - tur non de - git te - me - re

a a'

tur - ba na - scen - ti - bus flo - ri - bus te - ne - ris.
iu - ve - nes te - ne - ri lau - des et me - ri - tum
ni - chil dum li - bu - it fi - e - ri tur - pi - ter
qui io - vem se - qui - tur non de - git te - me - re

ex - e - qua - ris pri - scum mo - rem. ad a - mo - rem
is e - ner - vat iu - ven - tu - tis qui vir - tu - tis
sic e - dix - it sic - que vo - tis u - sus to - tis
vo - lun - ta - tis fix - us te - lo u - tar ve - lo

ex - e - qua - ris pri - scum mo - rem. ad a - mo - rem
is e - ner - vat iu - ven - tu - tis qui vir - tu - tis
sic e - dix - it sic - que vo - tis u - sus to - tis
vo - lun - ta - tis fix - us te - lo u - tar ve - lo

ac - cin - ga - ris sce - le - ris pre - ter - mis - sis ce - te - ris.]
for - mam ser - vat li - bi - tum pu - e - ris est li - ci - tum.]
su - o vix - it iu - gi - ter e - di - cto con - for - mi - ter.]
vo - lup - ta - tis si - de - re na - vi - gans sub ve - ne - re.]

ac - cin - ga - ris sce - le - ris pre - ter - mis - sis ce - te - ris.
for - mam ser - vat li - bi - tum pu - e - ris est li - ci - tum.]
su - o vix - it iu - gi - ter e - di - cto con - for - mi - ter.]
vo - lup - ta - tis si - de - re na - vi - gans sub ve - ne - re.]

VENERIS PROSPERIS

Conductus (J28/359)

F, f. 352v (7,97): Strophe I; *OxRawl,* f. 239r (10r) (no. 21): Strophes II-IV

I	Veneris	Enjoying
	prosperis	the favorable
	usa successibus,	profits of Venus,
	turba, nascentibus	when tender flowers
	floribus teneris,	are being born, you, as a
	exequaris	crowd, should pursue
	priscum morem.	the ancient custom.
	Ad amorem	May you be
	accingaris,	girded for love,
	sceleris	having left off other
	pretermissis ceteris.	wicked things.
II	[Solitum	Render unto
	debitum	Venus the debt
	reddite Veneri,	owed her,
	iuvenes teneri.	tender youths.
	Laudes et meritum	One weakens
	is enervat	the honors and
	iuventutis	reward of youth
	qui virtutis	who maintains an
	formam servat.	appearance of virtue.
	Libitum	For the young,
	pueris est licitum.	pleasure is permitted.
III	Iupiter,	Jupiter,
	arbiter	the arbiter
	rerum, instituit	of things, established
	nichil dum libuit	that nothing was shamefully
	fieri turpiter.	done when it was pleasing.
	Sic edixit;	So he ordained;
	sicque, votis	and so, availing himself
	usus totis,	of his every wish,
	suo vixit	he lived perpetually
	iugiter	in conformity
	edicto conformiter.	with his edict.
IV	Vivere	Therefore, I will
	tenere	aim to live sensually.
	satagam, igitur.	One who follows
	Qui Iovem sequitur	Jove does not pass
	non degit temere.	his time rashly.
	Voluntatis	Struck through by
	fixus telo,	the arrow of desire,
	utar velo	I will make use
	voluptatis,	of the sail of delight,
	sidere	steering under Venus,

navigans sub Venere.] the guiding star.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 97, f. 352v: a2; Strophe I only, with some empty space at the end of the last system, covered with staff lines, but with no indication any further text was intended for inclusion. This is the only extant setting of the music. This and the following three pieces in *F* are in the same order in *OxRawl.*[1]

Text only:

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C 510), no. 21, f. 239r (10r): text only of Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV headed by pilcrows in the left margin; rubric: "Prosa de lasciviis iuventutis" ("Prose on the licentiousness of youth"). Each strophe is written as a three-line unit, with each such stich comprising 4, 4, and 3 lines of the stanzas as delineated above, with all but the first headed by various types of pilcrows; the first letter of each stich (beginning with the third) is separated by a narrow, blank vertical column. This and the following three pieces in *OxRawl* are in the same order in *F* (see the footnote in the source report on that MS).

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** The editions of Anderson, Dronke,[2] and *AH,* referred to below, have been exceedingly helpful in determining the text and in aiding translation. 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 additional observations, see the general remarks on the text of *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128, at *F*-6,28). Perhaps as a result of its irreligious orientation, the images and personifications come from classical Roman mythology. Guido Maria Dreves, in his discussion of the piece in *AH,* 21:158, no. 252, hypothesizes that this poem is either a stylistic exercise, or that additional strophes were omitted from *OxRawl,* the only source to preserve any stanzas other than the first. He assumes that this missing portion would contain some warning or moral to offset the blatant encouragement towards erotic love that pervades the poem. This assumption, though, seems countered somewhat by the tone of Strophe IV, which reads like an effective summing-up of the ideas presented earlier in the lyric. **Attribution:** Peter Dronke has ascribed this poem to Peter of Blois,[3] but the 1998 edition of Peter's poetry by Carsten Wollin regards this as dubious.[4] **Versification:** there are various ways to construe the structure of this complex stanzaic form. The format adopted here corresponds to two of the other editions I have consulted (Dronke, *Medieval Latin;* Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxii). There is an exception with *AH,* which offers an eight-line stanza that combines lines 1-2, 6-7, and 9-10, as given above; cf. Also the organization of the poetry in *OxRawl* in the source report above. Any attempt to pair up the three- or four-syllable couplets into single lines featuring internal rhyme still leaves a stray trisyllable (line 10) or risks obscuring the chiastic pairs

---

[1]The four works found contiguously in *F-7* (nos. 97-100) and *OxRawl* (nos. 21-24) are *Veneris prosperis* (J28/359), *Regnum dei vim patitur* (H33/302), *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), and *Non habes aditum* (J29/221); the middle two members, moreover, are also in the same order in *W2-7* (nos. 25-26) and *US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59.*

[2]Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric,* 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 393-394

[3]See Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Medieval Studies*, 38 (1976): 185-235; reprinted and revised in *idem, The Medieval Poet and his World*, Storia e Litterature: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, no. 164 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Litteratura, 1984), 281-339.

[4]Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis Carmina,* Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis, no. 128, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), see poem number 4.10.

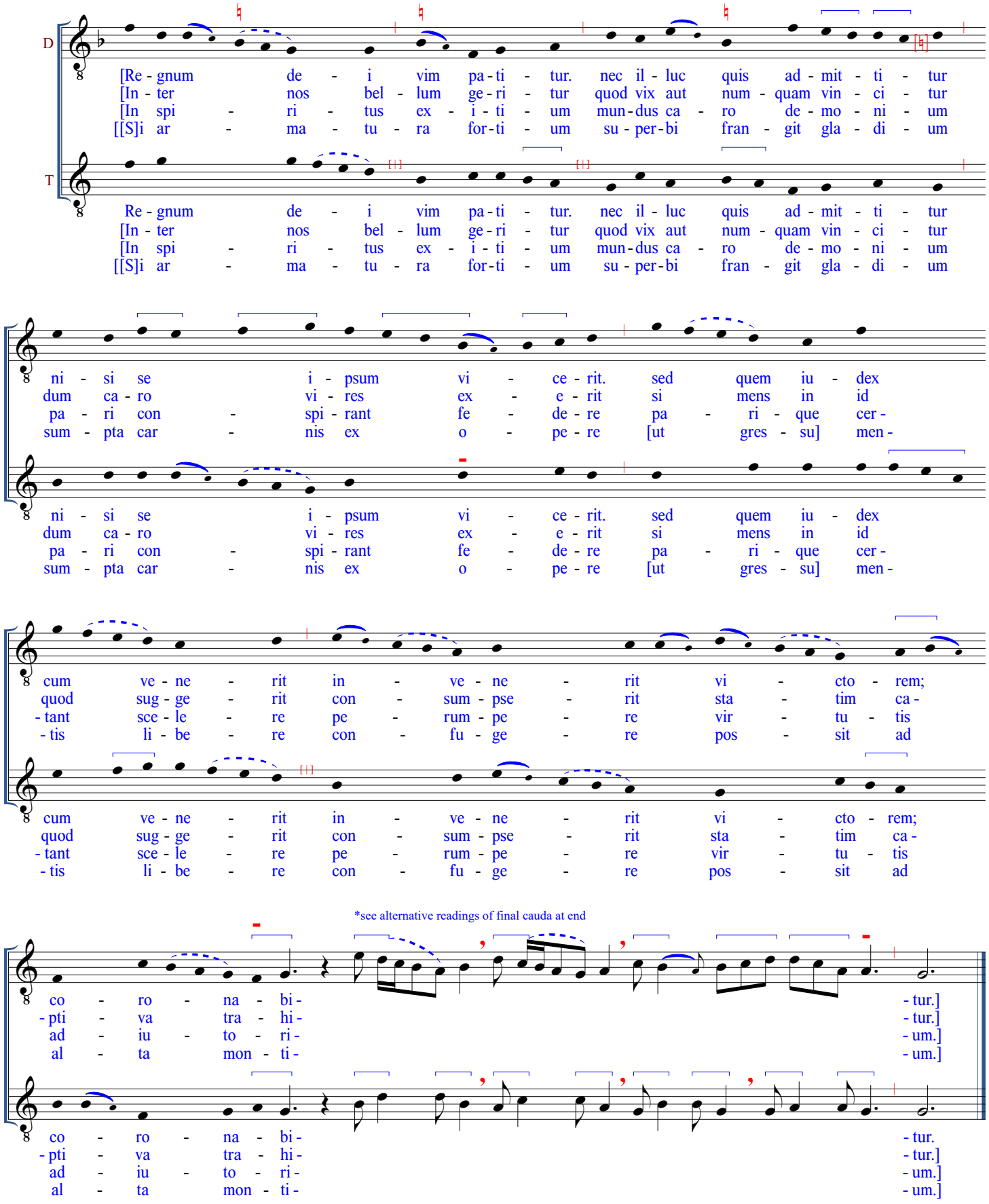
of rhymes in lines 6-9. **Textual notes: 4,2-5:** this conductus poem has a springtime trope, a feature seen frequently in secular vernacular love poetry. **6:** perhaps the reference to the "ancient custom" here is prompted by the Roman deities that inhabit the poem, the pagan venue here contrasting to the more devotional and religious tone of the majority of the conductus in *F.* **36,1:** this word is a contraction of "satis agam."

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 35:** OxRawl: temere; from Anderson, Dronke. **39-42:** OxRawl: fixus telo / voluptatis / utar vero / voluptatis. This mars the order of the rhyme scheme apparent in all other stanzas; rearrangement of the lines and emendation to the readings to avoid rhyme-word repetition seem called for. The sequence of lines as given above (differing in details from all cited editions and from the CPI website) could also be equally satisfactory rearranged as: 40,39,42,41, since the syllable count is the same for all. *AH* does not report these discrepancies. While *OxRawl* gives the same word for lines 40 and 42 (retained in *AH*), Anderson and Dronke replace one instance with "voluntatis," a word with similar connotations; this strategy has been implemented here for the first instance, as per Dronke. **41,2:** OxRawl: vero; reading after both Anderson and Dronke; *AH* unaccountably gives "natis," without comment, which also disrupts the rhyme scheme. **MUSIC:** no variants.

REGNUM DEI VIM PATITUR

Conductus (H33/302)

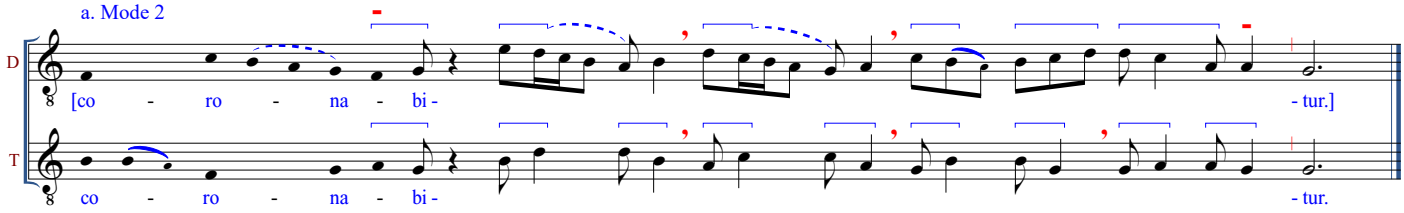
F, f. 352v (7,98): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 119v (110v): Strophes II-IV



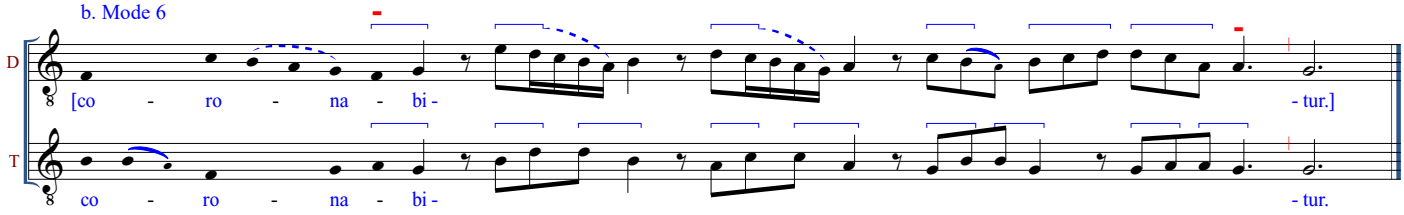
(alternative readings follow)

***ALTERNATIVE READINGS OF FINAL CAUDA**

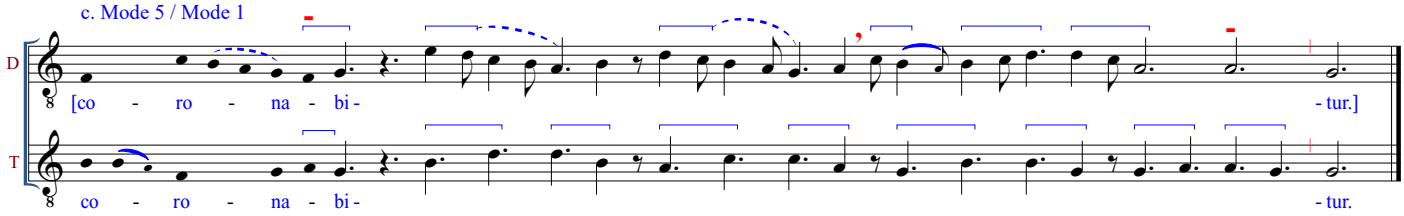
a. Mode 2



b. Mode 6



c. Mode 5 / Mode 1



REGNUM DEI VIM PATITUR

Conductus (H33/302)

F, f. 352v (7,98): Strophe I; *W1,* f. 119v (110v) (9,36): Strophes II-IV

I Regnum dei vim patitur,
nec illuc quis admittitur
nisi se ipsum vicerit;
sed quem iudex – cum venerit –
invenerit
victorem, coronabitur.

The kingdom of God is suffering violence,
and no one is admitted there
unless he has gotten the better of himself;
but the one whom the judge – when he comes –
has declared the victor,
he will be crowned.

II [Inter nos bellum geritur,
quod vix aut numquam vincitur,
dum caro vires exerit.
Si mens in id quod suggerit
consumpserit,
statim captiva trahitur.

A war is being waged within us,
that scarcely or never is victorious,
as long as the flesh avails itself of violence.
If the mind has fed upon
what the flesh advises,
it is immediately made captive.

III In spiritus exitium
mundus, caro, demonium
pari conspirant federe,
parique certant scelere
perumpere
virtutis adiutorium.

The world, the flesh, and the devil
conspire in an equal alliance
towards the destruction of the spirit,
and they vie with equal wickedness
to overcome
the support of virtue.

IV [S]i armatura fortium
superbi frangit gladium,
sumpta carnis ex opere,
[ut gressu] mentis libere,
confugere
possit ad alta montium.]

If the armor of the valiant
breaks the sword of one who is proud,
the spirit can flee what has been
exacted by the effort of the flesh,
as on the pathway of a free mind,
to the heights of the mountains.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 98, f. 352v: a2; Strophe I only, with no space left for additional stanzas. This work is one of a group of four pieces that are transmitted in the same order in *OxRawl* and *F.*[1] This and the following item, *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), also appear in the same sequence in four out of five sources: *F, W2, US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59,* and *OxRawl.*

W1, fasc. 9, no. 36, f. 119v (110v): a2; Strophes I-IV, complete; with Strophes II-IV added at the end of the last system, starting on the unnotated portions of the staves and extending nearly into the present binding at the right; there are painted initials for I, II, and III; the one for IV was never executed, although a small guide letter appears to the left of the text for this final stanza. This is the only source for *Regnum dei* that does not follow it with *Omni pene curie;* the latter does not appear at all in *W1.*

W2, fasc. 7, no. 25, f.144r: a2; Strophe I only; with the notes over the final syllable extensively elongated, scored through vertically, and entered flush with the right margin with a preceding area of unnotated staff lines to the left that follows

[1]The four works found contiguously in *F*-7 (nos. 97-100) and *Ox Rawl* (21-24) are *Veneris prosperis* (J28/359), *Regnum dei vim patitur* (H33/302), *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), and *Non habes aditum* (J29/221).

the penultimate notes of the piece; no additional space, as usual, was left for any further stanzas. This and the following work (the music and staves of which were never entered in *W2*) are in the same order in four out of five MSS; see the source report for *F*.

Text only:

US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 712.59),[2] no. 1, recto (the shelfmark refers only to a single leaf): staves headed by a filigreed initial and ruled for music a2 that was never entered; text only of Strophes I-IV, complete, with the residual stanzas entered within the right margin after the final system of the piece, and with painted initials. This and the following work are in the same order in four out of five MSS; see the source report for *F*.

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 22, f. 239v (10v); text only of Strophes I-IV, complete, with II-IV marked by pilcrows in the left margin, and with the first letter of each inscribed line separated from the rest by a narrow empty column; rubric: "De triplici inimico nos infestante" ("On the three-fold foe attacking us" – i.e., the world, flesh, and the devil). This work is one of a group of four pieces that are transmitted in the same order in *OxRawl* and *F* (see the source report on *F,* above). This and the following item also appear in the same sequence in four out of five MSS; see the source report for *F*.

Music only:

The pitches of the T in the opening three phrases of the final cauda match the T of text lines 5-6,2 of the conductus *Helysei manubrio* (I35/153): "se prebuit que latuit / iam patuit," thus showing an example of syllabic/melismatic identity that cuts across two different works. This piece survives in the following sources:

F, fasc. 7, no. 121, f. 364r: a2; Strophe I complete.

W2, fasc. 7, no. 2, f. 139v: a2; Strophe I complete.

In addition, the opening motive in the first phrase of the T appears at the beginning of a number of other conductus; so far identified are: *Vanitas vanitatum* (K18/355), *Beatus qui non abiit* (K20/45), *Qui seminant in loculis* (K22/248).[3]

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** This poem is regarded as a possible work of Philip the Chancellor by Peter Dronke[4] and Guido Maria Dreves.[5] **Textual notes: 1:** See Matthew, 11:12;[6] see also the reference in line 21 below to Galatians, 5:19-

---

[2]Images of this MS are available here: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10543807. See also the study by Eva M. Maschke, which also includes images of this and related sources: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156 (link here).

[3]The first of these is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in a medieval source *(Da).* The others are proposed as his by David A. Traill, in David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina,* 10 (2003): 219-248, at 222, 237-239.

[4]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592, at p. 591.

[5]Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung: eine Blütenlese aus den Analecta hymnica mit literarhistorischen Erläuterungen*. 2 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1909), 2:426-427.

[6]Matthew, 11:12: "A diebus autem Iohannis Baptistae usque nunc, regnum caelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud." ("And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent plunder it.").

21. **4-6:** cf. James, 1:12.[7] **9,4:** from "exsero." **14:** the main three enemies of the soul, a type of unholy trinity (referred to in the rubric of *OxRawl*); see Peter Abelard, *Expositio orationis dominicae (Exposition of the Lord's Prayer)*, petition 6.[8] Among the various biblical parallels, see Ephesians, 2:2-3,[9] and 6:11-12;[10] note also John, 2:12-17. **19, 2-3:** note Song of Songs, 4:4.[11] **21:** cf. Galatians, 5:19-21.[12]

Observations and Variants: All variant readings from both *W1* and *US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59* are reported here (the latter as "Beinecke"), the first because it is used to supply the additional strophes II-IV for this transcription, the second because it was unknown to Anderson and therefore not collated in his edition (*NDRC,* 3:230). **TEXT: 4:** Beinecke: set que iudex advenerit. **11:** W1: consumpsit, with no indication of an "-er-" abbreviation; *Beinecke:* consenserit; reading comes from *OxRawl* **17:** W1: prerumpere; from *OxRawl.* **19,1:** W1: initial om; from *OxRawl.* **22,1-2:** W1: om; from *OxRawl,Beinecke.* **MUSIC: Line 1.** D:F: the *b-flat* sig is found only in this source in this voice, and it disappears with the turning of the folio at the last syllable of line 2; it is quite possibly included in error, or applicable only for the first *b* in the D, as other uses would cause false relations. **1,2:** T:*F:* following stroke om in all MSS, supplied editorially to correspond with D. **1,4:** All musical sources but *W1* imply an uncharacteristic harmonic second for their initial congruence on the third syllable of "patitur": T: F: P*b;* reading of 2li=*ba* from *W1;* W2: *b*P*b;* T: F,W2: following stroke om; from *W1* to correspond with D. **4,5:** T: F,W2: corresponding stroke om; from *W1.* **Final cauda:** The *sine littera* notation of this segment is ambiguous in terms of rhythm. There are several ways that the ligatures may be read, a number of which (arranged in greater to lesser order of likelihood) are provided at the end of the transcription. The one supplied within the transcription itself assumes an "upbeat" mode 1 reading; the alternative rendering "a." gives the cauda in mode 2; "b." reads the ligatures in mode 1 in faster values; and "c." – perhaps the least defensible reading given the particular shapes that open the D – applies a mode-5 or extended mode-1 interpretation. There are even further rhythmic refinements possible in each of these versions, including different ways one might execute the rests prior to the cauda.

---

[7]James, 1:12: "Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem; quia cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se" ("Blessed is the man who endures temptation; for when he has been proven, he shall receive the crown of life that God promised to those that love him.").

[8]Peter Abelard, *Expositio orationis dominicae (Exposition of the Lord's Prayer)*, petition 6: "Tria autem sunt quae nos tentant, caro, mundus, diabolus" ("There are three things which tempt us, the flesh, the world, and the devil."). For the text, see Charles Burnett, ed., "Expositio orationis dominicae 'Multorum legimus orationes,' " *Révue Benedictine,* 95 (1985): 60–72.

[9]Ephesians, 2:1-3: "Et vos, cum essetis mortui delictis et peccatis vestris, in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aeris hujus, spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae, in quibus et nos omnes aliquando conversati sumus in desideriis carnis nostrae, facientes voluntatem carnis et cogitationum, et eramus natura filii irae, sicut et ceteri" ("And you, when you were dead in your offences, and sins, wherein in time past you walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of this air, of the spirit that now works on the children of unbelief: In which also we all conversed in time past, in the desires of our flesh, fulfilling the will of the flesh and of our thoughts, and were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest.").

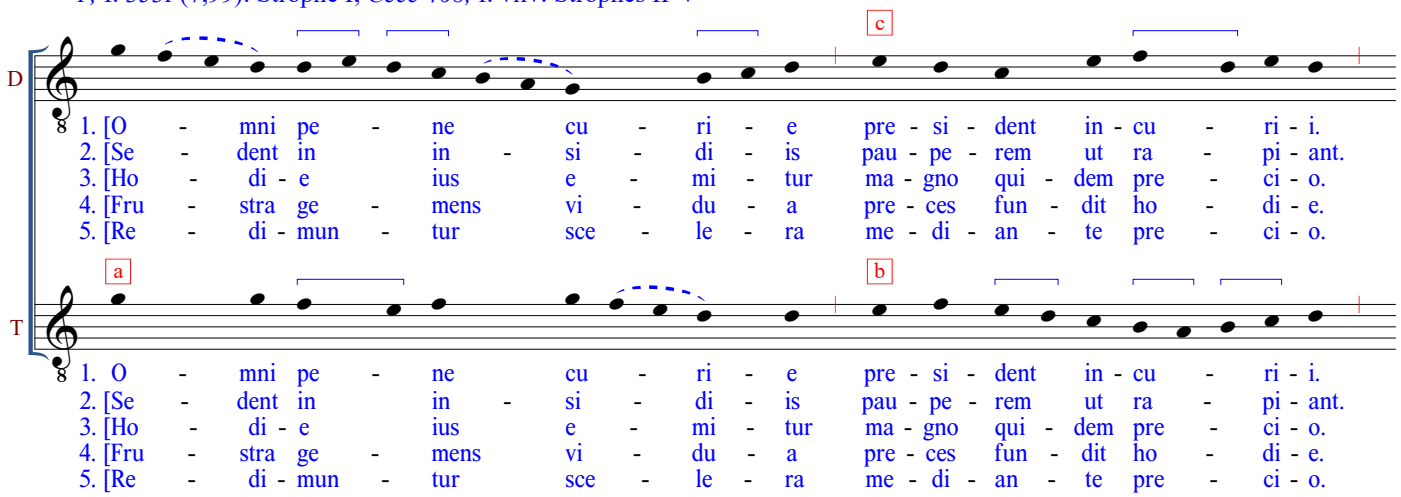
[10]Ephesians, 6:11-12: " Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli: quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes, et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae, in caelestibus" ("Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and power, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places.").

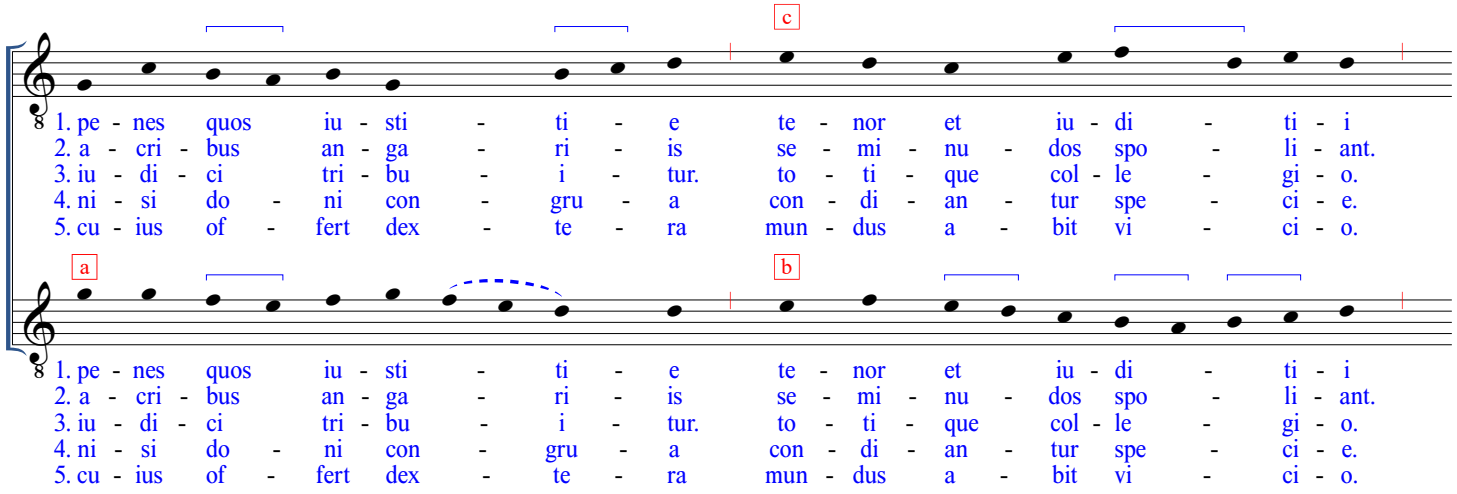
[11]Song of Songs, 4:4: "Sicut turris David collum tuum, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis: mille clypei pendent ex ea omnis armatura fortium." ("Your neck is like the tower of David, which is built with bulwarks: a thousand bucklers hang upon it, all the armour of valiant men.").

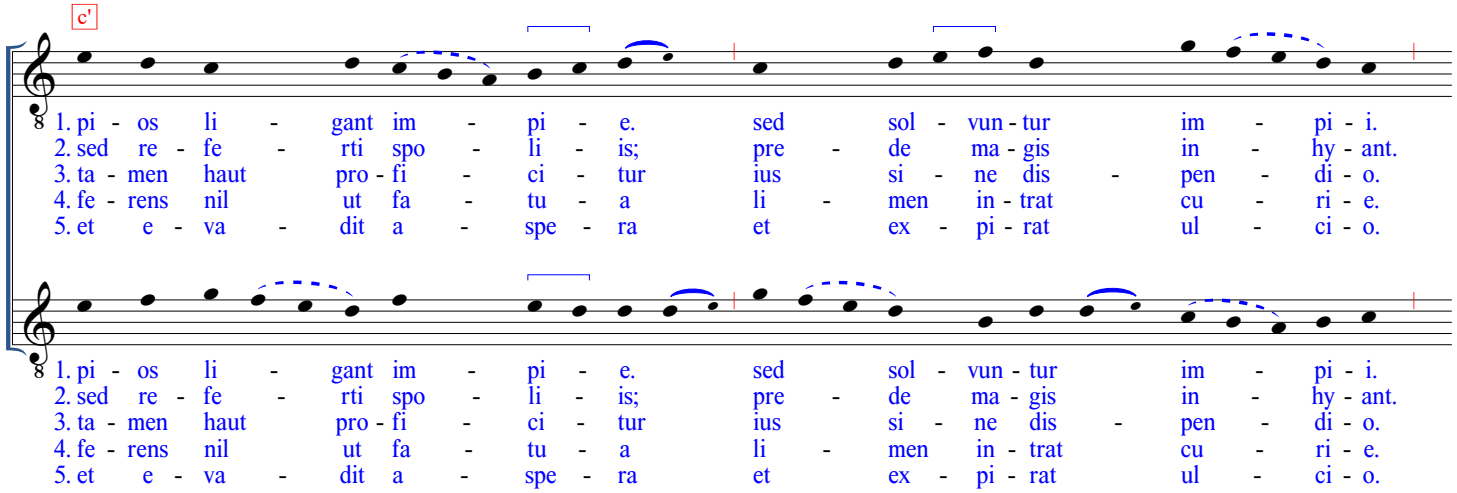
[12]Galatians, 5:19-21: "Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis quae sunt fornicatio, inmunditia, luxuria ... et his similia. Quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non consequentur" ("Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury ... and such like. Of these I foretell you, as I have foretold to you, that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God.").

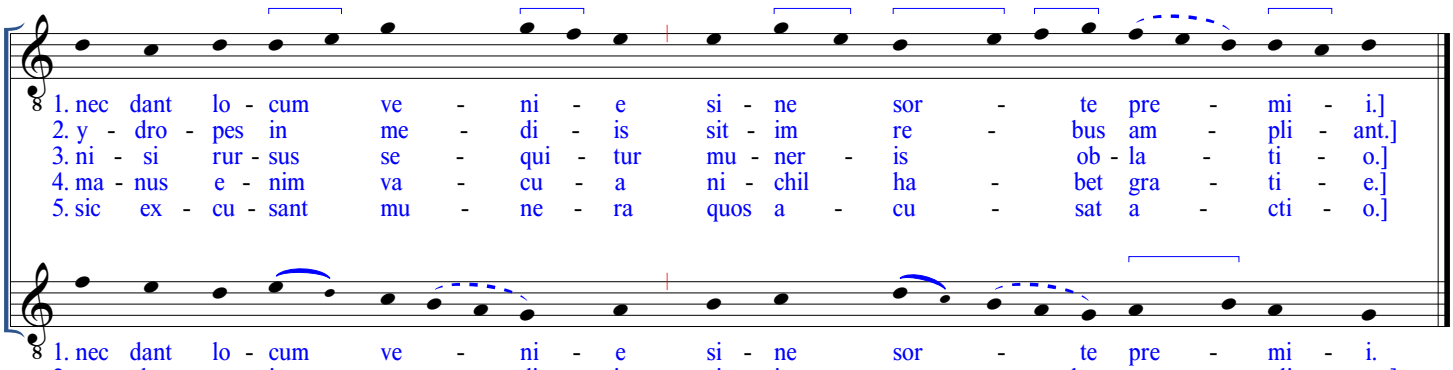
OMNI PENE CURIE
Conductus (I34/252)

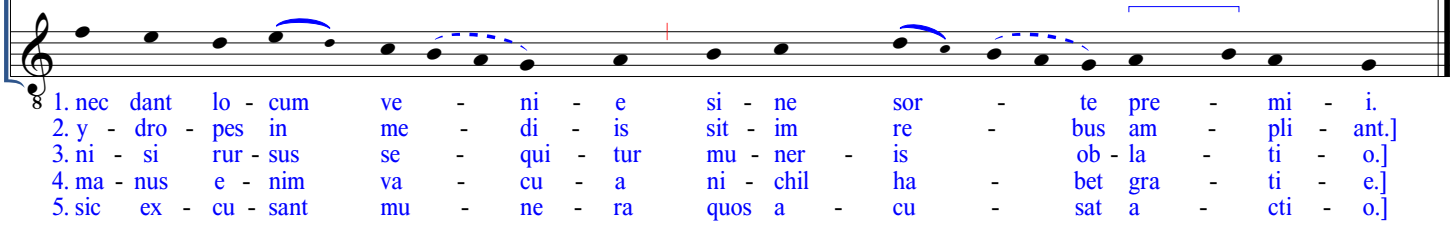
F, f. 353r (7,99): Strophe I; *Cccc 468,* f. viiv: Strophes II-V








1. nec dant lo - cum ve - ni - e si - ne sor - te pre - mi - i.]
2. y - dro - pes in me - di - is sit - im re - bus am - pli - ant.]
3. ni - si rur - sus se - qui - tur mu - ner - is ob - la - ti - o.]
4. ma - nus e - nim va - cu - a ni - chil ha - bet gra - ti - e.]
5. sic ex - cu - sant mu - ne - ra quos a - cu - sat a - cti - o.]


1. nec dant lo - cum ve - ni - e si - ne sor - te pre - mi - i.
2. y - dro - pes in me - di - is sit - im re - bus am - pli - ant.]
3. ni - si rur - sus se - qui - tur mu - ner - is ob - la - ti - o.]
4. ma - nus e - nim va - cu - a ni - chil ha - bet gra - ti - e.]
5. sic ex - cu - sant mu - ne - ra quos a - cu - sat a - cti - o.]

OMNI PENE CURIE

Conductus (I34/252)

F, f. 353r (7,99): Strophe I; *Cccc 468,* f. vii^{v}: Strophes II-V

I Omni pene curie
president incurii.
Penes quos iustitie
tenor et iuditii.
Pios ligant impie,
sed solvuntur impii;
nec dant locum venie
sine sorte premii.

They couldn't care less, those who
preside over nearly every court.
The course of justice and
of judgment runs through their hands.
They restrain the just unjustly,
but the unjust are set loose;
and they grant no place to forgiveness
without a share of the reward.

II [Sedent in insidiis
pauperem ut rapiant.
Acribus angariis
seminudos spoliant;
sed referti spoliis,
prede magis inhyant:.
ydropes in mediis
sitim rebus ampliant.

They lie in ambush
to prey on the poor.
With their cruel bailiffs
they strip bare the half-naked;
and yet, stuffed with plunder,
they covet prey all the more:
bouts of dropsy, as they
progress, increase thirst.

III Hodie ius emitur
magno quidem precio.
Iudici tribuitur
totique collegio.
Tamen haut proficitur
ius sine dispendio,
nisi rursus sequitur
muneris oblatio.

Indeed, the law is purchased
today with a huge bribe:
one offered to the judge
and to the bench as a whole.
In fact, the law isn't furthered
at all without expense,
and without offering an
offering on top of that.

IV Frustra gemens vidua
preces fundit hodie,
nisi doni congrua
condiantur specie.
Ferens nil, ut fatua
limen intrat curie.
Manus enim vacua
nichil habet gratie.

The grieving widow today
pours forth her prayers in vain,
unless they be seasoned with
a agreeable sort of gift.
Bearing nothing, like a fool she
crosses the court's doorstep,
for an empty hand holds
nothing of benefit.

V Redimuntur scelera
mediante precio.
Cuius offert dextera
mundus abit vicio.
Et evadit aspera
et expirat ulcio.
Sic excusant munera
quos acusat actio.]

Crimes are bought off when
a bribe is the mediator.
He whose right hand makes an offer
goes away cleansed of fault.
He both evades the hardships,
and punishment evaporates.
Thus do gifts excuse the
ones the charge accuses.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 99, f. 352v: a2; Strophe I only, with no space left for additional stanzas. This work is one of a group of four pieces transmitted in the same order in *OxRawl* and *F*.[1] Furthermore, this and the previous item in this source are in the same order in four out of five MSS: *F, W2, US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59,* and *OxRawl.*

Fauv (F-Pn fr. 146; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146 [Roman de Fauvel]), no. 23, f. 7v[a]: a1 (T); Strophe I only, with some space at the end of the final system covered by staff lines; in mensural notation.[2]

Text only:

W2, fasc. 7, no. 26, f.144v: text only of Strophe I, headed by the usual filigreed initial and formatted like the other items in the fascicle, but with no music or even staff rulings present; no space is allotted for additional stanzas, as is typical for the other pieces in this fascicle, of which this is the last. This and the previous work in this source are in the same order in four out of five MSS – see the source report on *F.*

US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 712.59),[3] no. 2, recto (the shelfmark refers only to this single leaf): staves headed by a filigreed initial and ruled for music a2 that was never entered; text of Strophes I-III only, with the two residual stanzas entered within the right margin after the final system of the piece, headed by plain painted letters alternating blue and red, and not continuing further on the verso (cf. the next piece in this MS, *Ex creata non creatus* [I14/108]). This and the previous work in this source are in the same order in four out of five sources. Collated here when necessary as "Beinecke" – see the source report on *F.*

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 23, f. 239v (10v); text alone of Strophes I-III only,[4] written successively as if prose, and with stanzas marked by interlinear pilcrows and capitals. The final seven inscribed lines are set flush with the right margin, outlining a wedge steadily decreasing from left to right with jagged, stair-like ink decoration; rubric: "De iniuriis a iudicibus modernis factis" ("On the injuries done by modern judges"). This work is one of a group of four pieces transmitted in the same order in *OxRawl* and *F* (see the source report on *F,* above). Furthermore, this and the previous work in this source, are in the same order in four out of five sources – see the source report on *F.*

Cccc 468 (GB-Cccc 468; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 468), f. viii[r]: text alone of Strophes I-V, complete; appears on the seventh line of this leaf, without break or other indication of its independence, after the previous poem in the MS, *Captivata largitas,* a work also ascribed to Walter of Chatillon (see below on attribution), but without a musical setting in any extant source. A similar situation occurs with the MSS *Cul Hh VI 11* and *F-Pn n.a.l. 1544* (q.v.). Each inscribed line in the MS (comprising pairings of the lines as given above) has its first letter separated from the remainder by a narrow vertical column, a format also seen often in *OxRawl.* The start of each stanza is indicated by a double vertical stroke set in the margin to the left of the

---

[1]The four works found contiguously in *F*-7 (nos. 97-100) and *Ox Rawl* (21-24) are *Veneris prosperis* (J28/359), *Regnum dei vim patitur* (H33/302), *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), and *Non habes aditum* (J29/221).

[2]Images of *Fauv* available here.

[3]Images from this source are available here: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10985758. See also the study by Eva M. Maschke, which also includes images of this and related sources: "Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments," *manuscript cultures,* 8 (2015): 138-156 (link here).

[4]The CPI website mistakenly reports all five stanzas.

slightly larger letters that begin each inscribed line of the text.[5]

F-Pn n.a.l. 1544 (Paris, Bibliothéque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1544), f. 86v; text alone of Strophes I-V, complete (though omitting lines 7-8 and 37), with stanzas opened by capitals at the left margin (the one for IV is not very prominent). As with *Cccc 468,* this is appended to a poem also ascribed to Walter, here *Frigescente caritatis* (L22, *olim* L23a/-). The beginning of *Frigescente* here has the rubric: "Contra curiam romanam" ("Against the Roman curia"). Collated here when necessary as "Pn1544."[6]

Cul Hh VI 11 (GB-Cul Hh VI 11; Cambridge, University Library, Hh VI 11), f. 68v: text alone of lines 1-26 only, fragmentarily preserved, as the bottom of the leaf is torn away. Like *Cccc 468, Omni pene* occurs without a break as an appendage to the independent poem *Captivata largitas*. This source is presently unavailable to me. The details included here derive from Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:105.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** This lyric is attributed to Walter of Châtillon by Karl Strecker,[7] where it appears in his edition as the concluding stanzas of poem no. 10, *Captivata largitas,* as described above in the source reports for *Cccc 468* and *Cul Hh VI 11*. Here the two lyrics are reckoned as independent works.[8] This ascription is supported in the 2013 edition of Walter's works by David A. Traill.[9] Traill's work has aided immensely the rendering of the text and has informed much of the commentary here. **Textual notes: 1-3:** Of the similar words "pene" and "penes" in these lines, the first is an adverb, the second a preposition; but an evocation of the homophone "poenae" ("punishment") may also be implied here for both. As well, the translation conceals a pun between "curie" ("court") and "incurii" ("uncaring"). A more literal rendering of lines 3-4 might be "... (the uncaring,) in the power/possession of *[penes]* whom [is] the course *[tenor]* of justice and judgment." **9-10:** see Psalm 9:29-30.[10] **11:** according to Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* p. lxviii, the mention of baillifs *(angarii)* suggests the poet's subject is corruption in secular, rather than ecclesiastical, courts. **13-16:** on the connections shared by dropsy (edema), greed, and thirst, see Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* p. 92, note 313, offering a quotation from Alain de Lille and citations from Hans Walther, *Proverbia.*[11] For an informative blog post that collects a number of Greek and Roman authorities on the same subjects, see Michael Gilliland,

---

[5]Images from *Cccc 468* are available here: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sw561ph9670.

[6]The image from this source may be found here: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033677x/f92.item.r=NAL%201544.

[7]Karl Strecker, ed., *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon,* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929).

[8]For Strecker's reasoning on combining the two, see p. 109; for the separation, see Traill, cited in the following footnote, p. lxviii.

[9]David A. Traill, ed. and trans., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

[10]Psalm 9:29-30: "Sedet in insidiis cum divitibus in occultis, ut interficiat innocentem. Oculi ejus in pauperem respiciunt; insidiatur in abscondito, quasi leo in spelunca sua. Insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem; rapere pauperem dum attrahit eum. " ("He [the sinner] sits in ambush with the rich in private places, that he may kill the innocent. His eyes are upon the poor man: He lies in wait in secret like a lion in his den. He lies in ambush that he may catch the poor man: to catch the poor, whilst he draws him to him.").

[11]Hans Walther, *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). For the specific items, see nos. 11319a-c.

Laudator Temporis Acti, "Avarice and Dropsy," posted 18 September 2004.[12] For two particularly apt examples noted by Gilliland, see Ovid, *Fasti,* 1.211-216,[13] and Horace, *Odes,* 2.2.9-16.[14] **15-16:** the rendering of "in mediis ... rebus" here in this context is a bit challenging. The connotation I perceive is that the bouts of dropsy (edema) are present and ongoing. **25-26:** see Ecclesiasticus (Sirach): 35:17;[15] and Isaiah, 1:23.[16] **29-30:** Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xxxvii, considers this a reference to the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, from Matthew, 25:1-13.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **2,2:** Cccc 468: in curii. 3,3: Cccc 468: iusticie. **16,3:** Cccc 468: applicant; from *Beinecke,Pn1544*. **20,2:** Cccc 468,Pn1544,Cul Hh VI 11: aut; from *OxRawl.* **22,1:** Cccc468: iudici; from *OxRawl,Beinecke,Pn1544,Cul Hh VI 11.* **MUSIC:** no variants. **Motivic sharing with other works:** The opening T phrase 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 of *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 the penultimate phrase in the 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 T in *Omni pene curie* (I34/252) – a2 – *F*-7,99. ***Fauv*** **version:** pitch readings are essentially identical to the T of *F*. the mensural rendition in this source suggests performance in successive longs for most syllables, with extension to DL values for 3li figures if read literally (=BBL). All of the latter are written *cum proprietate et cum perfectione,* while 2li appear as both *cum/cum* and *cum/sine,* which in this mode-3/mode-2 context leads to the same values in execution (=BL or BB with the second B altered).

---

[12]https://laudatortemporisacti.blogspot.com/2004/09/avarice-and-dropsy.html (accessed August 14, 2022).

[13]Ovid, *Fasti,* 1.211-216: "... creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido, / et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt. / quaerere ut absumant, absumpta requirere certant, / atque ipsae vitiis sunt alimenta vices: / sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda, / quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae." ("Riches have grown and with them the frantic lust for wealth, and they who have the most possessions still crave for more. They strive to gain that they may waste, and then to repair their wasted fortunes, and thus they feed their vices by ringing the changes on them. So he whose belly swells with dropsy, the more he drinks, the thirstier he grows."). The translation is from Ovid, *Fasti,* James George Frazer, transl., Loeb Classical Library, 253 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1931). Although the word here translated as "dropsy" is *unda* ("water"), the context of the passage, with its description of unquenchable thirst, suggests the rendering here. Cf. the following example from Horace.

[14]Horace, *Odes,* 2.2.9-16: "Latius regnes avidum domando / spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis / Gadibus iungas, et uterque Poenus / serviat uni. / Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, / nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi / fugerit venis, et aquosus albo / corpore languor" ("You may possess a more extensive dominion by controlling a craving disposition, than if you could unite Libya to the distant Gades, and the natives of both the Carthages were subject to you alone. The direful dropsy increases by self-indulgence, nor extinguishes its thirst, unless the cause of the disorder has departed from the veins, and the watery languor from the pallid body."). The translation is by Christopher Smart, accessible here: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/14020/14020-h/14020-h.htm (consulted July 13, 2023).

[15]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 35:17: "Non despiciet preces pupilli, nec viduam, si effundat loquelam gemitus" ("He will not despise the prayers of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she pours out her complaint").

[16]Isaiah, 1:23: "Principes tui infideles, socii furum. Omnes diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones. Pupillo non judicant, et causa viduae non ingreditur ad illos" ("Your princes are faithless, companions of thieves: they all love bribes, they run after rewards. They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's case comes not in to them.").

NON HABES ADITUM

Conductus (J29/221)

F, f. 353r (7,100)

I

D [Non ha - bes a - di - tum in cu - ri - a per me - ri - tum. fac au - rum

T Non ha - bes a - di - tum in cu - ri - a per me - ri - tum. fac au - rum

por - ri - gas. que mol - li - a sunt col - li - gas sub cu - bi - to ia - cen - tis

por - ri - gas. que mol - li - a sunt col - li - gas sub cu - bi - to ia - cen - tis

do - mi - ni. cu - i su - bi - to clau - dun - tur ter - mi - ni. sic a - gi - to.

do - mi - ni. cu - i su - bi - to clau - dun - tur ter - mi - ni. sic a - gi - to.

sed si - cut me - mi - ni sic ten - dis per i - tum pal - pans in - me - ri - tum.

sed si - cut me - mi - ni sic ten - dis per i - tum pal - pans in - me - ri - tum.

[Refrain?]

[Refr.?] Ad lo - cu - los o - cu - los di - ri - gunt. et ma - nus por - ri - gunt.

Ad lo - cu - los o - cu - los di - ri - gunt. et ma - nus por - ri - gunt.

ma - ni - pu - los par - vu - los ne - gli - gunt qui ge - stant a - nu - los.]

ma - ni - pu - los par - vu - los ne - gli - gunt qui ge - stant a - nu - los.

NON HABES ADITUM

Conductus (J29/221)

F, f. 353r (7,100)

I	Non habes aditum	You gain no admittance
	in curia per meritum.	to the court based on merit.
	Fac aurum porrigas,	Make sure that you offer gold,
	que mollia sunt colligas	that the things you may assemble lie soft
	sub cubito iacentis domini,	under the bed of a recumbent lord,
	cui subito clauduntur termini.	for whom the terms are quickly concluded.
	Sic agito, sed sicut memini,	This I urge, but I am also mindful
	sic tendis per itum,	that this is how you proceed in your course,
	palpans inmeritum.	flattering one who is undeserving.
[Refr.?]	Ad loculos oculos dirigunt	They direct their eyes to purses
	et manus porrigunt.	and hold out their hands.
	Manipulos parvulos negligunt	Those who wear the rings
	qui gestant anulos.	don't care for small packages.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 100, f. 353r: a2; Strophe I (and refrain?), complete, with no space for further text. This is the only musical setting of the poem; a capital heads line 10, signaled by an extra space in the text above, as if to mark a refrain. Significantly, *Non habes aditum* concludes a string of 13 texts that appear without a break, but in a different sequence for the most part, in both *F* and *OxRawl,* a series that began with *Artium dignitas* (I4/20) at *F*-7,88. This cycle was headed in *F* with a large, historiated initial, and marked a turn to pieces in a simpler style, with fewer, less extensive caudae and with an emphasis on strophic, rather than through-composed musical settings. Additionally, *Non habes aditum* is the last of a group of four pieces that are transmitted in exactly the same order in *OxRawl* and *F.*[1]

Text only:

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510), no. 24, f. 239v (10v); text alone of Strophe I, complete. The poem is laid out in the usual way in this source, with a separated letter at the start of each inscribed line and with the conjectural refrain at line 10 signaled by a marginal pilcrow; rubric: "Quod des ut accipias" ("What you should give so that you might get"). This work is the final member of a group of four pieces transmitted in the same order in both *OxRawl* and *F,* and the last of a cluster of 13 works that appear as a group in both sources; see the above source report on *F.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** Although all the ten-syllable lines in this poem as shown above may be split into smaller units (as in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxiii and the CPI website), the presentation here elects to combine these components into decasyllables with internal rhyme (indicated by horizontal spacing). This layout thus

[1]The four works found contiguously in *F*-7 (nos. 97-100) and *Ox Rawl* (21-24) are *Veneris prosperis* (J28/359), *Regnum dei vim patitur* (H33/302), *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), and *Non habes aditum* (J29/221).

follows the example of Léopold Delisle's presentation of the poem[2] and minimizes the number of different line lengths in the text as a whole. **Refrain?:** Since only one stanza is preserved in the two extant sources of this piece, it is not possible to determine whether the capital at line 10 in *F,* or the analogous pilcrow at this same point in *OxRawl,* was intended to signal a refrain. For information on other mono-strophic conductus with possible refrains, the textual notes to the conductus *Baculi sollempnia* (J52/20) at *F*-7,127. **Content:** This is a somewhat inscrutable poem, perhaps intentionally so. As with the preceding item in both the extant sources, Walter of Châtillon's *Omni pene curie* (I34/252), the subject of this anonymous lyric appears to be corruption and bribery in judicial courts (whether ecclesiastical or secular is not immediately clear), but, as Bruce Holsinger has pointed out,[3] there are additional undercurrents of sexually pointed language in this lyric. Specifically, the references to purses and packages *(loculos, manipulos)* may denote the male genitals, specifically the scrotum and testicles, while the mention of rings conjures up an anus, surrounding a phallic finger.[4] **Textual notes: 3:** for the idiomatic use here of the imperative "fac" for the following two clauses, see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/facere, *DMLBS,* s.v. "facere," 9. **4-6:** This is a very difficult passage to construe. There are several possible ways that certain portions of it might be rendered, and so the translation here is provisional. Assuming that what I have supplied is somewhat accurate, I take it to mean that the person who is bribing the official must make sure that the things he gives are comfortable enough for the recipient to keep them hidden under his mattress while he sleeps (lines 4-5), and that the transaction, being ethically and morally suspect, is concluded as quickly and quietly as possible (line 6 is also translatable as "to whom the boundaries are immediately closed"). However, with the wealth of allusion elsewhere in the poem, other meanings involving sexual favors may be in play as well. On a different point, I have rendered the word "cubito" (line 5,2) here as "mattress," rather than "elbow" or "arm," but there is an interesting connection with some of the language of this passage in Jeremiah, 38:10-13.[5] In these verses, the prophet Jeremiah, who has been cast into a dungeon or cistern, is raised out of it by ropes that have been passed under his arms ("sub cubito manuum tuarum"). The ropes, though, have been made more comfortable (softer?) by being padded with rags and old, soiled pieces of cloth. The connection may be only coincidental, but the parallels still seem compelling. If accepted, this reading might change the conception of line 5,2 to "elbow/arm," but with the following mention of the "recumbent lord" *(iacentis domini)* I do not see this passage necessarily expounding upon the image of Jeremiah in the cistern. Hence I have preferred here the interpretation as "bed." **6,1:** "cui" here is treated as bisyllabic in the musical setting, but functions structurally as a monosyllable in the poem. See the observations

---

[2]Léopold Delisle, "Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France,* 22 (1885): 82-139, at 120.

[3]Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); see chapter 4, "Polyphones and Sodomites: Musical and Sexual Dissidence from Leoninus to Chaucer's Pardoner," 137-187, particularly 155-156, which treat *Non habes aditum.*

[4]For these points, see Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire,* 143-146. Also, in the context of Walter's lyric *Captivata largitas,* cf. David Traill, ed. and transl., *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), lxviii-lxix; and 47, note 187, in reference to the poet's *Dum queritur michi remedium.*

[5]Jeremiah, 38:10-13: "Praecepit itaque rex Abdemelech Aethiopi, dicens: 'Tolle tecum hinc triginta viros, et leva Jeremiam prophetam de lacu, antequam moriatur.' Assumptis ergo Abdemelech secum viris, ingressus est domum regis, quae erat sub cellario, et tulit inde veteres pannos, et antiqua quae computruerant, et submisit ea ad Jeremiam in lacum per funiculos. Dixitque Abdemelech Aethiops ad Jeremiam: 'Pone veteres pannos, et haec scissa et putrida, sub cubito manuum tuarum, et super funes.' Fecit ergo Jeremias sic, et extraxerunt Jeremiam funibus, et eduxerunt eum de lacu: mansit autem Jeremias in vestibulo carceris. " ("Then the king [Zedekiah] commanded Abdemelech the Ethiopian, saying: 'Take from here thirty men with you, and draw up Jeremias the prophet out of the dungeon, before he die.' So Abdemelech taking the men with him, went into the king's house that was under the storehouse: and he took from thence old rags, and old rotten things, and he let them down by cords to Jeremias into the dungeon. And Abdemelech the Ethiopian said to Jeremias: 'Put these old rags and these rent and rotten things under your arms, and upon the cords': and Jeremias did so. And they drew up Jeremias with the cords, and brought him forth out of the dungeon. And Jeremias remained in the entry of the prison").

on the music at this same place, below. **6,3:** *OxRawl* has the future tense form, "claudentur," which could serve just as well. **12-13:** as Anderson suggests (*NDRC,* 5:xxiii), the rings are likely a symbol of authority, but see Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire,*143-149, for the ring's sexual overtones deriving from Ovid, and proposed as operative in the poetry of Leoninus.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **MUSIC: Line 6,1:** cf. the above notes on the text at this place. As a result, and since the pitches for the two syllables of "cui" *(a,a)* are repeated in both parts in the musical setting, this word may be rendered alternatively as a monosyllable by figuratively "fusing" the two notes together in performance; that way they may correspond to the analogous places in the surrounding lines 5,1-2 and 7,1-2. **6,2:** D: F: following stroke om; added editorially to correspond with T.

INVOLUTUS IN ERRORIS
Conductus (J30/187)

F, f. 353v (7,101)

I

D [In - vo - lu - tus in er - ro - ris la - be rit - o de - vi - a;

a b

T In - vo - lu - tus in er - ro - ris la - be rit - o de - vi - a;

vi - am vi - te me - li - o - ris ra - ti - o - ne pre - vi - a ni - tor et le - tor

a b'

vi - am vi - te me - li - o - ris ra - ti - o - ne pre - vi - a ni - tor et le - tor

ag - gre - di. nec post e - sum re - gre - di mo - re ca - nis ad vo - mi - tum.

ag - gre - di. nec post e - sum re - gre - di mo - re ca - nis ad vo - mi - tum.

sed ad - ver - sus spi - ri - tum ca - ro re - lu - ctans of - fi - cit.

sed ad - ver - sus spi - ri - tum ca - ro re - lu - ctans of - fi - cit.

et be - ne pu - gnans ef - fi - cit u - ti be - ne pu - gnem.

et be - ne pu - gnans ef - fi - cit u - ti be - ne pu - gnem.

et im - pu - gnan - tem for - ti - ter a - cri - ter im - pu - nem.]

et im - pu - gnan - tem for - ti - ter a - cri - ter im - pu - gnem.

INVOLUTUS IN ERRORIS

Conductus (J30/187)

F, f. 353v (7,101)

I	Involutus in erroris	Enmeshed in the sickness of
	labe, rito devia;	sin, I frequent the side roads;
	viam vite melioris	I persevere and am happy to
	ratione previa,	embark on a path to a better life,
	nitor et letor aggredi;	with reason leading the way;
	nec post esum regredi	and, after having eaten, not
	more canis ad vomitum.	return to my vomit like a dog.
	Sed adversus spiritum,	But the flesh gets in the way,
	caro, reluctans, officit,	struggling against the spirit,
	et, bene pugnans, efficit	and, fighting well, causes
	uti bene pugnem,	it to pass that I, too, fight well,
	et impugnantem fortiter,	and that I forcefully and
	acriter impugnem.	fiercely attack the attacker.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 101, f. 353v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no provision for further stanzas; unique source for both music and text.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 2,1-2:** rather a conundrum, as the scribe has written these four syllables as a single word, "laberito," which appears not to exist in Latin. The CPI website gives "laberinto" (labyrinth), assuming an omitted abbreviation stroke over the "i," which if used, though, makes it difficult to accommodate "devia." Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xxiii) looks as though a space might be provided between the words as given above, but I do not see his translation of "rito" ("I stumble") as viable. Recall that "erroris" is genitive, translated as "sin" here. For the meaning of "rito" as used here, see s.v. "ritare," no, 2, of the *DMLBS* at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ritare. Also, "devia," if it is a substantive (because there is nothing else in this clause that it might agree with as an adjective), would appear most likely to be neuter plural, as construed here. Even so, I still find this reading and its translation less than satisfactory, and consider it provisional. Another conceivable rendering of line 2,2-3 might be: "I celebrate devious things." **6-7:** see Proverbs, 26:11;[1] 2 Peter, 2:22.[2] **8-9:** see Galatians, 5:17.[3]

---

[1]Proverbs, 26:11: "Sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum, sic imprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam" ("As a dog that returns to his vomit, so is the fool that repeats his folly.").

[2]Peter, 2:22: "Contigit enim eis illud veri proverbii: Canis reversus ad suum vomitum: et, Sus lota in volutabro luti." ("For, that of the true proverb has happened to them: The dog is returned to his vomit: and, The sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.").

[3]Galatians, 5:17: "Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem: haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis" ("For the flesh desires what is contrary to the Spirit, and the Spirit what is contrary to the flesh. They are in conflict with each other, so that you are not to do whatever you want.") – the translation here is from the New International

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Line 9,2:** D: F: original *g* over "[re]lu[ctans]" erased, editorial emendation.

Version, for clarity.

LUXURIANT ANIMI

Conductus (J31/202)

F, f. 354r (7,102)

*see alternative a. at end

D [Lux - u - ri - ant a - ni - mi re - bus se - pe pro - spe - ris
[Ex - hau - stis con - ci - pi - unt vi - les vi - rus vi - ri - bus.

T a Lux - u - ri - ant a - ni - mi re - bus se - pe pro - spe - ris
b Ex - hau - stis con - ci - pi - unt vi - les vi - rus vi - ri - bus.

*see alternative b. at end

vi - le ia - cent in - fi - mi ca - si - bus in a - spe - ris.
quod vo - men - do pa - ri - unt se - cun - dis suc - ces - si - bus.

a vi - le ia - cent in - fi - mi ca - si - bus in a - spe - ris.
b quod vo - men - do pa - ri - unt se - cun - dis suc - ces - si - bus.

in - gra - ti pro gra - ti - a gra - ti sub in - o - pi - a.
ex post fa - cto cla - ri - us pa - tet hoc et pla - ni - us

c in - gra - ti pro gra - ti - a gra - ti sub in - o - pi - a.
ex post fa - cto cla - ri - us pa - tet hoc et pla - ni - us

in - o - pes sunt hu - mi - les pro - pter o - pes la - bi - les in - flan - tur
ex - hau - sta pe - cu - ni - a mon - strat im - po - ten - ti - a quod - dam vol -

c in - o - pes sunt hu - mi - les pro - pter o - pes la - bi - les in - flan - tur
ex - hau - sta pe - cu - ni - a mon - strat im - po - ten - ti - a quod - dam vol -

*see alternative c. at end

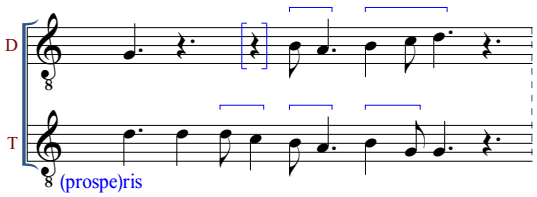
su - per - bi - a.]
- ve - re pri - us.]

su - per - bi - a.
- ve - re pri - us.

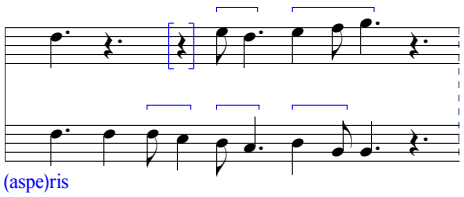
(alternative readings follow)

ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

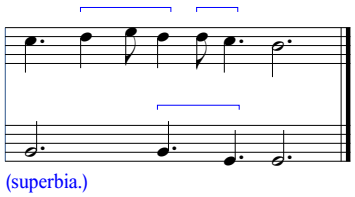
a. cauda at line 2, mode 1 (mode 3 also possible)



b. cauda at line 4, mode 1 (mode 3 also possible)



c. final cauda, closing flourish, mode 1 (mode 3 also possible)



LUXURIANT ANIMI

Conductus (J31/202)

F, f. 354r (7,102)

I Luxuriant animi
rebus sepe prosperis;
vile iacent infimi
casibus in asperis.
Ingrati pro gratia;
grati sub inopia.
Inopes sunt humiles,
propter opes labiles
inflantur superbia.

Spirits flourish often
when times are favorable;
and, ignobly, they lie at their lowest
during troublesome circumstances.
They are ingrates when prosperous,
but grateful when subject to poverty.
When poor they are humble, yet
they become bloated with pride
when fleeting riches are involved.

II Exhaustis concipiunt
viles virus viribus,
quod vomendo pariunt
secundis successibus.
Ex post facto, clarius
patet hoc et planius,
exhausta pecunia,
monstrat impotentia
quoddam volvere prius.

When their resources are exhausted,
these ignoble ones conceive a poison
that they bring forth by vomiting
when outcomes are favorable.
In hindsight, it becomes even
more clearly and patently obvious
that, when money is gone,
its lack indicates that what went
round before is circling back.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 102, f. 354r: a2; Strophes I-II, complete, with II entered within the writing block in a dedicated space for it at the end of the last system to contain the piece.[1] This is the only transmission of either the music or text of this work.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Content:** this is a rather difficult text to construe, in ways related to the three works that

[1]This is the first time accessory stanzas have appeared in *F*-7 since *Pange melos lacrimosum* (I15/258), entered 9 pieces earlier at *F*-7,93 (with 2 total strophes out of 4). This occurs despite the fact that all but 4 works in this section of the fascicle (*F*-7,88-109) are known to have further textual material and those without are *unica,* all of which strongly implies that at one time most of them likely did possess additional stanzas. (These unique works are *Non habes aditum* [J29/221], *Involutus in erroris* [J30/189], *Homo per potentiam* [J33/161], and the music-less *Frater en Iordanus* [J36/131], respectively at *F*-7,100,101,106,109.) Two other pieces inscribed after the major illuminated initial at *F*-7,88 for the through-composed *Artium dignitas* (I4/20) are also accorded this disposition of extra text: *Ut non ponam os in celum* (I5/254) and *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155). This pair appears together at *F*-7,90-91 and they each provide 2 strophes apiece out of respective totals of 4 and 7. *Luxuriant animi* is then followed immediately by two conductus with texts by Walter of Châtillon – *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334) and *Ver pacis aperit* (J32/366), with one additional stanza provided for them both (out of 7 and 5, respectively). The only remaining work accorded additional stanzas in this fascicle is the unique *O levis aurula* (J34/235) at *F*-7,107, with 2. With *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54) at *F*-7,110, the first of a quartet of pieces attributed to Philip the Chancellor, a noticeable stylistic shift is apparent for the compositions in *F*-7, as much more substantial caudae return and known strophic works are fewer.

immediately precede it in F-7.[2] The poem is sometimes a challenge to translate, and the final line of Strophe II appears to be corrupt in some way, q.v. In proposing the emendation of this last line I am taking my cue from Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxiv, in imagining an indirect nod to the concept of Fortune's wheel (see the remarks on the text of *O varium Fortune lubricum* [J27/247]). This seems supported by the sense that the poet is not treating two different groups of individuals, the poor and the wealthy, but rather includes all souls whose fortunes may suffer at the uncertainties of fate. Here, though, in contrast to *O varium Fortune,* money is the main object of concern, an emphasis notable in the two nearby works on bribery that precede *Luxuriant animi* at *F*-7,99 and 100 (*Omni pene curie* and *Non habes aditum*). **3,1:** "vile" is construed here as an adverb, rather than the more familiar "viliter"; see the entry at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/vile. **10-13:** these lines perhaps suggest that the evil of riches are at work even in their absence, as those who are poor store up venomous attitudes that they then unleash when they are solvent again. **18:** see the observations and variants for this line, below .

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 18,1:** F: quod; the emended reading to "quoddam" is a conjectural editorial intervention. It could be improved by better accommodating a proparoxytonic accent at the end of line 9, so alternatives are welcome. In making the emendation, I am assuming that the abbreviation that otherwise regularly denotes "quod" in *F* is mistakenly entered here. For some support of this hypothesis, a shape very similar to the "quod" abbreviation in *F* also appears for "quoddam" in Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature,* 307[a], item 11.[3] It is also worth noting that I am not able to find any instance of "quoddam" in the extant texts of the conductus in *F*-6 and *F*-7 to compare, although the similar "quiddam" arises in *F* on f. 233r in the penultimate line of the added text for Strophe II of *Parit preter morem* (I13/224). However, the abbreviation in this place suggests that the scribe of *F* would have used a contraction for "quoddam" that more clearly indicates the enclitic particle "-dam" that closes off the word. With the proposed emendation, the last two lines more literally mean: "... the lack [of money] shows that something [from] earlier is returning." It is curious that Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xxiv,58,118) does not appear to recognize the need for an extra syllable to correspond with the syllable count of the last line of Strophe I and the figures of the melodies in the musical setting. **MUSIC: Final cauda:** T: F: at 8L,1 of 3li=*bda* written over a partially erased stroke to obscure the correction. **Final cadence:** curiously, for a piece that appears throughout to indicate its final will be *g, Luxuriant animi* closes with a turn to *e,* itself a rare occurrence in the general repertory of conductus, and a unique instance in the four main sources *F, W1, W2, Ma.*[4]

[2]*Omni pene curie* (I34/252), *Non habes aditum* (J29/221), and *Involutus in erroris* (J30/187).

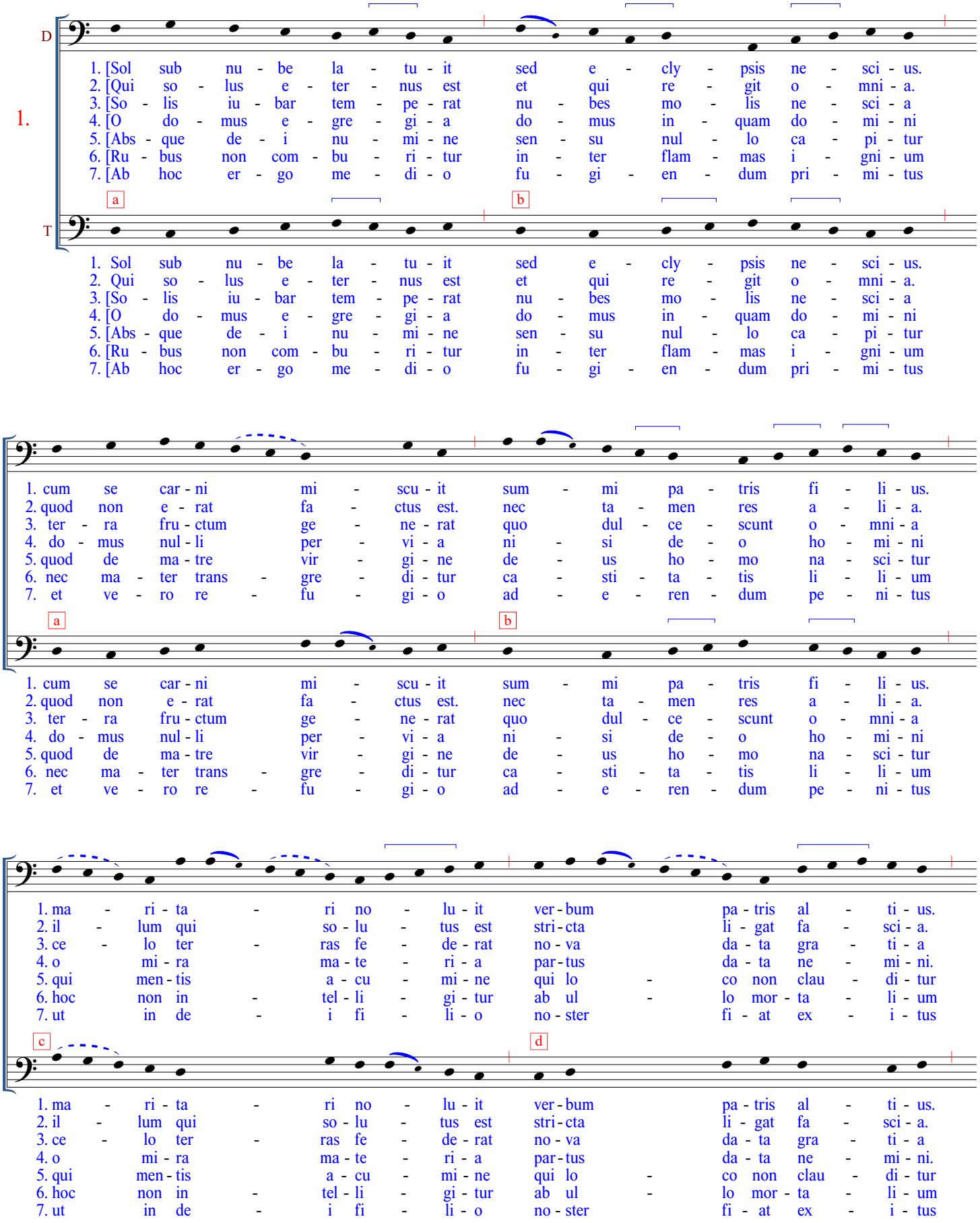
[3]Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane,* 6th ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1985.

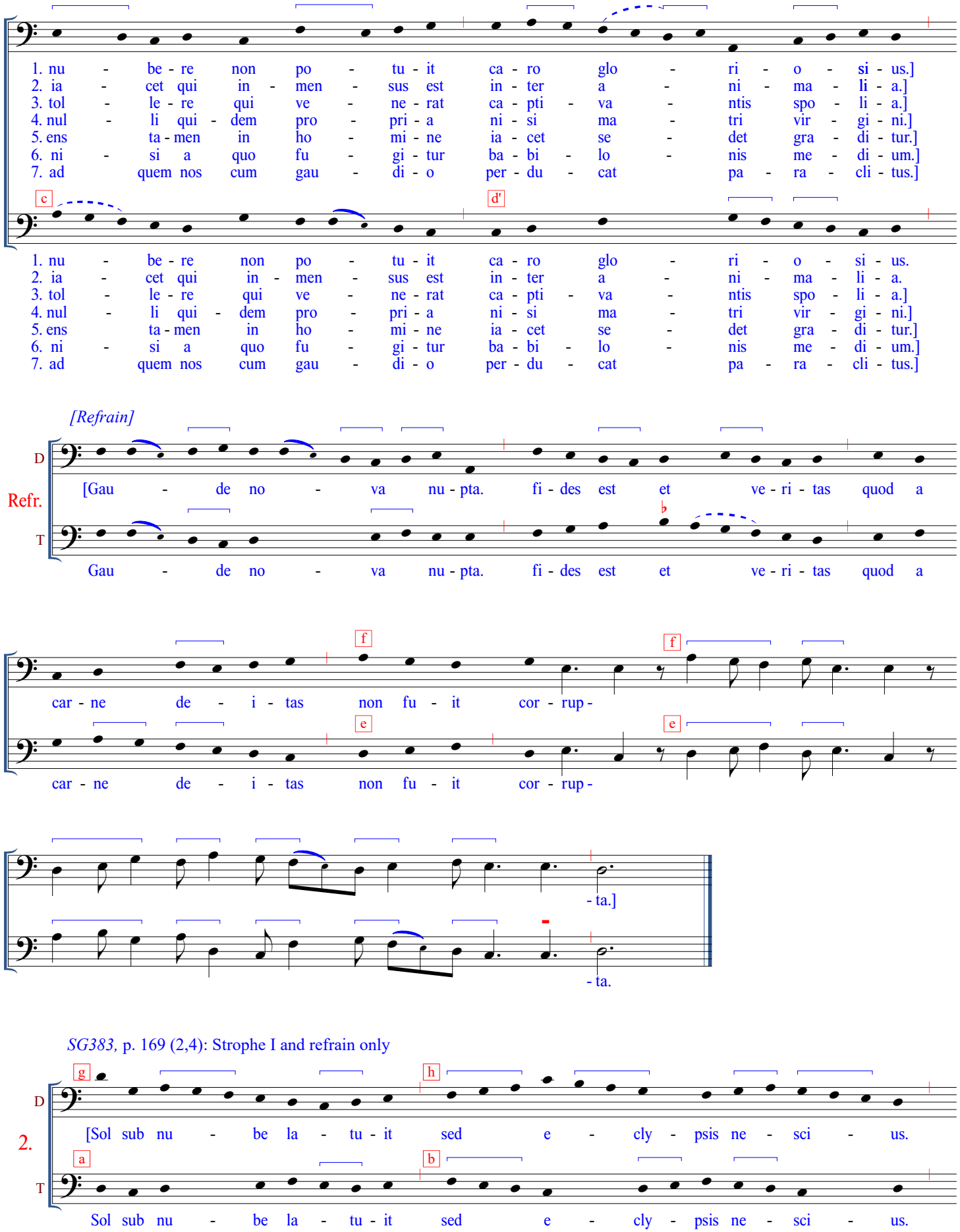
[4]For these assertions, see Daniele Sabaino, "The Repertoire of Parisian Conductus as a Case-Study in the Tonal Organization of Gothic Polyphony," *Musica Disciplina,* 58 (2013): 287-325, at 292, 299.

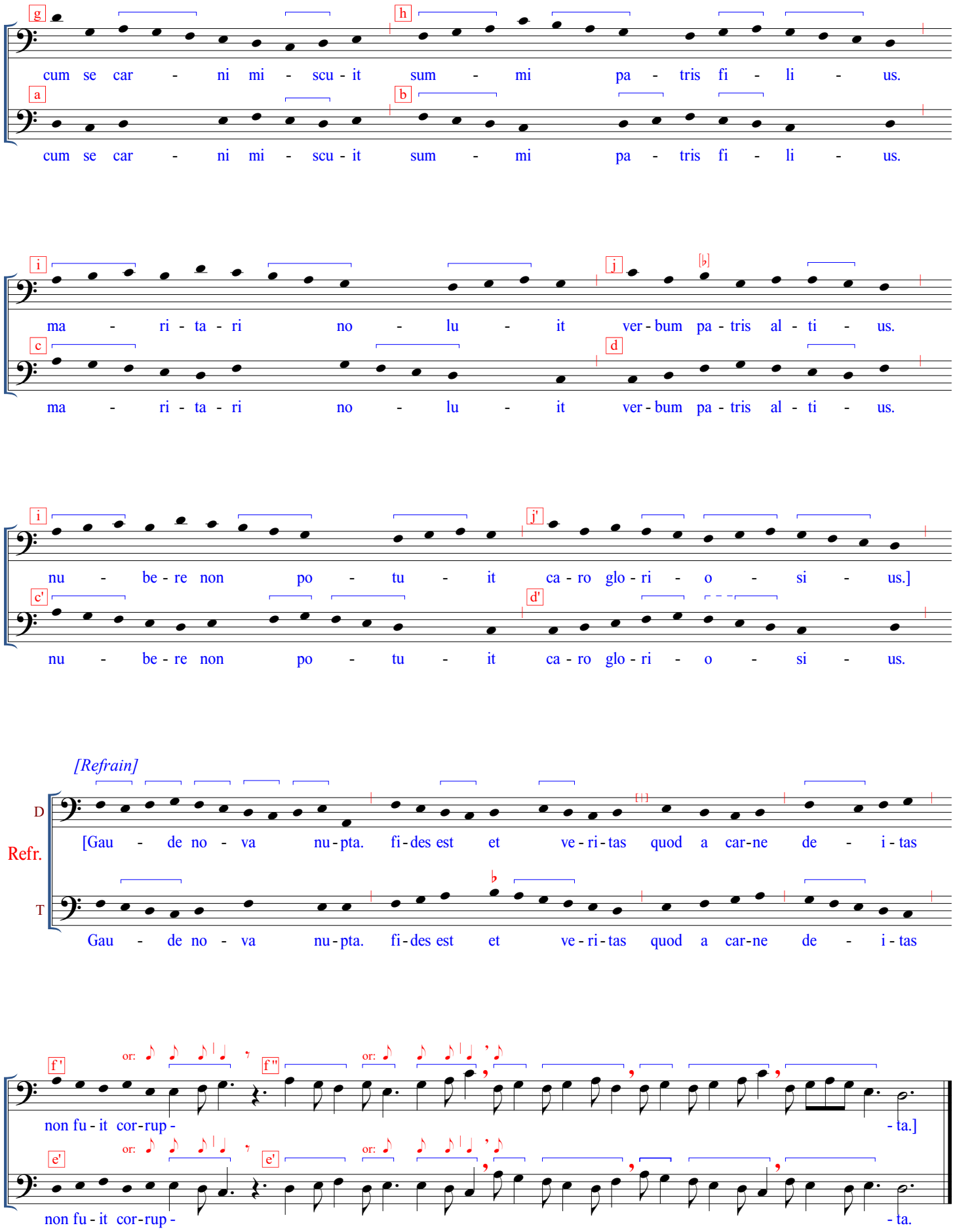
SOL SUB NUBE LATUIT – *F* and *SG383* settings

Conductus (I16 /334)

F, f. 354v (7,103): Strophes I-II and refrain; *OxAdd,* no. 62, f. 80r: Strophes III-VII




1. nu - be - re non po - tu - it ca - ro glo - ri - o - si - us.]
2. ia - cet qui in - men - sus est in - ter a - ni - ma - li - a.]
3. tol - le - re qui ve - ne - rat ca - pti - va - ntis spo - li - a.]
4. nul - li qui - dem pro - pri - a ni - si ma - tri vir - gi - ni.]
5. ens ta - men in ho - mi - ne ia - cet se - det gra - di - tur.]
6. ni - si a quo fu - gi - tur ba - bi - lo - nis me - di - um.]
7. ad quem nos cum gau - di - o per - du - cat pa - ra - cli - tus.]
c
d'
1. nu - be - re non po - tu - it ca - ro glo - ri - o - si - us.
2. ia - cet qui in - men - sus est in - ter a - ni - ma - li - a.
3. tol - le - re qui ve - ne - rat ca - pti - va - ntis spo - li - a.]
4. nul - li qui - dem pro - pri - a ni - si ma - tri vir - gi - ni.]
5. ens ta - men in ho - mi - ne ia - cet se - det gra - di - tur.]
6. ni - si a quo fu - gi - tur ba - bi - lo - nis me - di - um.]
7. ad quem nos cum gau - di - o per - du - cat pa - ra - cli - tus.]
[Refrain]
D
Refr.
T
[Gau - de no - va nu - pta. fi - des est et ve - ri - tas quod a
Gau - de no - va nu - pta. fi - des est et ve - ri - tas quod a
f
f
car - ne de - i - tas non fu - it cor - rup -
e
e
car - ne de - i - tas non fu - it cor - rup -
- ta.]
- ta.
SG383, p. 169 (2,4): Strophe I and refrain only
g
h
D
2.
[Sol sub nu - be la - tu - it sed e - cly - psis ne - sci - us.
a
b
T
Sol sub nu - be la - tu - it sed e - cly - psis ne - sci - us.


g
h
cum se car - ni mi - scu - it sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us.
a
b
cum se car - ni mi - scu - it sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us.
i
j
ma - ri - ta - ri no - lu - it ver - bum pa - tris al - ti - us.
c
d
ma - ri - ta - ri no - lu - it ver - bum pa - tris al - ti - us.
i
j'
nu - be - re non po - tu - it ca - ro glo - ri - o - si - us.]
c'
d'
nu - be - re non po - tu - it ca - ro glo - ri - o - si - us.
[Refrain]
D
Refr.
T
[Gau - de no - va nu - pta. fi - des est et ve - ri - tas quod a car - ne de - i - tas
Gau - de no - va nu - pta. fi - des est et ve - ri - tas quod a car - ne de - i - tas
f'
or:
f''
or:
non fu - it cor - rup -
- ta.]
e'
or:
e'
or:
non fu - it cor - rup -
- ta.

SOL SUB NUBE LATUIT – *F* and *SG383* settings

Conductus (I16/334)

F, f. 354v (7,103): Strophes I-II, refrain; *OxAdd,* no. 62, f. 80r: Strophes III-VII

I	Sol sub nube latuit,	The sun lay hidden behind a cloud,
	sed eclipsis nescius	yet knew no eclipse
	cum se carni miscuit	when the son of the highest Father
	summi patris filius.	united himself with flesh.
	Maritari noluit	The word of the Father
	verbum patris altius;	did not wish to be married more nobly,
	nubere non potuit	and the flesh could not wed
	caro gloriosius.	more gloriously.
Refr.	Gaude nova nupta!	Rejoice, new bride!
	Fides est et veritas	It is the faith and the truth
	quod a carne deitas	that deity was not
	non fuit corrupta.	corrupted by the flesh.
II	Qui solus eternus est	He who alone is eternal
	et qui regit omnia,	and who rules all,
	quod non erat factus est,	became what he was not,
	nec tamen res alia.	and yet did not become something else.
	Illum, qui solutus est,	Tight swaddling
	stricta ligat fascia.	binds one who is unbounded.
	Iacet qui inmensus est	He who is immeasurable
	inter animalia.	lies among the animals.
Refr.	Gaude nova nupta!	Rejoice, new bride!
	Fides est et veritas	It is the faith and the truth
	quod a carne deitas	that deity was not
	non fuit corrupta.	corrupted by the flesh.
III	[Solis iubar temperat	Without knowing, the gentle cloud
	nubes molis nescia,	tempers the radiance of the sun.
	Terra fructum generat	The earth bears a fruit
	quo dulcescunt omnia.	that sweetens everything.
	Celo terras federat	With grace newly given,
	nova data gratia	he who had come to carry off
	tollere qui venerat	the spoils of the hunter
	captivantis spolia.	allies the earth with heaven.
Refr.	Gaude nova nupta!	Rejoice, new bride!
	Fides est et veritas	It is the faith and the truth
	quod a carne deitas	that deity was not
	non fuit corrupta.	corrupted by the flesh.
IV	O domus egregia!	O illustrious home!
	Domus, inquam, domini!	The home, I say, of the Lord!
	Domus nulli pervia	A home accessible to no one
	nisi deo homini.	except to God as man.

O mira materia!
Partus, data nemini –
nulli quidem propria
nisi matri virgini.

O what a wondrous matter!
It is a birth, permitted to no one –
indeed appropriate to none
other than the virgin mother.

Refr. Gaude nova nupta!
Fides est et veritas
quod a carne deitas
non fuit corrupta.

Rejoice, new bride!
It is the faith and the truth
that deity was not
corrupted by the flesh.

V Absque dei numine,
sensu nullo capitur
quod, de matre virgine,
deus homo nascitur,
qui mentis acumine
qui loco, non clauditur;
ens tamen in homine,
iacet, sedet, graditur.

Without the divine power of God,
no mind can comprehend
that God is born as a
man from a virgin mother,
one who by acuity of intellect,
who by place, is unconstrained;
yet, as an entity within a man,
he still sleeps, sits, walks.

Refr. Gaude nova nupta!
Fides est et veritas
quod a carne deitas
non fuit corrupta.

Rejoice, new bride!
It is the faith and the truth
that deity was not
corrupted by the flesh.

VI Rubus non comburitur
inter flammas ignium,
nec mater transgreditur
castitatis lilium.
Hoc non intelligitur
ab ullo mortalium
nisi a quo fugitur
Babilonis medium.

The bush was not consumed
within the fire's flames,
nor did the mother compromise
the lily of her chastity.
Such a thing is not understood
by any mortal
except one who flees
from Babylon's midst.

Refr. Gaude nova nupta!
Fides est et veritas
quod a carne deitas
non fuit corrupta.

Rejoice, new bride!
It is the faith and the truth
that deity was not
corrupted by the flesh.

VII Ab hoc ergo medio
fugiendum primitus
et vero refugio
aderendum penitus,
ut in dei filio
noster fiat exitus,
ad quem nos cum gaudio
perducat Paraclitus.]

Hence, one must first of all
flee from this midst
and cling wholeheartedly
to the true refuge,
so that our end
may lie in the son of God,
to whom the Holy Spirit
may deliver us in joy.

Refr. Gaude nova nupta!
Fides est et veritas

Rejoice, new bride!
It is the faith and the truth

quod a carne deitas		that deity was not
non fuit corrupta.	84	corrupted by the flesh.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 103, f. 354v: a2; Strophes I-II only, with refrain indicated by a capital and the text of Strophe II also capitalized and entered in a space provided for it within the writing block at the end of the last system of the piece; refrain for II cued by "Gaude." This piece and the two that follow it in *F* show a wider pattern of transmission than the works that surround them.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 37, f. 119v (110v): a2; Strophes I-II, IV-V only, with the notated refrain after I indicated by a small capital guide letter "g" for an initial that was never executed. The three residual stanzas appear in the right margin opposite the final system of the piece, beginning with painted initials and with the refrain cue "Gaude" appearing only after V, the last strophe to be entered.

SG383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383; CH-SGs 383),[1] collection 2, no. 4 (8), p. 169: a2, presenting a mostly different version of the D voice with the exception of the refrain, and a variant final cauda in both parts with the exception of its first phrase; Strophe I only, with refrain indicated by a painted initial comparable to the one beginning the piece. After the close of this work, the top of the following page (171) presents a partially ruled space, about one system in height, that is devoid of staff lines or notation; this conceivably could have housed the text of further stanzas, as is the case for most of the following set of monophonic pieces starting on p. 172. As is typical of this source, the ligation of ornate passages, particularly in the caudae, does not appear to encode rhythmic information as precisely as the manuscripts more closely associated with the Notre Dame repertory. The *SG383* version is supplied as an alternative reading following the one from *F.*

Text only:

OxAdd (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A.44), no 62, f. 80r: Strophes I-VII complete, with VI entered additionally after I as well as after V (cf. *F-Pn lat. 4880,* below), and with the full refrain that follows I headed by an upper-case "G." The item number "lx" appears in both left and right margins. Written successively, as if prose, subsequent stanzas begin with capitals and subsequent refrains are cued by "Gaude," except for the one after II that merely gives "G."; rubric extends into the right margin: "Aliud dulce et curiosum carmen de eadem" ("another sweet and thoughtful song about the same," i.e., "de nativitate Christi ex virgine" – "on the birth of Christ from a virgin" – from the rubric of the previous piece, *Sol oritur in sidere* [K13/333]).

Graz 409 (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409; A-Gu 409),[2] no. 2, f. 1r (beginning about halfway down the page, opposite the rubric): Strophes I-II, IV only; a likely red-painted opening initial at the left margin is now obscured by the tight binding of the codex, while red-flecked capitals head the residual stanzas; the complete refrain follows only at the end after the concluding stanza IV, headed by a capital; no other indications of refrain elsewhere; rubric in right margin opposite opening lines: "Conductus."

---

[1]Images of this source are available here: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0383. 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.

[2]Images available here: https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/content/pageview/7435920.

D-B Phill. Ms. 1996, (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothhek Phill. MS 1969), f. 292v: text only, Strophes I-II, IV only, with refrain. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details here come from the *CPI* website.

D-LEu 225 (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 225),[3] f. 178v[b]: Strophes I-II, IV-V only, with a capital opening the refrain after I, and with no further indications of it for the other stanzas, which are headed by capitals except for II, which starts with a lower-case, abbreviated "qui." Strophe V opens: "Ni divino numine."

F-Pn lat. 4880, f. 83v[b] (beginning near the bottom of the second column on the page):[4] Strophes in the order I-II, IV, VI, V, VII (i.e., III omitted), with full refrain following I headed by a capital, and cued as "Gaude" after II and IV only. Curiously, after V, VI is indicated as occurring again with "Rubus et cetera" (cf. *OxAdd,* above); ends with "amen."

SOM 351 (F-SOM 351; Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 351),[5] no. 33, f. 20r[c]: Strophes I, II, IV only, with succeeding stanzas headed by capitals just slightly larger than the regular caps that begin each poetic line. The full refrain after I shows a regular capital; subsequent appearances after II and IV give "Gaude." with larger capitals. This is the last regular item in this portion of the MS. Empty space remaining on folio 20v is otherwise taken up with pentrials and a series of seven Leonine hexameters written at the bottom of the leaf, beginning "Armis intenti celum rapiunt violenti ... ."

GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI, f. 107v: Strophes I-II, IV-V only, with full refrain after I and cue "Gaude" for the others. Images of this source are unavailable to me; details here come from Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:95, and the *CPI* website.

Music only: see contrafacts.

Contrafacts:

Chanter et renvoisier seuil (Linker no. 255-6, Raynaud/Spanke no. 1001),[6] attributed to Thibaut de Blason (except where noted below), preserved with music a1 (T) in the following briefly noted MSS (no text-only sources reported):

F-Pa 5198, p. 125.
F-Pn fr. 24406, f. 81r; unattributed.
F-Pn fr. 845, f. 74r.
F-Pn fr. 846, f. 25v.
F-Pn fr. 847, f. 152v.
F-Pn NAF 1050, f, 87v.

---

[3]Images of this source are available from here. On this page, search "Ms 225," and choose the first item to come up. The applicable folio is in "Faszikel III"; the image reference is "Scan 358."

[4]Images of *F-Pn lat. 4880* found here.

[5]Images available here: https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/18232/canvas/canvas-1518944/view.

[6]These 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).

Pour mon chief reconforter (Linker no. 72-16, Raynaud/Spanke no. 885) from the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coincy, preserved with music a1 (T) in the following MSS (no text-only sources reported):

F-Pn fr. 2163, f. 103r.
F-Pn fr. 2193, f. 145r.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** this poem is attributed to Walter of Châtillon by Karl Strecker,[7] with the ascription supported in the 2013 edition of Walter's works by David A. Traill.[8] The very next work in *F, Ver pacis aperit* (J32/366), also sets a poem by Walter. Traill's and Strecker's treatments have aided immensely in rendering the text given here. **Textual notes: 1:** here and elsewhere in the poem (e.g. lines 25-26), the sun and cloud are presumptive figures for Christ and the virgin's womb, respectively, although Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* 75, note 265, cites Alain de Lille (from *PL,* 205, col. 876) who associates the cloud with Christ's humanity. This same conceit is apparent in the conductus *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), line 12, and *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), line 16, both of which refer to the flesh that Christ assumed with his incarnation as a cloud. Yet with the emphasis on marriage in the first stanza of the poem, the reference to Mary as the bride in the refrain, and considering the content of Strophes III and IV, the cloud metaphor here seems applicable to the Virgin as well. For additional expressions in the conductus repertory of sun and cloud imagery denoting Christ and the Virgin, see *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6/295), lines 5-6 and 11; *Ex Ade vitio* (L31/-), line 28, near the end of Strophe II; *Exceptivam actionem* (K67/110), by Alain de Lille, Strophe VII (lines 61-68); *A solis ortus cardine processit* (F22/5), Strophe I (lines 1-10); *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184), Strophe II (lines 8-14); *Sol de sole progrediens* (Q3/-), lines 15-18; cf. *Deus misertus hominis* (B1/92), lines 29-30, ending Strophe III; and see also the remarks for lines 25-26, below. See also the final line of the motetus of the double motet *Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus nescia / Flos filius E[ius]* (vdW 647/648/O16): "sol levi nube latuit" ("the sun lay beneath a light cloud."). **2-4:** a common conceit: God's divinity was not compromised when he assumed human form as Christ, a concept reiterated in the language of the refrain, lines 9-12, q.v. **5-8:** God sought to be incarnated as a human rather than some more exalted form, and Mary, the specific bride he chose, was low in social rank, being a carpenter's wife. In contrast, humankind could not conceive of a more illustrious union than with the godhead. For an analogous expression, see the conductus *Condimentum nostre spei* (H8/67), line 2. **9-12 (refrain):** more on how God preserved his divinity in human form; cf. the conductus *Ex creata non creatus* (I14/108), lines 17-18 and *passim.* **15-16:** 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. 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 *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 34-36. **17-20:** the image of the baby Jesus in swaddling (see Luke, 2:7, 2:12) reflects God's humbling of himself when he adopted human form, as is the fact that the animals in the manger were the first to behold the child. For the former point, see Philippians, 2:7-8,[9] and these conductus: *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* (H10/203), line 41, *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 11-12, *In terram Christus expuit* (J7/185), line 3, *Cortex occidit littere* (I6/69), line 21, *Purgator criminum* (F2/277), lines 27-33. For the latter point, which does not appear in the Bible, see the text

[7]Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

[8] David A. Traill, *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

[9]Philippians, 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.").

for *O magnum misterium et admirabile sacramentum,* one of the Matins responsories for Christmas (a medieval Parisian version is available in the noted breviary *F-Pn lat. 15181* on f. CCCXXXVv [145v]).[10] **25-26:** see also the remarks for line 1 above. Here the cloud (Mary's womb), without realizing it, serves to mitigate the blinding effect of the sun (Christ); a similar image and its effect appears in Strophe VII of the conductus *Beata viscera marie viginis cuius* (K14/42) by Philip the Chancellor with music by Perotin. **25,2:** the gender of "iubar" is construed here as neuter. **27-28:** the earth is the Virgin, the fruit, Christ; see Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* 75, note 266, for a concurring citation from Alain de Lille (from *PL,* 205, col. 970). **31-32:** the "hunter" here is either death or the devil, his spoils are souls; cf. 2 Timothy, 2:26.[11] Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* 75, note 267, cites Rabanus Maurus (from *PL,* 107, col. 277B) to the same effect. Note also the related references to the snare of the hunter/fowler in Psalms, 123:7, and 90:3, as well as in the opening lines of Philip the Chancellor's motet *Laqueus conteritur et liberati sumus* (vdW 95/M7). **49-54:** God's incarnation in human form by a virgin mother is impossible to conceive by any stretch of the imagination except through his power alone. Furthermore, Christ retains God's full divinity and is therefore unencompassible. Even so, Christ is also human and behaves accordingly. **61-62:** the burning bush in which God appeared to Moses (see Exodus, 3:2-4), a frequent symbol associated with Mary's virginity. **63-64:** the lily, here used as an image for the Virgin's chastity, is a frequent personal attribute for both her and Christ; see the opening lines of the conductus *In rosa vernat lilium* (H9/184). **68:** cf. Revelation, 18:2-5;[12] 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 in both poems the devil is referred to as the "prince of Babylon." **76,1:** regular form: "adhaerundum."

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Multiple sources are used to supply the main text and that of the alternative reading given here. Hence, any variants from the above poem in *F, OxAdd,* and *SG383* are collated. The two instances of Strophe VI that appear in *OxAdd* are identical. **2,2:** SG383: eclipsim. **3,1:** SG383: dum. **6,3:** SG383: alcius. **40,2:** reading "dei," as in Strecker and Traill, against Anderson. **41,3:** OxAdd: maneria, from *W1.* **MUSIC: Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1:** T and D of "non fuit corru[pta]" (line 12, last line of refrain) = **1a:** T and D in the first phrase of the closing cauda on [cor]ru[pta]" that follows immediately; the identity is the same in both the F and SG383 versions, despite the fact that the continuation of the *SG383* cauda proceeds completely differently in both voices immediately thereafter, and that the D elsewhere in *SG383* is different from *F* and *W1,* except for the refrain. **Line 4,3:** D: SG383: 3 higher on "filius" to end of phrase. **6,1:** D: SG383: *c* on first syll of "verbum" faded. **8,2:** T: SG383: the figures over "[glori]o[sius]" look like a plicated si conjoined to a 2li, as the dashed bracket over the first element attempts to show. **Refrain: line 10,1:** on the discrepancies with this part of the piece in *F* and *SG383,* see the remarks above on the syllabic/melismatic identity in this work.. **10,4:** the *b-flat* on "et [veritas]" is in *W1.*

---

[10]For an image, see this link.

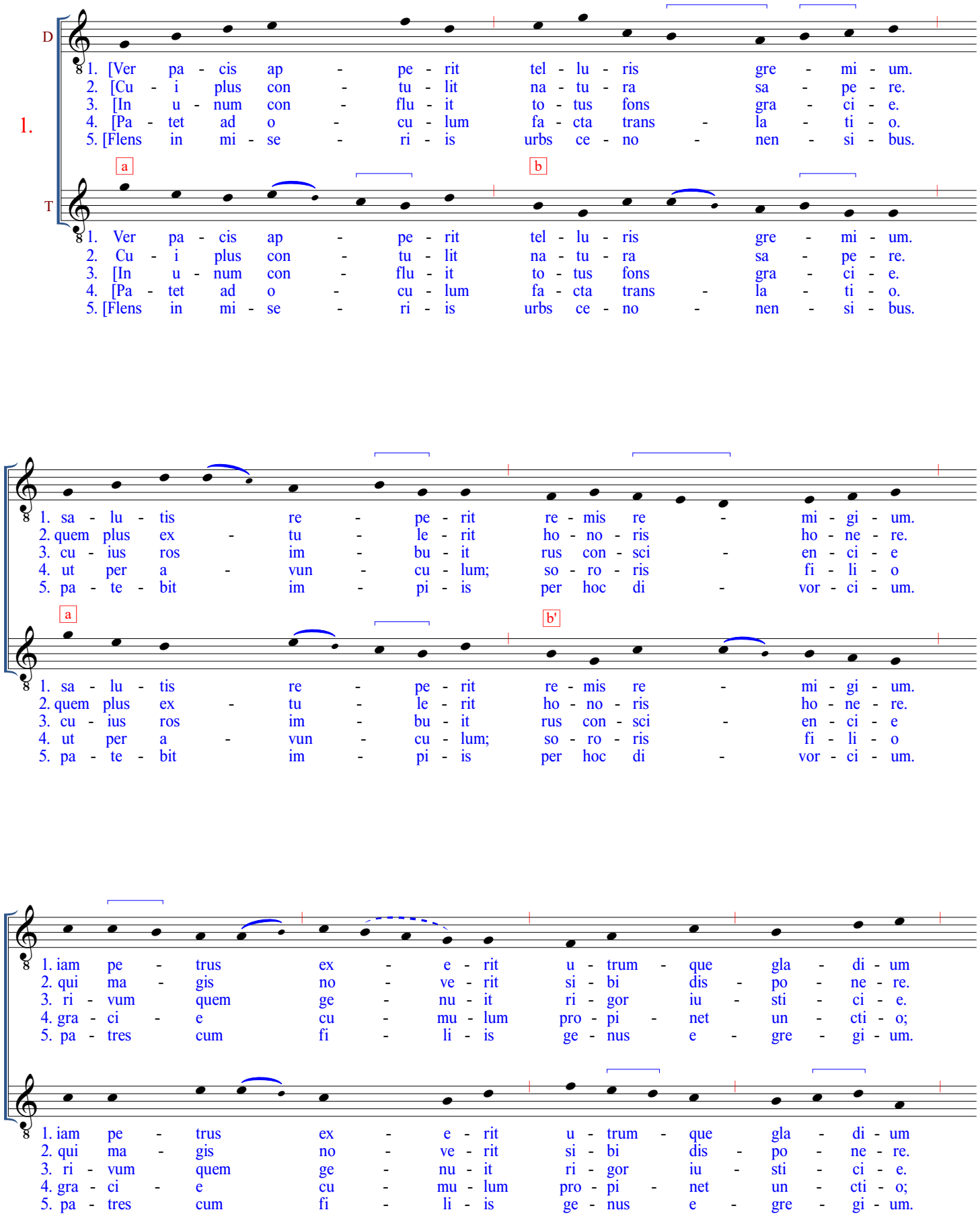
[11]2 Timothy, 2:26: "et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem" ("and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive at his will.").

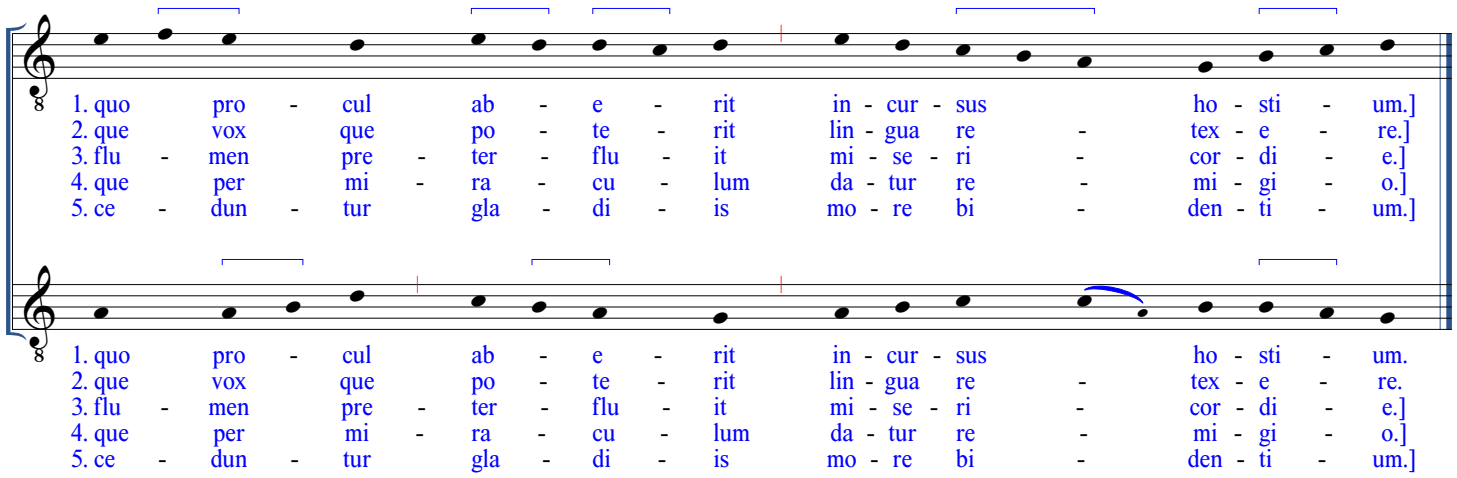
[12]Revelation, 18:2-5: "Et exclamavit in fortitudine, dicens: Cecidit, cecidit Babylon magna: et facta est habitatio daemoniorum, et custodia omnis spiritus immundi, et custodia omnis volucris immundae, et odibilis: quia de vino irae fornicationis ejus biberunt omnes gentes: et reges terrae cum illa fornicati sunt: et mercatores terrae de virtute deliciarum ejus divites facti sunt. Et audivi aliam vocem de caelo, dicentem: Exite de illa populus meus: ut ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis. Quoniam pervenerunt peccata ejus usque ad caelum, et recordatus est Dominus iniquitatum ejus" ("And he [the angel] cried out with a strong voice, saying: 'Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every unclean spirit, and the hold of every unclean and hateful bird: Because all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and the merchants of the earth have been made rich by the power of her delicacies.' And I heard another voice from heaven, saying: 'Go out from her, my people; that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and the Lord has remembered her iniquities.' ").

VER PACIS APERIT — *F* and *SG383* settings

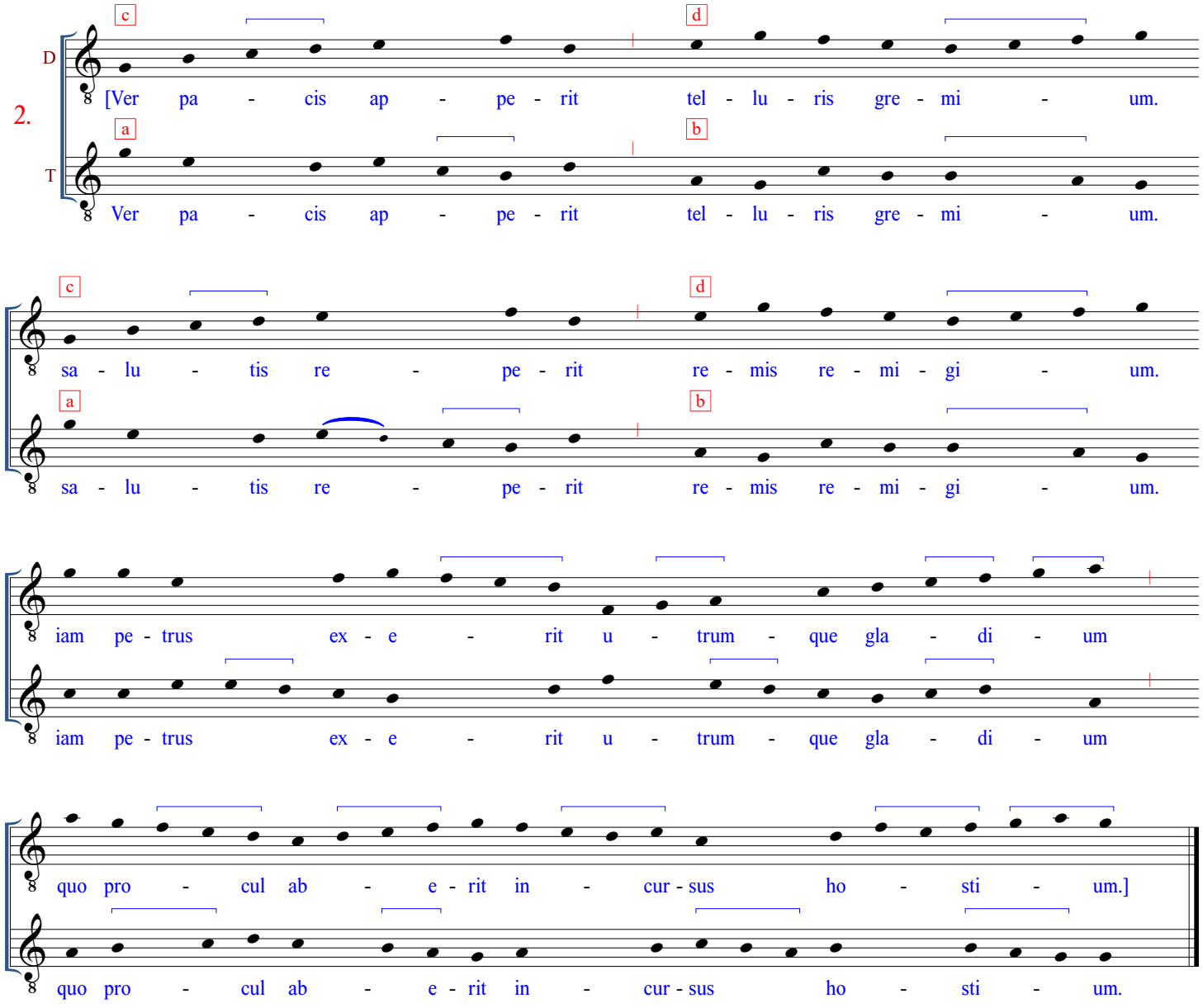
Conductus (J32/366)

F, f. 355r (7,104): Strophes I-II; *OxAdd,* f. 64v (no. XX): Strophes III-V





SG383, p. 169 (2,7): Strophes I, III, II, transmitted in that order; I only offered below



VER PACIS APERIT – *F* and *SG383* settings

Conductus (J32/366)

F, f. 355r (7,104): Strophes I-II; *OxAdd,* f. 64v (no. 33): Strophes III-V

I
Ver pacis apperit
telluris gremium.
Salutis reperit
Remis remigium.
Iam Petrus exerit
utrumque gladium,
quo procul aberit
incursus hostium.

A springtime of peace
opens the bosom of the earth.
It finds an oarsman of salvation
for the people of Reims.
Peter now draws
forth each of the two swords
that will keep the enemies'
incursions at a distance.

II
Cui plus contulit
natura sapere?
Quem plus extulerit
honoris honere?
Qui magis noverit
sibi disponere.
Que vox que poterit
lingua retexere?

On whom has Nature
conferred more wisdom?
Whom might she exalt more
with honor's burden?
Who will have known better
how to regulate himself?
What will one's voice, what will
one's tongue be able to recount?

III
[In unum confluit
totus fons gracie.
Cuius ros imbuit
rus consciencie.
Rivum, quem genuit
rigor iusticie,
flumen preterfluit
misericordie.

An entire fountain of grace
has coalesced into one person.
The dew of his moral sense
has saturated the country.
A river of mercy
has overtopped the
bank that the watercourse
of justice has begot.

IV
Patet ad oculum
facta translatio,
ut, per avunculum
sororis filio,
gracie cumulum
propinet unctio,
que per miraculum
datur Remigio.

It is plain to the eye
that the transfer was done
so that the holy chrism,
given miraculously
to Saint Remigius,
may bestow an increase
in grace through the uncle
upon the sister's son.

V
Flens in miseriis
urbs Cenonensibus.
patebit impiis
per hoc divorcium.
Patres cum filiis,
genus egregium,
ceduntur gladiis
more bidentium.

Weeping in misery,
the city of Sens
will be laid open to the wicked
through this separation.
Fathers with their sons,
a distinguished lineage,
are felled by swords in the
manner of sacrificial sheep.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 104, f. 355r: a2; Strophes I-II only, with Strophe II headed by a capital and entered in an empty space provided for it within the writing block at the end of the last system of the piece. *Ver pacis* is the first of two pieces to begin on this leaf in *F,* which is the last one to have a contemporaneous folio number.

SG383 (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383; CH-SGs 383), collection 2, no. 7 (11),[1] p. 173: a2, presenting a D voice largely differing from the one in *F* after the first eight syllables; Strophes I, III, II only, in that order; III and II are entered into the remaining empty space within the writing block at the bottom of the page following upon the last system of the work. They begin with capitals tinged with a fleck of red paint for decoration, the same color used for the entirety of the painted initial opening the piece. The *SG383* reading appears here as an alternative transcription following that of *F.*

Text only:

OxAdd (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A.44), no. 33, f. 64r: Strophes I-V, complete; written successively, as if prose, with subsequent stanzas headed by capitals; the item number "xxxi" appears in the right margin, preceded by what looks like "Ca^{m}" (capitulum?); rubric: "Planctus de translatione episcopi cenonensi[um]" ("Lament concerning the transfer of the bishop of Sens").

SOM 351 (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 351;F-SOM 351), no. 30, f. 19v^{c}:[2] Strophes I-V, complete, with succeeding stanzas headed by capitals that are occasionally larger than the ones that begin each poetic line.

Vat.3324 (Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3324; I-Rvat Vat. lat. 3324), f. 114v (CXIVv):[3] Strophes I, III-V only, with an apparent lowercase letter opening I, and with capitals heading the remaining stanzas. Although the items on the leaves preceding the conductus text, as well as the single musical entry that follows it, are fully written-out liturgical chants entered on staff lines, the conductus text is inscribed in an otherwise empty segment occupying perhaps the top quarter of this leaf, the last in the MS. The poem is then succeeded by a musical setting of the responsory *Congregati sunt deus ad devorandum* (prefaced by an incomplete marginal solfege of the first part of its melody) that breaks off just before its end, leaving further empty space on the page that is filled with marginalia, erasures, pentrials (verbal and musical), an ownership colophon, and other jottings.

Music only: none

Contrafacts:

Ma joie me semont (Linker no. 24-13, Raynaud/Spanke no. 1924)[4] attributed to Blondel de Nesle, preserved

---

[1]Images of this source are available here: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0383. 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.

[2]Images available here: https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/18232/canvas/canvas-1518944/view.

[3]Images from this source available here: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3324.

[4]These 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*

with music a1 (T) in the following briefly noted MSS (no text-only sources reported).

F-Pa 5198, p. 118.
F-Pn fr. 24406, f. 108v; unattributed.
F-Pn fr. 845, f. 44v.
F-Pn fr. 847, f. 44r.
F-Pn NAF 1050, f, 83r.

***Notes on the Text*: Authorship:** this poem is attributed to Walter of Châtillon by Karl Strecker;[5] and this modern ascription is supported in the 2013 edition of Walter's works by David A. Traill.[6] The previous work in *F*-7, *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), also sets a poem by this poet. The rendering of the text and the commentary given here have benefitted enormously from Traill's and Strecker's editions, as well as from the article on political conductus by Leo Schrade.[7] **Dating and historical context:** This work is frequently characterized as a topical conductus written to celebrate the coronation of King Philip II "Augustus" of France (crowned 1 November 1179 in Reims cathedral).[8] However, both Strecker's and Traill's considerations of the text have emphasized its focus on Walter's patron, William of Champagne (William of the White Hands, William of Blois). William was earlier the archbishop of Sens and was installed by Philip's father Louis VII as archbishop of Reims in 1176. Interestingly, a similar stress is notable in the rubric added to the poem in *OxAdd.* As a result, although this piece is usually assigned to the year 1179, the earlier year of 1176 might be more apropos, whereby the poem would serve primarily to celebrate William's appointment to the archbishopric of Reims, not Philip's coronation. Nevertheless, this need not completely discount Schrade's demonstrations of textual and conceptual corollaries between *Ver pacis* and the coronation liturgy, as the transfer of William to the see would have made his future role in anointing and crowning Philip Augustus nearly decisive. Although the cathedral of Reims was the traditional (though not exclusive) location for French royal coronations, in 1179 Pope Alexander III confirmed the right of the archbishop of Reims to crown the French monarch.[9] Further information on the historical circumstances of this poem appears below. **Textual notes: 1-2:** cf. the Latin *rondellus* (refrain song) beginning *Iam ver aperit terre gremium* (M42/166), transmitted uniquely in *F* on f. 469r (*F*-11,42). Further textual correlations, from a liturgical hymn this time, arise in lines 15-16 and 39-40, q.v. On the peace that William's transfer will bring to Reims, see lines 7-8. **3-4:** some wordplay is in force here: Saint Remigius (437-13 January 533) was bishop of Reims from 459 to his death. His name not only means "oarsman," but it also is assonant with the name of the city of Reims *(Remensis)* with which he was so closely associated. Remigius reappears in line 32, q.v. **5-6:** see Luke, 22:38: "at illi dixerunt: 'Domine ecce gladii duo hic,' at ille dixit eis, satis est" ("but they said: 'Lord, behold, here are two swords,' but he said to them, 'it is enough.' "). The

---

hergestellt von A. Bahat (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

[5]Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer,* (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

[6]David Traill, *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems; Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

[7]Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries: The Coronation of French King," *Annales musicologiques,* 1 (1953): 9-63, especially 18-28.

[8]This act was accomplished prior to to the death of Philip's father, Louis VII (reg. 1137-1180), a practice earlier adopted by the Capetian monarchs of France to avoid disputes over royal succession. Louis VII had undergone the same procedure on 25 October 1131.

[9]For this point, see Traill, *Walter of Châtillon,* lxiii. Philip's grandfather, Louis VI, for example (not his father Louis VII, as Traill asserts), was crowned in Orléans by Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, on 3 August 1108.

metaphor of the two swords, which represent the powers of the spiritual and temporal ruler, respectively, was a common medieval allegory, often invoked during the Investiture controversy. As exemplified by Saint Bernard (*De consideratione,* book 4, chap. 3, para. 7),[10] Christ delivered both "swords" to the pope, who then handed the temporal power over to the sovereign for use as a privilege, not as a right.[11] Traill (*Walter of Châtillon,* lxiii-lxiv) suggests, convincingly, that the figure of Peter here refers not to the pope, but to William, his representative; and that the fact that Peter welds both swords in lines 5-6 is appropriate because the Rémois archbishop exercised temporal as well as spiritual power in the region – he owned extensive lands, for example, and held the title of duke, a privilege granted to William of Champagne by King Louis VII. For more evocations connected to the image of the two swords and their symbolism, see lines 7-8, below; as well as the conductus *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (308/K49), lines 1-7 (Strophe I); *Heu quo progreditur* (J26/155), lines 5-8; and *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (K15/99), line 7. **5,3:** a form of the word more typically spelled "exserit." **7-8:** in terms of the language of conflict and war raised in these lines, as Traill demonstrates with reference to the metaphor of the two swords (*Walter,* lxiii), William's weapons will avail him against temporal as well as spiritual enemies (see lines 5-6). There were significant tensions generated by William's predecessor at Reims, Louis VII's brother Henry of France (ca. 1121-13 November 1175), which resulted in revolts against him by the townspeople of Reims in 1166-1167 and disputes with the nobility of the region. William's appointment will therefore usher in a period of peace, as implied in line 1; see also lines 13-14. Such struggles may elucidate the war that Schrade finds difficult to uncover for Reims in the time prior to William's appointment.[12] **9-24 (Strophes II-III):** Traill, reinstating many of the determinations of Strecker, sees these stanzas as praises directed towards William, as in the first strophe of the poem; such a view effectively challenges Schrade's attempts to associate this part of the poem inexorably with the coronation liturgy. Given that the third stanza is given over completely to water imagery, this factor adds further support for seeing William as the subject of the accolades in this section, as he is earlier identified in line 4 as a new "oarsman" *(remigius)* for Reims. **10,2:** an infinitive used as a substantive; see the DMLBS, s.v. "sapere," 6, available through https://logeion.uchicago.edu/sapere. **13-14:** this expression of self regulation could perhaps refer to the earlier turmoil under Henry of France as archbishop of Reims; see the remarks on lines 7-8, above. **13,1:** Traill, *Walter,* p. 66, gives "quis" for "qui" here. This emendation ends up more clearly marking each of the statements in this stanza as a question, which is quite reasonable and attractive. I, though, have chosen not to implement this change since the adopted reading is consistent in all the applicable sources and in all other editions I have consulted. "Qui," furthermore, is also acceptable as an interrogative pronoun and is so treated here; see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/qui, DMLBS, 1-2. **15-16:** a direct quotation from the text of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia,* line 17 (opening Strophe V), typically used at Vespers within the Common of Several Martyrs. A further citation from this hymn appears in the final couplet of the conductus poem, lines 39-40, q.v. For additional connections of this hymn to the conductus repertory, see the report on the contrafacts that attend the conductus *Procurans odium* (E9/274) in my edition of *F*-6,24. **22,1:** the aquatic imagery of this stanza in lines 19-24 suggests the

---

[10]From *De consideratione*, book 4, chap. 3, para. 7: "Uterque ergo ecclesie et spiritalis scilicet gladius et materialis; sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero et ab ecclesia exerendens. Ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis, et iussum imperatoris" ("Both swords belong to the Church, the spiritual and the material; the one is to be used to defend the Church, but the other must be banished from the Church; the one is wielded by the priest, the other by the soldier, but of course with your [the pope's] consent, and at the command of the Emperor"). The Latin text used here (I have modernized the punctuation) comes from the incunabulum edition of Pieter van Os (Zwolle, 1486); the English rendering is from George Lewis, trans., *Saint Bernard: On Consideration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 104.

[11]Telling in this regard is the following passage from the *Summa de Bono* of Philip the Chancellor: "Et nota quod non sine causa dictum fuit illud: 'Ecce duo gladii hic,' quorum licet unus dicatur pertinere ad sacerdotium et alter ad regnum, tamen uterque in veritate ecclesie est" ("And note that not without cause was it said: 'Behold, here are two swords' [Luke, 22:38]. Although one of them is said to pertain to the priesthood and the other to the kingdom, nonetheless each of them actually belongs to the church" – Latin text from Wicki, ed., *Summa de Bono*, 2:1048, lines 258-260.).

[12]See Schrade, "Political Compositions," 21.

connotation adopted here of "(water)course" or "direction" for the word "rigor" (cf. lines 3-4 for another nod towards water). Nevertheless its wider connotation indicates that William's mercy will temper and prevail over any harshness of the law. **25-32 (Strophe IV):** Traill (*Walter,* lxiii) sees this reference to the 1179 anointing of Philip as pertaining to a future event. This seems to make more sense than placing the poem directly with the coronation, as the emphasis in the lyric on the praise of the archbishop so completely overshadows any attention to the new ruler. Schrade (p. 22) could not imagine the poem's creation except in light of the coronation, where the imbalance of praise would be difficult to explain. If, on the other hand, the poem was fashioned in response to William's appointment to succeed the late Henry of France in 1176 as archbishop, the discrepancy is easier to accommodate. **27-28:** William of the White Hands was the brother of King Louis VII's wife, Adela of Champagne,[13] he is thus the "uncle" who administers the unction to the "sister's son," King Philip Augustus. The anointing of the new king will grant an ever greater share of grace to William's nephew. **29-32:** the reference to "unctio" here is to one of Reim's most significant religious relics, the holy chrism or oil that figured in the liturgy for the royal coronations held in the cathedral. Part of the coronation ceremony involved anointing the royal personages with the chrism that, according to legend, had been miraculously furnished by the Holy Spirit to Saint Remigius (see notes to lines 3- 4), and which he used to baptize Clovis I, the first king of the Franks and founder of the Merovingian dynasty. The baptism occurred on Christmas Day, 496, upon Clovis's conversion to Christianity. For additional invocations of the chrism associated with Saint Remigius and Reims, see the conductus *Ex oliva Remensium* (H5/109), lines 1-2. **33-40 (Strophe V):** this rather curious stanza has prompted several explanations. Strecker (p. 57) regarded it as a joking *(scherzhaft)* reference to the likely consequences of William's departure. Schrade took pains to justify it by illuminating a series of violent conflicts from 1146-1189 that erupted between the citizens of Sens and the clergy over a communal charter. Even so, he demurs that these events do not serve to explain the whole of the stanza, and ends up questioning whether this final strophe was originally part of the poem, suggesting that, if original, it may have been omitted if performed in the context of the coronation (pp. 26-28). Most recently Traill (p. lxix) suggests an interpretation redolent of Strecker, proposing that this is an overblown expression of civic chauvinism on the part of the inhabitants of Reims, who now can claim the glory of snatching their archbishop away from Sens. As a result, Sens will now suffer only misfortune (perhaps in a manner similar to how Reims suffered under William's predecessor, Henry). In light of this interpretation, it is interesting that the rubric in *OxAdd* refers to this poem as a *planctus,* or lament, which would seem applicable only to the tone of this final stanza. **39-40:** another direct quotation (see notes to lines 15-16) from the martyrs' hymn *Sanctorum meritis,* here from earlier in the work at line 13 (beginning Strophe IV).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** As multiple sources are used to supply the main text and the alternative musical reading given here, any variants from the above poem in *F, OxAdd,* and *SG383* are reported. **11,1:** F,SOM 351: quam, from *OxAdd,* following Traill; SG383: iam; this stanza not included in *Vat.3324.* **12,2:** OxAdd,SG383: onere. **19,3:** SG383: inbuit. **39,1:** against *OxAdd* and *SOM 351, Vat.3324* has "cedentur," the future tense, adopted by Traill (*Walter,* 66), which could also serve; no further sources transmit this stanza. **MUSIC:** No variants from the two versions presented in transcription. For suggestions on performance of this work, which is disposed throughout in 6pp lines, see the remarks by Janet Knapp in "Musical Declamation," 387-389, 396.[14] **Lines 7,3-8:** T: Schrade, "Political Compositions," 40, makes a claim that this segment of the piece draws on a borrowed liturgical chant, specifically the conclusion of the antiphon *Unxerunt Salomonem* over the text "vivat rex in eternum." I find this assertion unconvincing, as well as the corollary (p. 41) that suggests this relationship proves that the composition of the Latin song preceded its French contrafact. **SG383**

[13]Adela lived from ca. 1140-4 June 1206; she reigned as queen from 13 November 1160 to 18 September 1180, upon the accession of her son, Philip.

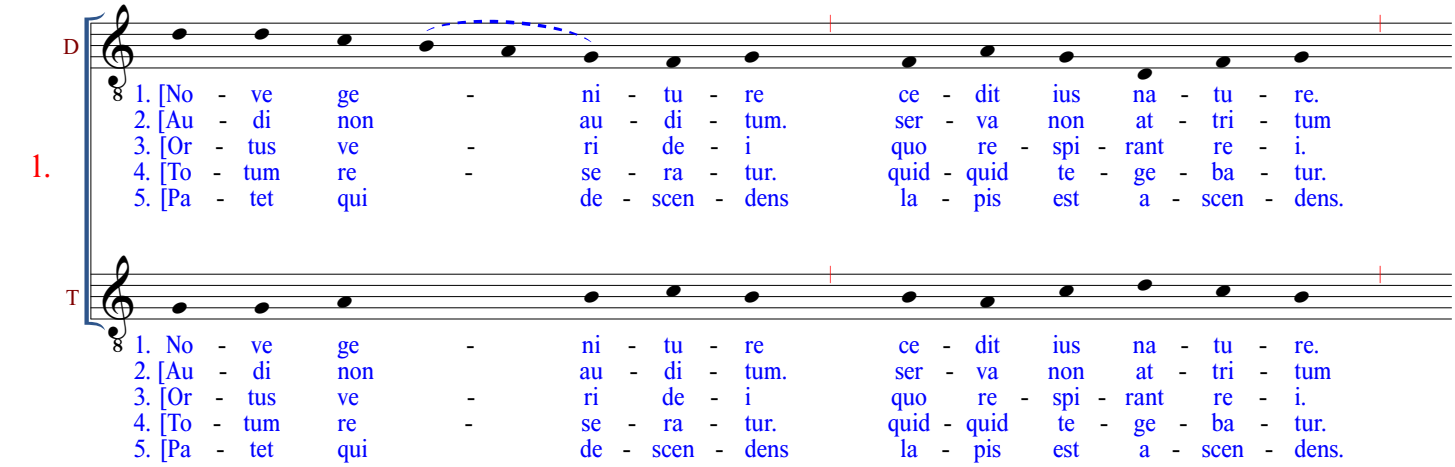
[14]Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 32 (1979): 383-407.

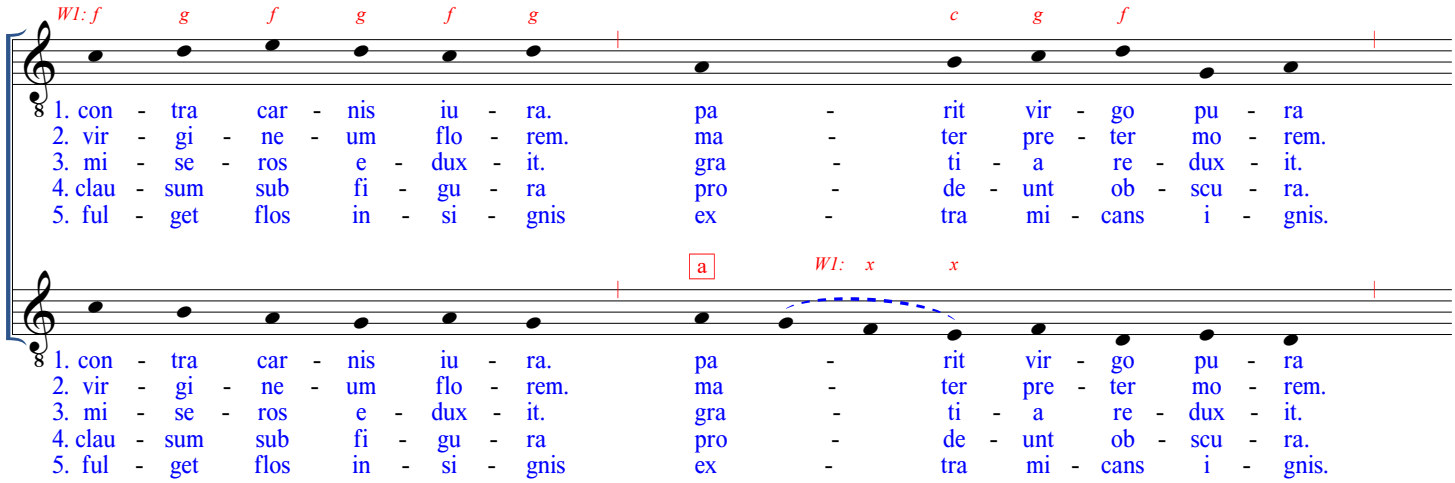
version: the text of Strophe I alone is given in this transcription, rather than the three that appear in the MS. Strokes marking divisions appear as in the source; unusually, there are no final strokes to close the piece in either part, so the final barline is an editorial addition.

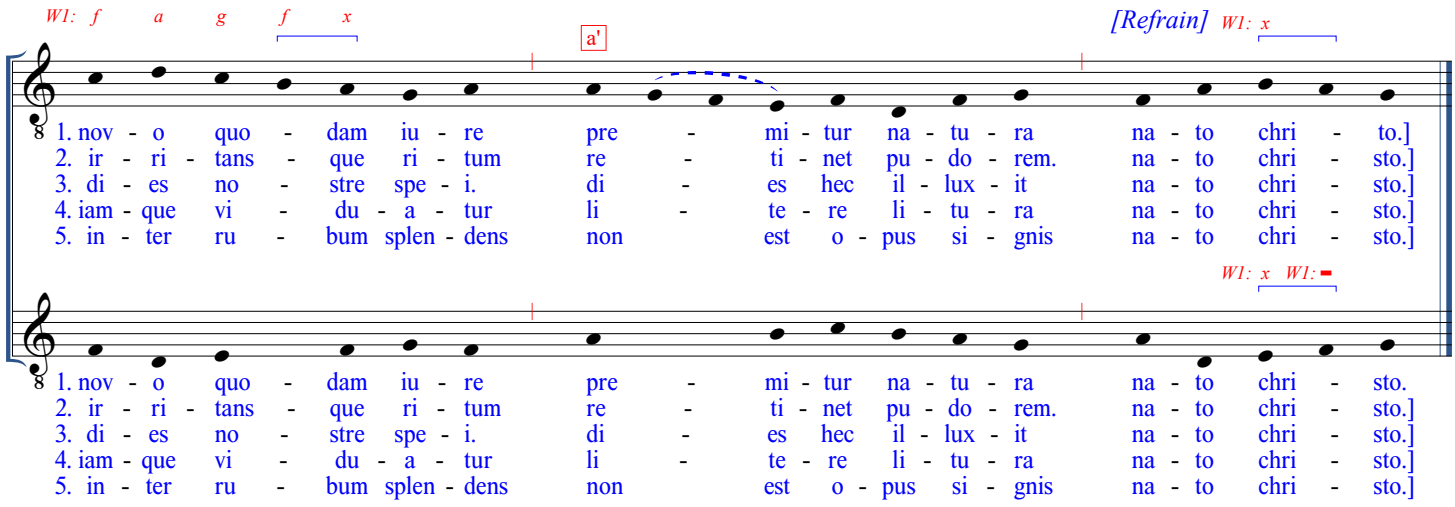
NOVE GENITURE — *F* and *Moosburg* settings

Conductus (I13/224)

F, f. 355r (7,105): Strophe I; *Graz 409,* f. 1v (no. 8): Strophes II-V*



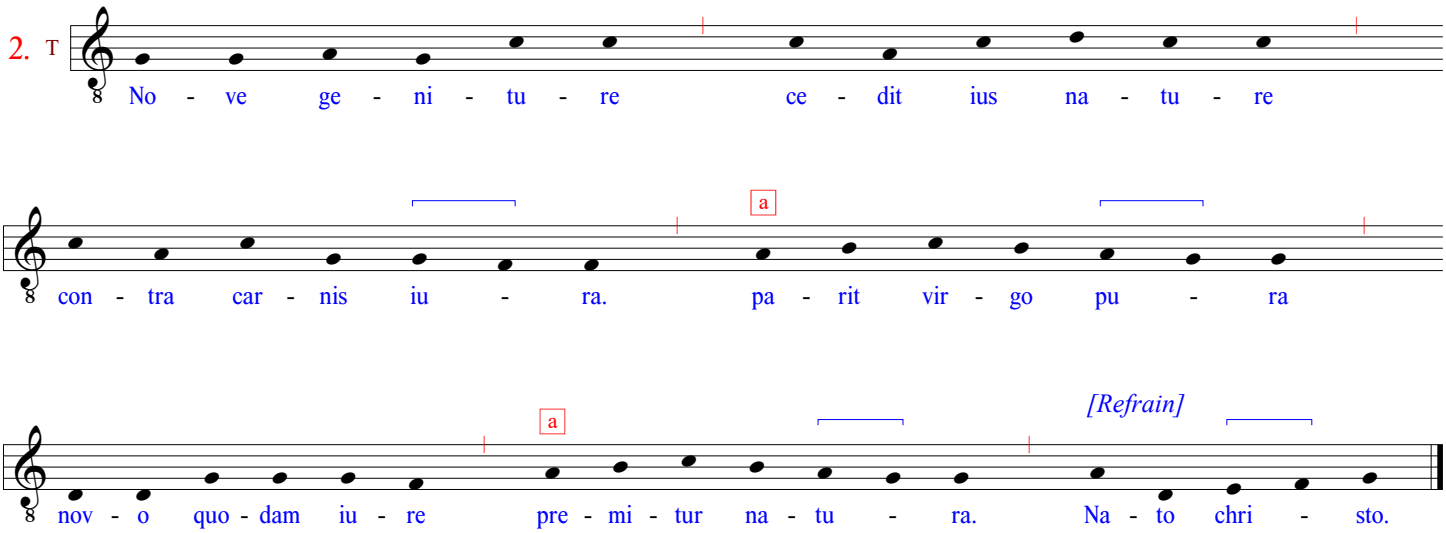




*Variant pitch readings (ususally lower) from *W1* appear above the staves; omitted notes marked "x."

(*Moosburg* reading follows)

Moosburg, f. 233r (ccxxxiii[r]) (no. 7): Strophe I only offered below



NOVE GENITURE
Conductus (I13/224)

F, f. 355r (7,105): Strophe I; *Graz 409,* f. 1v (no. 8): Strophes II-V

I	Nove geniture	The law of nature
	cedit ius nature.	yields to a novel birth.
	Contra carnis iura.	Opposing the laws of the flesh,
	parit virgo pura.	a chaste virgin gives birth.
	Novo quodam iure	Nature is overcome
	premitur natura,	by a new kind of law
Refr.	nato Christo.	when Christ is born.
II	[Audi non auditum!	Hear the unheard-of!
	Serva, non attritum	A handmaiden, with her virginal
	virgineum florem,	flower unscathed,
	mater preter morem	a mother, contrary to custom and
	irritansque ritum,	invalidating established practice,
	retinet pudorem	retains her chastity
Refr.	nato Christo.	when Christ is born.
III	Ortus veri dei,	The birth of the true God, through
	quo respirant rei,	whom the guilty breathe again,
	miseros eduxit,	has led away the wretched
	gratia reduxit.	and led them back in grace.
	Dies nostre spei,	This is the day of our hope,
	dies hec illuxit	this day that dawned
Refr.	nato Christo.	when Christ is born.
IV	Totum reseratur.	Now fully disclosed is
	quidquid tegebatur,	whatever was concealed and
	clausum sub figura.	hidden beneath a cipher.
	Prodeunt obscura,	What was obscure comes forth,
	iamque viduatur	and now the stain of
	litere litura	the Old Law is left bereft
Refr.	nato Christo.	when Christ is born.
V	Patet qui descendens	It is plain that the one descending
	lapis est ascendens.	is the precious stone ascending.
	Fulget flos insignis,	An exceptional flower shines forth,
	extra micans ignis,	a fire glittering on the outside,
	inter rubum splendens,	glowing within the bush.
	non est opus signis	There is no need for symbols
Refr.	nato Christo.]	when Christ is born.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no 105, f. 355r: a2; Strophe I only, occupying two full systems and closing out the leaf. Unlike the previous three entries, there are no provisions for further text, as is also the case with the next piece in the MS, the unique *Homo per potentiam* (J33/161). The refrain is not given any special treatment (not even a preceding period), other than being set off by prior and succeeding strokes in both voices, which call attention

to it nonetheless, because it is the shortest phrase in the work. *Nove geniture* is the second of two pieces to begin on this leaf in *F,* which is the last one to have a contemporaneous folio number.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 32, f. 117 (108v): a2, with the D differing from *F* at the beginnings of several interior phrases (variant pitches are entered above the staves of the *F* trasnscription); Strophes I-V, complete, with II-V entered in the bottom margin outside the writing block and placed underneath the second system of the next work in the MS, *Nulli beneficium* (H7/229). Each stanza is inscribed as a single long line, headed by a painted green or red initial, with the guide letters for II, IV, and V still visible. The initial for IV has worn away nearly completely. Like *F,* the refrain for I is not highlighted in any way. The refrains for II-V are mostly written out, with the "christo" (spelled "χpisto") of II and V abbreviated and largely swallowed up by the binding, although it seems a scribe has entered the final refrain word in V above "nato" with a signal for insertion. Only a Greek chi (χ), possibly with a superscript "o," seems visible for the last refrain word in II.

Tort (Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cód. 97; E-TO Cód. 97), no. 2a, f. 81v (i.e., the front flyleaf of the third of three MSS bound together in this composite source): a2, with a D closer to *F* than *W1;* Strophe I only. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; it is transcribed as well as collated in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:24 and 94, which along with the CPI website furnishes the details given here. Although the MS is described in DIAMM, which indicates it is written in Aquitanian point notation with shapes resembling 14th-century semibreves on dry-point lines, *Nove geniture* is not included in the DIAMM inventory of this source.

Moosburg (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim 100 [olim 2° Cod. Ms. 156]; D-Mu Cim 100; The Moosburg Gradual),[1] no. 7, f. ccxxxiiii^{r} (233r): a1 (T), with a melody slightly more independent from the other sources; that of Strophe I is given as an alternative reading here. Strophes I-V, complete, with the music of each stanza written out in full and all opening with alternating blue and red painted initials; the ones heading II-V are slightly smaller than that of I. The refrain is also written out in full each time, preceded by the cue "℟.," and headed with a capital; rubric: "De Nativitate domini" ("On the Birth of the Lord").

CtcR.9.11 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.11; GB-Ctc R.9.11), f. 152v: a1 (T): Strophe I only, entered twice, the second time without music, missing the third and seventh lines of the poem, and occurring after the intervening text of the first strophe of the conductus *Licet eger cum egrotis* (L51/-), amidst a number of pentrials. This source is presently unavailable to me; it is collated in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:94, which along with the CPI website furnishes the details given here.

Text only:

Graz 409 (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409; A-Gu 409),[2] no. 8, f. 1v: text alone of Strophes I-V, complete, although neumes are provided for the preceding work, the conductus *Amor patris et filii* (P30/-). II-V begin with capitals tinged with a fleck of red paint for decoration, the same color used for the painted initial opening the piece. The refrain is not highlighted in any special way and is written with the second word abbreviated in I-IV; that of V, however, is inscribed fully and spelled "χpicto," using three Greek characters. A generous space before the start of the piece implies an expected rubric was either omitted or erased, although an existing erasure that does appear at this point looks like it belongs more to *Amor patris et filii* through its proximity to the end of that poem. Prior and subsequent rubrics for this entry read "Conductus."

Music only: none.

---

[1]Images of *Moosburg* available here.

[2]Images of *Graz 409* available here.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-14 (Strophes I-II):** These two stanzas are yet another demonstration in the conductus repertory of the wonder that attended the astounding event of the Virgin Mary's bearing of Jesus; for a selection of some additional nods to this commonplace, see the notes to the conductus *Lene spirat spiritus* (H16/194), line 5. **22-28 (Strophe IV):** another frequent trope, that of the birth of Christ signaling the New Covenant overturning the older Mosaic Law (which gets a brief first nod in lines 5-7). For additional information and a provisional list of pieces that relate to the Old Law/New Law topic, see the notes to the conductus *Legem dedit olim deus* (I21/192) and my article "*Vetus abit littera.*"[3] **22-25:** figures in the Old Testament conceal the truths of the New that are revealed through Jesus's birth. **26-28:** the New Covenant has completely superceded the Old Law; the language here calls forth the image of a wife who has been widowed. **29-30:** here the figure that descends is most likely the godhead incarnated on earth in the form of the son, while that son, Jesus himself in the image of a stone (as in 1 Peter, 2:3-5, e.g.),[4] ascends to heaven after his sacrificial death in human form. Both figures are one and the same (equal, yet separate) thanks to the doctrine of the Trinity. For the many biblical references that figuratively cast Christ as a stone, see the notes for the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), beginning with line 15. The subsequent references to the shining flower and the glowing fire prompted me to characterize the stone in line 30 as a precious one, but the same word *(lapis)* appears in biblical contexts symbolic of Christ whether the stone is a gem or not. **31:** the figure of a flower is frequently associated with Christ; see Isaiah, 11:1,[5] where the root refers to the Virgin Mary; the image arises countless times in conductus poetry. **32:** Christ and the Holy Spirit are often portrayed as fire. In addition to the image of the burning bush alluded to in line 33, see, for some examples, the emanation of the Holy Spirit as fire at Pentecost (Acts, 2:1-4),[6] in John the Baptist's prediction of Jesus's coming (Matthew 3:11) to baptize mankind in fire,[7] the Lord portrayed as a jealous god of fire (Deuteronomy, 4:24),[8] and Jesus's appearance in fire in

---

[3]Thomas 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).

[4]1 Peter, 2:3-5: "si tamen gustastis quoniam dulcis est Dominus. Ad quem accedentes lapidem vivum, ab hominibus quidem reprobatum, a Deo autem electum, et honorificatum: et ipsi tamquam lapides vivi superaedificamini, domus spiritualis, sacerdotium sanctum, offerre spirituales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per Jesum Christum" (" If so be [i.e., if you are like newborns who want to taste the milk that will lead you to salvation], you have tasted that the Lord is sweet. Unto whom coming, as to a living stone, rejected indeed by men, but chosen and made honourable by God: Be you also as living stones built up, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.").

[5]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.").

[6]Acts, 2:1-3: "Et cum complerentur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter in eodem loco: et factus est repente de caelo sonus, tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis, et replevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes. Et apparuerunt illis dispertitae linguae tamquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum: et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis" ("And when the days of the Pentecost were accomplished, they [the Apostles] were all together in one place: And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them: And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Spirit gave them to speak.").

[7]Matthew 3:11: "Ego quidem baptizo vos in aqua in poenitentiam: qui autem post me venturus est, fortior me est, cujus non sum dignus calceamenta portare: ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto, et igni" ("I [John] indeed baptize you in the water unto penance, but he that shall come after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire.").

[8]Deuteronomy, 4:24: "... quia Dominus Deus tuus ignis consumens est, Deus aemulator" ("... Because the Lord your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God.").

heaven (2 Thessalonians, 1:7-8).[9] **33:** the burning bush, not consumed by the fire in which God appeared to Moses (in Exodus, 3:2-4),[10] is a common symbol associated with Mary's virginity, just as the fire within it is associated with Christ. **34-35:** with the overturning of the Old Law through Christ's incarnation, its allegories, figures, and symbols no longer serve a purpose.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** *Graz 409* is preferred here over *W1* to supply the residual strophes for this work. Its readings are generally superior to the variants in *W1,* and in nearly every case they concur with *Moosburg.* **15,1-16,1:** Graz 409: the first two of these four words are obscured by wormholes on the recto, the remainder by a diagonal fold at the top left corner of the parchment on the verso side of the leaf; from *W1,Moosburg.* **22,1:** Graz 409: obscured by parchment fold, as above; from *W1,Moosburg.* **27,2:** Graz 409: obscured by parchment fold, as above; the adopted reading is an editorial conjecture after Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xiv; *W1:* litera; *Moosburg:* lectura. **29,3:** Graz 409: descendit; from *W1,Moosburg.* **32,3:** Graz 409: all but the last letter obscured by a parchment fold, as above; from *W1,Moosburg.* **34,4:** Graz 409: ignis; from *W1,Moosburg.* **MUSIC: *F* version:** no variants. Notice the close audible correspondence of the opening of *Nove geniture* with the first phrase of the two-part conductus *Ave maris stella ave* (J53/33), even though each voice in both pieces has a different contour, together the two songs differ in sound only in the penultimate (in the D) and final syllables (T and D) of the phrase. **Line 2,1:** DT: F: the *b/f* (=T/D) tritone on the first syllable of "cedit" sounds a little off, but the reading is the same in *W1; Tort,* the only other polyphonic source, shows the third *b/g.* ***W1* version:** the D particularly shows some divergent readings from the one in *F,* especially at the start of interior phrases and generally at a lower than their counterparts in *F;* variant pitch readings from this source are given above the staves of the *F* version; pitches absent from *W1* appear as "x" above the staff. ***Moosburg* version:** the strokes of division that occur at the ends of phrases, and frequently within them as well, are very thin and inconsistently vary in length from exceeding the height of the staff to encompassing a staff space or two. In the transcription offered here, only the ones that close the phrases are included.

[9]2 Thessalonians, 1:7-8): "et vobis, qui tribulamini, requiem nobiscum in revelatione Domini Jesu de caelo cum angelis virtutis ejus, in flamma ignis dantis vindictam iis qui non noverunt Deum, et qui non obediunt Evangelio Domini nostri Jesu Christi" ("And to you who are troubled, rest with us when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with the angels of his power: In a flame of fire, giving vengeance to them who know not God, and who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.").

[10]Exodus, 3:2-4: "Apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi: et videbat quod rubus arderet, et non combureretur. Dixit ergo Moyses: 'Vadam, et videbo visionem hanc magnam, quare non comburatur rubus.' Cernens autem Dominus quod pergeret ad videndum, vocavit eum de medio rubi, et ait: 'Moyses, Moyses.' Qui respondit: 'Adsum' " ("And the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he saw that the bush was on fire and was not burnt. And Moses said: 'I will go and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.' And when the Lord saw that he went forward to see, he called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said: 'Moses, Moses.' And he answered: 'Here I am.' ").

HOMO PER POTENTIAM

Conductus (J33/161)

F, f. 355v (7,106)

I

D [Ho - [Ho]-mo per po - ten - ti - am

a a1

T Ho - [Ho]-mo per po - ten - ti - am

si - mi - lis ef - fi - ci - tur pa - tri. per pru - den - ti - am fi - li - um pro - se - qui - tur.

a2 a3 b

si - mi - lis ef - fi - ci - tur pa - tri. per pru - den - ti - am fi - li - um pro - se - qui - tur.

per be - ni - gnum spi - ri - tum se - qui - tur pa - ra - cli - tum. qui cum sit be - ni - gni - tas

c b c

per be - ni - gnum spi - ri - tum se - qui - tur pa - ra - cli - tum. qui cum sit be - ni - gni - tas

re - ctas do - cet se - mi - tas mo - rum dans dul - ce - di - nem. vi - te

d d' d"

re - ctas do - cet se - mi - tas mo - rum dans dul - ce - di - nem. vi - te

re - cti - tu - di - nem.]

re - cti - tu - di - nem.

HOMO PER POTENTIAM

Conductus (J33/161)

F, f. 355v (7,106)

I	Homo, per potentiam,	Man, through might,
	similis efficitur	is made like to
	patri. Per prudentiam	the Father. Through prudence
	filium prosequitur.	he follows after the Son.
	Per benignum spiritum	Through a kind spirit
	sequitur paraclitum,	he follows the Paraclete,
	qui, cum sit benignitas,	who, since he is kindness,
	rectas docet semitas,	teaches the straight paths,
	morum dans dulcedinem,	granting sweetness of character
	vite rectitudinem.	and rectitude to life.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 106, f. 355v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for further text; a unique transmission of text and music.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** Here the various members of the Trinity contribute distinct, positive qualities to mankind: might, prudence, and kindness are respectively bestowed by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit or Paraclete. For some other conductus poems in which the three members of the Trinity are prominent, see the opening lines of *Condimentum nostre spei* (H8/67) and *Veri floris sub figura* (C1/369), lines 22-28 (Strophe IV). Additionally, with the mention of strength and prudence in the opening lines, there is a conceivable nod towards the concept of the four cardinal virtues: temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude. This tetrad, as depicted in the Bible and echoed by both antique and patristic authorities,[1] is often associated with the three theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity. Although only prudence is called out explicitly in the text of *Homo per potentiam,* the appearance of might *(potentia)* suggests close affiliation with fortitude, and character *(mos)* and rectitude *(rectitudo)* could easily hint at the analogous qualities of temperance and justice, respectively. For more information on these and other associated virtues among the Parisian conductus, see the textual notes to lines 17-20 of *Veni creator spiritus spiritus recreator* (E13/361). For an appearance of just the cardinal virtues in the repertory, see to remarks on lines 19-27 of *A deserto veniens* (J3/1, I29/1).[2] **Textual notes: 1-3,1:** on God's might, see Ephesians, 6:10.[3] On man made in the image of God the Father, there are

---

[1]Wisdom, 8:7: "Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes: sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et justitiam, et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus." ("And if a man love justice: her labors have great virtues; for she teaches temperance, and prudence, and justice, and fortitude, which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in life"). Outside the Bible, these virtues are described by Cicero, Ambrose, and Augustine, among others. See the notes to the conductus listed above.

[2]This particular work appears in two different musical settings within the main Parisian conductus sources, hence the doubled catalog references.

[3]Ephesians, 6:10: "De cetero, fratres, confortamini in Domino, et in potentia virtutis ejus" ("Finally, brethren, be strengthened in the Lord, and in the might of his power.").

numerous biblical references; for the first, see Genesis, 1:27.[4] **3,2-4:** on the instilling of prudence in children through their parents' teaching, see Proverbs 4:1.[5] **5-10:** for the Paraclete see, e.g., John, 14:26.[6] **7:** on the benignity of God and the Holy Spirit, see Wisdom 1:6,[7] and Titus, 3:4-5.[8] **8:** see Psalm 26:11,[9] Isaiah 26:7,[10] Isaiah, 40:3,[11] and its quotation in Matthew, 3:3, Mark, 1:3, and Luke 3:4.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **MUSIC:** The T voice features a significant amount of varied repetition; correspondences are marked above the staff. The first two D phrases are also strongly related by partial transposition. Notice also the following syllabic/melismatic correlation. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1:** T of the opening cauda on "[Ho]mo" (line 1,1, opening the piece) = **1a:** the closely related T in lines 1, 2, and 3, of the opening three phrases in the piece, the first *sine littera* portion of the work. **Line 3,1:** the music does not respect the enjambment at the beginning of the line. It places a short melismatic extension before this word followed by a rest before the syntactic unit is completed.

---

[4]Genesis, 1:27: "Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam: ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit eos" ("And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them.").

[5]Proverbs 4:1: "Audite, filii, disciplinam patris, et attendite ut sciatis prudentiam" ("Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father, and attend that you may know prudence.").

[6]John, 1 4:26: "Paraclitus 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 Spirit, 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.").

[7]Wisdom 1:6: "Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis: quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguae ejus auditor" ("For the spirit of wisdom is benevolent, and will not acquit the evil speaker from his lips: for God is witness of his inmost thoughts, and he is a true searcher of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue.").

[8]Titus, 3:4-5: "Cum autem benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei, non ex operibus justitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti ..." ("But when the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour appeared: Not by the works of justice, which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us, by the laver of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost ...").

[9]Psalm 26:11: "Legem pone mihi, Domine, in via tua, et dirige me in semitam rectam, propter inimicos meos" ("Set me, O Lord, a law in thy way, and guide me in the right path, because of my enemies.").

[10]Isaiah 26:7: "Semita justi recta est, rectus callis justi ad ambulandum" ("The way of the just is right, the path of the just is right to walk in.").

[11]Isaiah, 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..").

O LEVIS AURULA
(J34/235)

F, f. 355v (7,107)

D
[O le - vis au - ru - la cur cre - du - la vi - de - ba - ris
[Gens ni - mis a - spe - ra con - si - de - ra quod an - ne - ctor

T
O le - vis au - ru - la cur cre - du - la vi - de - ba - ris
Gens ni - mis a - spe - ra con - si - de - ra quod an - ne - ctor

pri - mi - tus. quis vel qua - lis et cur e - rit ex - i - tus.
nex - i - bus. sic in ve - stris co - gor mo - ri ma - ni - bus.

pri - mi - tus. quis vel qua - lis et cur e - rit ex - i - tus.
nex - i - bus. sic in ve - stris co - gor mo - ri ma - ni - bus.

im - pri - mi se - du - la. cur vin - cu - la ve - lox fert in - te - ri - tus
per te flo - ri - ge - ra sint pro - spe - ra pro ma - lo - rum men - ti - bus.

im - pri - mi se - du - la. cur vin - cu - la ve - lox fert in - te - ri - tus
per te flo - ri - ge - ra sint pro - spe - ra pro ma - lo - rum men - ti - bus.

b
mors ex - tre - ma qui - a mo - rtis an - he - li -
om - ne ma - lum ma - lis ma - lo fru - en - ti -

a
mors ex - tre - ma qui - a mo - rtis an - he - li -
om - ne ma - lum ma - lis ma - lo fru - en - ti -

(b') (b")
(a') (a")
- tus.]
- bus.]
- tus.
- bus.

O LEVIS AURULA

Conductus (J34/235)

F, f. 355v (7,107)

I	O levis aurula,	O light little breeze,
	cur credula	why did you at first
	videbaris primitus?	seem reliable?
	Quis vel qualis et cur erit exitus?	What will my passing be, of what type, and why?
	Imprimi sedula	Why does swift ruin
	cur vincula	bring chains
	velox fert interitus	eager to be pressed upon me,
	mors extrema quia mortis anhelitus?	since my dying gasp will mean the end of death?
II	Gens, nimis aspera,	O people, far too unkind,
	considera	consider
	quod annector nexibus.	how I am bound by my restraints.
	Sic in vestris cogor mori manibus.	In this way I am compelled to die at your hands.
	Per te, florigera,	Thanks to you, lady who bore the flower,
	sint prospera	there may be circumstances favorable
	pro malorum mentibus,	towards the minds of evil men,
	omne malum malis malo fruentibus.	but may every evil overtake the evil ones who delight in evil.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 107, f. 355v: a2; Strophes I-II complete, with II entered in a space provided for it within the writing block at the end of the last system of the piece. This is the last folio in the MS whose recto bears an original, painted foliation number; unique transmission of both text and music.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** this lyric has been posited for attribution to Philip the Chancellor by Anderson in *NDRC,* 5:xxvii, but without any supporting evidence for his decision. This same ascription has been championed with much greater conviction by David A. Traill in "More Poems by Philip the Chancellor," see particularly 178-181.[1] Especially significant in the proposal for Philip's authorship is the conceit of Christ speaking directly in the first person[2] and the occurrence of the unusual word *considera* (line 10), which appears relatively frequently in Philip's poetry, but is rarely encountered elsewhere according to the statistical evidence presented by Traill. **Poetic structure:** although the strophes as emended (see below) are formally identical, the structure of the stanzas is rather unusual, as the various ways to divide the verses within them admit no regular patterning in terms of line length. As a result, both Anderson (who follows the disposition earlier adopted by

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

[2]For a study of the voice of Christ speaking in the Latin song repertory, see Mary Channen Caldwell, "'I Have Trodden the Winepress Alone': The Voice of Christ and the Mystical Winepress in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Song," *Revue de musicologie,* 108 (2022): 3-40.

Guido Maria Dreves in *AH* 21,[3] and Traill ("More Poems") offer differing ways to format the lyric. The presentation of the text in the unique source *F,* in terms of its punctuation and division into musical phrases, suggests that longer lines may be considered as appropriate – at least for the opening verses – but the resulting lack of balance among the lines and the frequency of internal rhyme still raises questions as to whether this may be the best choice for presentation; it also admits lines that have no corresponding rhyme elsewhere in the stanza. As a result, I have adopted a course that divides lines at each identically recurring bi-syllabic rhyme. If a musical phrase ends with a word without a rhyming counterpart elsewhere in the strophe, it is considered part of a single poetic verse. This results in two eight-line stanzas, each dividing in half, with a rhyme scheme of 2(aabb), and a nearly regular series of syllables for the lines – 2(6, 4, 7, 11 / 6, 4, 7, and 12) – all with proparoxytonic accents. It is conceivable that the final lines of each half-stanza may originally have been equal in syllable count, but the extant musical setting argues against this in its disposition of notes to syllables. Conceivably, this irregularity between the half-stanzas may have moved the scribe to intervene to equalize the poetry, as the transmission in *F* omits a syllable from the very last line of the poem. See the following remarks. **Emendations:** as the text stands in *F,* a syllable is missing somewhere in the final line of the second strophe. The completion of line 16 adopted here relies on the suggestions and arguments given by Traill in his edition ("More Poems," 179-180); it also accepts Traill's and Anderson's reading of "erit" for line 4,6 as initially proposed by Dreves in *AH 21* (see the report on these lines in the observations below for further details). **Translation:** Traill's translation of this text has exerted much weight on my own rendering, and although Christopher Page raises the possibility that the strophes offer a dialogue between the Jews and Christ, rather than an address by Jesus alone, this conceit has not stuck me as particularly convincing in the poem as it stands, and so has not been followed here.[4] **Textual notes: 1-3:** Christ speaks throughout this poem of his impending death. The opening line may be also be understood as "O fickle [public] opinion." Traill ("More Poems," 179-180) sees the breeze image in these lines primarily as a nautical metaphor (an earlier favorable wind has later proved unreliable), with the possible opportunity of reading it as a figure for the shifting of public opinion that Christ faced during his last days. He is reluctant, though, to view the expression in this sense without the presence of the adjective *popularis* (á la Cicero, *Pro Cluentio,* chapter 47, sentence 130; cf. also Philip the Chancellor's conductus *O labilis sortis humane status* [K30/234], line 11 in Stophe Ia: "Quid igitur aura te popularis"). **5-7:** as Traill notes ("More Poems," 179, note 44), "interitus," here rendered as "ruin" and connoting death, has a similar connotation in Job, 18:14.[5] **8:** for the expression of Death being conquered by the death of Christ, cf. 1 Corinthians, 15:26; and 15:54-55.[6] **9-10:** Christ speaks both to his accusers and figuratively to all mankind. **11:** for the binding of Christ during the Passion, see Matthew, 27:2;[7] Mark, 15:1; and John, 18:12. **13:** according to Traill ("More Poems," 180), this is most likely a reference to the Virgin

---

[3]Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters, pt. 2,* Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 21 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895): p. 20, no. 13.

[4]See Page's remarks on this piece, as well as his own translation, in the liner notes to the compact audio disc *Jerusalem: Vision of Peace,* performed under his direction by the ensemble Gothic Voices (London: Hyperion, 1998), CDA67039, pp. 8-9; the work appears on track 5 of the CD).

[5]Job, 18:14: "avellatur de tabernaculo suo fiducia eius et calcet super eum quasi rex interitus" ("Let him be pulled from the safety of his tent, and let death tread upon him like a king.").

[6]1 Corinthians, 15:26: "Novissima autem inimica destruetur mors: omnia enim subjecit pedibus ejus" ("And the enemy death shall be destroyed last: For he hath put all things under his feet."). 1 Corinthians, 15:54-55: " Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo, qui scriptus est: 'Absorpta est mors in victoria.' 'Ubi est mors victoria tua? ubi est mors stimulus tuus?' " ("And when this mortal has put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: 'Death is swallowed up in victory.' 'O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?' ").

[7]Matthew, 27:2: "Et vinctum adduxerunt eum, et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi" (" And they [the chief priests and ancients of the people] brought him bound, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.").

Mary; Christ is often represented by floral imagery, as in Isaiah, 11:1;[8] see also the start of the verse text of the responsory *Stirps Iesse. Virgo dei* (O16): "Virgo dei genetrix virga, est flos filius eius" ("The virgin mother of God is the rod, the flower her son"). The same image is rife throughout the repertory of conductus poetry. **16:** cf. Proverbs, 2:14.[9]

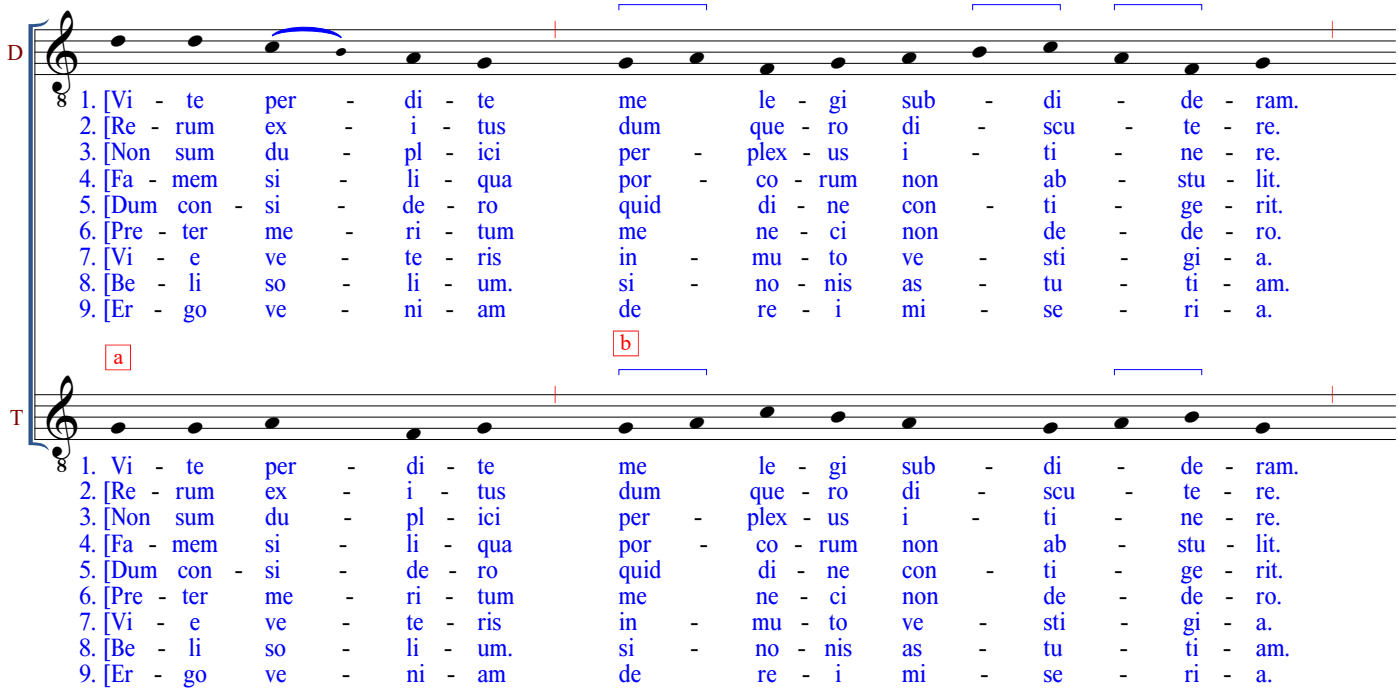
Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,6:** F: exit, emendation from Dreves and Traill. **8,5:** F: hanelitus, the more typical orthography is used here to avoid possible confusion. **16:** F: et omne malum malo fruentibus; the emendation comes from Traill, "More Poems," 180, who regards Dreves's adjustment of "omne" to "omine" as lacking sense and offers additional justifications for his reading. **MUSIC:** no variants. **Syllabic/melismatic identity: 1.** the T and the start of the D of "mors extre[ma]" (at the opening of line 8, the last line of the strophe) = **1a.** the opening of the T and D for the first and second phrases in the closing cauda on "[anhe]li[tus]" (at the end of line 8, the last line of the strophe), transposed a second higher. **8,5; 16,5:** the final cauda of each of the two stanzas might conceivably suggest attempts at word painting for "anhelitus" ("gasping/panting") and "fruentibus" ("those taking pleasure").

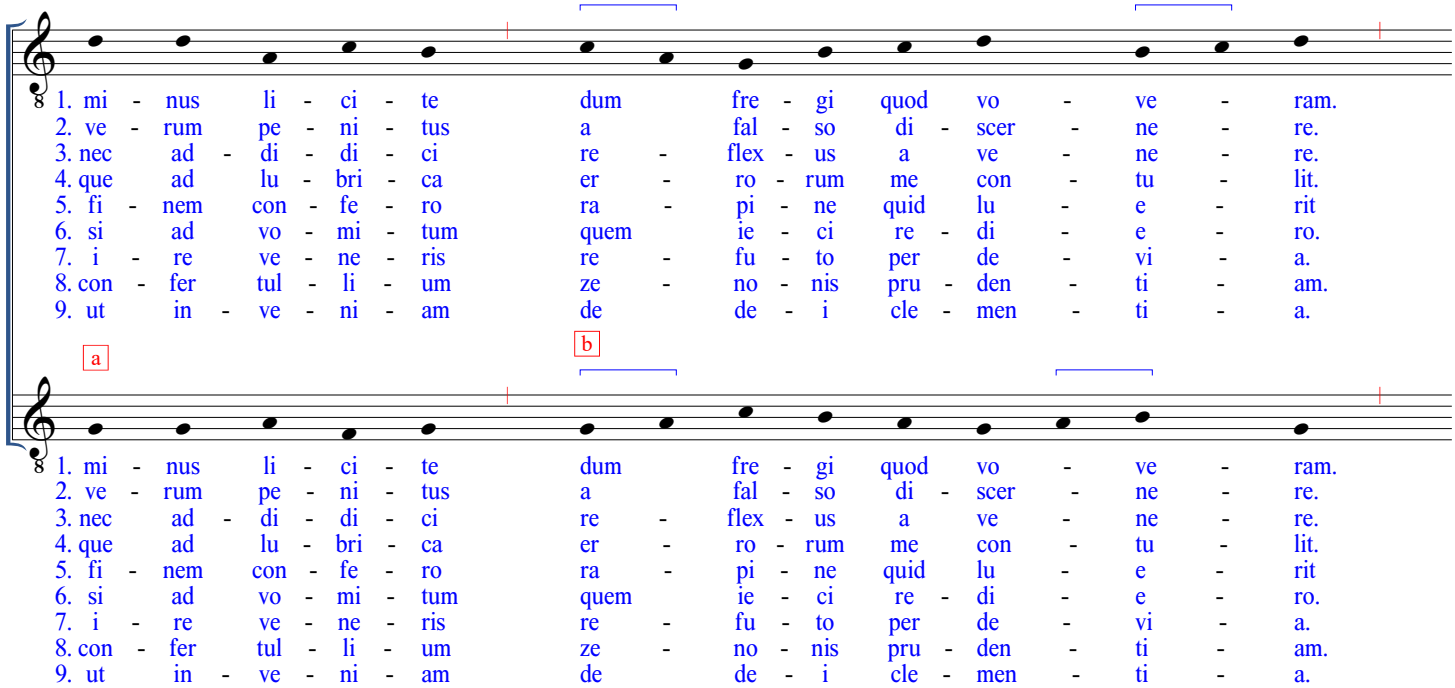
[8]Isaiah, 11:1: "et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet" ("and a rod shall spring forth from the root of Jesse and the flower shall rise up from his root").

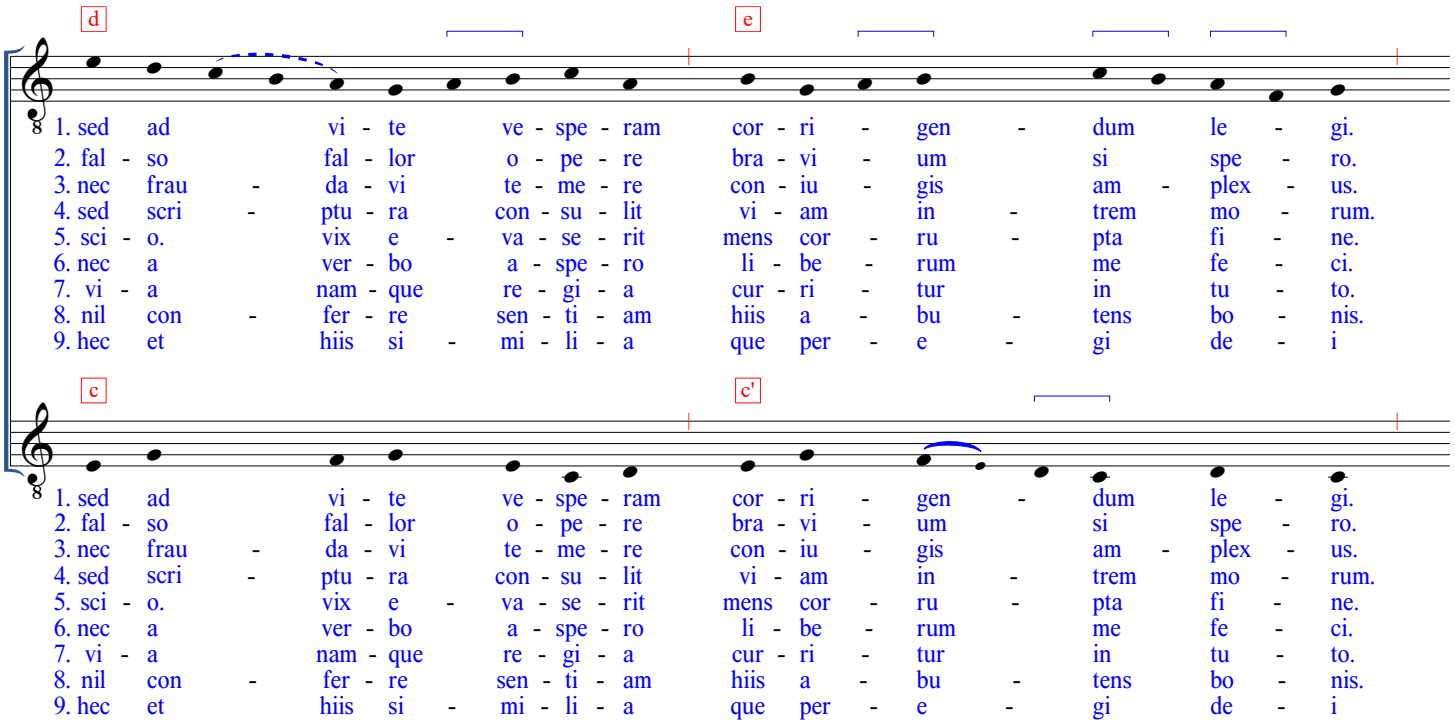
[9]Proverbs, 2:14: "qui laetantur cum malefecerint et exultant in rebus pessimis" ("[Wisdom will protect you from wicked men] who are happy when they have done evil, and rejoice in the most wicked things").

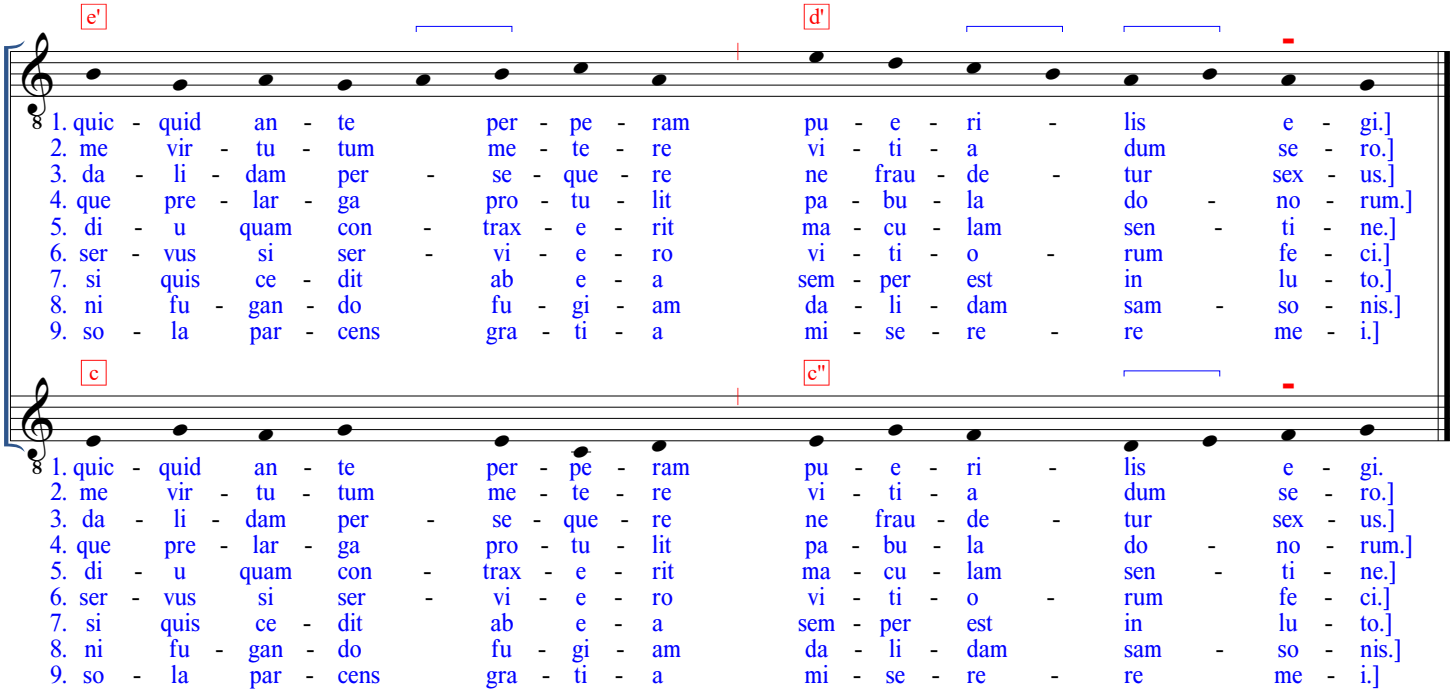
VITE PERDITE
Conductus (J35/387)

F, f. 356r (7,108): Strophe I; *CB,* f. 4r (no. 31): Strophes II-IX






d
e
1. sed ad vi - te ve - spe - ram cor - ri - gen - dum le - gi.
2. fal - so fal - lor o - pe - re bra - vi - um si spe - ro.
3. nec frau - da - vi te - me - re con - iu - gis am - plex - us.
4. sed scri - ptu - ra con - su - lit vi - am in - trem mo - rum.
5. sci - o. vix e - va - se - rit mens cor - ru - pta fi - ne.
6. nec a ver - bo a - spe - ro li - be - rum me fe - ci.
7. vi - a nam - que re - gi - a cur - ri - tur in tu - to.
8. nil con - fer - re sen - ti - am hiis a - bu - tens bo - nis.
9. hec et hiis si - mi - li - a que per - e - gi de - i
c
c'
1. sed ad vi - te ve - spe - ram cor - ri - gen - dum le - gi.
2. fal - so fal - lor o - pe - re bra - vi - um si spe - ro.
3. nec frau - da - vi te - me - re con - iu - gis am - plex - us.
4. sed scri - ptu - ra con - su - lit vi - am in - trem mo - rum.
5. sci - o. vix e - va - se - rit mens cor - ru - pta fi - ne.
6. nec a ver - bo a - spe - ro li - be - rum me fe - ci.
7. vi - a nam - que re - gi - a cur - ri - tur in tu - to.
8. nil con - fer - re sen - ti - am hiis a - bu - tens bo - nis.
9. hec et hiis si - mi - li - a que per - e - gi de - i


e'
d'
1. quic - quid an - te per - pe - ram pu - e - ri - lis e - gi.]
2. me vir - tu - tum me - te - re vi - ti - a dum se - ro.]
3. da - li - dam per - se - que - re ne frau - de - tur sex - us.]
4. que pre - lar - ga pro - tu - lit pa - bu - la do - no - rum.]
5. di - u quam con - trax - e - rit ma - cu - lam sen - ti - ne.]
6. ser - vus si ser - vi - e - ro vi - ti - o - rum fe - ci.]
7. si quis ce - dit ab e - a sem - per est in lu - to.]
8. ni fu - gan - do fu - gi - am da - li - dam sam - so - nis.]
9. so - la par - cens gra - ti - a mi - se - re - re me - i.]
c
c''
1. quic - quid an - te per - pe - ram pu - e - ri - lis e - gi.
2. me vir - tu - tum me - te - re vi - ti - a dum se - ro.]
3. da - li - dam per - se - que - re ne frau - de - tur sex - us.]
4. que pre - lar - ga pro - tu - lit pa - bu - la do - no - rum.]
5. di - u quam con - trax - e - rit ma - cu - lam sen - ti - ne.]
6. ser - vus si ser - vi - e - ro vi - ti - o - rum fe - ci.]
7. si quis ce - dit ab e - a sem - per est in lu - to.]
8. ni fu - gan - do fu - gi - am da - li - dam sam - so - nis.]
9. so - la par - cens gra - ti - a mi - se - re - re me - i.]

VITE PERDITE

Conductus (J35/387)

F, f. 356r (7,108): Strophe I; *CB,* f. 4r (no. 31): Strophes II-IX

I
Vite perdite
me legi subdideram
– minus licite –
dum fregi quod voveram.
Sed ad vite vesperam,
corrigendum legi,
quicquid ante perperam
puerilis egi.

I had subjected myself
to the precepts of a dissolute life
when I – not at all decently –
broke what I had solemnly vowed.
But in the eventide of my life
I chose that whatever I did
wrongfully before, when I
was young, should be set right.

II
[Rerum exitus
dum quero discutere,
verum penitus
a falso discernere,
falso fallor opere
bravium si spero
me virtutum metere
vitia dum sero.

When I seek to examine
the outcomes of events,
distinguishing thoroughly
what is true from false,
I am deceived by false actions
if I expect to reap an
honorable reward
while I am sowing vices.

III
Non sum duplici
perplexus itinere.
Nec addidici
reflexus a Venere,
nec fraudavi temere
coniugis amplexus.
Dalidam persequere,
ne fraudetur sexus.

I am not a man confused
by a double path.
I did not learn more by
turning away from Venus,
nor have I rashly stolen
a wife's embraces.
Pursue a Delilah, lest your
manhood be squandered.

IV
Famem siliqua
porcorum non abstulit.
que ad lubrica
errorum me contulit,
sed scriptura consulit
viam intrem morum,
que prelarga protulit
pabula donorum.

The husks the pigs ate
did not assuage the hunger
that brought me to the
slippery slopes of error,
but scripture advises that I enter
onto a path of moral conduct,
one that has provided a
copious diet of gifts

V
Dum considero
quid Dine contigerit,
finem confero
rapine. Quid luerit
scio. Vix evaserit
mens corrupta fine
diu quam contraxerit
maculam sentine.

When I contemplate
what happened to Dinah,
I bring my debauchery
to an end. I know what
she endured. Barely did my corrupt
conscience finally evade what
was for a long time associated
with the stain of filth.

VI
Preter meritum

Not undeservedly will I give

	me neci non dedero,	myself over to destruction,
	si ad vomitum	if I should return to
	quem ieci rediero.	the vomit I spewed.
	Nec a verbo aspero	Nor have I made myself
	liberum me feci,	free from a harsh sentence
	servus si serviero	if I should serve the dregs
	vitiorum feci.	of vices as a slave.
VII	Vie veteris	I am now changing the course
	inmuto vestigia.	of my former path.
	Ire Veneris	I renounce traveling upon
	refuto per devia,	the byways of Venus,
	via namque regia	for on the royal road
	curritur in tuto.	one rides in safety.
	Si quis cedit ab ea	Should anyone stray from it,
	semper est in luto.	they always land in the mud.
VIII	Beli solium,	Bring on the throne of Belus,
	Sinonis astutiam,	the cunning of Sinon;
	confer Tullium,	give me Cicero and the
	Zenonis prudentiam.	foresight of Zeno.
	Nil conferre sentiam,	I shall feel I am good for nothing,
	hiis abutens bonis,	that I am abusing these benefits,
	ni fugando fugiam	if I do not escape Samson's
	Dalidam Samsonis.	Delilah in my flight.
IX	Ergo veniam	And so, that I may
	de rei miseria,	earn forgiveness
	ut inveniam	from a guilty man's misery,
	de dei clementia,	through God's mercy,
	hec et hiis similia	from these and similar sins
	que peregi, dei	that I have committed, and with
	sola parcens gratia,	God's grace alone sparing me,
	miserere mei!]	have mercy on me!

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 108, f. 356r: a2; Strophe I only, with no provision for further text. Starting with this leaf, none of the succeeding ones in *F* displays a contemporaneous folio number.

CB (D-Mbs Clm. 4660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660; Carmina Burana),[1] no. 31, f. 4r, a1 (with what appears to be the T), in unheightened neumes; each stanza set to what seems to be the same music; Strophes I-IX, complete; the subsequent stanzas start with capital letters executed in the same style as the larger, decorated opening initial; rubric: "Item," referring to the heading "De Conversione hominum" ("On mankind's Conversion") located two pieces prior, atop the poem *In lacu miserie* (-/-) beginning on f. 3v. An apparent cue for the insertion of the opening initial and the larger characters given to the first word appears in the right margin, opposite the first lines of the poem.

[1]Images of *CB* available here.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts:

A l'entrant del tans salvage (Linker no. 113-1, Raynaud/Spanke no. 41);[2] attributed as below; preserved with music a1 (T) in the following MSS:

F-Pn fr. 12615, f. 43r (Huon de St. Quentin).
F-Pn fr. 844, f. 81v (Gilles de Viels-Maisons).

Per dan que d' amor m'aveigna (Pillet-Carstons no. 366-26),[3] attributed to Peirol; preserved with music a1 (T) in the following source:

I-Ma R 71 sup. (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 superiore), f. 46r.

***Notes on the Text*:** Many of the following remarks on this text are beholden to the multiple editions and commentaries of Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxvii-xix, 60, 119; Dreves, *AH, 21,* pp. 113-114, no. 166;[4] Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, eds., *Carmina Burana,* 1/1:51-52;[5] Vollmann, *Carmina Burana,* 72-77, 956-958;[6] and the two treatments of this work by David Traill, in "Biblical Exegesis," 335-341;[7] and *idem,* ed., *Carmina Burana,* 1:88-95, 482-484.[8] Traill's translations have also assisted my own rendering. **Versification:** for this presentation, the musical phrases as delineated in *F,* signaled by strokes in both parts, have been used to determine the verse structure. These divisions are supported by the punctuation of *CB,* which in all but three instances (lines 36, 57, 70), gives periods only at the ends of the even-numbered lines of the stanzas as shown above (reproduced in the verbal punctuation of the musical transcription). The result is a stanza with fewer lines than some other editions (although Vollmann's has even less – six – per stanza). Interlinear rhymes are signaled by extra horizontal spacing in the above text. **Orthography:** as seen elsewhere in *CB,* the classical *-ae* diphthong inflection for first declension nouns is represented by a flourish under the final "e" of the applicable words in this source (with an appearance similar to "ę"). These are not distinguished in my editions, here and

---

[2]These 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).

[3]Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

[4]*Analecta hymnica medii aevi,* vol. 21: *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, pt. 2, Guido Maria Dreves, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895).

[5]Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernard Bischoff, eds., *Carmina Burana,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-70), vol. 1, part 1:51-52

[6]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).

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

[8]David 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.

elsewhere, but may be gleaned from the publications of Vollmann, and of Traill, *Carmina Burana* (but not his "Biblical Exegesis"). **Attribution:** Peter Dronke, based on linguistic and formal similarities with the poet's other works,[9] regards this poem as a product of Peter of Blois, an attribution that the most recent editor of Peter's poetic works, Carsten Wollin, sees as highly likely.[10] David Traill, though, would favor Philip the Chancellor as its author, but admits that the question remains unclear.[11] **Content:** This poem is rather unusual in the central conductus repertory for its secular focus, particularly in the emphasis on carnal lust, from which the poet here turns away at the end of his life. For a list of some other conductus poems that treat earthly love, see the notes on the text to *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10/128), at *F*-6,28. *Vite perdite,* in contrast, emphasizes repentance from vice in order to achieve the "honorable reward" (lines 14-15) of salvation. **Textual notes: 4:** Anderson suggests these promises could refer to priestly vows (*NDRC,* 5:xvii, note 1). Vollman (957) observes that swearing to renounce Satan, part of the baptism ritual, might apply. **15,1:** the reward *(bravium)* here is salvation; see 1 Corinthians, 9:24,[12] and Phillippians, 3:14.[13] **17-24 (Strophe III):** for the multiple interpretations of this stanza, see Traill "Exegesis," 339-340. His own eminently convincing explanation deciphers the double path ("fork in the road" in Traill's rendering) as the choice between virtue and vice, citing the well-known parable of Hercules at the crossroads, a story relayed via Greek, Latin, and patristic authors. "Turning away from Venus" implies the choice of a celibate life, as opposed to committing adultery with other men's wives, both of which extreme practices the speaker finds disagreeable. The frequently puzzling final couplet of the stanza makes sense, according to Traill, in light of its likely evocation of a passage from one of Horace's *Satires,* reportedly quoting Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato, 234-149 BCE), an individual renowned for his frugality and severity.[14] In the conductus lyric – in order to assuage rather than repress their naturally occurring inclinations – the protagonist urges young men to frequent prostitutes (collectively represented by the archetype of Delilah – see the remarks for lines 23 and 64), rather than seduce married women. In this way he follows a middle course and adheres as well to the directives of Cato. **23:** Delilah is frequently depicted as a prostitute in Christian scriptural commentary (see Traill, "Biblical Exegesis," 341)[15]

---

[9]Vollmann also comments on correspondences with Peter's of Blois's works in his publication, see his *Carmina Burana,* 957-958.

[10]See Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Medieval Studies*, 38 (1976): 185-235; reprinted and revised in *idem, The Medieval Poet and his World*, Storia e Litterature: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, no. 164 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Litteratura, 1984), 281-339, at 317-318, 332-333; and Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis Carmina,* Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis, no. 128, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), see poem number 2.10.

[11]See David A. Traill, "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 47 (2006): 267-286, at 277, with regard to *CB* no. 31.

[12]1 Corinthians, 9:24: "nescitis quod hii qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium? Sic currite ut conprehendatis" ("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.").

[13]Phillippians, 3:14: "ad destinatum persequor ad bravium supernae vocationis Dei in Christo Iesu" ("I press towards the goal, to the prize of the supernal calling of God in Christ Jesus").

[14]Horace, *Satires,* book 1, no. 2, lines 31-35: "Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'Macte / virtute esto,' inquit sententia dia Catonis. / 'Nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido, / huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas / permolere uxores.' " ("To a certain well-known man when he exited a brothel: 'Well done,' spoke the divine utterance of Cato, 'for as soon as foul lust swells the veins, it's a good thing for the young men to come down here, so as not to wear out the wives of others.' ").

[15]This association may have been prompted by Judges, 16:1 where Samson visits a prostitute in Gaza. Shortly thereafter, in 16:4, he is described as loving Delilah who lived in the valley of Sorek. It seems very likely these are different women, but their close juxtaposition could have urged the association. Judges, 16:1: "Abiit quoque in Gazam, et vidit ibi mulierem meretricem, ingressusque est ad eam" ("He [Samson] went also into Gaza, and saw there a woman a harlot, and went in unto her"); Judges, 16:4: "Post haec amavit mulierem, quae habitabat in valle Sorec, et vocabatur Dalila"; ("After this he loved a woman, who dwelt in the valley of Sorec, and she was called Dalila").

and serves in this poem as an emblem for sexual lust; note the analogous deprecation of Dinah in Strophe V. Delilah reappears in a similar vein along with Samson, the lover she betrayed, in line 64, q.v. **25-28:** this image stems from the parable of the Prodigal Son (see Luke, 15:15-16), who, being in want during a time of great famine, coveted the husks that were given as food to the pigs he tended, but were unavailable to him.[16] The hunger that afflicted the speaker in the poem as the result of his earlier behavior is compensated by the feast promised by holy scripture, provided he mends his ways. **33-40 (Strophe V):** the story of the rape of Jacob's only daughter Dinah by Shechem, the son of Hamor who ruled the area, appears in Genesis, 34. There was a subsequent retaliation enacted by Jacob's sons, Simeon and Levi, upon the eponymous Shechemites that resulted in them all being killed. As Traill notes ("Exegesis," 339), medieval scriptural commentaries often cast Dinah in an unfavorable light, one which the protagonist is also eager to avoid, and which, it seems, he only narrowly escaped. **43-44:** for this biblical aphorism, see Proverbs, 26:11;[17] and the reference to it in 2 Peter, 2:22.[18] **45-46:** see Psalm 90:3.[19] **49-56 (Strophe VII):** an allusion to events in Numbers, 21:21-25, where the Israelites, escaping from Egypt, seek to pass through the lands ruled by Sihon, king of the Amorites. They pledge to adhere to the king's road ("via regia"), not departing from it for either food or water.[20] Sihon refuses the request and sets an army upon the Israelites, whereupon he is defeated and slain. Traill ("Exegesis," 339) observes how the concept of the *via regia* becomes a proverbial expression to describe the road to salvation. **55-56:** for the image of mud in the context of delivery from sinful behavior, see Psalms, 49:3, 68:15.[21] **57,1:** the *CB* reading of "Resi" retained in Vollmann's edition (see text variants below) seems less preferable than the adopted emendation ("Beli,") favored by most other editors. Of the possible referents, if the *CB* reading denotes King Rhesus of Thrace, who figures briefly in the *Iliad* (10, 412-514), it seems rather curious, since Rhesus is not portrayed particularly favorably in the epic, being killed in his sleep by Diomedes without ever seeing battle, while Odysseus steals his famous stable of horses. Similarly, if Dreves's reading of "Croesi" is accepted, it seems strange to emphasize this monarch's throne rather than his proverbial wealth. In support of the reading of "Belus" adopted here: given that the other characters stem from Greco-Roman history or mythology, one preferred candidate might be King Belus of Tyre who was the father of Dido of Carthage (*Aeneid,* 1,729), rather than the Babylonian king/deity suggested by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xxix, note 13). The Virgilian Belus also appears apropos, since the speaker in the conductus poem seeks now to flee from love's clutches, much as Aeneas deserted Dido. On the other hand, if Belus the ruler and founder of Babylon is

---

[16]Luke, 15:15-16"Et abiit, et adhaesit uni civium regionis illius: et misit illum in villam suam ut pasceret porcos. Et cupiebat implere ventrem suum de siliquis, quas porci manducabant: et nemo illi dabat" ("And he [the prodigal son] went and cleaved to one of the citizens of that country. And he sent him into his farm to feed swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks the swine did eat; and no man gave unto him.").

[17]Proverbs, 26:11: "Sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum, sic imprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam" ("As a dog that returns to his vomit, so is the fool that repeats his folly.").

[18]2 Peter, 2:22: "Contigit enim eis illud veri proverbii: Canis reversus ad suum vomitum: et, Sus lota in volutabro luti" ("For, that of the true proverb has happened to them: The dog is returned to his vomit; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.").

[19]Psalm 90:3: "Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium, et a verbo aspero" ("For he [God] has delivered me from the snare of the hunters: and from the sharp word.").

[20]Numbers, 21:22: "Obsecro ut transire mihi liceat per terram tuam: non declinabimus in agros et vineas; non bibemus aquas ex puteis: via regia gradiemur, donec transeamus terminos tuos" ("I [an Israelite messenger] beseech you that I may have leave to pass through your land: we will not go aside into the fields or the vineyards, we will not drink waters of the wells, we will go the king's highway, till we be past your borders.").

[21]Psalm 49:3: "Et exaudivit preces meas, et eduxit me de lacu miseriae et de luto faecis. Et statuit super petram pedes meos, et direxit gressus meos" ("And he [the Lord] heard my prayers, and brought me out of the pit of misery and the mire of dregs. And he set my feet upon a rock, and directed my steps."). Psalms 68:15: "Eripe me de luto, ut non infigar; libera me ab iis qui oderunt me, et de profundis aquarum" ("Draw me out of the mire, that I may not stick fast: deliver me from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters.").

intended – despite the negative associations that Babylon typically implied in the conductus repertory – the reference to the throne might also be explained. For some additional possible connections to Belus in this poem, see the following remarks on Sinon in line 58. **58,1:** Sinon was a Greek soldier during the Trojan War who figures in the episode of the Trojan Horse in the *Aeneid* (2,57-267); he is situated in the conductus poem as a symbol of craftiness. Falsely posing as a deserter from the Greek forces and claiming they had intended to sacrifice him to Apollo to allow them to depart from Troy, Sinon convinces the Trojans to accept him as an ally, whereupon he frees the soldiers hiding within the horse so that they can open the gates of the city to the whole Greek host. In the course of his attempts to convince the Trojans of his antipathy towards the Greeks, Sinon relates the story of Palamades (*Aeneid,* 2,81-87), an innocent friend of his who was killed as the result of a betrayal by Ulysses, thus earning Sinon's (and correspondingly the Trojans') hate. Interestingly, in the *Aeneid* (2,81-83) Sinon describes Palamedes as the son of Belus,[22] while references elsewhere to this individual relay that his father is King Nauplius of Euboea (as in Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 13,39; 13,56). I have not been able to assemble a connection between this Belus and any of the others mentioned in the above notes to line 57,1. **59,2:** Marcus Tullius Cicero (3 January 106-7 December 43 BCE), the renowned Roman orator, apparently so well known that the poet need not delineate his rhetorical abilities. **60,1:** As Anderson's notes imply (*NDRC,* 5:xxix, note 16), it is not obvious which of the many possibilities for Zeno is implied here. One likely candidate is Zeno of Citium (ca. 334-ca. 262 BCE), the founder of Stoic philosophy, which emphasized living according to principles of virtue; another is Zeno of Elea (c. 495-c. 430 BCE), who was noted for his paradoxes: mental conundrums that seem to border on sophistry, but which cause one to question more deeply one's basic assumptions. For an example, consult the paradox known as "Achilles and the Tortoise." Of the two proposed philosophers, the first one espouses the lifestyle the poet has chosen to practice at this later point in his life; the other shows the mental acuity and craftiness implied by persons named earlier in the stanza. **61-63:** none of the benefits ("hiis ... bonis" – line 62) bestowed by the individuals earlier in the stanza will be worth anything if the speaker cannot escape from sexual debauchery, manifested by the figure of Delilah in line 64. **62,1:** CB: "hiis" is treated as a monosyllable in both the poem and musical setting in each of its appearances; for the other, see the note below to line 69,3. **64:** the famous story of Samson, the last judge of the ancient Israelites, and his lover Delilah, who manages to worm out of him the secret of his great strength: that by cutting his hair he will be rendered weak and able to be subdued by the Philistines, who have enlisted Delilah for that purpose. Delilah's treachery results in Samson's eventual capture, blinding, forced labor, and death at his own hand, taking many Philistines along with him. For the entire account, see Judges, 13-16. As noted above in the notes to line 23, Delilah, here and elsewhere in medieval exegesis, is equated with sexual lust and depravity; cf. also the treatment of Dinah in Strophe V. For other appearances by Samson in the conductus repertory, see, for instance, *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55/97), *Samson dux fortissime* (L42/-), and *Flos preclusus sub torpore* (L145/-), while Delilah surfaces very briefly in the motet *Serena virginum / Manere* (A1/323 – vdW 69/M5), line 41, preserved as *F*-6,40. **69,3:** see the above note to line 62,1.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** As *CB* is used to supply the text for Strophes II-IX, any variants in it from Strophe I of *F* are also reported. **5,1:** CB: et. **28,2:** CB: non; reading after Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxviii. **30,2:** CB: vestra; from Anderson and *AH,* 21. **34,2:** CB: diane, one syllable too many. **36,2-3:** CB: quis fuerit; adopted reading ("quid luerit") from both editions of Traill. **47,3:** CB: servierit, which neglects the correct rhyme. **49;51:** CB: these two lines are apparently exchanged; the adopted reading is in all other consulted editions but Vollmann (which offers no emendation) and *AH,* 21, which exchanges only the first words of lines 49 and 51 as given in *CB*. **57,1:** CB: Resi, retained in Vollmann; adopted reading "Beli" from all other editions but *AH,* 21, and Traill, *Carmina Burana,* both of which give the alternative "Croesi." Traill earlier used "Beli"

[22]Fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris / Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama / gloria ... ("Perchance the name of Palamedes, Belus' glorious son, has come by rumor to your listening ears ... "). 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), 320-323.

in “Exegesis”; see the discussion at this point above in the notes on the text. **58,1:** CB: symonis; adopted reading “sinonis” from all editions but Traill, “Exegesis,” and Vollman. **62,1:** see the above notes on the text at this point. **63,2:** CB: fugiendo, one syllable too many, although reading retained despite this discrepancy in *AH,* 21, Vollmann, and in both of Traill’s editions; adopted emendation in Anderson and Hilka, Schumann, Bischoff. **64,1:** CB: the abbreviation stroke over the last letter of “dalida” is easy to miss, different from the same signal in line 23,1. **69,3:** see at this point the above notes on the text. **70:** often emended among the available editions, although this line seems to make sense as it stands. It is unaltered in *AH,* 21, and Vollmann. It appears as “quod peregi rei” in Anderson; Hilka, Schumann, Bischoff; and both editions of Traill. **MUSIC:** No variants. For the repetitive nature of the T melody, see the correspondences marked above the staff. The D as well shows a number of likenesses, also marked; more could be proposed.

FRATER EN IORDANUS

Conductus (J36/F131) – no extant music

F, f. 356r (7,109)

I	Frater, en Iordanus,	Brother, here is Jordan,
	noster veteranus,	our old veteran,
	quondam pub[l]icanus,	once a publican,
	mundo doctor sanus.	a sound teacher for the world.
	Monet, cum sit vanus	He cautions that, since
	splendor hic mundanus,	this worldly splendor is hollow,
	ne sit parca manus.	one's hand ought not be stingy.

SOURCES:

Text only:

F, fasc. 7, no. 109, f. 356r: ruled for music a2 that was never entered; text alone of Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for the addition of further stanzas; unique transmission. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1] Although the music is omitted, the compact inscription of the verbal text underneath the empty staves and the corresponding style of half the works that immediately precede it in *F*-7 suggest this piece is a work *sine caudis. Frater en Iordanus* is the last in this fascicle of a palpably coherent group of conductus where melismatic sections are either absent or relatively modest,[2] one that begins with the large historiated initial of *Artium dignitas* (I4/20) at *F*-7,88 on f. 349r. For details on the style and structure of the works in this segment, see the source report on *F* for *Artium dignitas.*

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** A poem that seems a bit unusual for inclusion in *F,* as it appears to concern an individual from a lower social class (rather than the royal or clerical figures that may appear in other conductus). A person named Jordan, perhaps once a soldier, and who enjoyed success in a prior profession, has now seen hard times (assuming that the character is not an emblem for paupers in general). He serves as a lesson that this misfortune could happen to anyone, and so the readers of the poem should be generous to him, as it is implied that they may suffer similar circumstances one day. The overarching moral that results, though, is familiar from other hortatory conductus. As the subject of the poem is likely never to be identified, some of its language is ambiguous and a few alternatives to the translation are presented in these notes. The poem has had some further discussion in an 1885 address by Léopold Delisle, who rendered line 1,2-3 as "Enjordanus," and hypothesized that the character in the poem ("frère Enjourdain") might have been a musician who contributed this piece to *F* from a personal *pecia* that held his music.[3] Most of Délisle's observations were

---

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Eleven of the 22 pieces in this segment of the fascicle present some sort of cauda. No work contains more than 24L in total (this is *Luxuriant animi* [J31/202 – at *F*-7,102], with 3 caudae of 4L,4L, and 16L), even with generous interpretations of the length of rests. The setting here with the least amount of cauda activity is that of *Si deus est animus* (H32/324 – *F*-7,95), with a single internal cauda of 4L (this piece does, though, feature a brief, formulaic melisma on its penultimate syllable consisting of 7 D notes over 3 in the T).

[3]Léopold Delisle, "Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France,* 22 (1885): 82-139, at 105-106.

questioned and dismissed fourteen years later by Guido Maria Dreves in his brief mention of the poem in *AH,* 20, pp. 16-17, where he characterized it as a "goliardic begging song" ("Vaganten-Bettellied").[4] Nonetheless, the various connotations that are available for the word "publicanus" challenge a clear understanding of this poem's subject; see the discussion of line 3,2 below. **Textual Notes: 1:** also conceivably construed as: "behold brother Jordan." **3,2:** the word *publicanus* can convey a host of different meanings with widely varying significance. It might, for example, denote a tavern owner or innkeeper. In ancient and biblical contexts, it may refer to a tax collector (as in Luke, 18:9-14, and Matthew, 11:19,[5] e.g.). More curiously, though, the term was also used to refer to various types of heretics, particularly Manicheans,[6] which explains Delisle's statement: "This brother Enjourdain, formerly a publican, that is to say, according to all appearances, affiliated with an Albigensian sect."[7] As a result, the English cognate has been chosen for this translation.

Observations and Variants: The only punctuation in *F* in this piece is a semicolon closing line 6 and the expected period at the end of the poem. These details are reported here since there is no musical setting to communicate them as there is for the editions of the other pieces. **TEXT: 3,2:** F: pubicanus; the faulty reading is unrecorded in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:120. **MUSIC:** none was ever entered in this unique source.

[4] *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. Reisland, 1895).

[5] Matthew, 11:19: "Venit Filius hominis manducans, et bibens, et dicunt: 'Ecce homo vorax, et potator vini, publicanorum et peccatorum amicus.' Et justificata est sapientia a filiis suis" ("The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say: 'Behold a man that is a glutton and a wine drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners.' And wisdom is justified by her children.").

[6] See the entry s.v. "populicani" in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis,* Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, ed., (Niort: L. Favre, et al., 1883-1887); available online: http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr. and at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/populicani.

[7] "Ce frère Enjourdain, jadis publicain, c'est-à-dire, selon toute apparence, affilié à une secte albigeoise ... ." Delisle, "Discours," 106.

CAPUT IN CAUDAM VERTITUR
(J37/54)

F, f. 356v (7, 110)

I

D [Ca -

T Ca -

[Ca] - put

[Ca] - put

| mode 1

in cau - dam ver - ti - tur,

in cau - dam ver - ti - tur,

dum

a

dum
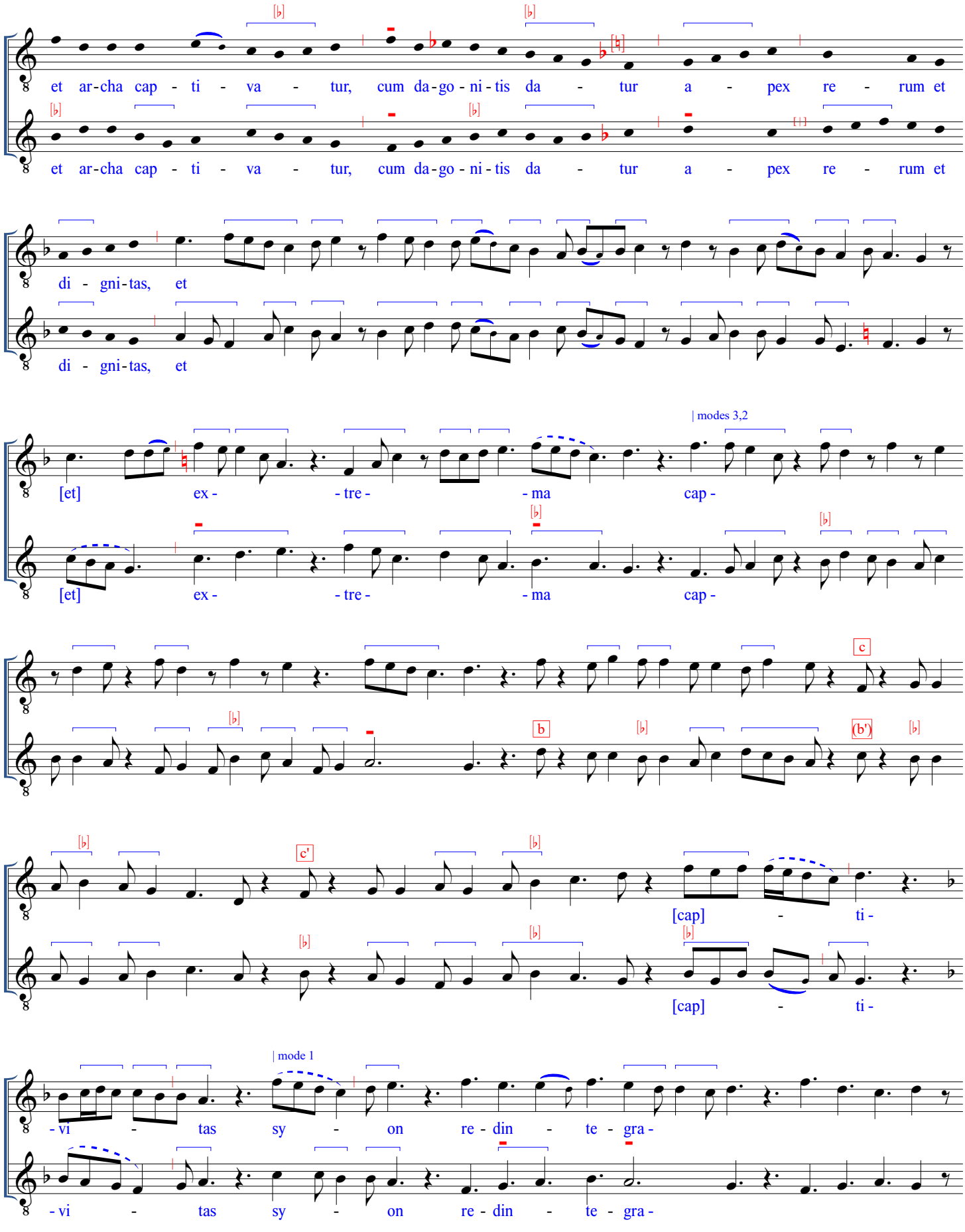
a'

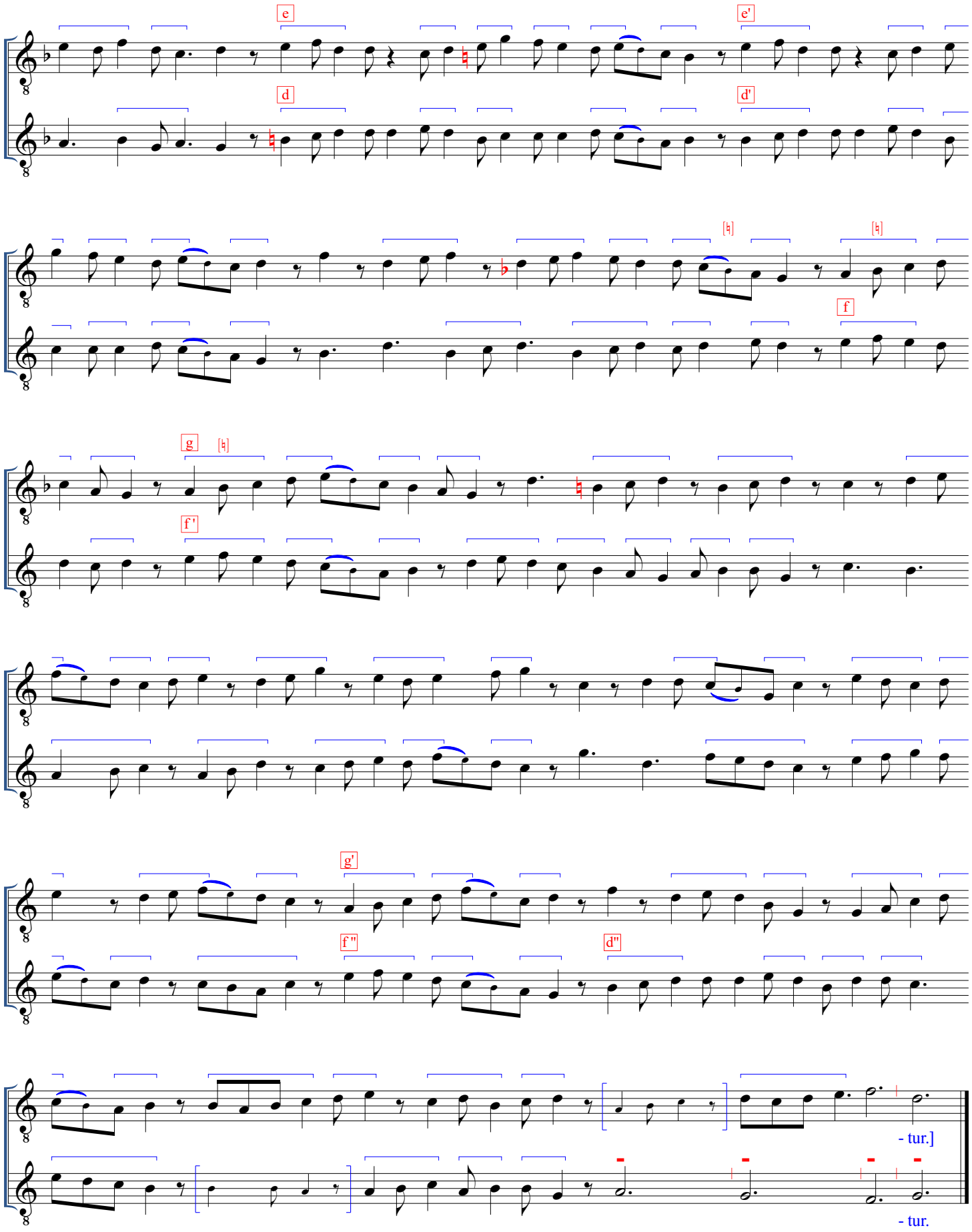
[dum] a - gar sub - li - ma - tur, et li - be - ra re - i - ci - tur, et ser - ve

[dum] a - gar sub - li - ma - tur, et li - be - ra re - i - ci - tur, et ser - ve

sub - iu - ga - - tur. da - gon trun - cus e - ri - gi - tur,

sub - iu - ga - - tur. da - gon trun - cus e - ri - gi - tur,


et ar-cha cap - ti - va - tur, cum da-go-ni-tis da - tur a - pex re - rum et
et ar-cha cap - ti - va - tur, cum da-go-ni-tis da - tur a - pex re - rum et
di - gni-tas, et
di - gni-tas, et
| modes 3,2
[et] ex - - tre - - ma cap -
[et] ex - - tre - - ma cap -
[cap] - ti -
[cap] - ti -
| mode 1
- vi - tas sy - on re - din - te - gra -
- vi - tas sy - on re - din - te - gra -


e
e'
d
d'
[♮]
[♮]
f
g
[♮]
f'
g'
f''
d''
- tur.]
- tur.

CAPUT IN CAUDAM VERTITUR

Conductus (J37/54)

F, f. 356v (7, 110)

I	Caput in caudam vertitur	A head is turned into a tail
	dum Agar sublimatur,	when Hagar is elevated,
	et libera reicitur	and a freewoman despised
	et serve subiugatur.	and made subject to a slave girl.
	Dagon truncus erigitur	Dagon's trunk is raised up
	et archa captivatur,	and the Ark of the Covenant is captured,
	cum Dagonitis datur	when the utmost of advantage and
	apex rerum et dignitas,	dignity is given to the Dagonites,
	et extrema captivitas	and the latest captivity
	Syon redintegratur.	of Zion is renewed.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 110, f. 356v: a2; unique transmission of music and text. *Caput in caudam vertitur* begins a series of nine consecutive, elaborate conductus *cum caudis* in *F*-7, after a run of typically strophic works, all with shorter caudae or no melismatic sections at all. This earlier stretch of simpler works extends from *F*-7,88 (signaled by the historiated initial that heads *Artium dignitas* [I4/20]) through *F*-7,109 (*Frater en Iordanus* [J36/131], which lacks music, but whose text layout suggests a modest setting). The subsequent series of more musically ambitious works continues through *F*-7,118 (*Deus pacis et dilectionis* [J44/93]).

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** The piece appears in *F* (its sole source) before a group of three conductus likely written by Philip the Chancellor: **1)** the medieval attribution *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), whose authorship is attested by *Praha,* the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam, and implied by *Pa 526;* **2)** the modern attributions *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39/65), ascribed to Philip by Friedrich Ludwig (*Repertorium,* 1/1, 266)[1] and Peter Dronke, ("Lyrical Compositions," 592);[2] and **3)** *Luget Rachel iterum* (J40/199), also ascribed by Dronke *(ibid.).* Perhaps as a result, *Caput in caudam* has also been suggested as Philip's work (again by Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 591). The overall thrust of the poem, wherein the original senses of some of the biblical images it contains are turned on their heads (for details see the following notes), is familiar in Philip's work. **Textual notes:** The rhythmical and rhyme schemes of this poem happen to be identical to the conductus *Lex honus importabile* (I19/197), at *F*-7,26, and two of the first three strophes of the conductus *Hi sunt sal quod evanuit foras* (Q20/-); refer to the textual notes for *Lex honus* for additional information on the

[1]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 Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964).

[2]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

oddities of the latter poem. **1:** see Deuteronomy, 28:13,44;[3] Isaiah, 9:15.[4] In addition to the inverted presentation of the biblical references in the conductus poem, the contexts of the Old Testament citations imply extremely negative connotations for what was originally the tail, thus making the inversion especially troubling to the poet. **2-4:** see Genesis, 16 and 21. Hagar was the handmaiden of Abraham's initially childless wife, Sarah. Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham so that he might produce children, whereupon Hagar eventually became pregnant with Ishmael and began to despise Sarah. In the course of events, Sarah eventually gave birth to Isaac, and Hagar and Ishmael were compelled to leave Abraham's household. The allusion here in the poem flips the outcome of the story on its head, as it is concerned only with Sarah's initial fall from dignity, not with her regaining her earlier status with Isaac's birth. Christian biblical commentaries generally associate Hagar with the Old Law and the Jews, and Sarah with the New Covenant and the Gentiles; for this, see Galatians, 4:22-31;[5] Augustine, *City of God,* 15, 2-3; and the references from the *Glossa ordinaria* given in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxx, note 2 (citing *PL,* 113: col. 122). **5-6:** See 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 4-5. The Ark of the Covenant was taken from the Israelites following their defeat in a war with the Philistines. The Philistines placed the Ark in a temple devoted to the god Dagon in the city of Ashdod. The next morning the image of Dagon had fallen face down before the Ark, and, when restored to its place, it was found toppled again upon the following morning with its head and hands severed at the points where they crossed the threshold of the temple. In the conductus poem, the already mangled image of Dagon is raised up, but apparently suffers no collapse. See also the observations below on the music for lines 6-7. **7-8:** in opposition to the text in the conductus, where the Dagonites are favored and dignified, the Bible citations given for lines 5-6 describe how various plagues of mice and tumors visited the people of Ashdod while the Ark remained in their city, as well as the inhabitants of other places after the Ark was removed from the temple and taken to different locales. After seven months, the Ark was returned to the Israelites along with additional offerings made up of golden images of the plagues that had afflicted the Philistines. **9-10:** a reference either to the various subjugations of the Israelites in Egypt or Babylon as presented in scripture, and possibly also alluding to the fall of Jerusalem to Islamic forces in 1187 that prompted several crusades during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In other words, like the inversion of the biblical events earlier in the poem, a deplorable situation.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Cauda ending line 1,4:** T: F: from L1-L4, Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:61, measure 22) treats the si'=*d* at L1 of the cauda as L,L-rest and follows with *a'b,ba* (i.e., 3 higher). As this interpretation results in a realignment from what appears in the transcription here, there is no occasion for the editorial addition *a,a*=L,B in L5 that I supply for the music. **Cauda at 4,1:** T: F: although they seem clearly inscribed, the first three pitches, *bcb,* might possibly be emended to *bdc,* which would be more consonant. **Lines 6-7:** TD: F: the *b/f* simultaneity that begins this passage at "et archa" argues for the ficta *b-*

---

[3]Deuteronomy, 28:13: "Constituet te Dominus in caput, et non in caudam: et eris semper supra, et non subter: si tamen audieris mandata Domini Dei tui quae ego praecipio tibi hodie, et custodieris et feceris" ("And the Lord shall make you the head and not the tail: and you shall be always above, and not beneath: yet so if you will hear the commandments of the Lord thy God which I command you this day, and keep and do them.").
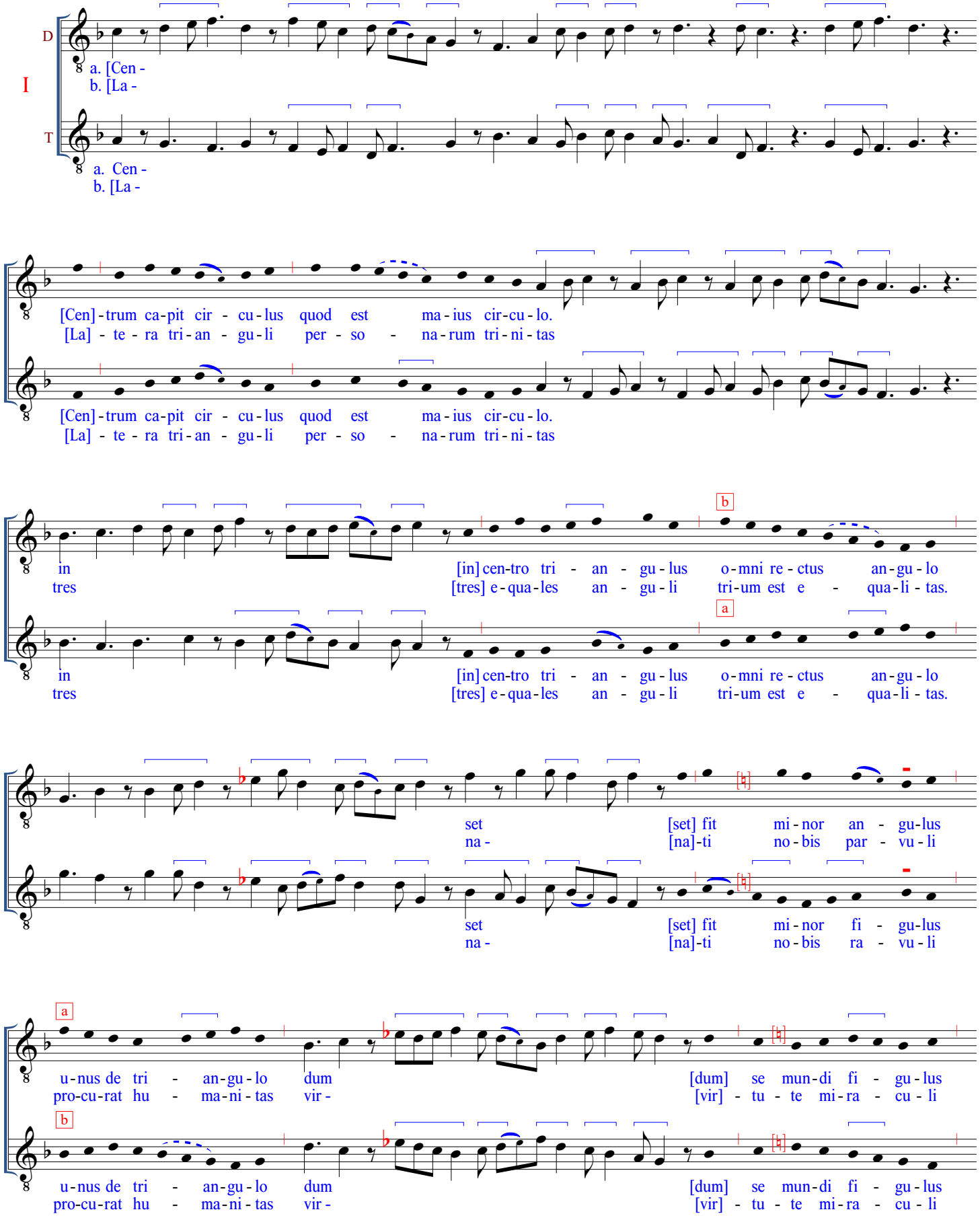
[4]Isaiah, 9:15: " Longaevus et honorabilis, ipse est caput; et propheta docens mendacium, ipse est cauda." ("The aged and honourable, he is the head: and the prophet that teaches lies, he is the tail.").
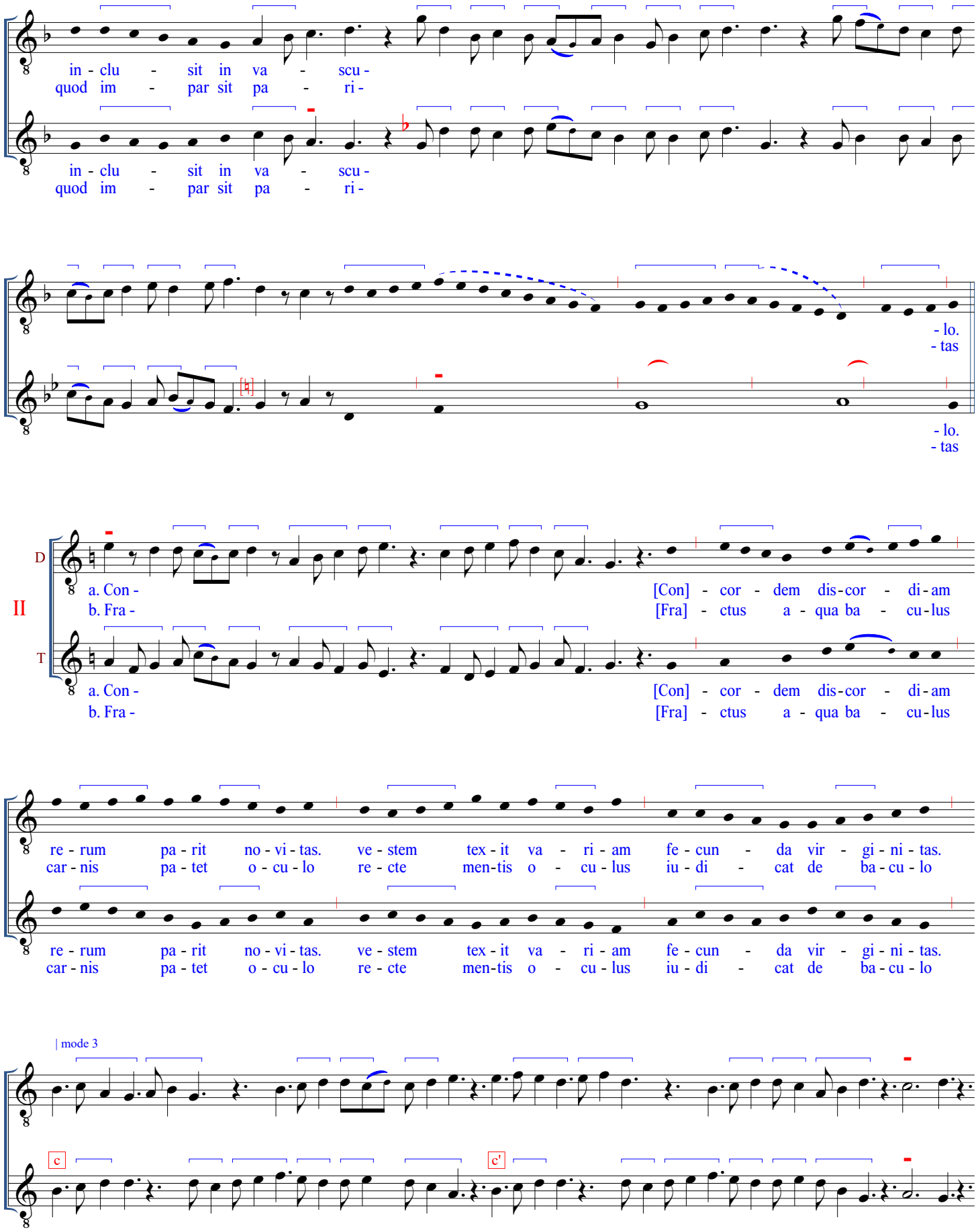
[5]Galatians, 4:22-24,28,31: "Scriptum est enim: Quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit: unum de ancilla, et unum de libera. Sed qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est: qui autem de libera, per repromissionem: quae sunt per allegoriam dicta. Haec enim sunt duo testamenta. Unum quidem in monte Sina, in servitutem generans, quae est Agar. … Nos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii sumus. … Itaque, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae: qua libertate Christus nos liberavit" ("For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one [Ishmael] by a slave [Hagar] and one [Isaac] by a free woman [Sarah]. But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, the son of the free woman through promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. ... Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise. ... So, brethren, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman: for freedom Christ has set us free.."). Due to the archaic language of the Douai-Rheims version of these passages, the translations offered for these specific quotations come from the Revised Standard Version, Catholic Edition.
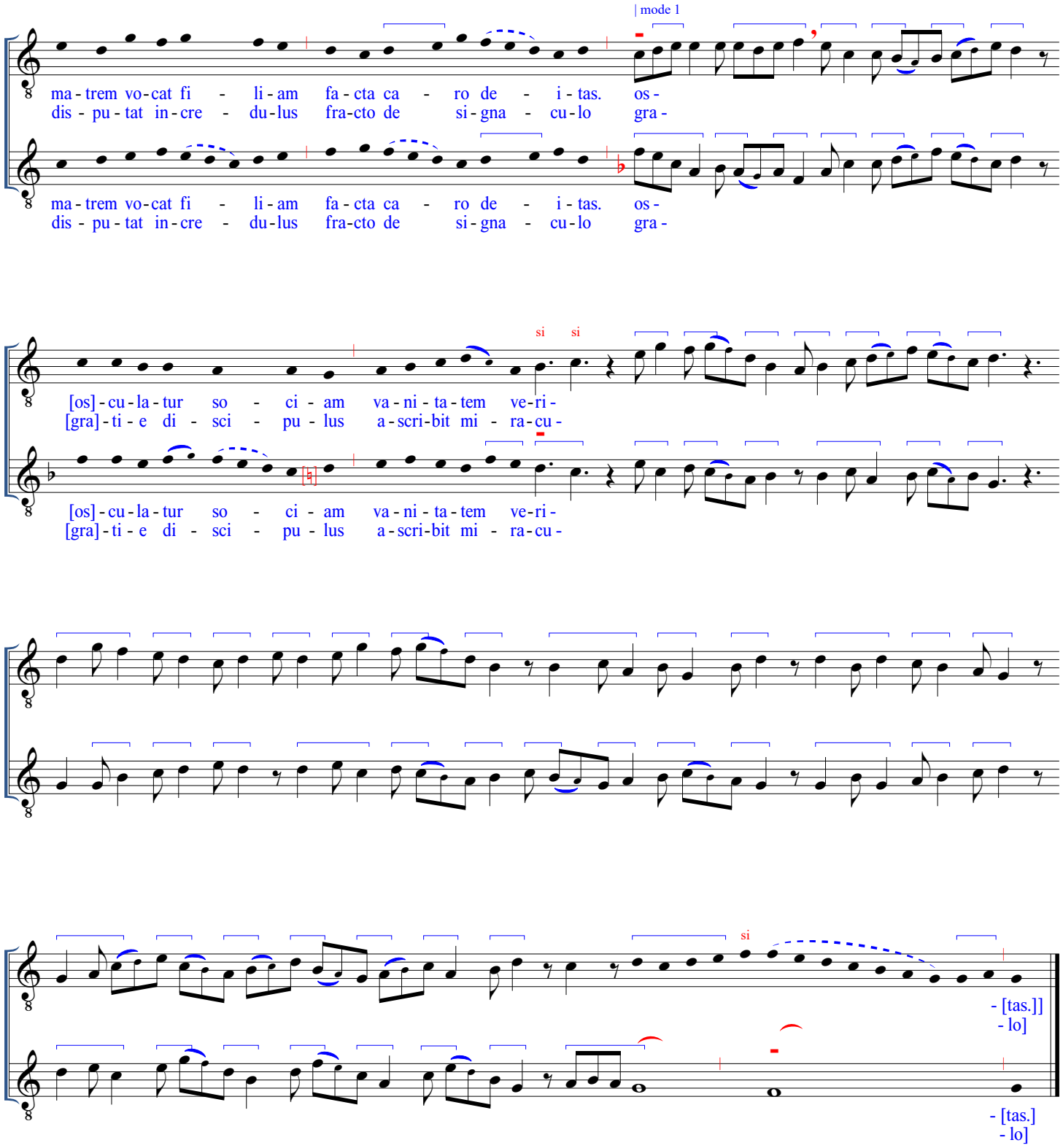
flats here in both parts, an editorial strategy also suggested by the presence of the *e-flat* sig in the D before the second syllable of "dagonitis" (line 7,2). Interestingly, though, this *e-flat* in the D coincides with an *a-natural* pitch in the T, perhaps hinting at a possible attempt at word paining in representing the Philistine idol. It is therefore at least conceivable that one might perform this entire passage with *b-naturals* and increase the harshness of the conjectural word painting. Flat sigs, though, do eventually appear prior to the final syllable of line 7,3 ("datur"), with the turn to a new leaf. **Cauda at 9,1:** T: F: the *b-natural* sig before the penultimate note (*f* at L15) of this cauda appears to affect only the single *b* 2L later in the 4C figure at the repeated syllable "[et]," since the next T *b,* before the syllable "[extre]ma" in line 9,2, seems to require *b-flat* with the simultaneous *f* in the D. The remaining T *b*'s throughout the following cauda at 9,3 ("cap[tivitas]") also seem to need ficta flats. Similarly, there are no *b* pitches at all in the D for quite a stretch, despite the *b-natural* sig in that voice before line 9,2 ("ex[trema]"), while the first one to arrive (at L25,2 in the cauda at line 9,3) implies *b-flat* would be more appropriate (due to the proposed *b-flats* in the T); as before, flats seem appropriate for the D as well, both here and to the end of the cauda. Flat sigs are then specified in both parts before the third syllable of 9,3 ("[capti]vi[tas]") where a new system also begins. Unnecessary sigs also seem to occur in the final cauda. **Final cauda (at line 10,2):** D: F: the *b-flat* sig prior to L32 seems unnecessary for the entire time it is in force up to its cancellation by a *b-natural* sig before L47; similar tendencies are noticeable in the use of accidentals among the various caudae in line 9. To accommodate the flat sig, one might suppose that, despite there being no indication, the use of the D's *b-flat* in the closing melisma could be extended to the T voice, but the prominent *b-c-d* motive that begins at L13 in the T, and which is prefaced by a sig quad on *b,* does not recommend such intervention. This same motive (or a close variant) reappears in the T at L21, L31, and L33, with the last two appearances in the same vicinity as the questionable sig rot in the D; the motive then resurfaces once again, now in the D and once more prefaced by a sig quad, at L47. Hence, all *b* pitches in the D for this passage from L32-L47 have been editorially rendered as ficta *b-naturals.* F: TD: within the antepenultimate T phase (L83-L84) and the penultimate D phrase (L89-L90), the apparently missing material is supplied editorially.

CENTRUM CAPIT CIRCULUS
Conductus (J38/57)

F, f. 357r (7,111): Strophes Ia, IIa; *Praha,* f. 38v (no. 22): Strophes Ib, IIb




in - clu - sit in va - scu -
quod im - par sit pa - ri -
in - clu - sit in va - scu -
quod im - par sit pa - ri -
- lo.
- tas
- lo.
- tas
II
D
T
a. Con -
b. Fra -
[Con] - cor - dem dis-cor - di-am
[Fra] - ctus a - qua ba - cu-lus
a. Con -
b. Fra -
[Con] - cor - dem dis-cor - di-am
[Fra] - ctus a - qua ba - cu-lus
re - rum pa - rit no - vi - tas. ve - stem tex - it va - ri - am fe - cun - da vir - gi - ni - tas.
car - nis pa - tet o - cu - lo re - cte men-tis o - cu - lus iu - di - cat de ba - cu - lo
re - rum pa - rit no - vi - tas. ve - stem tex - it va - ri - am fe - cun - da vir - gi - ni - tas.
car - nis pa - tet o - cu - lo re - cte men-tis o - cu - lus iu - di - cat de ba - cu - lo
| mode 3
c
c'


| mode 1
ma - trem vo - cat fi - li - am fa - cta ca - ro de - i - tas. os -
dis - pu - tat in - cre - du - lus fra - cto de si - gna - cu - lo gra -
ma - trem vo - cat fi - li - am fa - cta ca - ro de - i - tas. os -
dis - pu - tat in - cre - du - lus fra - cto de si - gna - cu - lo gra -
si si
[os] - cu - la - tur so - ci - am va - ni - ta - tem ve - ri -
[gra] - ti - e di - sci - pu - lus a - scri - bit mi - ra - cu -
[os] - cu - la - tur so - ci - am va - ni - ta - tem ve - ri -
[gra] - ti - e di - sci - pu - lus a - scri - bit mi - ra - cu -
si
- [tas.]]
- lo]
- [tas.]
- lo]

CENTRUM CAPIT CIRCULUS

Conductus (J38/57)

F, f. 357r (7,111): Strophes Ia, IIa; *Praha,* f. 38v[b] (no. 22): Strophes Ib, IIb

Ia Centrum capit circulus
quod est maius circulo;
in centro triangulus,
omni rectus angulo;
set fit minor angulus
unus de triangulo
dum se mundi figulus
inclusit in vasculo.

A circle encloses a center
that is greater than the circle;
in the center is a triangle,
correct in every angle;
but one angle of the
triangle becomes smaller
when the shaper of the world
confined himself in a vessel.

Ib [Latera trianguli
personarum trinitas;
tres equales anguli
trium est equalitas.
Nati nobis parvuli
procurat humanitas,
virtute miraculi
quod impar sit paritas.]

The sides of the triangle
are a threesome of personages;
the three equal angles
denote the equality of the three.
The humanity of a
little child protects us,
by virtue of a miracle whereby
inequality signifies equality.

IIa Concordem discordiam
rerum parit novitas;
vestem texit variam
fecunda virginitas;
matrem vocat filiam
facta caro deitas;
osculatur sociam
vanitatem veri[tas.]

The strangeness of these things
produces harmonious discord;
fertile virginity weaves
a variegated garment;
deity made flesh calls
a daughter mother;
Truth kisses its
colleague Falsity.

IIb [Fractus aqua baculus
carnis patet oculo;
recte mentis oculus
iudicat de baculo.
Disputat incredulus
fracto de signaculo;
gratie discipulus
ascribit miraculo.]

To the human eye a stick
appears to be broken by water;
the mind's eye correctly
evaluates the stick.
The unbeliever contests
the broken appearance;
the disciple attributes
a miracle to grace.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 111, f. 357r: a2, Strophes Ia, IIa only, with no provision for further stanzas.

Text only:

Praha, no. 22, f. 38v[b]: text only, Strophes Ia-IIb complete, with the subsequent stanzas headed by upper case letters and with an upper-case opening guide letter (or initial?) in the gutter between the columns; rubric in the right-hand margin: "conductus."

Pa 526 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 526), f. 183v: text only, Strophes Ia-IIb, complete. Images of this manuscript are not presently available to me; details are furnished from Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:120, the *CPI* website, and from the online catalog description through the Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.[1] At the bottom of the folio the following text is entered: "Dicitur quod quidam cantor ecclesie Beate Marie Parisiensis fecit illas quatuor copulas et multa alia dictamina et cantus pulcherrimos de beata virgine; et tamen dicitur quod fuit dampnatus ex quodam vitio, forte superbie" ("It is said that a certain singer of the church of Blessed Mary of Paris made these four stanzas and many other poems and very beautiful songs about the Blessed Virgin; and yet it is said that he was damned because of a certain sin, possibly arrogance.").

GB-Occ 144 (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 144), no. 4, ff. 29v, 22r (in that order): preserves fragmentary segments of the text of Strophes Ia and Ib in an otherwise musically unrelated fourteenth-century English cantilena setting a3 in mensural notation.[2] In the fifteenth century the music and text was erased and written over with portions of the *Liber metricus de nova poetria* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf. See the report on this source in DIAMM, where the incipit is inventoried as "... quodam ... -angulo. Set de unus de tria[n]gulo".[3]

I-Rvat Vat. Lat. 7260 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vat. lat. 7260),[4] f. 286r[b]: text only of the first line of the conductus poem, from the unique MS of the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam. The citation occurs in the midst of Salimbene's account of Henry of Pisa and the various musical settings he made, many of them to texts of Philip the Chancellor.[5] The portion before the incipit is cited, headed by a red pilcrow, reads: "Item in illa alia littera, que est cancellarii similiter. [Henricus Pisanus] cantum fecit. scilicet Crux de te volo conqueri. et virgo tibi Respondeo. et centrum capit circulus. et quisquis cordis et oculi" ("And upon that other text, which is likewise by the Chancellor, [Henry of Pisa] made a song, that is, *Crux de te volo conqueri* [K59/71], and *Virgo tibi respondeo* [a subsequent part of the previous poem], and *Centrum capit circulus* [J38/57], and *Quisquis cordis et oculi* [K52/291].").[6]

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

---

[1] https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc79724p. To locate the description, click on "Index," "Sujets" "Chanson latine," and choose the result.

[2] The identification of the poetry was made by Peter Lefferts in a personal communication to me from 19 February 2021. I am most appreciative of Professor Lefferts informing me about his discovery.

[3] https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/554/#/inventory.

[4] Images of this source are available at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.7260; see image no. 187. The foliation used here is at the top right recto of the leaf in mixed Roman and Arabic numbers as follows" "cc86" an alternative pencil foliation just below this gives "85."

[5] Henry of Pisa was Salimbene's *custos* ("protector," "superior") in Siena, where Salimbene lived from 1241-1243. For a recent assessment of Salimbene's account of Henry of Pisa as a composer of conductus, see Jacopo Mazzeo, "The Two-Part Conductus: Morphology, Dating and Authorship," (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015), 52-63. In terms of Henry's possible status as the composer of any extant musical settings preserved in the main Parisian conductus sources, as Mark Everist avers, the "exact relationship between Salimbene, Henry, Philip the Chancellor and the notated sources of these three *conducti* remains inexact." (Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song: Latin Poetry and Music in the Conductus* [Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018], 30.)

[6] Although Salimbene refers to the text that was set by Henry in the singular, it seems that all the poems that follow were understood to be Philip's work, and all have corroborating ascriptions to him in other sources.

***Notes on the Text*: Attribution:** The poem is attributed directly to Philip the Chancellor in both *Praha* and the thirteenth-century *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam (see the source reports above). Philip's authorship is also strongly implied by the description of the poem given in *Pa 526* (see above). This piece is part of a series of four contiguous works in the seventh fascicle of *F* that has been ascribed to the Chancellor; see the remarks on attribution for the conductus *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54) that immediately precedes this piece in *F*. **Textual notes: 1-8 (Strophe Ia):** cf. the monophonic conductus *Exceptivam actionem* (K67/110) by Alanus ab Insulis (Alain de Lille), Strophe V, which treats geometry. In Alanus's poem, the circle (Christ) is enclosed by a square (the womb of the Virgin). Note also the saying "God is an infinite sphere whose center is everywhere and circumference is nowhere" from *The Book of 24 Philosophers* ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; as well as Alanus's similar, probably derivative, remark "God is an intelligible sphere, whose center is everywhere, and whose circumference is nowhere."[7] For a treatment of these and similar concepts, see Peter Dronke, "The Fable of the Four Spheres," in *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism,* Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, no. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 143-153. **5-8:** as suggested in lines 15-16, although the triangle has, in fact, three equal angles representing the equality of the Trinity's three personages, as explained in Strophe Ib, its outward appearance implies that one of the angles is lesser than the others, since it represents God humbling himself by taking on human form. On this conceit, see Philippians, 2:7-8;[8] and for some additional appearances of this image in the conductus repertory, see the remarks on *Sol sub nube latuit* (I16/334), lines 17-20. The paradox that results between apparent and actual form is then explored and justified further in the last two strophes of the poem. See especially Strophe IIb (lines 25-32) where the outward appearance of an apparently broken stick, refracted by water in a glass, creates an illusion that is satisfied by the logic of the mind's eye, which correctly interprets the miracle of the virgin birth, since it regards the image as something that is considered true from the perspective of faith, rather than an unbeliever's reliance on reason alone. **7-8:** The translation reflects the mixture of present and past tenses demonstrated in the poem. For the image of the potter enclosed in his own pot, see the organum prosula *Vide prophecie* (A9 – vdW 2/M1), lines 37-38 (in Payne, *Motets and Prosulas,* 8-9);[9] and the various conductus *Fontis in rivulum* (K6/130), Strophe I; *In hoc ortus occidente* (K5/174), lines 11-12 (all ascribed to Philip the Chancellor); and *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304), lines 8-9 (quite possibly also his work). **17-18:** *discordia concors,* also known as *enantiosis* ("opposition") – the juxtaposition of unlike things so as to imply a certain sense of agreement between them, whereby the positive is affirmed by its negative – is a rhetorical figure with a long heritage stemming from antiquity. Samuel Johnson famously defined it as "a combination of dissimilar images or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike."[10] In the conductus poem this is demonstrated through the four antithetical couplings that follow in Stanza IIa: "fertile virginity," "deity made flesh," "daughter/mother," "truth/falsity." For another appearance of this concept arising in the conductus repertory – this time in a musical sense – see the notes to *Trine vocis tripudio – Trahunt in precipitia* (E4/351), line 2,2-3, found at *F*-6,5. **19-20:** the variegated garment is the body of Christ, created from both divine and human essence. **23-24:** see

[7]"Deus est sphaera intelligibilis, cuius centrum ubique, circumferentia nusquam." The text comes from his *Sermo de sphaera intelligibilis,* available in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, ed., *Alain de Lille: textes inedits* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1965), 295-306.

[8]Philippians, 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.").

[9]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).

[10]See his *Lives of the Poets* (1779-1781) under his treatment of Abraham Cowley.

the image of the kiss as presented in Perotin's *Dum sigillum summi patris* (J24/100), Strophe II (lines 9-16).[11] This relationship has led Anderson to ascribe the text of *Dum sigillum* to Philip the Chancellor (*NDRC,* 5:xvi), yet the treatment of the kiss in *Centrum capit* seems less convincing a comparison to the one in *Dum sigillum* than the conceit of the chaste kiss offered, for example, in the anonymous *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144), lines 7-9.[12] **25-32 (Strophe II b):** see the discussion in the notes to the text of lines 5-8, above.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 24,2:** F: final syllable omitted, supplied from *Praha.* **23,1:** F: syllables divided as in MS. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** D: F: the 2li'3li figures of L15-L19 written as if 5li, with the stroke lying underneath 1 of 3li. **Lines 4 and 6:** TD: F: the *cum littera* portions of these two verses exchange voices upon repetition, as marked above the staves. **Cauda after line 20,2:** T:F: the 2li'3li of the second phrase at L5-L7 written close together, as if 5li. The same occurs at L17-L19 upon the musical repeat.

[11]*Dum sigillum summi patris,* lines 9-16: "Dum humanam osculatur / naturam divinitas, / ex contactu fecundatur / intacta virginitas. / Mira virtus osculandi! / miranda sunt oscula / que dant vires fecundandi / sine carnis copula" ("When divinity kisses human substance, untouched virginity conceives from the contact. How astonishing is the effect of kissing! Wondrous are the kisses that grant the powers of conception without joining of flesh.").

[12]*Genitus divinitus,* lines 7-9: "Nec, a desiderio / defraudata, sobrio / recreatur basio" ("And unbeguiled by desire, he [Christ, the Son] is created anew from a chaste kiss.").

CLAVUS PUNGENS ACUMINE – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus: (J39/65)

F, f. 358r (7,112): Strophes Ia, IIa, III; *Fauv,* f. 5r[a]: Strophes Ib, IIb

1. I

D
a. [Cla -
b. [In
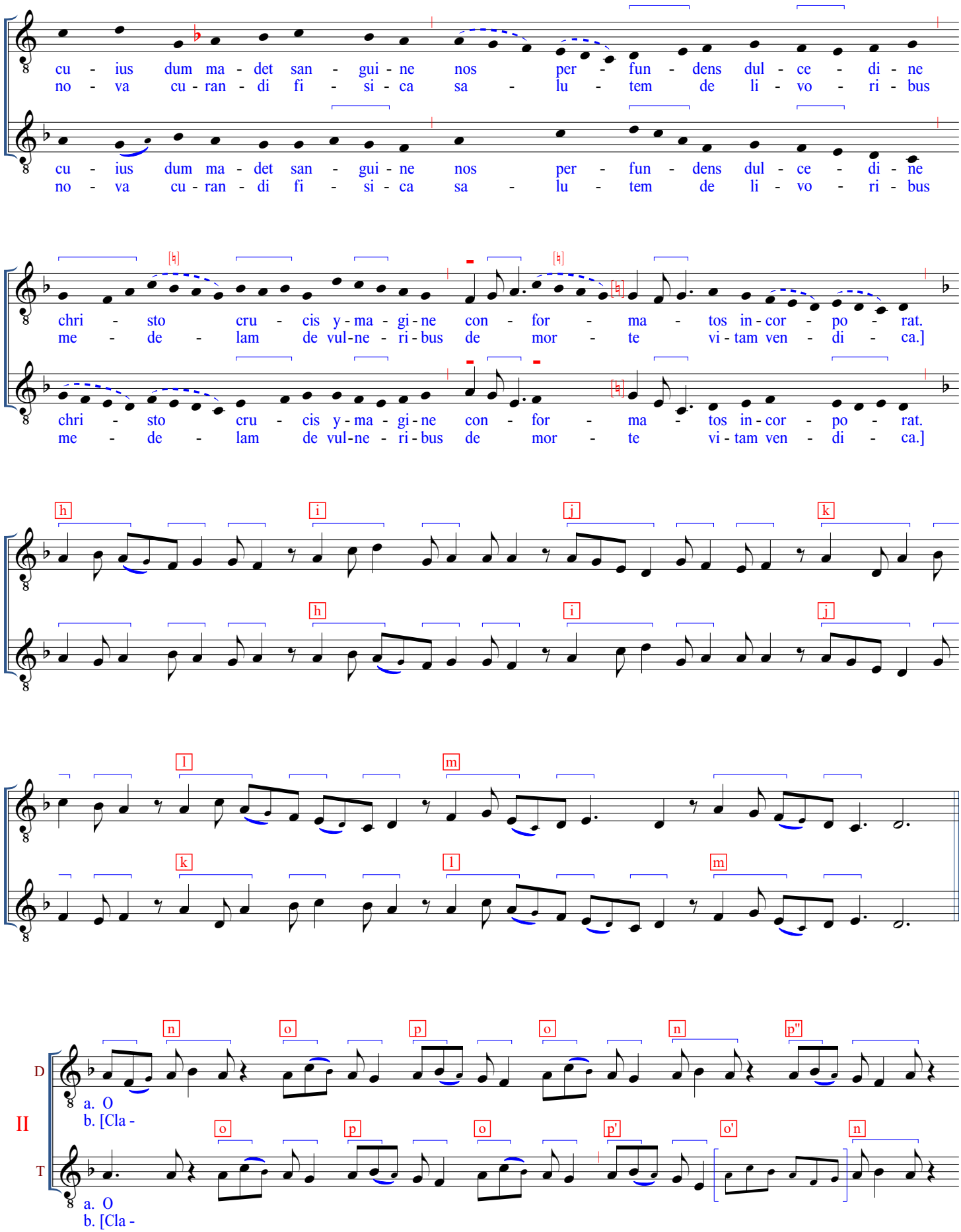
T
a. Cla -
b. [In
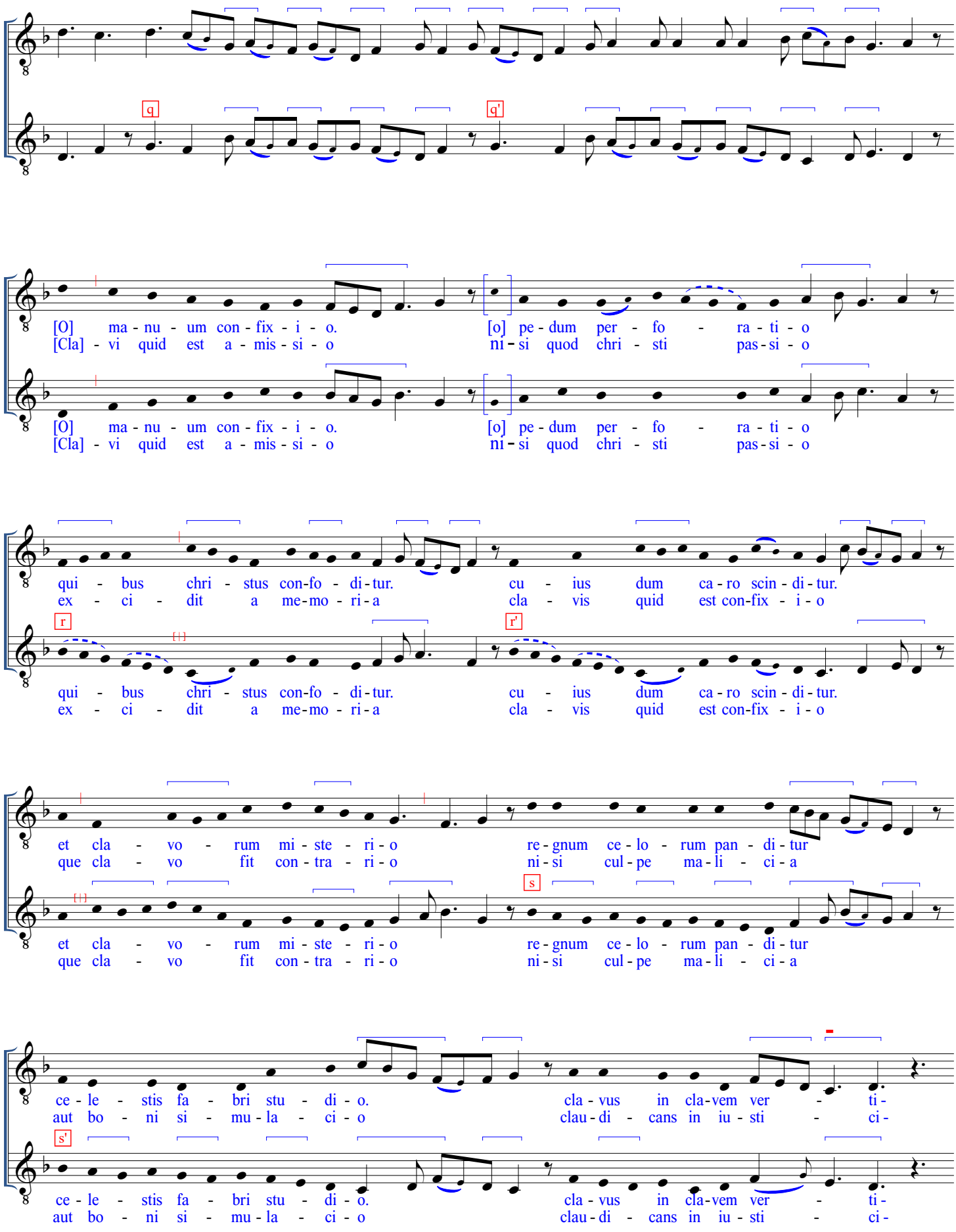
[Cla] - vus pun - gens a - cu - mi - ne dum car - nem chri - sti per - fo - rat;
[In] i - stis fo - ra - mi - ni - bus ut co - lum - ba ni - di - fi - ca
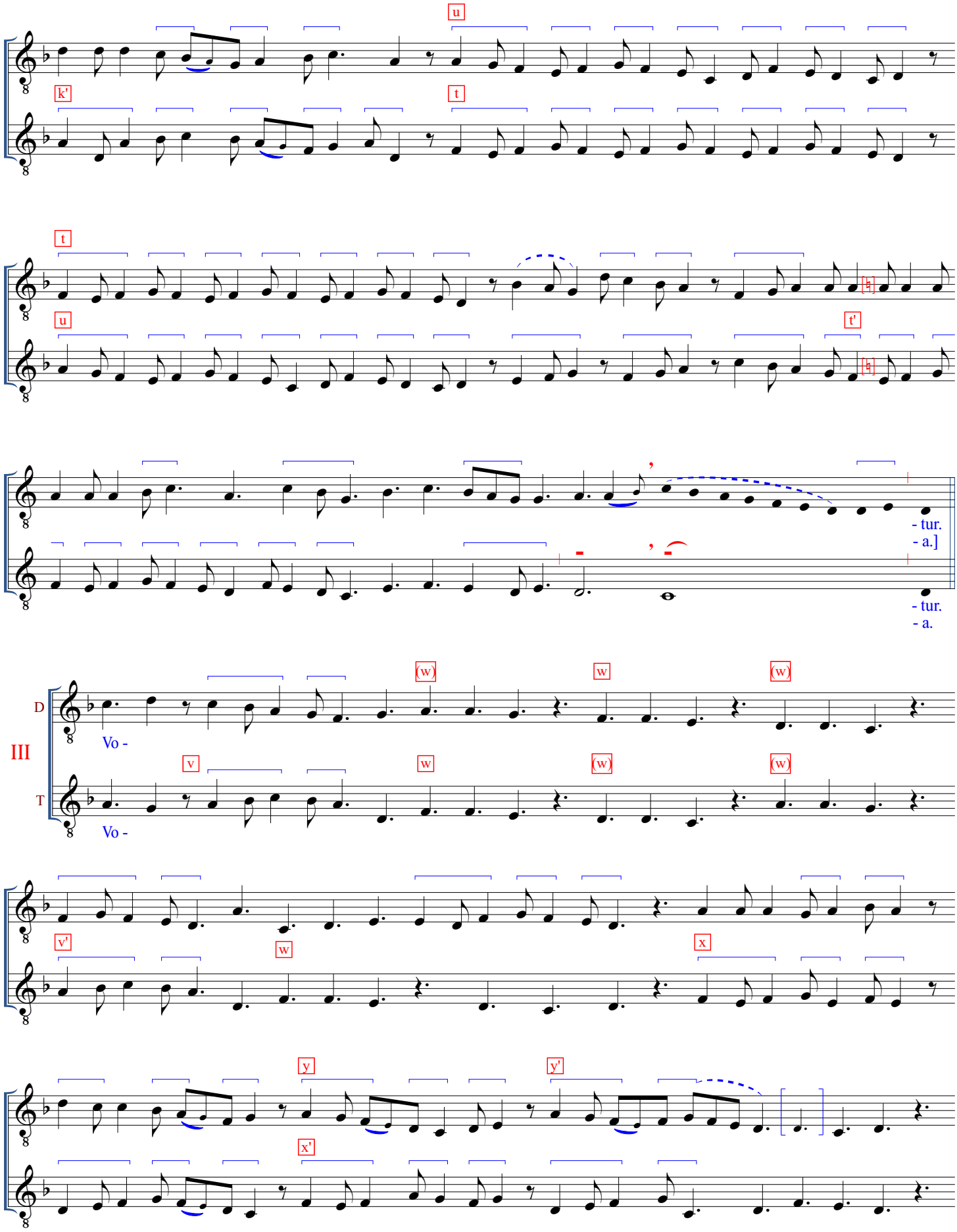
[Cla] - vus pun - gens a - cu - mi - ne dum car - nem chri - sti per - fo - rat;
[In] i - stis fo - ra - mi - ni - bus ut co - lum - ba ni - di - fi - ca
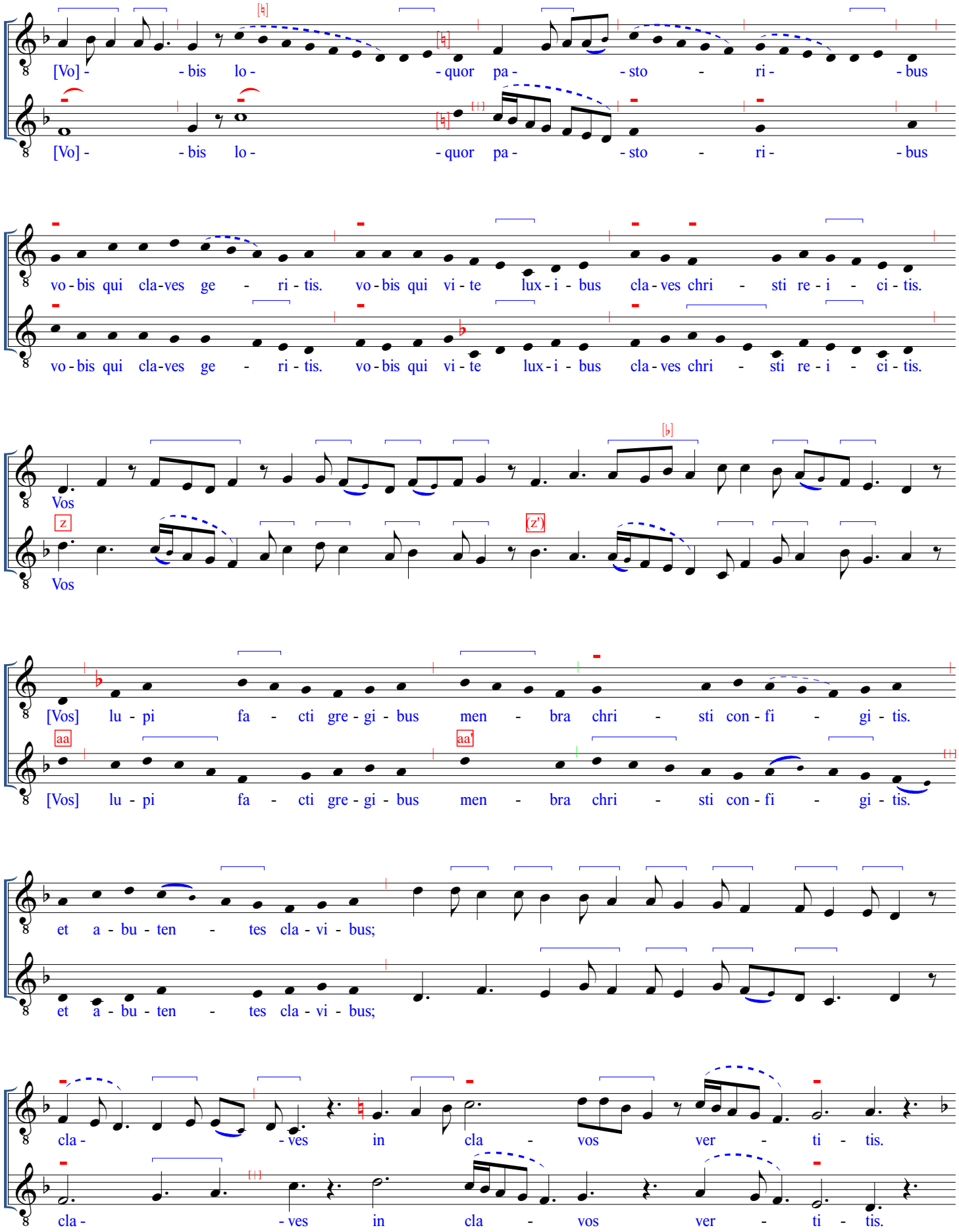
ex vul - ne - rum fo - ra - mi - ne pas - si - o - nem com - me - mo - rat.
ti - bi do - mum e - di - fi - ca quam in - tres i - stis fo - ri - bus
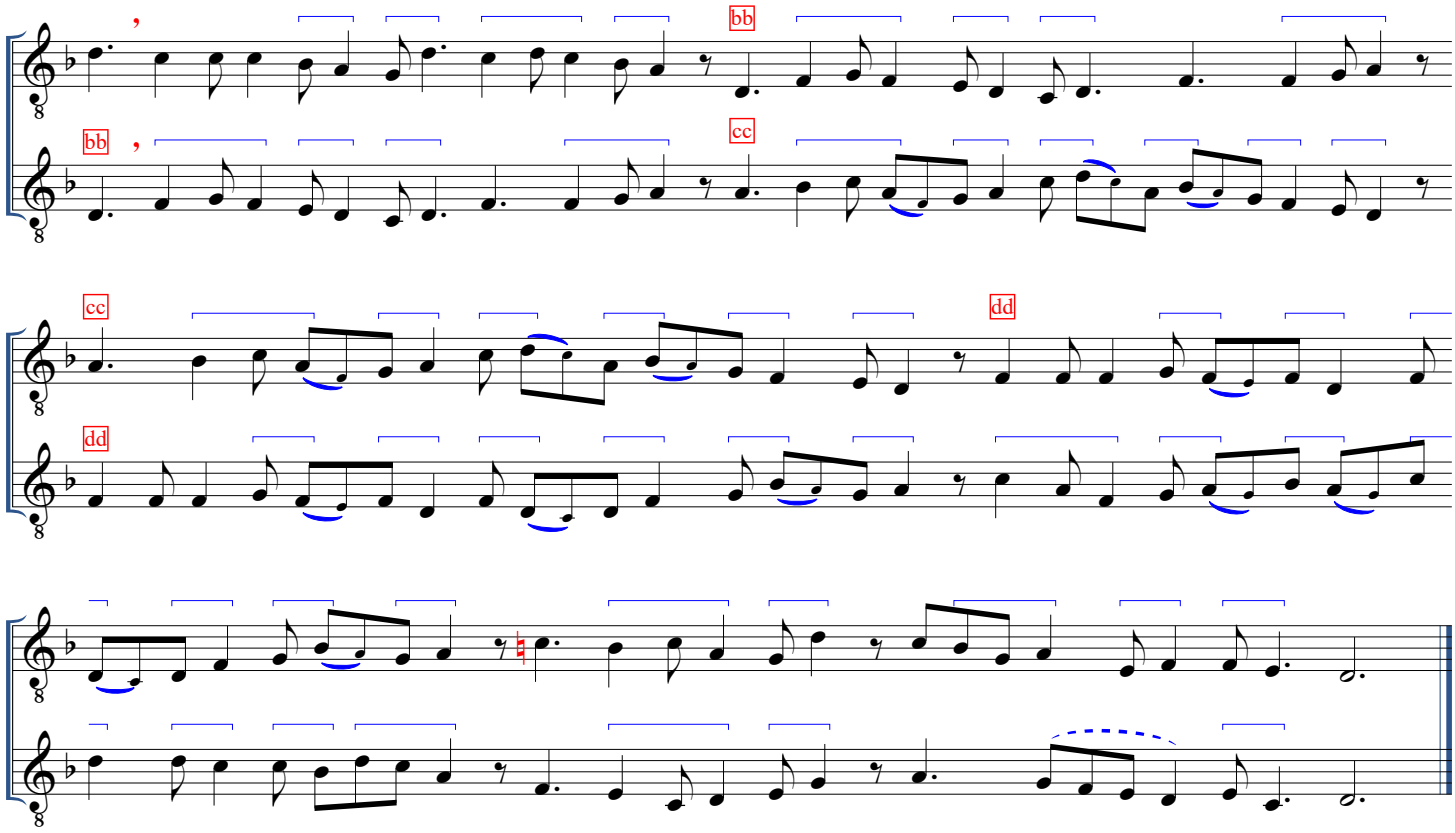
ex vul - ne - rum fo - ra - mi - ne pas - si - o - nem com - me - mo - rat.
ti - bi do - mum e - di - fi - ca quam in - tres i - stis fo - ri - bus


cu - ius dum ma - det san - gui - ne nos per - fun - dens dul - ce - di - ne
no - va cu - ran - di fi - si - ca sa - lu - tem de li - vo - ri - bus
chri - sto cru - cis y - ma - gi - ne con - for - ma - tos in - cor - po - rat.
me - de - lam de vul - ne - ri - bus de mor - te vi - tam ven - di - ca.]
D
II
T
a. O
b. [Cla -


q
q'
[O] ma - nu - um con - fix - i - o. [o] pe - dum per - fo - ra - ti - o
[Cla] - vi quid est a - mis - si - o ni - si quod chri - sti pas - si - o
[O] ma - nu - um con - fix - i - o. [o] pe - dum per - fo - ra - ti - o
[Cla] - vi quid est a - mis - si - o ni - si quod chri - sti pas - si - o
qui - bus chri - stus con-fo - di-tur. cu - ius dum ca - ro scin - di - tur.
ex - ci - dit a me-mo - ri - a cla - vis quid est con-fix - i - o
r
r'
qui - bus chri - stus con-fo - di-tur. cu - ius dum ca - ro scin - di - tur.
ex - ci - dit a me-mo - ri - a cla - vis quid est con-fix - i - o
et cla - vo - rum mi - ste - ri - o re - gnum ce - lo - rum pan - di - tur
que cla - vo fit con - tra - ri - o ni - si cul - pe ma - li - ci - a
s
et cla - vo - rum mi - ste - ri - o re - gnum ce - lo - rum pan - di - tur
que cla - vo fit con - tra - ri - o ni - si cul - pe ma - li - ci - a
ce - le - stis fa - bri stu - di - o. cla - vus in cla - vem ver - ti -
aut bo - ni si - mu - la - ci - o clau - di - cans in iu - sti - ci -
s'
ce - le - stis fa - bri stu - di - o. cla - vus in cla - vem ver - ti -
aut bo - ni si - mu - la - ci - o clau - di - cans in iu - sti - ci -


u
k'
t
t
u
t'
- tur.
- a.]
- tur.
- a.
III
D
Vo -
T
Vo -
(w)
w
(w)
v
w
(w)
(w)
v'
w
x
y
y'
x'

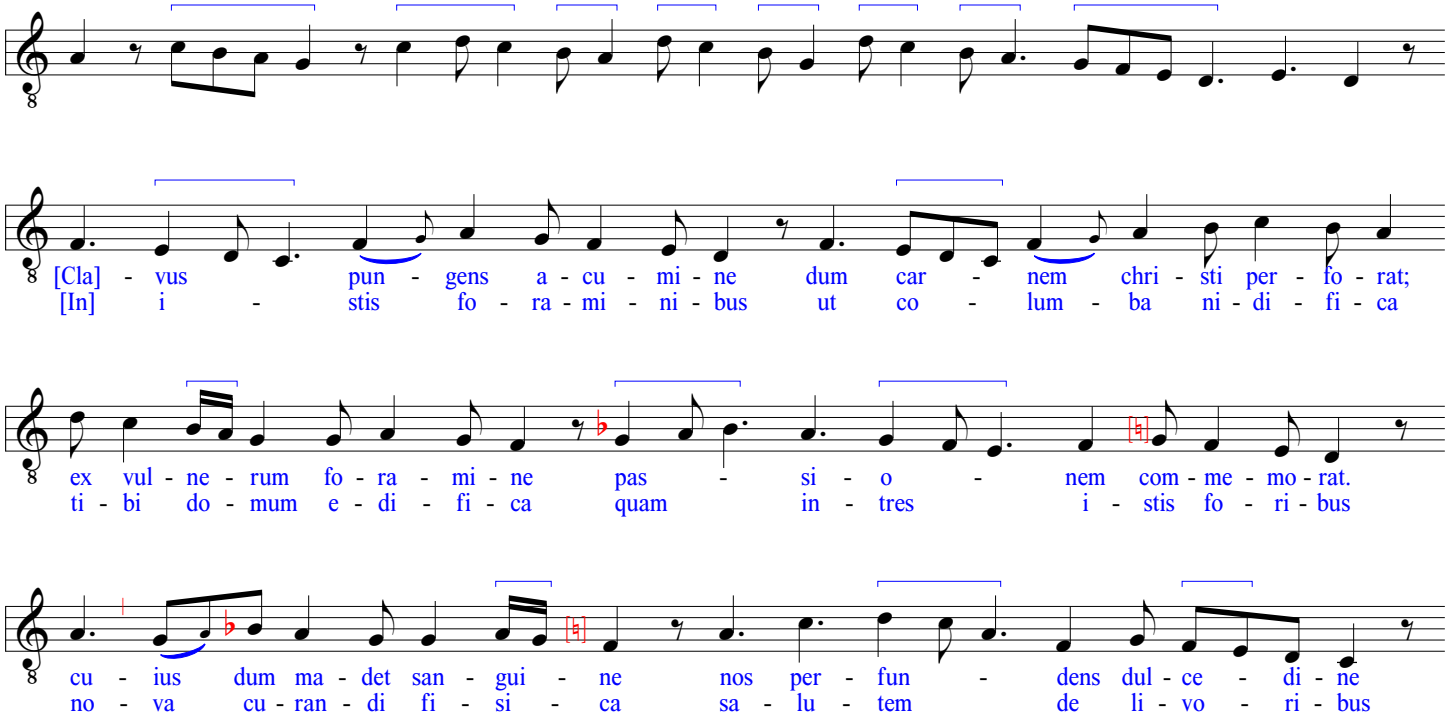

[Vo] - - bis lo - - quor pa - - sto - ri - - bus
[Vo] - - bis lo - - quor pa - - sto - ri - - bus
vo - bis qui cla-ves ge - ri - tis. vo - bis qui vi - te lux - i - bus cla - ves chri - sti re - i - ci - tis.
vo - bis qui cla-ves ge - ri - tis. vo - bis qui vi - te lux - i - bus cla - ves chri - sti re - i - ci - tis.
Vos
z
Vos
(z')
[Vos] lu - pi fa - cti gre - gi - bus men - bra chri - sti con - fi - gi - tis.
aa
aa'
[Vos] lu - pi fa - cti gre - gi - bus men - bra chri - sti con - fi - gi - tis.
et a - bu - ten - tes cla - vi - bus;
et a - bu - ten - tes cla - vi - bus;
cla - - ves in cla - vos ver - ti - tis.
cla - - ves in cla - vos ver - ti - tis.
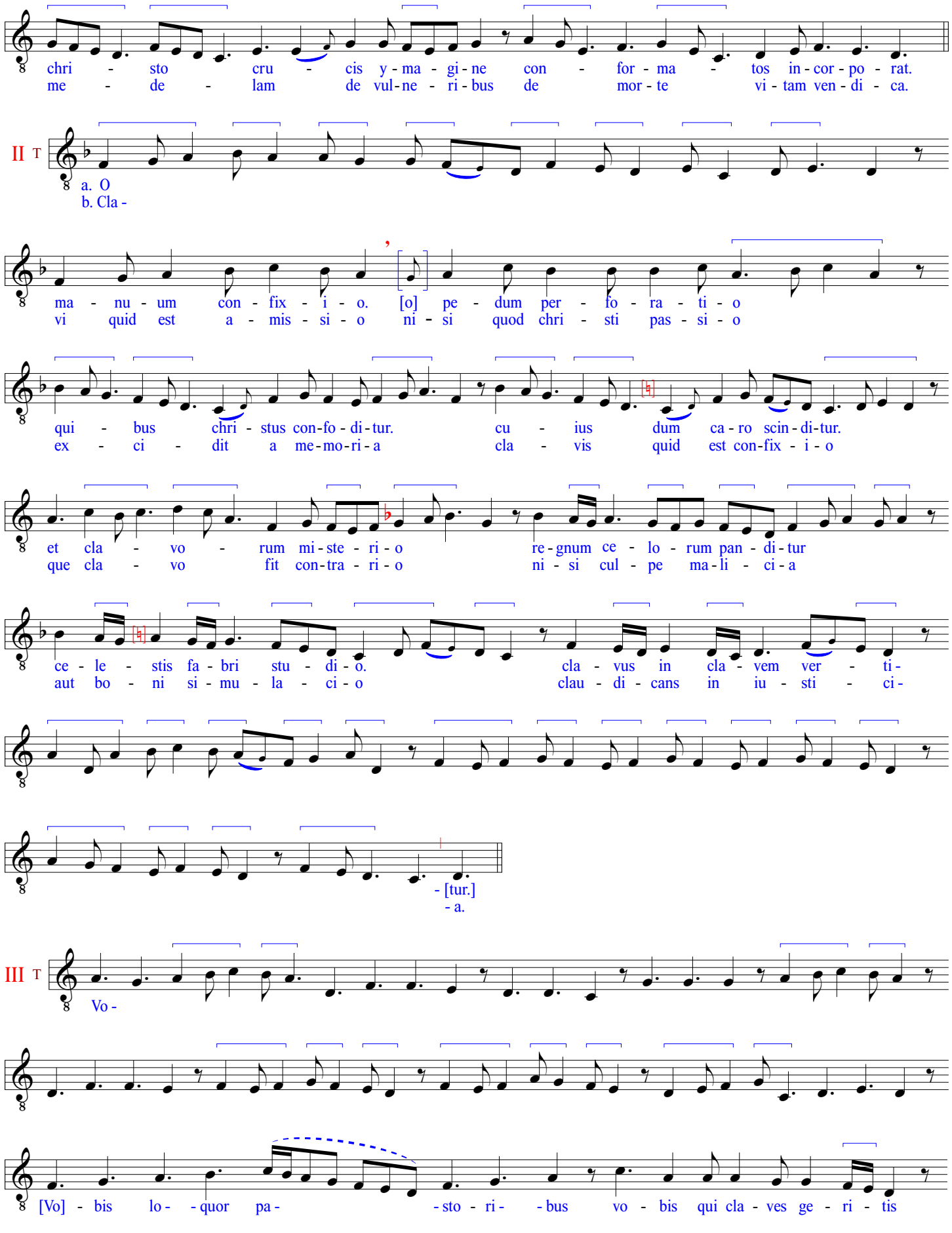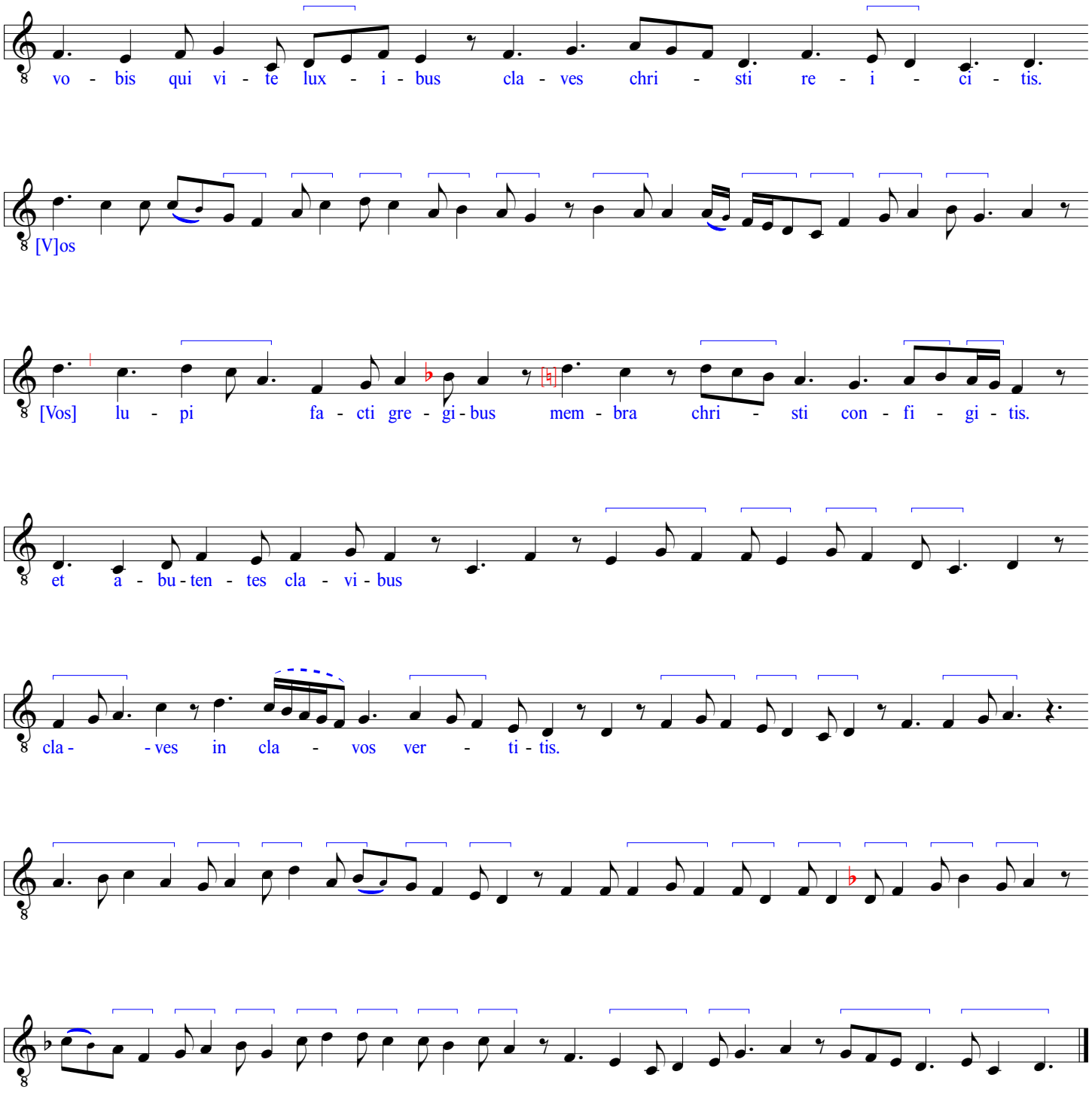


Fauv, f. 5r[a]

2. I T

a. Cla -
b. In




chri - sto cru - cis y - ma - gi - ne con - for - ma - tos in - cor - po - rat.
me - de - lam de vul - ne - ri - bus de mor - te vi - tam ven - di - ca.
II T
a. O
b. Cla -
ma - nu - um con - fix - i - o. [o] pe - dum per - fo - ra - ti - o
vi quid est a - mis - si - o ni - si quod chri - sti pas - si - o
qui - bus chri - stus con - fo - di - tur. cu - ius dum ca - ro scin - di - tur.
ex - ci - dit a me - mo - ri - a cla - vis quid est con - fix - i - o
et cla - vo - rum mi - ste - ri - o re - gnum ce - lo - rum pan - di - tur
que cla - vo fit con - tra - ri - o ni - si cul - pe ma - li - ci - a
ce - le - stis fa - bri stu - di - o. cla - vus in cla - vem ver - ti -
aut bo - ni si - mu - la - ci - o clau - di - cans in iu - sti - ci -
- [tur.]
- a.
III T
Vo -
[Vo] - bis lo - - quor pa - - sto - ri - - bus vo - bis qui cla - ves ge - ri - tis


vo - bis qui vi - te lux - i - bus cla - ves chri - sti re - i - ci - tis.
[V]os
[Vos] lu - pi fa - cti gre - gi - bus mem - bra chri - sti con - fi - gi - tis.
et a - bu - ten - tes cla - vi - bus
cla - - ves in cla - vos ver - ti - tis.

CLAVUS PUNGENS ACUMINE – *F* and *Fauv* versions

Conductus (J39/65)

F, f. 358r (7,112): Strophes Ia, IIa, III; *Fauv,* f. 5r[a]: Strophes Ib, IIb

Ia Clavus pungens acumine,
dum carnem Christi perforat,
ex vulnerum foramine,
Passionem commemorat.
Cuius dum madet sanguine,
nos perfundens dulcedine,
Christo crucis ymagine
conformatos incorporat.

When the piercing Nail punctures
Christ's flesh with its point,
it calls to mind the Passion
from the holes of the wounds.
When it drips with his blood,
showering us with sweetness,
it makes one in Christ those
fashioned in the image of the Cross.

Ib [In istis foraminibus,
ut columba nidifica,
tibi domum edifica,
quam intres istis foribus.
Nova curandi fisica,
salutem de livoribus,
medelam de vulneribus,
de morte vitam vendica.]

Like a dove making a nest,
build yourself a home
within these wounds, one that,
through these doors, you may enter.
With a new science of healing,
deliver salvation from the injuries,
extract a remedy from the wounds,
and demand life from death.

IIa O manuum confixio!
[O] pedum perforatio!
Quibus Christus confoditur
cuius dum caro scinditur.
Et, clavorum misterio,
regnum celorum panditur;
celestis fabri studio,
clavus in clavem vertitur.

O the fastening of the hands!
O the piercing of the feet!
By these is Christ transfixed
when his flesh is torn.
And, thanks to the mystery of the nails,
the kingdom of heaven is thrown open;
and, through the efforts of the heavenly smith,
the nail is turned into a key.

IIb [Clavi quid est amissio,
nisi quod Christi passio
excidit a memoria?
Clavis quid est confixio
que clavo fit contrario
nisi culpe malicia
aut boni simulacio,
claudicans iniusticia?]

What means the loss of the Nail,
save that Christ's Passion
has been forgotten?
What means this fashioning of the key,
which is formed from the Nail, its opposite,
unless the wickedness of guilt prevails
or the pretense of good,
a crippling injustice?

III Vobis loquor, pastoribus,
vobis qui claves geritis,
vobis, qui vite luxibus
claves Christi reicitis.

I speak to you, shepherds,
to you who bear the keys,
to you, who in the debauchery of your life
cast away Christ's keys.

Vos lupi facti gregibus.
Menbra Christi configitis;
et, abutentes clavibus,
claves in clavos vertitis.

You have become wolves among the flocks.
You impale Christ's limbs;
and, abusing the keys,
you turn keys into nails.

SOURCES:

F: fasc. 7, no. 112, f. 358: a2; Strophes Ia, IIa, III, only. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1] Unusually, each stanza given here leads with a fully decorated illuminated initial, suggesting the appearance of three separate musical works; see the comparable disposition of this piece in *Fauv,* below, and the similarly appointed conductus *De rupta Rupecula* (F25/82 – at *F*-6,53, f. 245r) in its presentation in *Ch (F-CECad 3.J.250).* For C*lavus pungens* in *F,* a large capital heads line 37, indicated by the extra space in the text above.

Fauv: no. 15, f. 5r[a]: a1 (T), in mensural notation; Strophes Ia-III, complete; the disposition of the strophic pairs resembles that of *F,* with each primary stanza (Ia, IIa, III) headed by an illuminated initial. The secondary stanzas (Ib, IIb) conventionally follow each of their associates, written as regular text with no provision for music; Ib, though, is headed only by a capital letter, while IIb leads with an illuminated initial, slightly smaller, but similar in decoration to the others. A number of the caudae in the earlier part of this version are abridged or rewritten. The *Fauv* redaction appears as an alternative reading following the rendering of *F*.[2]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:**

Date and Authorship: *Clavus pungens acumine* was almost certainly written in light of a specific historical event: the loss and miraculous recovery of the Holy Nail of St Denis, a relic from the Crucifixion especially prized by the royal abbey, which was lost on Sunday, 27 February 1233 (the second Sunday of Lent), and found again on 1 April, Good Friday of the same year. An extended contemporaneous prose account of this incident was published in 1906 by Pierre Aubry, edited from the manuscripts *F-Pn n.a. lat. 1509* and *F-Pa 1030.*[3] According to this narrative, the nail fell from its reliquary during a crowded, ongoing exhibition of the abbey's treasures, which was rendered as part of a commemoration during the octave of the feast of the Dedication of the Church at Saint Denis (February 24). Rescued by a poor woman who initially thought it might be made of precious metal, it was eventually taken to the Cistercian abbey of Val, where its authenticity was confirmed and the relic restored to Saint Denis. *Clavus pungens* has been regarded for some time as a likely work from Philip the Chancellor. Both Friedrich Ludwig (*Repertorium,* 1/1, 266),[4] and Peter Dronke, ("Lyrical Compositions,"

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Images of *Fauv* available here.

[3]Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu et retrouvé le saint clou de Saint-Denys (1233)," *Revue Mabillon,* 2 (1906): 185-192, 286-300; 3 (1907): 43-50, 147-182. See also the earlier, related article: Pierre Aubry, "Un Chant historique latin du XIII[e] siècle: le saint Clou de Saint-Denys (1233)," *Le Mercure Musical,* 1 (1905): 423-434. This work summarizes much of the Latin account that is presented in Aubry's later article. The full shelfmarks of the MSS containing the report of the event, respectively, are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1509; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1030.

[4]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 Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964).

592),[5] as well as myself, have proposed him as its author. In addition, the piece occurs in *F*-7 as part of a group of four conductus that all have claims to Philip's authorship.[6] Both of these qualities – modern attribution and transmission within *F* among other works by Philip – also hold true for the monophonic conductus *Clavus clavo retunditur* (K51/64), a work surviving uniquely in *F*-10,51, on f. 437v, and the only other work on the loss of the Holy Nail to appear in the main Parisian conductus sources. As a further correlative, the medieval chronicler Aubry (or Alberic) des Trois-Fontaines[7] relates that Philip wrote a so-called *narratio* on the loss and recovery of the Nail.[8] Although claims have surfaced that the two conductus may themselves be the *narratio* mentioned by Aubry des Trois-Fontaines,[9] it is much more likely that the chronicler was referring to a prose account. Similarly, although one might suppose that Philip may have penned the extant report of the miracles, Pierre Aubry has strongly argued against this idea, noting that the long narrative is antithetical to Philip's style and much more likely a work by a monk of Saint Denis (see "Comment fut perdu," 287-288). As a result, Philip's *narratio* on the Holy Nail is now considered lost, nor has anything surfaced in Philip's voluminous body of homilies that might correspond to the item. **Textual notes:** In addition to the discussion of the two Holy Nail conductus offered in my dissertation ("Poetry Politics, and Polyphony," 128-143),[10] there is a compelling treatment of these two works by Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne ("Entre conduits et sermons ").[11] Rillon-Marne's article presents some useful and necessary correctives to some of my earlier observations, and has aided greatly in informing the following commentary. **7-8:** cf. Romans, 12: 5;[12] Galatians, 3:28.[13] **9-10**: cf. Jeremiah, 48:28.[14] Rillon-Marne ("Entre conduits," 106) has identified a passage from Philip's *Distinctiones super Psalterium* that expounds upon this biblical citation (with some borrowing from Bernard of Clairvaux); a number of phrases appear that are evocative of expressions found in this conductus. **13,3-4**: the doors are the

---

[5]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[6]See the remarks on the text for the first piece in this group, *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54), at F-7,110, f. 356v, for further details. The four works include: *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54), *Centrum capit circulus* (J38/57), *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39/65), and *Luget Rachel iterum* (J40/199).

[7]Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium,* Paul Scheffer-Boichorst ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874).

[8]Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Albrici,* 931: "Anno 1233 ... De sancto clavo apud Sanctum Dyonisium perdito et iterum reinvento mirabiliter et de miraculis et contingentibus circa hanc inventionem gestis scripsit optimam narrationem Magister Philippus Cancellarius Parisiensis" ("In the year 1233 ... Master Philip the Chancellor of Paris wrote an excellent narrative about the loss of the Holy Nail of Saint Denis and its recovery again in a miraculous manner, as well as the miracles and other pertinent matters surrounding the discovery.").

[9]Ludwig, *Repertorium,* 1/1, 266.

[10]Thomas 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).

[11]Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, "Entre conduits et sermons, variation autour de l'image du *christi clavus* chez Philippe le Chancelier," *Revue Mabillon,* 19 (2008): 99-122.

[12]Romans, 12: 5: "... ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra" ("... so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.").

[13]Galatians, 3:28: "Non est Judaeus, neque Graecus: non est servus, neque liber: non est masculus, neque femina. Omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Jesu" ("There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.").

[14]Jeremiah 48:28: "Relinquite civitates, et habitate in petra, habitatores Moab: et estote quasi columba nidificans in summo ore foraminis" ("Leave the cities, and dwell in the rock, you that dwell in Moab: and be you like the dove that makes her nest in the mouth of the hole in the highest place.").

wounds caused by the nails. **14-16:** the verb "vendica" covers all three of the objects in this passage; the translation has been rendered differently for each pair of items. **20-24**: see also Philip's sequence *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329), stanza Ib (lines 4-6).[15] **24:** Rillon-Marne ("Entre conduits," 101, note 9) sees in the phrase "clavus in clavem vertitur" (along with the nearly identical expression in line 40) a variant of the proverbial expression "clavo clavum eicere" ("to drive out one nail with another"). A further variant of this same proverb, "clavus clavo retunditur" ("a nail is blunted by a nail"), begins the other Holy Nail conductus mentioned above. The adage itself likely goes back at least as far as Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (book 4, chap. 35, § 75).[16] See Rillon-Marne for further information and citations, including the occurrence of the phrase "clavus clavo retunditur" within Philip's *Distinctiones super Psalterium*. **25**: although brief, singular, and buried well within the poem, this is almost certainly a reference to the loss of the Holy Nail of St. Denis in 1233. This correspondence is supported by similar language in the other Nail piece that also takes the form of a question that asks about the significance of the loss, see *Clavus clavo retunditur,* lines 17-19.[17] **28,4:** construed here as equivalent in sound and sense to "confictio." The typical meaning of the word as spelled here ("fastening," "piercing") does relate to the crucifixion, but seems less satisfactory a rendering in this place, where the key to heaven is put in opposition to the Nail, out of which it was originally created, and which is associated only with the most negative qualities. Hence the means to enter heaven was only able to be formed through the suffering of the Crucifixion. As we see in the final stanza, the key ultimately is refashioned back into a nail. Compare also Philip's remarks in his *Summa de bono* (ed. Wicki, 2:848, lines 73-74):[18] "Sed est ex comparatione pene Christi, a qua claves habent virtutem" ("But it is from the comparison to the pain of Christ by which the keys have power."). **32,2**: possibly intended as two words "in iusticia," ("wavering in justice"). **33-34**: the shepherds are the clergy, through whom the faithful may seek salvation. St. Peter, who symbolizes the papacy, the head of all priests, bears a key as one of his most typical attributes. See also Matthew, 16:19,[19] and the various chants that begin with *Tu es pastor ovium* (see e.g., the *Cantus index*, no. 001167).[20] **37**: cf. Matthew, 7:15[21] and the conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55/97), possibly by Philip the Chancellor, lines 13-14.[22]

---

[15]*Si vis vera frui luce,* lines 4-6: " ... ut de passionis clavis / fabricetur tibi clavis / qua celum introeas" ("... so that from the nails of the Passion a key may be forged for you, by which you may enter heaven."). Other mentions of the Nail, without the corollary of the key to heaven, appear in some of Philip's other writings (See Rillon-Marne, "Entre conduits," 104).

[16]"... etiam novo quidam amore veterem amorem tamquam clavo clavum eiciendum putant ..." ("... [also] some people think an old love may be driven out by a new one, as one nail drives out another ..." the translation is by C.D. Yonge, *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877), 159.

[17]*Clavus clavo retunditur,* lines 17-19: Quid est, quod diu latuit, / et latentem exhibuit / Christus die Paraceves? ("What is this [nail] that lay so long concealed, / the secret Christ revealed / upon Good Friday?")

[18]Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis: Summa de Bono,* 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985).

[19]Matthew, 16:19: "Et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in caelis" ("And I [Jesus] will give to you [Peter] the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.").

[20]*Cantus Index,* no. 001167: "Tu es pastor ovium, princeps apostolorum; tibi tradidit deus claves regni caelorum" ("You [Peter] are the shepherd of the sheep, the prince of apostles; to you God has handed over the keys of the kingdom of the heavens").

[21]Matthew, 7:15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces" ("Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.").

[22]*Dogmatum falsas species,* lines 13-14: "Sub vestimentis ovium / latent lupi rapaces" ("Beneath sheep's clothing lie ravening wolves."). On Philip's possible authorship of this piece, see David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition in Northern France, 1235-1236," *Viator,* 37 (2006): 241-254.

40: see the remarks for line 24. Rillon-Marne ("Entre conduits," 105-106) notes that the chain of images that occur through the course of this poem – from nail to wounds, wounds to doors, doors to keys, and key turning back into a nail – is analogous to the way that images prompted by concordant biblical citations are coordinated in the construction of contemporaneous sermons.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 8,2:** Fauv: The stanza ends not with a period, but with a squiggle that fills out the distance to the end of the system; period supplied editorially. **16,4**: Fauv: vendicat, often spelled "vindi-"; the necessity for the rhyme prompts the editorial emendation. **18,1:** F,Fauv: a likely om syll "O," since the same place in Strophe IIb (line 26), extant in *Fauv,* has an eight-syll line, as do all others in the poem. **19,2:** Fauv: χpisto. **22,3:** Fauv: ponditur. **24,3:** F,Fauv: clavum. **24,4:** Fauv: last syll "-tur" om. **32:** Fauv: no concluding punctuation; added editorially. **37,1:** F: begins with a capital letter, as though beginning a new strophe or versicle. Fauv: initial missing; as in *F* this would have likely have been a capital letter or possibly an illuminated initial, as if beginning a new strophe or versicle. **38,1:** Fauv: membra. **MUSIC: General remarks:** The polyphonic setting in *F* is particularly elegant and strongly implies that the music of the T and D was conceived in tandem. Extensive repetitions of diverse elements, from the level of small motivic cells to restatements of larger phrases, in addition to systematic voice exchange, canonic writing, and the use of both trochaic mode 1 and iambic mode 2, surface throughout. Many of the melodic correspondences are labeled with letters above the staff, although many more such identities could be posited. See, for an example of a more searching analysis that takes only the opening cauda and first stanza into account, Rillon-Marne, "Entre conduits," 110-115, cited above. Variant readings from *Fauv* are not included unless they exhibit a particularly curious point of comparison; they may be otherwise assessed by comparing the *F* and *Fauv* versions, both of which are included here. *Fauv,* interestingly, shows signs of having a number of its caudae excised, shortened, or replaced (indicated in the commentary below). Particularly curious in this regard is the fact that the differences between the caudae in the two sources lasts only up to the internal cauda in Strophe III at line 37,1, after which the remaining two melismas are essentially presented complete. Elements of the mensural notation in the *Fauv* reading that differ from *F* have not been considered thoroughly here. **Opening cauda (at line 1):** D: F: at L5,2, possibly *e,* but see the similar motive in the D, at L21, which suggested the adopted reading. T: Fauv: beginning with L23 (L29 in *F*), the remainder of the *F* cauda is replaced by a short 4L concluding passage in *Fauv.* D: F: at L37,1, the 2 of the 2li here=*e.* The editorial emendation to *f* maintains the pattern of the ongoing melodic sequence and also avoids a dissonance. **Line 2,4:** T: Fauv: erased ' follows this word, as though the scribe expected a rest to follow, as at the end of line 1, not realizing that the upbeat *d* for the first syllable of 3,1 was to occupy that B unit. **Cauda closing Strophe I (line 8,2):** T: Fauv: entire cauda omitted. **Cauda opening Strophe II (at line 9):** T: Fauv: replaced by a much shorter, unrelated cauda; see the alternative reading given after the transcription from *F.* D: F: at L1 of the cauda, possibly not a plica (as rendered here) but a stroke of division; the plica was decided upon due to their frequency throughout the rest of the cauda. T: F: at L10,2, possibly *f,* but the adopted reading forms an antecedent-consequent gesture for each half of the phrase. T: F: L11-L12 om; a conjectural editorial emendation; see L3 of the T and L1 of the D for the material used to supply the reading; the heavily repetitive nature of the short motives used in this melisma may have exacerbated the potential for the supposed omission. TD: F: beginning with L17-L18 the rest of this melisma could be construed in rhythmic mode 2, but mode 1 yields better consonances at the start of each L. **Line 17,3:** T: Fauv: the 3L closing melismatic flourish to this line replaced by a single L=*a.* **18,1:** TD: F,Fauv: a conjectured missing text syll in both sources occasions this editorial addition (see the observations on the verbal text at 18,1 just above, and note the additional syll provided here by *Fauv* for Strophe IIb, line 26). Both *F* and *Fauv,* though, have the same readings here for IIa, so the emendation remains hypothetical. **18,3:** T: Fauv: the short melisma concluding this line uses a 4li *sine proprietate et cum perfectione,* hence the reading L,BB,L. If desired it may be read as L,LB,L to conform to the rhythms that conclude line 19. The same may be done for the *cum ... cum* ligature ending line 20, in order to conform with line 21. **19,2:** T: F: preceding ' om. **20,4:** see the above remarks on the music for line 18,3. **21,2:** T: F: preceding ' om. **Cauda closing Strophe II (line 16,4):** T: Fauv: beginning with L17,2 (in both sources), the remainder of this cauda is replaced by a

shorter concluding phrase of 5L, while F continues for another 25 L and concludes the strophe with a *punctus organi;* cf. the alternative reading of *Fauv.* **Cauda opening Strophe III (line 33):** T: Fauv: the portion of the cauda from L27-L41 in *F* (starting at L23 in *Fauv*) is replaced by two shorter phrases very similar to the T of L31-L34 and L39-L42, but ending respectively on *d* and *e;* the concluding phrase of the cauda from L43-L50 in *F* then follows at L31-L36 in *Fauv,* omitting the antepenultimate *f* pitch in *F* at L47 (the same place where *F* omits a note in the D, as follows); cf. the alternative reading from *Fauv.* D: *F:* at L47, missing pitch, editorial emendation. **Line 33,2**: T: Fauv: this word ("loquor") written 3 lower than *F;* retained here in *Fauv* transcription. T: F: following ' om, added editorially. **35,2:** T: Fauv: "christi" = *agf,d* against *age,c* in *F;* retained in *Fauv* transcription. **Cauda at line 37,1:** T: Fauv: this is the first cauda that is not abbreviated or omitted in comparison to *F;* the other melismas that follow from this point are essentially presented whole. **Line 38,3:** T: F: following ' om, added editorially. **40,1:** T F: ' preceding second syll om, added editorially. **Cauda after line 39,3:** T: Fauv: first 2 notes of melisma = *c,f* ' (retained in *Fauv* version), against *d,f* in *F.* **Closing cauda (after line 40):** D F: repeated si=*c* at L3,1 written as L. T: Fauv: at L11-L13 (=*F* at L9-L11), 4li=*abca* written *sine proprietate et cum perfectione* with a dot of division/perfection following. See the treatment of the identical figure in the remarks above for line 18,3. T *F:* repeated si=*f* at L18,1 written as L. D: F: repeated si=*f* at L26,1 written as L.

LUGET RACHEL ITERUM

Conductus (J40/199)

F, f. 359v (7,113)

I

D [Lu - [Lu] - get ra - chel i - te - rum.

T Lu - [Lu] - get ra - chel i - te - rum.

cu - ius dam - pnat u - te - rum fi - li - o - rum or - bi - tas.

cu - ius dam - pnat u - te - rum fi - li - o - rum or - bi - tas.

la - [la] - pso ta - ber - na - cu - lo

la - [la] - pso ta - ber - na - cu - lo

quon - dam ple - na po - pu - lo so - la se - det ci - vi - tas.

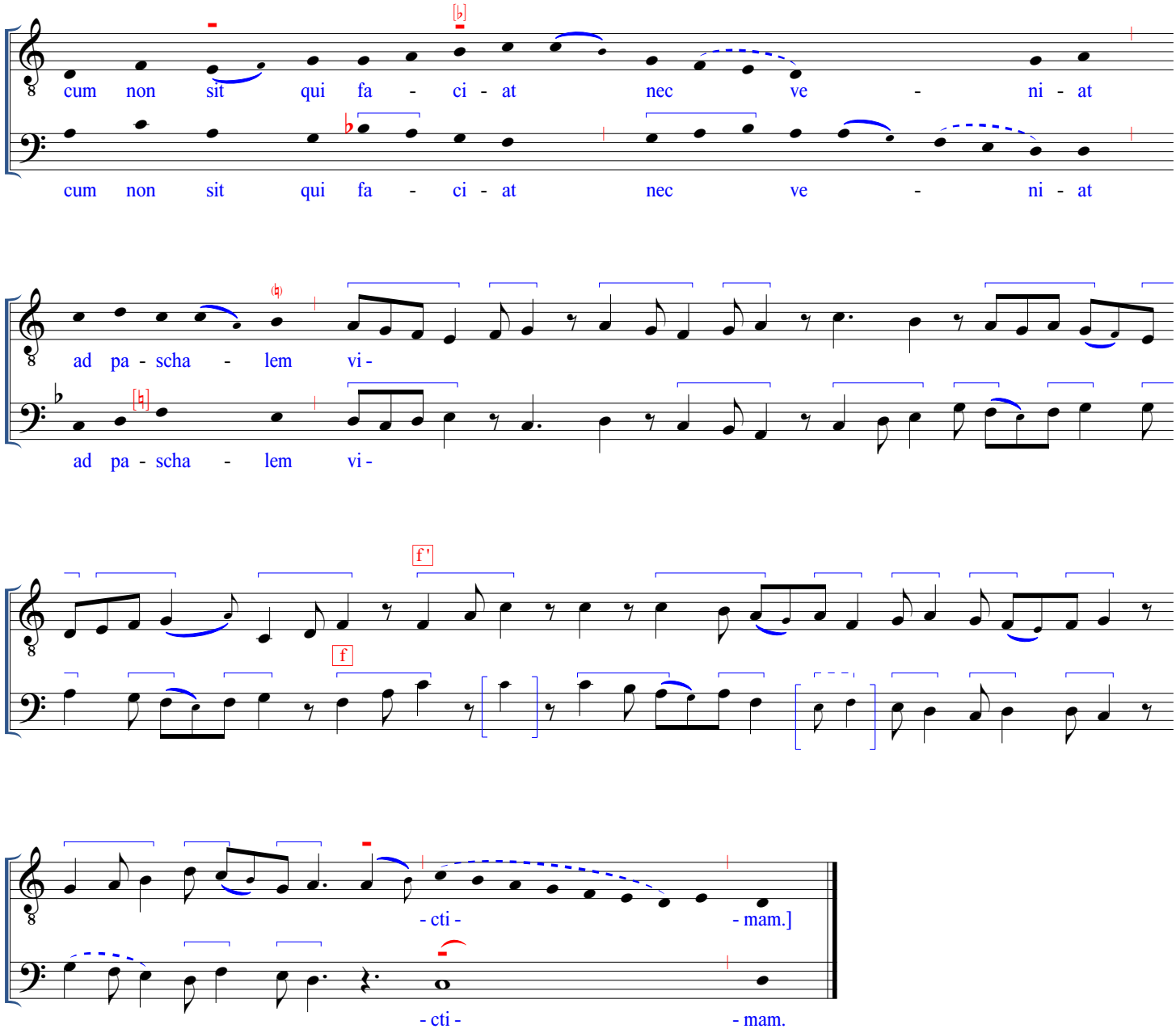
quon - dam ple - na po - pu - lo so - la se - det ci - vi - tas.

Lan -

Lan -

[Lan] - guent sy - on fi - li - e co - ti - di - e af - fli - gen - tes a - ni - mam.

[Lan] - guent sy - on fi - li - e co - ti - di - e af - fli - gen - tes a - ni - mam.


cum non sit qui fa - ci - at nec ve - ni - at
cum non sit qui fa - ci - at nec ve - ni - at
ad pa - scha - lem vi -
ad pa - scha - lem vi -
f'
f
- cti - - mam.]
- cti - - mam.

LUGET RACHEL ITERUM

Conductus (J40/199)

F, f. 359v (7,113)

I	Luget Rachel iterum;	Once more Rachel mourns;
	cuius dampnat uterum	the loss of her sons
	filiorum orbitas.	condemns her womb.
	Lapso tabernaculo,	With the collapse of the temple,
	quondam plena populo,	the city, once full of
	sola sedet civitas.	people, lies forsaken.
	Languent Syon filie	The daughters of Zion
	cotidie,	grieve day by day,
	affligentes animam,	distressing the soul,
	cum non sit qui faciat,	since no one does anything,
	nec veniat	nor does anyone come
	ad paschalem victimam.	to the Paschal victim.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 113, f. 359v: a2; Strophe I, with a capital letter heading line 7, represented by additional vertical space in the text above. There are no provisions for additional stanzas. This is a unique musical and poetic transmission.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** Mark Everist has an extensive discussion of the poetry and music of this piece, which includes his observations on the numerical proportions within the poem and musical setting, and the relationships that a conductus like this shares with the mixed form of the *prosimetrum,* which combines the different discursive modes of quantitative metrical poetry and prose.[1] His treatment has supplemented some of the commentary here. **Authorship:** Peter Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," 592) has proposed Philip the Chancellor as the author of this text;[2] for some additional support, see the notes to lines 1-3 and 10-12. **Textual notes: 1-3:** see Jeremiah, 31:15,[3] and its further citation in Matthew, 2:18.[4] As Everist notes (173), the weeping Rachel is employed here as a symbol for the Holy Land in the wake of the capture of Jerusalem by Islamic

---

[1]Mark Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song: Latin Poetry and Music in the Conductus* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 173-180.

[2]Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987): 563-592.

[3]Jeremiah, 31:15: "Haec dicit Dominus: Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis: luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt" ("Thus says the Lord: A voice was heard on high of lamentation, of mourning, and weeping, of Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted for them, because they are not [i.e., no more].").

[4]Matthew 2:18: "Vox in Rama audita est ploratus, et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt" ("A voice in Rama was heard, lamentation and great mourning; Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.").

forces in 1187. The musical style, though, suggests a later date for this relatively elaborate composition. To this end, Everist (173-4) points out correlations between the text of *Luget Rachel* and a general letter to the people of France from Pope Gregory IX, dated 17 November 1234. For some additional conductus that treat – or may treat – the loss of Jerusalem, see the various monophonic conductus contained in *F*-10: *Venit Jhesus in propria* (K42/365), *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25/296), *Homo cur properas* (K69/158), *Sede Syon in pulvere* (K8/321); and the conductus prosula a3 *Crucifigat omnes* (D3/70), transmitted in *F*-6. All of these texts are proposed as works by Philip the Chancellor, with the first two ascribed to him by the medieval MS *Da*, the others by modern scholars.[5] In terms of the surface meaning of these opening lines in the conductus poem, the renewed mourning by Jacob's wife is due to the conquering of Jerusalem in 1187. This event causes Rachel, allegorically, to grieve anew for the loss of her children, as she did before in the book of Jeremiah and gospel of Matthew. The reference to the condemnation of Rachel's womb in lines 2-3 may reflect that Joseph and Benjamin, the last two of Jacob's 12 sons and the only ones born by Rachel, were conceived after a long period of infertility on her part, during which time Jacob had children with his first wife, Leah, as well as with both Rachel's and Leah's respective servants, Bilhah and Zilpah (see Genesis, 29-30). Furthermore, as the account of Genesis, 35:16-20, relates, while journeying to Bethlehem with Jacob (now named Israel) and his family, Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin and originally named him Ben-Oni ("son of my pain").[6] The birth of Rachel's children is described in the Bible as a gift from God,[7] and thus their figurative loss that leads to her mourning them in the Bible could be seen as a serious failing that might draw condemnation from the Lord. **5-6:** taken from Lamentations, 1:1;[8] like the conductus poem, the biblical book is given over to mourning the fall of Jerusalem. **7-12:** Everist (174-175) sees this stanza as paraphrasing the events of Luke, 23:27-29, a scene from the Passion where a group of people, including women, follow mournfully after Jesus on the way to his crucifixion.[9] There is, though, as Everist admits, no direct verbal correspondence between the conductus poem and the gospel text. **7-8:** similar to the opening figure of Rachel, the daughters of Zion are a metaphor here for

---

[5]*Da = Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 2777 (D-DS 2777).* The ascription of *Sede Syon* to Philip is proposed only by David A. Traill in his widely encompassing attribution of much of fascicle 10 of *F* to Philip; see his "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina,* 10 (2003): 219-248, at 247, note 66.

[6]Genesis, 35:16-20: "Egressus autem inde, venit verno tempore ad terram quae ducit Ephratam: in qua cum parturiret Rachel, ob difficultatem partus periclitari coepit. Dixitque ei obstetrix: Noli timere, quia et hunc habebis filium. Egrediente autem anima prae dolore, et imminente jam morte, vocavit nomen filii sui Benomi, id est, Filius doloris mei: pater vero appellavit eum Benjamin, id est, Filius dextrae. Mortua est ergo Rachel, et sepulta est in via quae ducit Ephratam, haec est Bethlehem. Erexitque Jacob titulum super sepulchrum ejus: hic est titulus monumenti Rachel, usque in praesentem diem" ("And going forth from thence [Bethel], he [Jacob] came in the springtime to the land which leads to Ephrata [i.e., Bethlehem]: wherein when Rachel was in travail. By reason of her hard labour she began to be in danger, and the midwife said to her: Fear not, for you shall have this son also. And when her soul was departing for pain, and death was now at hand, she called the name of her son Benoni, that is, 'the son of my pain': but his father called him Benjamin, that is, 'the son of the right hand.' So Rachel died, and was buried in the highway that leadeth to Ephrata, this is Bethlehem. And Jacob erected a pillar over her sepulchre: this is the pillar of Rachel's monument, to this day.").

[7]See Genesis, 30: 22-24: "Recordatus quoque Dominus Rachelis, exaudivit eam, et aperuit vulvam ejus. Quae concepit, et peperit filium, dicens: Abstulit Deus opprobrium meum. Et vocavit nomen ejus Joseph, dicens: 'Addat mihi Dominus filium alterum' " ("The Lord also remembering Rachel, heard her, and opened her womb. And she conceived, and bore a son, saying: God hath taken away my reproach. And she called his name Joseph, saying: 'The Lord give me also another son.' ").

[8]Lamentations, 1:1: "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo" ("How does the city sit solitary that was full of people! how is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!").

[9]Luke, 23:27-29: "Sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi et mulierum, quae plangebant et lamentabantur eum. Conversus autem ad illas Jesus, dixit: Filiae Jerusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros. Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt, et ubera quae non lactaverunt" ("And there followed him [Jesus] a great multitude of people, and of women, who bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus turning to them, said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me; but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days shall come, wherein they will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that have not borne, and the paps that have not given suck.").

the grieving city of Jerusalem. For biblical appearances of this figure in anguished situations, see, e.g., Lamentations, 2:10,[10] and 2:18.[11] **10-11:** for a passage in one of Philip the Chancellor's motets that is reminiscent of the language here, see his *In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (VdW 451 / M37), lines 34-37.[12] **11-12:** see Lamentations, 1:4;[13] also note the correspondences to the above-mentioned conductus by Philip, *Venit Jhesus in propria,* lines 11-13.[14] **12,2-3:** the Paschal victim (an Easter or Passover sacrificial offering) is Christ, whose suffering is equated here with the fall of Jerusalem.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Lines 1-6:** with occasional variations, the entirety of the T in lines 1-3, including the opening cauda, is repeated in lines 4-6 (as indicated by the boxed letters above the staff). Moreover, the repetition between the two cauda sections here is especially noteworthy, since, as Everist notes (177), the T of the cauda at line 4, despite the different rhythms of the passages beginning at L3, shows only a single difference in the pitches used (the extra *e* at L3,2). In addition, the D melody of line 3 is also closely comparable to its appearance in line 6, and other portions of D passages here show somewhat looser identities with their corresponding partners in the T. Additional agreements might well be proposed. In connection with these melodic correspondences, note also the canonic writing near the end of the final cauda which has aided in repairing a scribal omission, treated below. **Final cauda:** T: F: the restored notes at L16 and L19,2-L20,1 of this melisma are editorial emendations; they are similar to the modifications in Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:72, measures 59-63, as well as Everist (in Appendix 5.2 at p. 337), except that, due to my different (quicker) transcription of the D at L11-L12, the om note at L16 in the T (a si=*c* in Anderson, an unmarked *g* in Everist)[15] is here placed *after* the T's 3li=*fac* at L14-L15, rather than *before,* as in Anderson and Everist. As a result, there is no need to (invisibly) suppress the si=*c* in the D at L17, as both Anderson and Everist do, and no break in the canon occurs between the two parts from L14-L20,1, as implied by *F*'s uncorrected state – a factor that probably led to Anderson's and Everist's decision to omit the D note. T: F: the entire last phrase in this voice, from L 24 to the end of the piece, written 3 lower.

---

[10]Lamentations, 2:10: "Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiae Sion; consperserunt cinere capita sua, accincti sunt ciliciis: abjecerunt in terram capita sua virgines Jerusalem" ("The ancients of the daughter of Sion sit upon the ground, they have held their peace: they have sprinkled their heads with dust, they are girded with haircloth, the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground.").

[11]Lamentations, 2:18: "Clamavit cor eorum ad Dominum super muros filiae Sion: Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas per diem et noctem; non des requiem tibi, neque taceat pupilla oculi tui" ("Their heart cried to the Lord upon the walls of the daughter of Sion: Let tears run down like a torrent day and night: give yourself no rest, and let not the apple of your eye cease").

[12]*In veritate comperi / Veritatem* (VdW 451 / M37), lines 34-37: "Non est qui bonum faciat / istorum / quorum consciencia / spelunca latronum" ("No one among them whose conscience is a den of thieves can do any good.").

[13]Lamentations, 1:4: "Viae Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem: omnes portae ejus destructae, sacerdotes ejus gementes; virgines ejus squalidae, et ipsa oppressa amaritudine" ("The ways of Sion mourn, because there are none that come to the solemn feast: all her gates are broken down: her priests sigh: her virgins are in affliction, and she is oppressed with bitterness.").

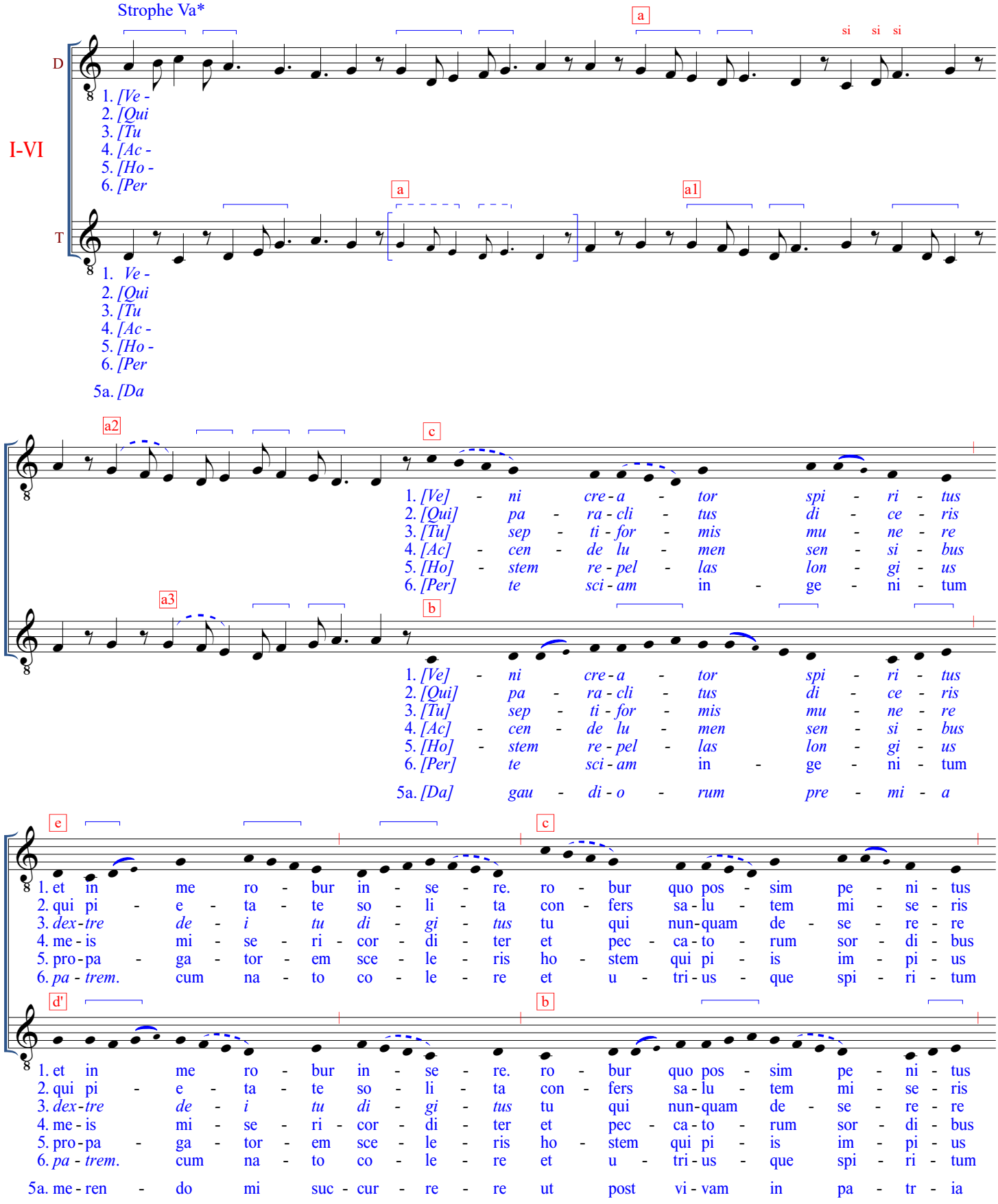
[14]*Venit Jhesus in propria* (K42/365), lines 11-13: "Eius amici fugiunt, / nec alieni veniunt / ad sepulchri sollempnia" ("Her [Judea's] friends desert her / and come not to / the festivals of the foreign tomb.").

[15]Everist's editorially added 2li=*df* at L19,2-L20,1 (= *ef* in Anderson and this transcription) is also unbraced.

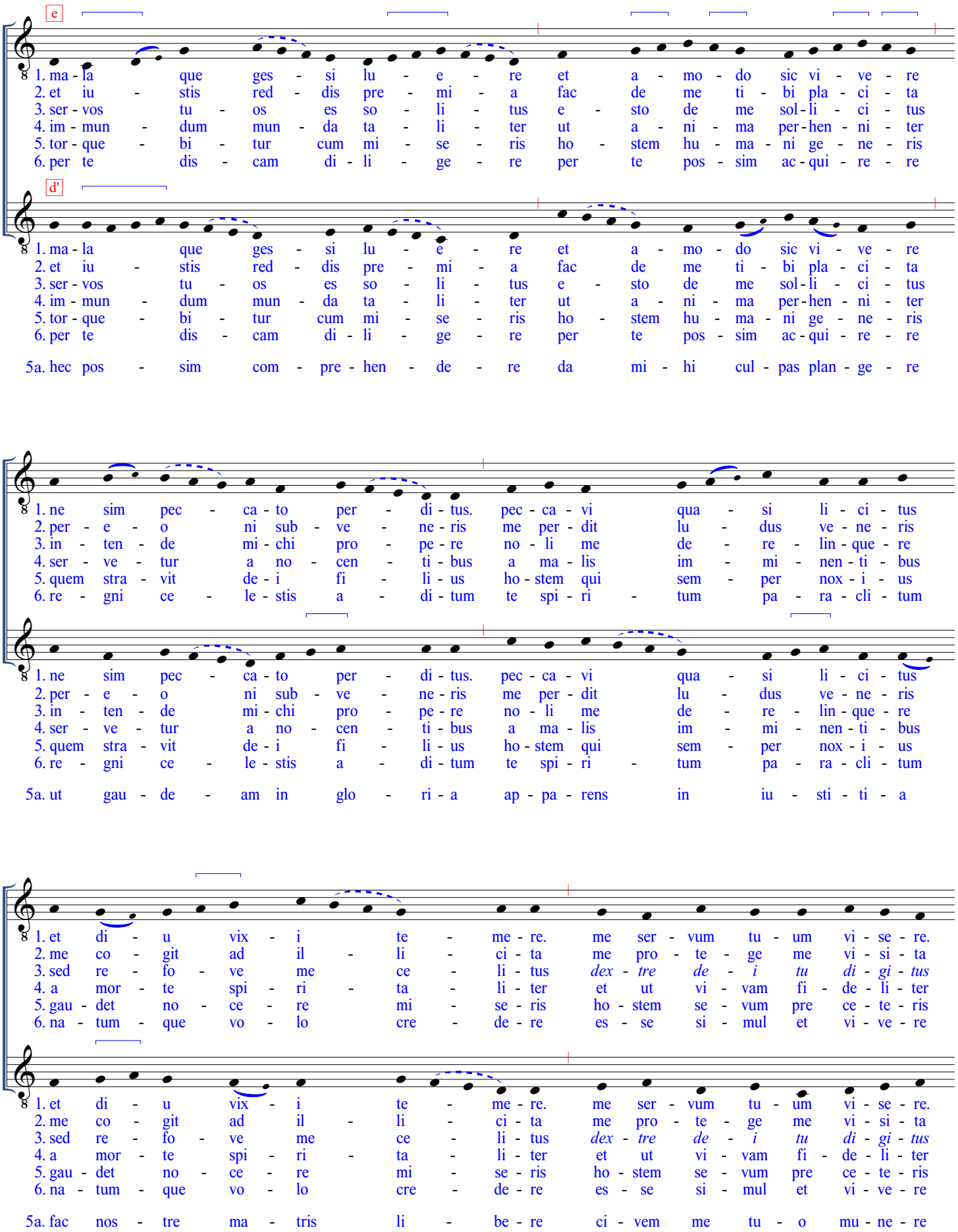
VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS ET IN ME ROBUR INSERE
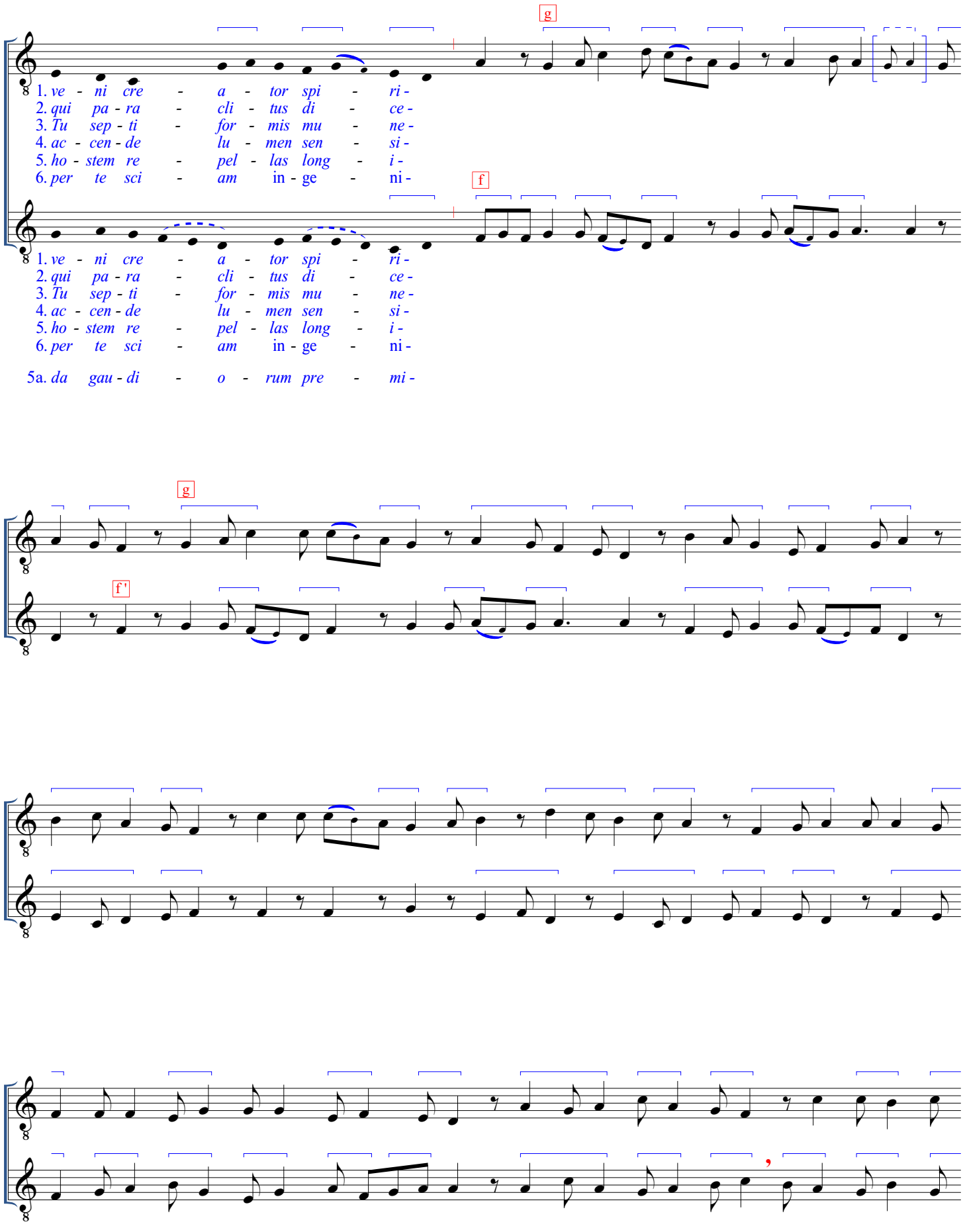
Conductus (J41/360)
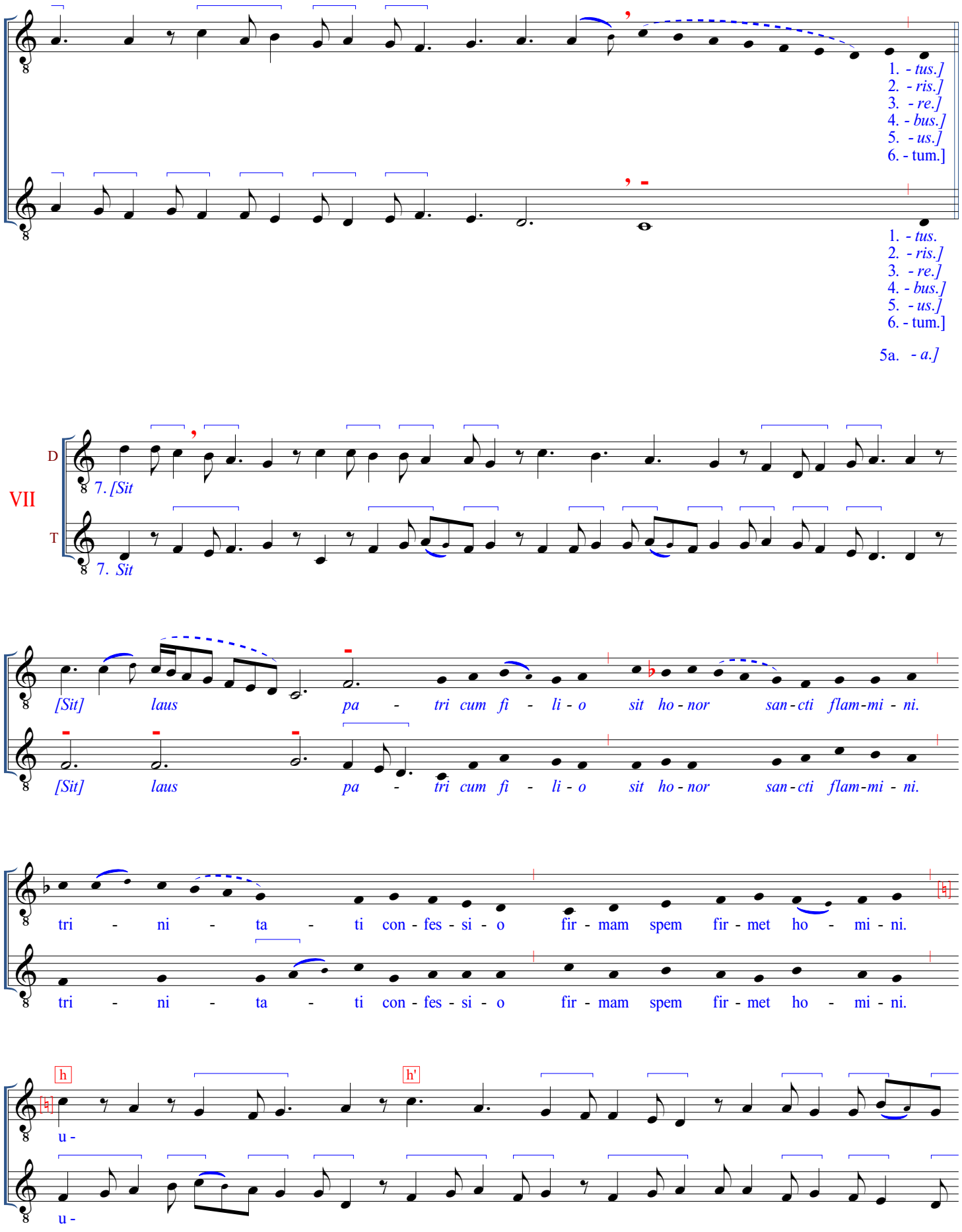
F, f. 360r (7,114): Strophes I, VII; *Pn 18751:* Strophes II-VI; *D-Mbs Clm. 11333* (via Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxv, 121): Strophe Va*

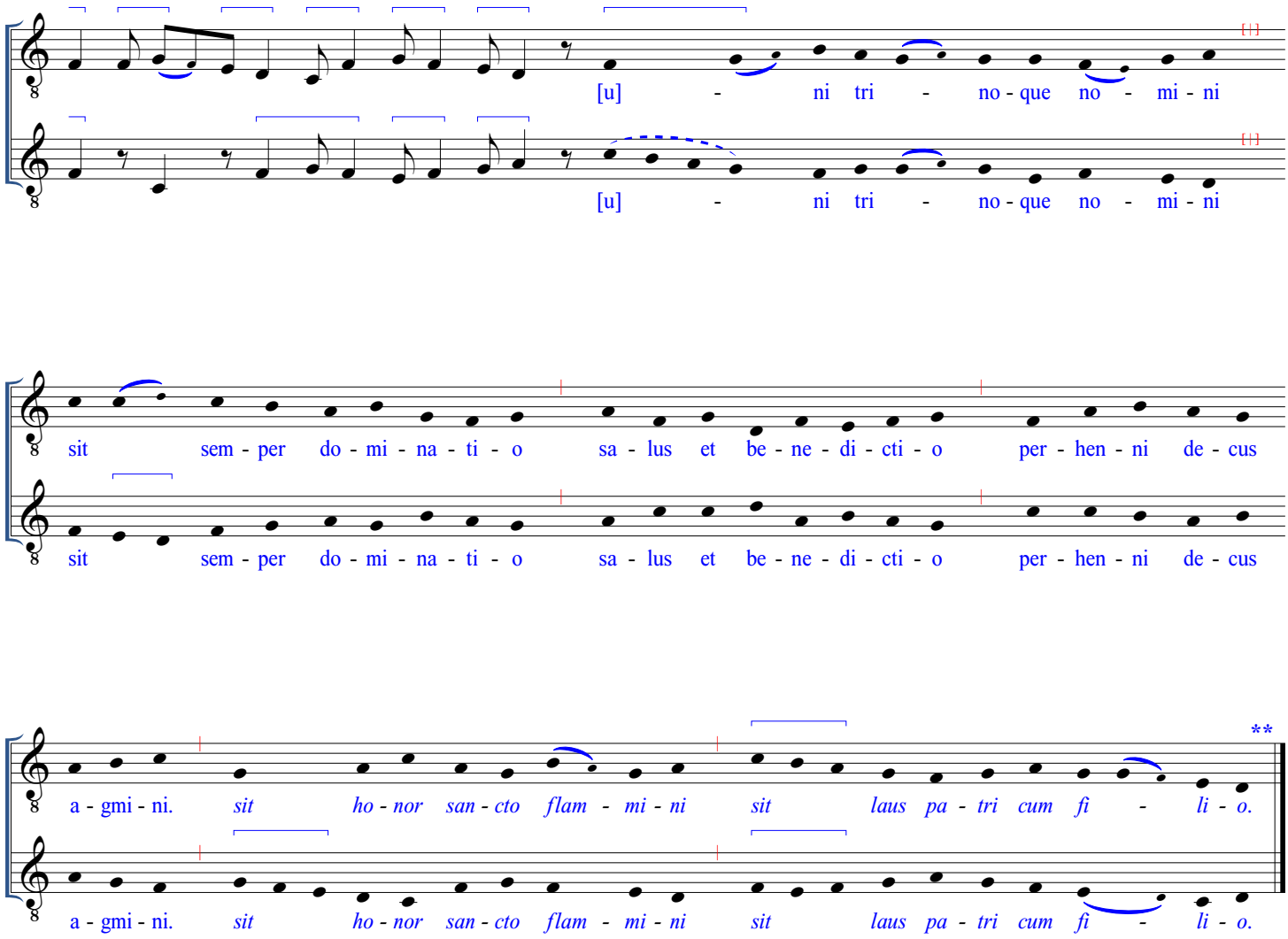


*The optional stanza Va, unique to its source, is underlaid to the T voice only, so that it can be assessed and implemented if desired.


e
1. ma - la que ges - si lu - e - re et a - mo - do sic vi - ve - re
2. et iu - stis red - dis pre - mi - a fac de me ti - bi pla - ci - ta
3. ser - vos tu - os es so - li - tus e - sto de me sol - li - ci - tus
4. im - mun - dum mun - da ta - li - ter ut a - ni - ma per - hen - ni - ter
5. tor - que - bi - tur cum mi - se - ris ho - stem hu - ma - ni ge - ne - ris
6. per te dis - cam di - li - ge - re per te pos - sim ac - qui - re - re
d'
1. ma - la que ges - si lu - e - re et a - mo - do sic vi - ve - re
2. et iu - stis red - dis pre - mi - a fac de me ti - bi pla - ci - ta
3. ser - vos tu - os es so - li - tus e - sto de me sol - li - ci - tus
4. im - mun - dum mun - da ta - li - ter ut a - ni - ma per - hen - ni - ter
5. tor - que - bi - tur cum mi - se - ris ho - stem hu - ma - ni ge - ne - ris
6. per te dis - cam di - li - ge - re per te pos - sim ac - qui - re - re
5a. hec pos - sim com - pre - hen - de - re da mi - hi cul - pas plan - ge - re
1. ne sim pec - ca - to per - di - tus. pec - ca - vi qua - si li - ci - tus
2. per - e - o ni sub - ve - ne - ris me per - dit lu - dus ve - ne - ris
3. in - ten - de mi - chi pro - pe - re no - li me de - re - lin - que - re
4. ser - ve - tur a no - cen - ti - bus a ma - lis im - mi - nen - ti - bus
5. quem stra - vit de - i fi - li - us ho - stem qui sem - per nox - i - us
6. re - gni ce - le - stis a - di - tum te spi - ri - tum pa - ra - cli - tum
1. ne sim pec - ca - to per - di - tus. pec - ca - vi qua - si li - ci - tus
2. per - e - o ni sub - ve - ne - ris me per - dit lu - dus ve - ne - ris
3. in - ten - de mi - chi pro - pe - re no - li me de - re - lin - que - re
4. ser - ve - tur a no - cen - ti - bus a ma - lis im - mi - nen - ti - bus
5. quem stra - vit de - i fi - li - us ho - stem qui sem - per nox - i - us
6. re - gni ce - le - stis a - di - tum te spi - ri - tum pa - ra - cli - tum
5a. ut gau - de - am in glo - ri - a ap - pa - rens in iu - sti - ti - a
1. et di - u vix - i te - me - re. me ser - vum tu - um vi - se - re.
2. me co - git ad il - li - ci - ta me pro - te - ge me vi - si - ta
3. sed re - fo - ve me ce - li - tus *dex - tre de - i tu di - gi - tus*
4. a mor - te spi - ri - ta - li - ter et ut vi - vam fi - de - li - ter
5. gau - det no - ce - re mi - se - ris ho - stem se - vum pre ce - te - ris
6. na - tum - que vo - lo cre - de - re es - se si - mul et vi - ve - re
1. et di - u vix - i te - me - re. me ser - vum tu - um vi - se - re.
2. me co - git ad il - li - ci - ta me pro - te - ge me vi - si - ta
3. sed re - fo - ve me ce - li - tus *dex - tre de - i tu di - gi - tus*
4. a mor - te spi - ri - ta - li - ter et ut vi - vam fi - de - li - ter
5. gau - det no - ce - re mi - se - ris ho - stem se - vum pre ce - te - ris
6. na - tum - que vo - lo cre - de - re es - se si - mul et vi - ve - re
5a. fac nos - tre ma - tris li - be - re ci - vem me tu - o mu - ne - re


g
1. ve - ni cre - a - tor spi - ri -
2. qui pa - ra - cli - tus di - ce -
3. Tu sep - ti - for - mis mu - ne -
4. ac - cen - de lu - men sen - si -
5. ho - stem re - pel - las long - i -
6. per te sci - am in - ge - ni -
f
1. ve - ni cre - a - tor spi - ri -
2. qui pa - ra - cli - tus di - ce -
3. Tu sep - ti - for - mis mu - ne -
4. ac - cen - de lu - men sen - si -
5. ho - stem re - pel - las long - i -
6. per te sci - am in - ge - ni -
5a. da gau - di - o - rum pre - mi -
g
f'


1. - tus.]
2. - ris.]
3. - re.]
4. - bus.]
5. - us.]
6. - tum.]
1. - tus
2. - ris.]
3. - re.]
4. - bus.]
5. - us.]
6. - tum.]
5a. - a.]
VII
D
T
7. [Sit
7. Sit
[Sit] laus pa - tri cum fi - li - o sit ho - nor san - cti flam - mi - ni.
[Sit] laus pa - tri cum fi - li - o sit ho - nor san - cti flam - mi - ni.
tri - ni - ta - ti con - fes - si - o fir - mam spem fir - met ho - mi - ni.
tri - ni - ta - ti con - fes - si - o fir - mam spem fir - met ho - mi - ni.
h
h'
u -
u -



**For the possibility that a *Benedicamus domino* conclusion was intended for this piece and suggestions for one to include, see the discussion in the commentary for this work and also in the notes on the text for the following piece in *F*-7, *Brevi carne deitas* (J42/51).

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS ET IN ME ROBUR INSERE

Conductus (J41/360)

F, f. 360r (7,114): Strophes I, VII; *Pn 18751:* Strophes II-VI; *D-Mbs Clm. 11333* (via Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxv, 121): Strophe Va

I	*Veni, creator spiritus*,	*Come, Creator Spirit,*
	et in me robur insere,	and implant strength in me,
	robur quo possim penitus	strength whereby I may be able to atone
	mala que gessi luere,	fully for the evils I have borne,
	et amodo sic vivere	and henceforth live in such a way
	ne sim peccato perditus.	that I not be lost to sin.
	Peccavi quasi licitus,	I have sinned as though it were licit,
	et diu vixi temere.	and for a long time I have lived rashly.
	Me servum tuum visere.	Look on me as your servant.
	Veni, creator spiritus.	*Come, Creator Spirit.*
II	[*Qui paraclitus diceris,*	*You who are called the Paraclete,*
	qui, pietate solita,	who, with your customary mercy,
	confers salutem miseris	bestow salvation on the wretched
	et iustis reddis premia,	and restore rewards to the just,
	fac de me tibi placita.	bring about pleasing things from me to you.
	Pereo ni subveneris.	If you won't help me, I perish.
	Me perdit ludus veneris.	The game of love destroys me.
	Me cogit ad illicita.	It drives me to illicit things.
	Me protege, me visita,	Protect me, call upon me,
	qui paraclitus diceris.	*you who are called the Paraclete.*
III	*Tu, septiformis munere,*	*You, sevenfold in gifts,*
	dextre dei, tu, digitus,	*you, the finger of God's right hand,*
	tu, qui nunquam deserere	you, who are never inclined
	servos tuos es solitus,	to desert your servants,
	esto de me sollicitus;	be attentive to me;
	intende michi propere.	take heed of me soon.
	Noli me derelinquere,	Do not leave me behind,
	sed refove me celitus,	but restore me again from above,
	dextre dei, tu, digitus	*you, the finger of God's right hand,*
	Tu, septiformis munere.	*you, sevenfold in gifts,*
IV	*Accende lumen sensibus*	Mercifully *kindle a*
	meis misericorditer,	*light in my senses,*
	et peccatorum sordibus	and cleanse an unclean one from
	immundum munda, taliter	the filth of their sins, in such a way
	ut anima perhenniter	that their soul might be forever
	servetur a nocentibus,	saved from harmful things,
	a malis imminentibus,	from threatening evils,
	a morte spiritaliter;	from the death of the spirit;
	et, ut vivam fideliter,	and, so that I may live faithfully,
	accende lumen sensibus.	*kindle a light in my senses.*
V	*Hostem repellas longius,*	*Drive the enemy far way,*

	propagatorem sceleris;	that propagator of sin;
	hostem qui, piis impius,	that enemy who, pitiless to the faithful,
	torquebitur cum miseris;	will be tormented with miseries;
	hostem humani generis	that enemy of humankind
	quem stravit dei filius;	whom the son of God cast down;
	hostem qui, semper noxius,	that enemy who, ever noxious,
	gaudet nocere miseris;	rejoices in harming those who suffer;
	hostem, sevum pre ceteris.	that enemy, savage beyond the rest.
	Hostem repellas longius.	*Drive the enemy far way*.
VI	*Per te sciam* ingenitum	*Through you will I know* to honor
	patrem, cum nato, colere,	the unbegotten *Father* with his Son,
	et utriusque spiritum.	and the Spirit of you both.
	Per te discam diligere.	Through you I may learn to love.
	Per te possim acquirere	Through you I may gain the
	regni celestis aditum.	entrance of the heavenly kingdom.
	Te, spiritum paraclitum	I want to believe that you, the
	natumque, volo credere	Paraclete Spirit, and the Son,
	esse simul et vivere.	exist and live as one.
	Per te sciam ingenitum.]	*Through you will I know* the unbegotten one.
VII	*Sit laus patri cum filio*.	*Praise be to the Father, along with the Son.*
	Sit honor sancti flammini.	*Honor be to the Holy Spirit.*
	Trinitati confessio	Let this confession to the Trinity
	firmam spem firmet homini.	confirm a stout hope for mankind.
	Uni trinoque nomini,	To the one and to the three in name,
	sit semper dominatio,	let there forever be dominion,
	salus, et benedictio,	salvation, and blessing,
	perhenni decus agmini.	the splendor of the eternal throng.
	Sit honor sancto flammini.	*Honor be to the Holy Spirit.*
	Sit laus patri cum filio.	*Praise be to the Father, along with the Son.*

The following stanza appears uniquely in *D-Mbs Clm. 11333,* following Strophe V.

Va	[*Da gaudiorum premia,*	*Grant joys' rewards*
	merendo mi, succurrere,	to aid me, a deserving one,
	ut post vivam in patria.	that I may afterwards live in heaven.
	Hec possim comprehendere:	Let me be able to understand these things:
	Da mihi culpas plangere,	Allow me to mourn my faults,
	ut gaudeam in gloria,	so that I may rejoice in glory,
	apparens in iustitia.	appearing in justice.
	Fac nostre matris libere	Make me fully a citizen of
	civem me tuo munere.	our mother through your gift.
	Da gaudiorum premia.]	*Grant joys' rewards.*

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 114, f. 360v: a2; two separate, musically different settings of Strophes 1 and VII, only, with no

provision for other stanzas, and with VII headed by a capital. There is an apparent capital heading line 65 (in Strophe VII), indicated here by extra vertical space in the text above. The *F* version may be the only extant musical setting of this text (but see the end of the list of sources, below). Some suggestions as to how the other strophes might be rendered in performance are considered further on in the discussion of the music.

Text only:

Graz 409 (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409; A-Gu 409), no. 1, f. 1r: text of Strophes I-VII, only; a likely opening initial and first two syllables of the poem are obscured, both by the binding and a fold in the parchment at the top left of the folio's recto, while the first six words of the poem are hard to decipher; red-flecked capitals (with the flecking sometimes difficult to see) head the first letters of the residual stanzas; details in the left margin of this leaf are sometimes difficult to make out; rubric, near the top right margin of the leaf, above the text: "ymnus de spiritu sancto" ("hymn about the Holy Spirit").[1]

D-Mbs Clm. 11333 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 11333), f. 1r: Strophes I-V, an additional stanza seen in no other source (here labeled Va), and Strophe VI, only, all in that order. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me. Details come from Anderson's edition and the *CPI* website. This item seems to be the same listed as *Clm. 11325* in *AH,* 30, p. 190, no. 183, based on the shared variants each one reports.[2]

F-ROU A 408 (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, A 408), f. 171v: Strophes I-VII, only. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me. Details come from Anderson's edition and the *CPI* website.

Note: The following sources are presently absent from Anderson's edition and the CPI website:

Pn 18751 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 18571; F-Pn lat 18571), no. 4, f. 34r: Strophes I-VII, only, written linearly with all lines headed by a capital and the opening line of each subsidiary stanza back-indented into the left margin. Two lines are left blank above this text for an apparent rubric that was never entered, as such descriptions are present for the preceding and some following items.[3]

Beinecke 831 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 831; US-NHub Beinecke MS 831), no. 18, f. 35v: Strophes I-VII, only, with II-VII headed by upper case letters decorated with a single vertical stroke of red paint, similar to the flecked initials of *Graz 409;* this same type of decoration is used for the second letter of Strophe I, which opens with a large elaborated red initial; rubric: "alia oratio [de sancto spiritu]" ("another prayer [about the Holy Spirit]," based on the earlier rubric on f. 34r). The MS under description was compiled in 1518 in Eastern Germany and is bound together with a printed book of hours from 1513.[4]

I have not been able to consult the following source, also not reported by Anderson's edition or the *CPI* website:

CZ-Pak A 57.1 (Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta,, Ms. A LVII/1);

---

[1]Images of *Graz 409* are available at https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/content/pageview/7435920.

[2]*Analecta hymnica medii aevi,* vol. 30, part 3, *Pia dictamina: Reimsgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters: dritten Folge: Stunden- und Glossen-Lieder,* Guido Maria Dreves, ed. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1898).

[3]Images of *Pn 18751* are available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721250c/f40.item.r=18571.

[4]Images of *Beinecke 831* are available at https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10985758.

known familiarly as the *Codex Ostroviensis;* reportedly the conductus text begins on f. 1r, and appears to transmit the text of Strophes I-VII, and possibly at least part of a musical setting a1.[5] This MS continues on directly with the conductus *Ave nobilis venerabilis Maria* (J45/35), which appears six pieces later at *F*-7, 120, on f. 363v.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

Note: this piece is not to be confused with the conductus *Veni creator spiritus spiritus recreator* (E13/361), *Veni sancte spiritus et in me robur auge* (L156/-), or the possible conductus setting beginning *Veni creator spiritus* (R5/-) which survives only as a text incipit in *GB-Lbl Harl. 978,* on f. 10v.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This conductus poem, which celebrates the Trinity and especially its third member, the Holy Spirit, derives the first and last lines of each stanza, and the first and last two lines of Strophes III and VII (each reversed upon repeat), from the successive openings of Strophes I-VI of the Pentecost hymn *Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum visita* (see, for an example from a Parisian liturgical manuscript, *F-Pn lat. 15181,* f. 346v [CCCXXXIIIIv]). This same conceit applies to the uniquely transmitted Stophe Va, which, at its beginning and end, quotes the first line of a stanza seen in some other transmissions of the hymn. A comparable approach, based on the same liturgical item, appears in the text of the conductus *Veni creator spiritus spiritus recreator* (E13/361), found much earlier at *F*-6,7, f. 207v. References to the hymn in the poem are given in italics in the Latin text, English translation, and musical setting. **The question of a *Benedicamus* conclusion:** Anderson, in his critical notes for this piece (*NDRC,* 5:121), hypothesizes with good reason that a BD setting may have originally been intended to conclude *Veni creator ... robur insere.* As a conjecture, he appends the BD setting that concludes the following piece in *F*-7, *Brevi carne deitas* (J42/51), onto *Veni creator ... robur insere.* For a discussion of the issues involved in this decision, see the treatment in the textual notes to *Brevi carne.* The upshot is that the available evidence suggests that it would be highly appropriate to include a BD at the end *of Veni creator ... robur insere*, and that any other setting a2 would suffice just as well as the one taken from *Brevi carne*. Of course, the piece may also be performed as it stands in *F* without the termination, but note that the disposition of this piece in the MS raises additional questions as to how to execute the various stanzas with the available music. For the multiple possibilities open for performance, see the remarks below on the music. **Textual notes: 11,2:** "Paraclete": i.e., "protector" or "advocate"; an attribute of the Holy Spirit, as described in John, 14:26[6] and other places in that gospel (e.g., 14:16, 15:26, 16:7). **21:** the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, as enumerated by Isaiah, 11:2-3;[7] these comprise (based on the translation below) wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, godliness, and fear of the Lord. Also, the spirit of God is repeatedly described as "sevenfold" in Revelations (1:4, 3:1, 4:5, 5:6). For some information on other sevenfold qualities that occur in the Bible and in Christian literature, see the notes to

---

[5]See Adolf Patera and Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisu Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské: A-E. C. 1 [Manuscript inventory of the Library of the Metropolitan Capitol of Prague: A-E. no. 1]* (Prague: Ceska Akademia Císare Františka Josefa pro Vedy, Slovesnost a Umení, 1910 [Emperor Francis Joseph's Czech Academy of Sciences, Letters, and Arts, 1910]), p. 48, no. 86.

[6]John, 14:26: "Paraclitus 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.").

[7]Isaiah, 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 ... .").

the text of the conductus *Veni creator spiritus ... recreator,* lines 17-20. **46:** on the fall of Satan, who inhabits this entire stanza, see Luke 10:18.[8] **51-52,2:** God the Father, since he existed from eternity, is therefore "unborn," or "unbegotten." In contrast, Christ, who as a member of the Trinity, existed along with God prior to his conception and incarnation on earth (see John, 1:1-2),[9] is described as "begotten, not made" (as related in the Nicene Creed). For further discussion of the latter point and additional occurrences of it in the conductus repertory, see the textual notes to *Sine matre genitus* (I27/330), lines 1-2. **78-79:** as Anderson observes (*NDRC,* 5:xxxv, note 5), the mother referred to here is likely the church, although there seems to be nothing here to disqualify the Virgin Mary as a possible referent.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: General remarks:** Since the sources *Pn 18751* and *Beinecke 831* were unknown to Anderson, their variants are cataloged here when they depart from the text above. Variants from *D-Mbs Clm. 11333,* which supplies the unique Strophe Va, are not included, since I am following *AH,* 30, p. 189, no. 83, for the text of this stanza, and both it and Anderson's conductus edition (*NDRC,* 5:xxxv, 121) record its differing readings. The occasional conjectural emendations made by Anderson against the *AH* edition I consider unnecessary, as they translate suitably without modification. As an esthetic choice in terms of presenting the text derived from *Pn 18751,* the letters in this source that begin each stanza retain their upper-case forms, but the same-size capitals that also open each line in *Pn 18751* are rendered in the musical transcription as lower-case letters; this is in contrast to my typical practice of reproducing punctuation and capitalization of text sources in the score. **Textual notes: 5.2:** Pn 18751: a modo (as 2 words). **11,2:** Beinecke 831: paracletus. **13,1:** Beinecke 831: here and in line 63,2 an unusually shaped form of the letter "c" is used when letter "o" follows; it has somewhat the shape of an "r," but nonetheless is different from the distinct, hooked form of "r" used by this scribe. **16:** Beinecke 831: contains the text of line 19; 19 appears also in its proper place. **17-18:** Pn 18751: these lines exchanged, with the letters "b" and "a" written within the column inscribed to the left of each line to indicate their proper order. **17,2:** Beinecke 831: prodit. **18,2:** Beinecke 831: pellicit. **21,2;30,2:** Pn 18751: septiformi; the adopted reading occurs in all consulted sources and regularly in the liturgical hymn. **22,1;29,1:** Beinecke 831: dextere. **26,3:** Beinecke 831: prospere; reading of *Pn 18751* retained here, as it seems to make slightly better sense, although only *D-Mbs Clm. 11333* agrees with it. **28,3:** Pn 18751: "me" originally omitted and inserted as third, rather than second, word here. **30:** Pn 18751: period om at end of this line, but does appear at end of following line that starts next stanza. **33-34:** Beinecke 831: lines om. **35, 3:** Pn 18751: fideliter; adopted reading, from all other consulted sources, seems to fit context better. **39,4:** all other consulted sources have "feliciter"; the adopted reading from *Pn 18751* makes equally good sense. **42,1:** Pn 18751: propugnatorem, against all other sources; the adopted reading makes better sense. **43,3:** for "piis," thus in *Pn 18751, Beinecke 831,* and *F-ROU A 408,* against "pios" in *Graz 409* and "quem pius" in *D-Mbs Clm. 11333* for 43,2-3. **44:** all consulted sources disagree: *Pn 18751:* torquebitur cum miseris; *Beinecke 831:* torquebit cum miseris (one syllable short); *Graz 409,* torquebit quos permiseris; *F-ROU A 408:* torquebit quos commiseris; D-Mbs Clm. 11333: torquebit quem non deseris. The adopted reading from *Pn 18751* (supported by the nearly identical one in *Beinecke 831*) seems to work best without incurring further emendation. **47,4:** Beinecke 831: "noxius" om. **50, 1:** Beinecke 831: "hostem" om. **53,1:** Pn 18751,Beinecke 831: "te," against the other consulted sources, which supply the adopted reading. **57,3:** *Beinecke 831:* paracletum. **58,1:** Beinecke 831: et natum. **60:** Beinecke 831: atque patrem ingenitum. **62,4:** Pn 18751: flamini. **63,1:** Pn 18751: for "trinitati," all other consulted sources give "trinitatis," which works equally well. **66,1-2:** Pn 18751: words exchanged. **68,2:** Pn 18751: possibly defur (?). **69,4:** Pn 18751: flamini. **70,2:** Pn

[8]Luke, 10:17-18: "Reversi sunt autem septuaginta duo cum gaudio, dicentes: Domine, etiam daemonia subjiciuntur nobis in nomine tuo. Et ait illis: Videbam Satanam sicut fulgor de caelo cadentem" ("And the seventy-two [disciples] returned with joy, saying: Lord [i.e., Jesus], the devils also are subject to us in thy name. And he said to them: I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven.").

[9]John, 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.").

18751: lux. An added, following line concludes the poem with the text "amen," showing additional thinly drawn letters of smaller size in an apparently different hand, either next to or above and below each letter of "amen," as follows: da, a/m/g (top to bottom), le, na. It is not clear, but possible, that this might be an artful way to communicate the name "magdalena," with the first two syllables exchanged. The significance of this conceit is not immediately apparent. **MUSIC: Performance possibilities:** As *F* gives two different musical settings for two different stanzas of the total eight, theoretically any alignment of stanza versus music could serve for performance. Similarly, the inclusion or exclusion of Strophe Va is possible if multiple stanzas are to be executed. The present disposition in the musical transcription gives Strophes I-VI in sequence, with the option of including Va, sung to the first setting, then the concluding Strophe VII with the second setting as its support. This should not be taken as definitive, though. Even the decision as to what the order of the two musical settings should be, if both are to be performed, is available. And, in addition to all this, there is the implication that a Benedicamus Domino setting of some type would be appropriate to append as a coda to Strophe VII, as discussed earlier. **Opening cauda:** T: F: L7-L10 om; conjectured completion follows Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:73, bars 4-5, which takes its material from the D: L12-L15. D: F: curiously, the 3si=*c,d,f* at L17-L18 appear to require reading as if they are 3li (LBL) in order to fit – reading them as 3L, with the T at L17, 1-2 as L,L(rest) seems rather disruptive to the forward motion of the line at this point; Anderson's edition (bars 8-9) presents the same solution. **Line 1,2:** D: F: for "[crea]tor" erased *f; g* confirmed on repeat at line 3,3 "[pos]sim." **Cauda at line 10:** D: F: 2li=*fg* at L7,2-L8,1 om, conjectured completion follows Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:74, bars 54-55, which apparently presumes a failure to record another instance of the same 2li figure that follows. **Line 61,2-3:** T: F: stroke erased after "laus"; D: F: stroke erased after "patri." **62,4:** T: *c*4 cl om at beginning of system before "flammini," with apparent erasure; conceivably a *c*5 cl was originally entered, then erased, and the correction never completed.

BREVI CARNE DEITAS

Conductus: (J42/51)

F, f. 361r (7,115)

I

D [Bre -

T Bre -

or:

or:

[Bre] - vi car - ne de - i - tas la - tet in - cli - na - ta nec san - cta vir - gi - ni - tas lu - get de - flo - ra -

[Bre] - vi car - ne de - i - tas la - tet in - cli - na - ta nec san - cta vir - gi - ni - tas lu - get de - flo - ra -

or:

or:

- ta.

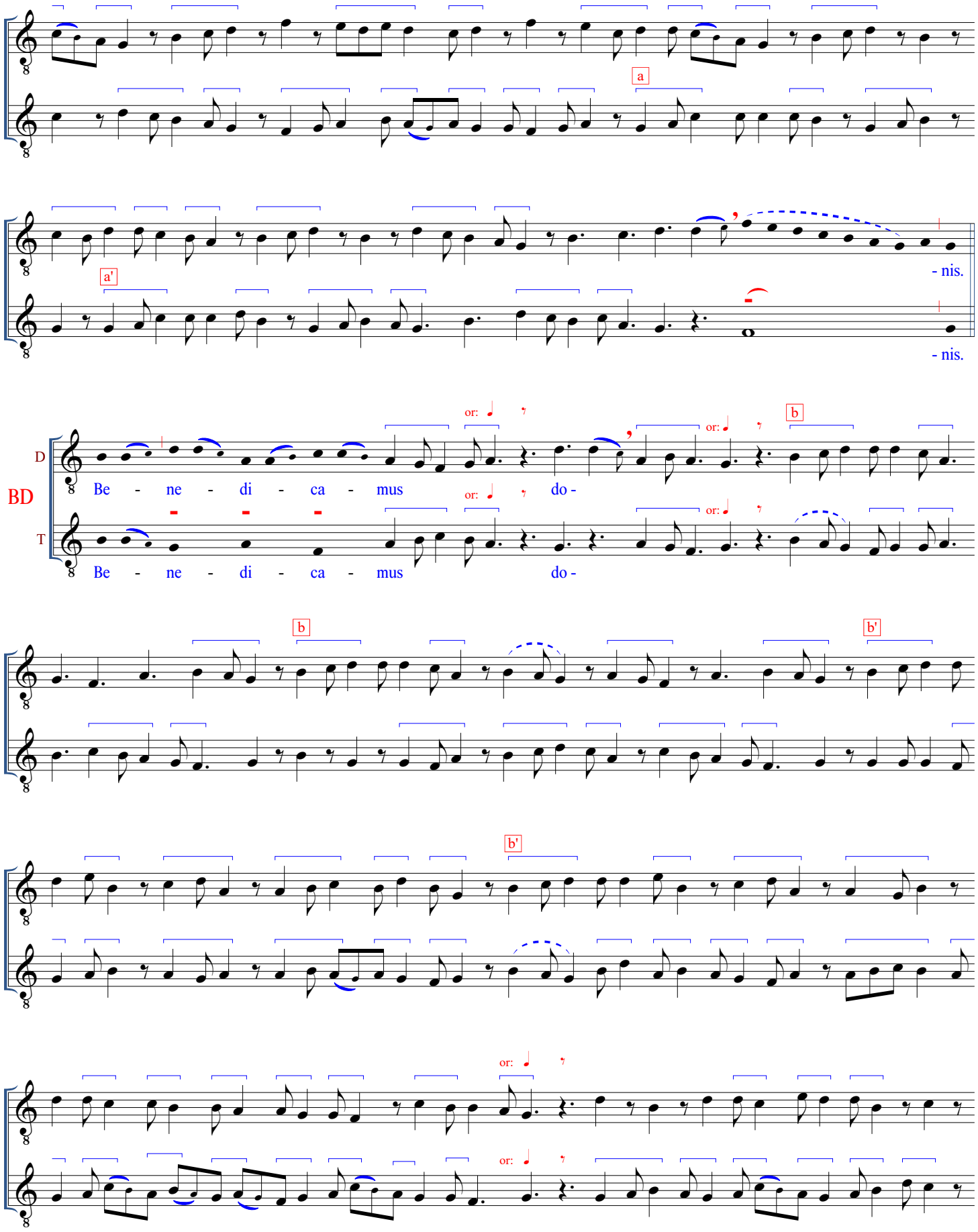
- ta.

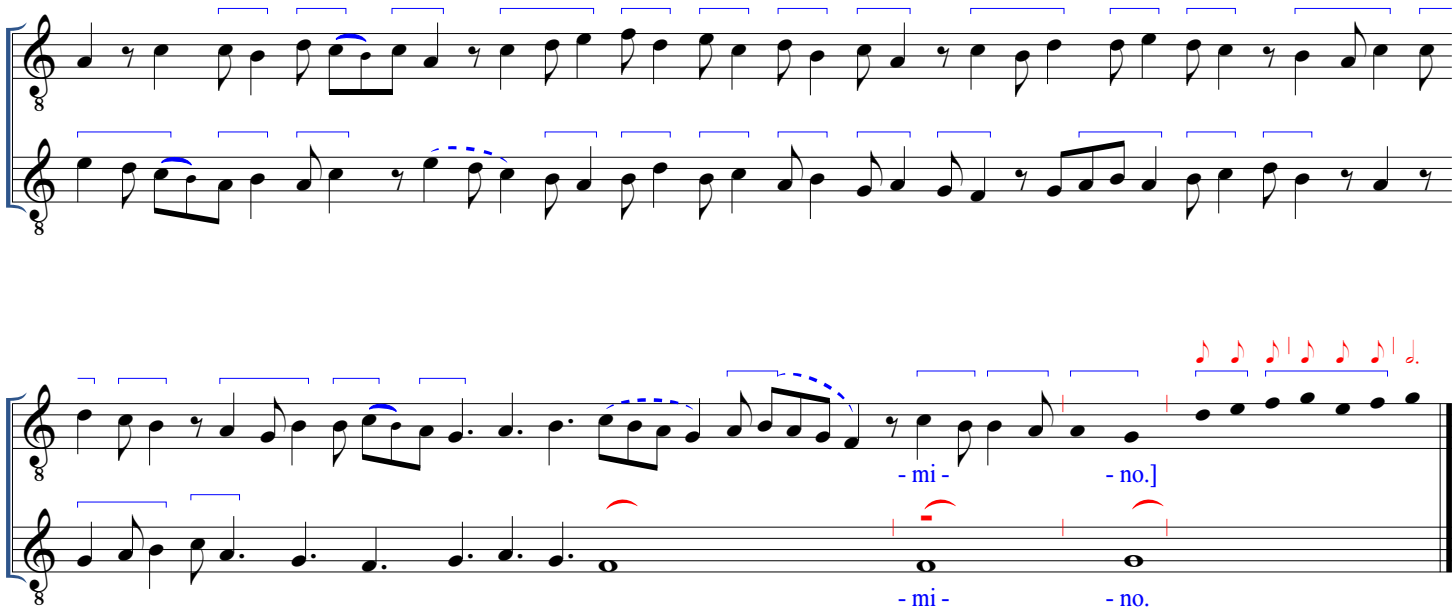
Sum - mi re - gis de - li - ti - as ven - ter e - du - cit vir - gi - nis. ut pri - mi sce - lus ho - mi - nis.

Sum - mi re - gis de - li - ti - as ven - ter e - du - cit vir - gi - nis. ut pri - mi sce - lus ho - mi - nis.

et gra - ves ne - gle - gen - ti - as ex - clu - dat vir - tus nu - mi -

et gra - ves ne - gle - gen - ti - as ex - clu - dat vir - tus nu - mi -


a
a'
- nis.
- nis.
or:
b
D
BD
T
Be - ne - di - ca - mus
do -
b'


- mi -
- no.]
- mi -
- no.

BREVI CARNE DEITAS

Conductus (J42/51)

F, f. 361r (7,115)

I	Brevi carne deitas latet, inclinata; nec sancta virginitas luget deflorata.		Divinity, humbled, lies concealed within a small body; and holy virginity weeps not at being deflowered.
	Summi regis delitias venter educit virginis. Ut primi scelus hominis et graves neglegentias excludat virtus numinis:	5	The womb of a virgin brings forth the darling of the highest king. So that the strength of divine power may erase the wickedness and grave carelessness of the first man:
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*	10	Let us bless the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 115, f. 361r: a2; a unique transmission of text and music; Strophe I, complete, with a capital letter heading line 5, and one also signaling the *Benedicamus domino* of the last line, both indicated by extra space in the text above; no provisions for any further stanzas. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: the *Benedicamus domino* conclusion:** this meditation on the incarnation of God as man through the birth of Christ by a virgin and the abolishment of original sin, concludes in its last line with the liturgical formulation *Benedicamus domino.* Unlike the majority of the conductus in the four main "Notre Dame" sources that also feature this appendage,[2] the BD portion in *Brevi carne* seems even more tacked on than usual: it follows a sizable cauda at the end of the poem proper at line 9,3 and there is no identical rhyme in a prior line to prefigure it; it does, however, correspond with the syllable count and end-of-line accent pattern in the second half of the conductus poem. Even so, the closing verses of the text may be still be read in a manner that allows the BD to follow, as is shown in the translation above. Alternatively, omitting the *Benedicamus* versicle would cause no violation of syntax, but would merely combine the two sentences that begin in line 5. Anderson's edition, furthermore, appropriates this same BD ending from *Brevi carne* for use as a conjectural addition to the previous work in *F: Veni creator spiritus et in me robur insere* (J41/360, see *NDRC,* 5:75-76). Anderson's reasoning for the grafting (explained in *NDRC,* 5:121) is that, although the formula appears to be erroneously attached to *Brevi carne* (even though he includes it in his edition of that piece), it conforms admirably to the rhyme and rhythmic scheme of the concluding line of the seventh (and last) strophe of *Veni creator ... robur insere* as preserved in *F* ("sit laus patri et filio"), and thus better introduces the *Benedicamus*

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Conductus within *F, W1, W2,* and *Ma* that provide BD conclusions are enumerated in the notes to *Christi miles Christo* (J55/58), at *F*-7,130.

text.[3] Moreover, *Veni creator ... robur insere* has no closing cauda at the end of Strophe VII to balance the sometimes lengthy ones that otherwise pepper its setting, and the *Benedicamus* section thus serves an apparently necessary structural and aesthetic function. Even though Anderson's transfer results in a closing section that ends in *g* when *Veni creator ... et in me* is otherwise in *d,* a similar situation obtains in *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195) – which features a BD conclusion with a *d* final, while the rest of the piece is in a *g* mode (see more on this piece in the note below) – and for the last work in *F*'s seventh fascicle, *Christi miles Christo quo militat* (J55/58). This latter conductus finishes its main portion with a final on *g,* but appends a BD section that ultimately concludes uniquely with a closing organal flourish on *a* after spending most of its course anchored on *g.* This BD, also, does not coordinate with the rhyme or poetic scheme of *Christi miles.* Hence, although a *Benedicamus* conclusion does seem called for in *Veni creator ... robur insere,* and one might conceivably supply one from another conductus or from an independent BD setting in two parts, the fact that *Brevi carne* does not overtly imply a *Benedicamus* conclusion does not militate against its presence; nor does it suggest that there is a mistake in its appearance in *F.* There are several other conductus in the Notre Dame repertory that have closing BD versicles that seem unprompted by the conductus poem.[4] **Textual notes: 1-2:** the "humbled" nature of the deity in this passage (from *inclinata,* i.e., "bent down," "declined," "fallen,") refers to God's taking on human form in the person of Christ. It does not, though, connote any diminishment of his power; see, e.g., the three-voice conductus *Parit preter morem* (E12/261), lines 10-14, preserved as *F*-6,36, at f. 232r. **3-4:** Although at first glance the content of these lines may seem odd, since one might infer from them that the Virgin has been deflowered, the actual sense is that Mary, who retained her virginity in bearing Christ, therefore has no cause to weep at its loss. **7-9:** the transgressions and sin of the first man refer, of course, to the inculcation of original sin through Adam's and Eve's disobedience of God's commands (see Genesis, 3). **5,3:** "delitias" (commonly spelled "delicias," rendered here as "darling") typically appears in a plural form when it may denote a singular object.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **MUSIC: General remarks:** the caudae in this piece are notable for their frequent use of phrase overlap and the nearly breathless course of their utterances, which typically require or imply B rests throughout. In most of the places where I have placed TL rests, thinking they might be especially appropriate, alternative rest values are given above the staves. The closing cauda (on *Benedicamus domino,* see also above in the *Notes on the Text*) makes particular use of a prominent motive beginning *bcd,dd*=LBLBL; this opens many of the D phrases, starting with L7 of the cauda over the first syllable of "domino" and recurring several times within the first half or so of the entire final melisma. There is a similar, though briefer, bit of motivic recollection in the earlier cauda over line 9,3 that precedes the BD section. This begins in the T at L21 with the *gac,c,c* figure that is also heard at L28. I have marked these repetitions above the staves. **Opening cauda (over line 1,1):** T: F: the four notes *c,bag* that begin the final phrase of the melisma contain an error, possibly of faulty ligation. They are written as si,3li, although they require an additional TL value to fit with the D. Also, a stroke (omitted in the transcription) after the si *c* is obscured somewhat by the following 3li=*bag;* this is a typical practice employed by the scribe of *F* to cancel an erroneous *tractus,* and thus may point to some problem here in the exemplar used for this piece that caused the error. Reading this stroke as a ternary long rest would allow it to fit with the rhythm of the D, but the dissonance that results with the LBL rhythm of the subsequent 3li that follows this rest would argue against preferring this solution. **Line 4,2:** TD: F: the first of the two notes over the penultimate syllable of "deflorata"

[3]The transmission of the *Veni creator ... robur insere* piece in *F,* however, presents two different musical settings of the texts of Strophes I and VII, and it is not completely clear how the remaining strophes II-VI and Va (extant in other sources) are to be accommodated to the music.

[4]These include *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195) as transmitted in one of its two otherwise similar redactions in *W1* – which, interestingly, happens to feature a *Benedicamus* ending otherwise associated with the conductus *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214); *O lilium convallium* (F18/236) in its states outside the primary Notre Dame sources in *I-CFm Cod. LVI (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale)* and *Stutt; Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66); and *Christi miles,* mentioned above.

(just before the cauda begins) are not obviously el, but the rhythmic extension offered in the transcription seems likely, given the si,siP figures used in the corresponding places at the ends of lines 1 and 2. **Cauda over line 4,2:** T: F: the last two notes in the penultimate phrase of the melisma (at L19-L20 – *f,g*) are written as 2si. Assuming no loss of material, they either need to be rendered as if they were ligated, or the penultimate *a* pitch of the D phrase needs to be extended. The latter possibility is employed in the transcription, prompted by the elongation of the *f* in the T; the former is given as an alternative above the staff. **Line 9,2:** D: F: note over the first syllable of "virtus" om; supplied editorially. **Closing flourish:** D: F: the fifth note *(e)* looks more like a *d* in *F,* but *e* seems more likely, given the space constraints for writing the 4li that contains it and because the figure as given in the transcription is a widely traveled cadential formula, seen prominently in organa and clausula.

PORTA SALUTIS AVE
Conductus (I2/269)

F, f. 361v (7,116)

D [Por -

T Por -

a b a' b' a b

or: or:

| mode 3 also possible
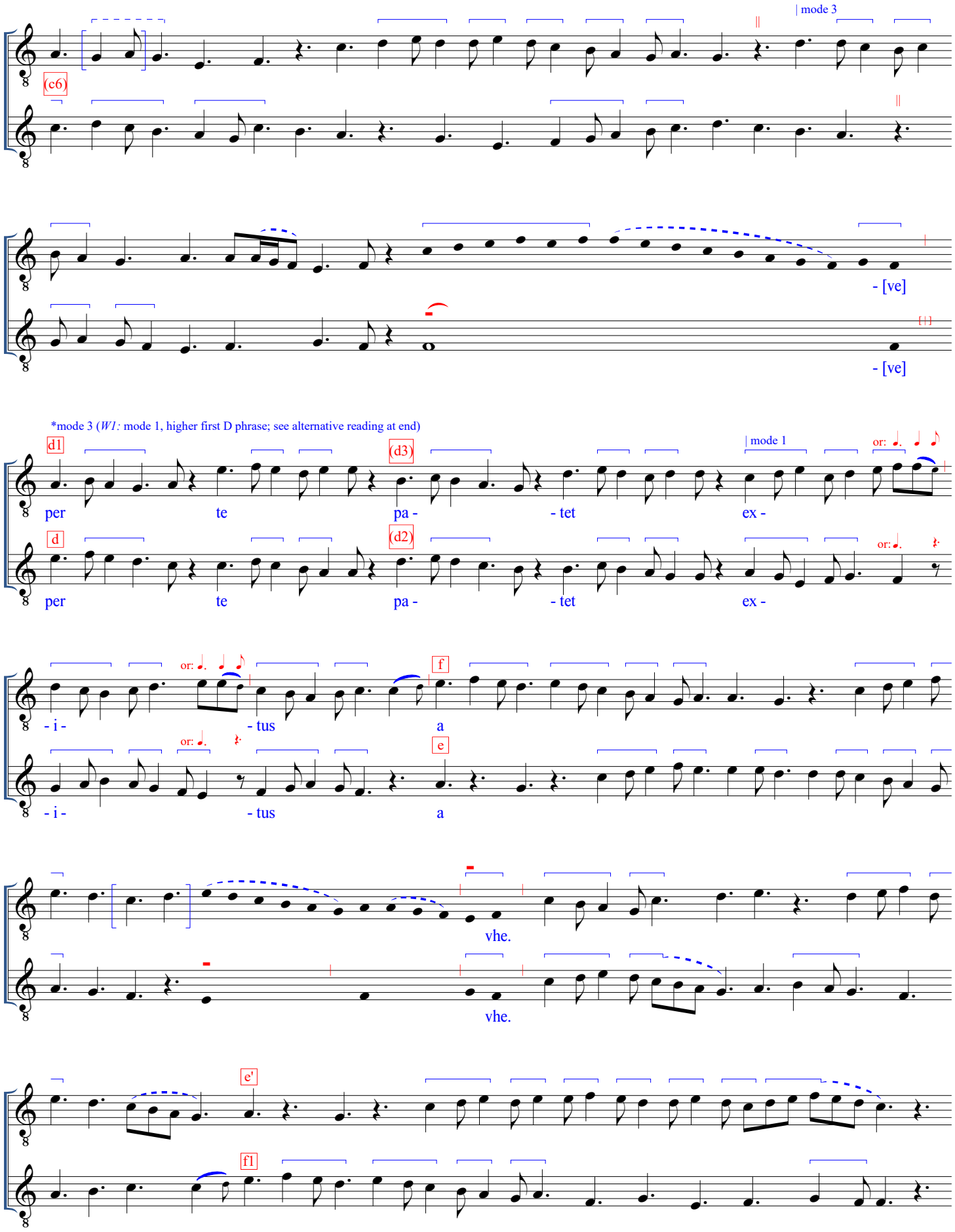
c
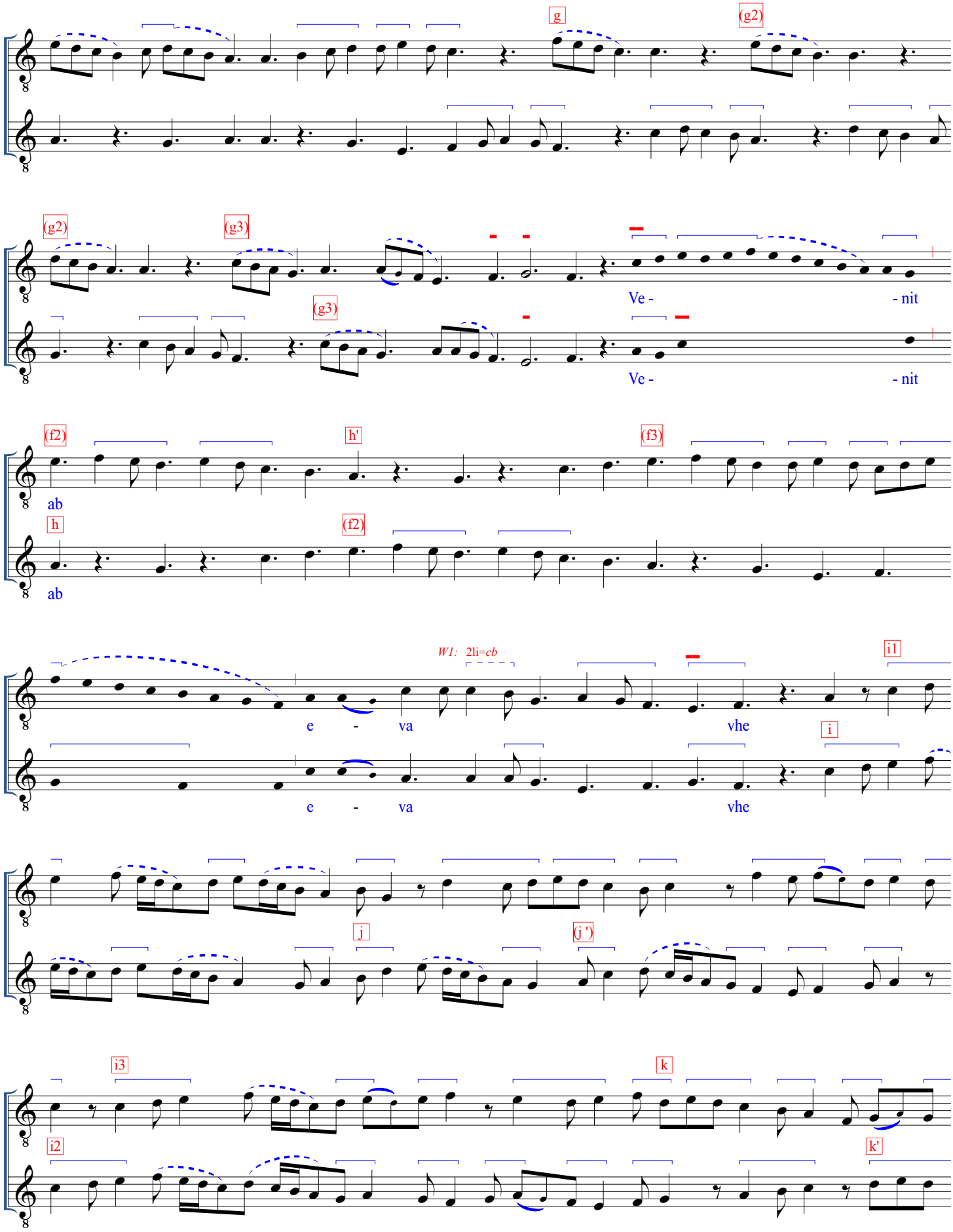
[Por] - ta sa - - lu - - tis a -

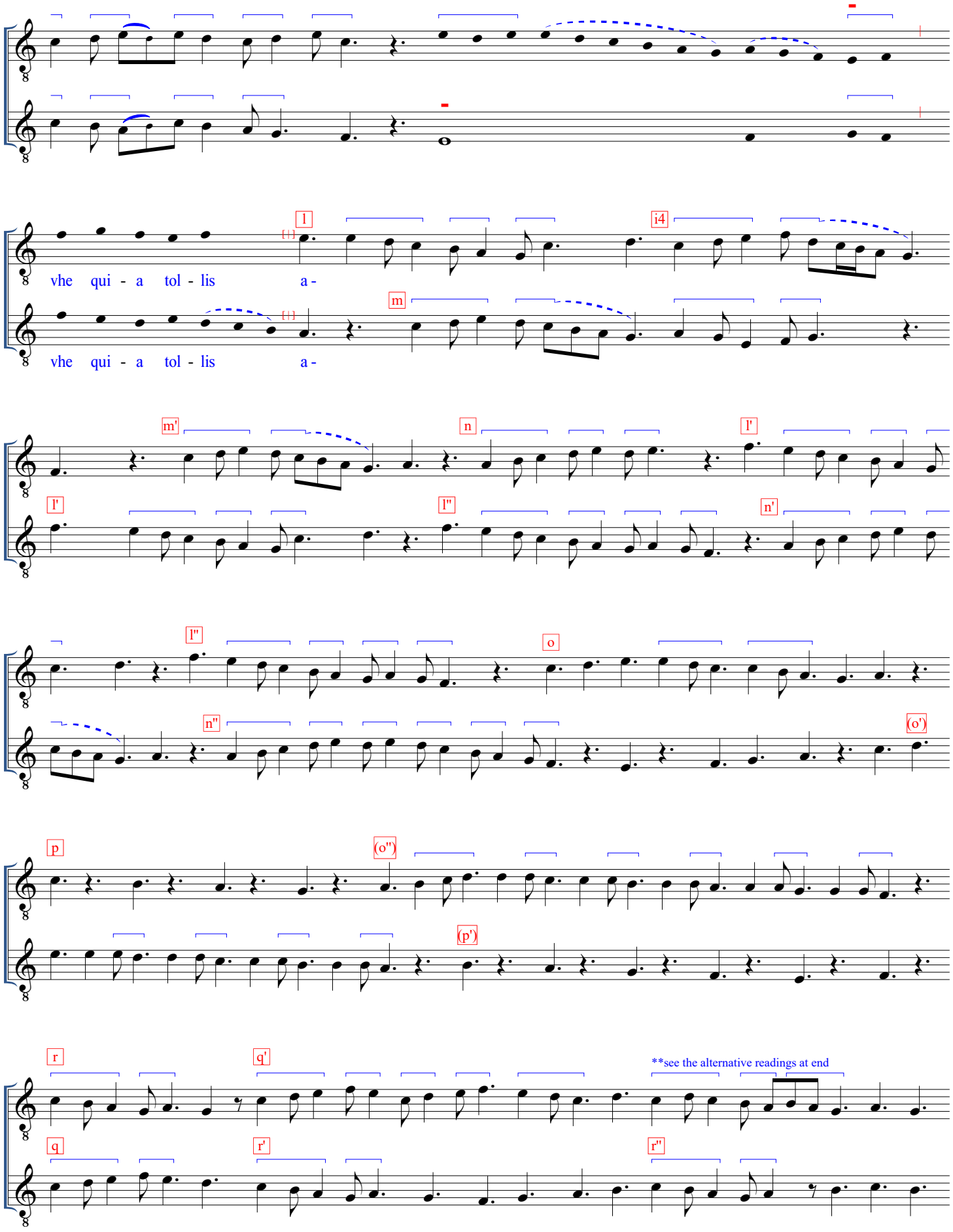
[Por] - ta sa - - lu - - tis a -

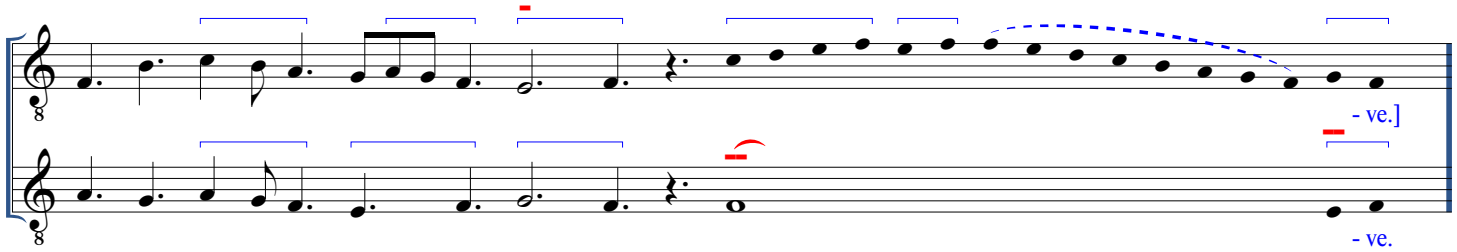
(c1) (c2) (c1)

(c3) (c4) (c5)


| mode 3
(c6)
- [ve]
- [ve]
*mode 3 (*W1:* mode 1, higher first D phrase; see alternative reading at end)
d1
(d3)
| mode 1
or:
per te pa - - tet ex -
d
(d2)
or:
per te pa - - tet ex -
or:
f
- i - - tus a
or:
e
- i - - tus a
vhe.
vhe.
e'
f1


g
(g2)
(g2)
(g3)
(g3)
Ve - - nit
Ve - - nit
(f2)
h'
(f3)
ab
h
(f2)
ab
W1: 2li=cb
i1
e - va vhe
i
e - va vhe
j
(j ')
i3
k
i2
k'

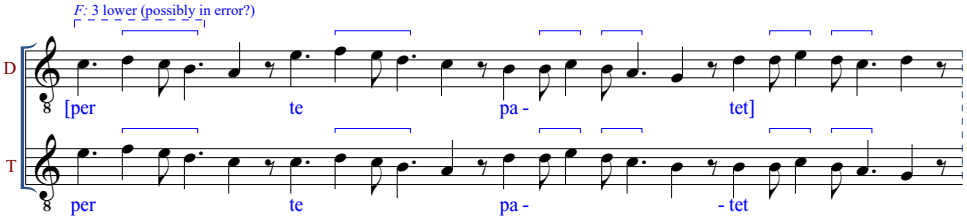

vhe qui - a tol - lis a -
vhe qui - a tol - lis a -
**see the alternative readings at end



ALTERNATIVE READINGS:

*Line 1,4-6: *W1,* f. 70r (63r), III; higher first D phrase and in mode 1
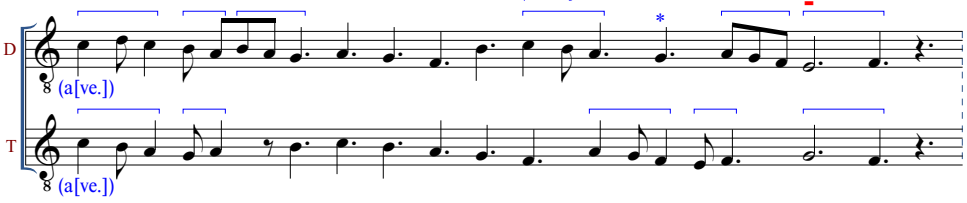
F: 3 lower (possibly in error?)



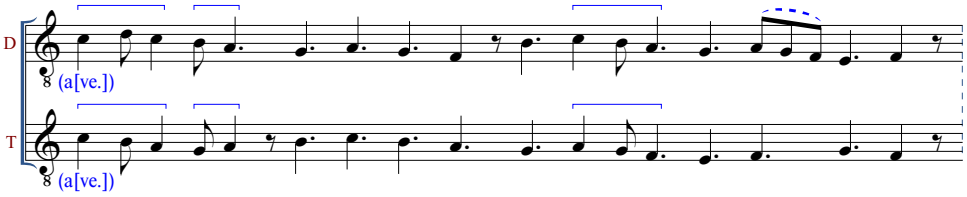
**Final cauda, closing portion prior to *punctus organi:*

a. *F,* f. 362v, I (end), as it stands in the MS
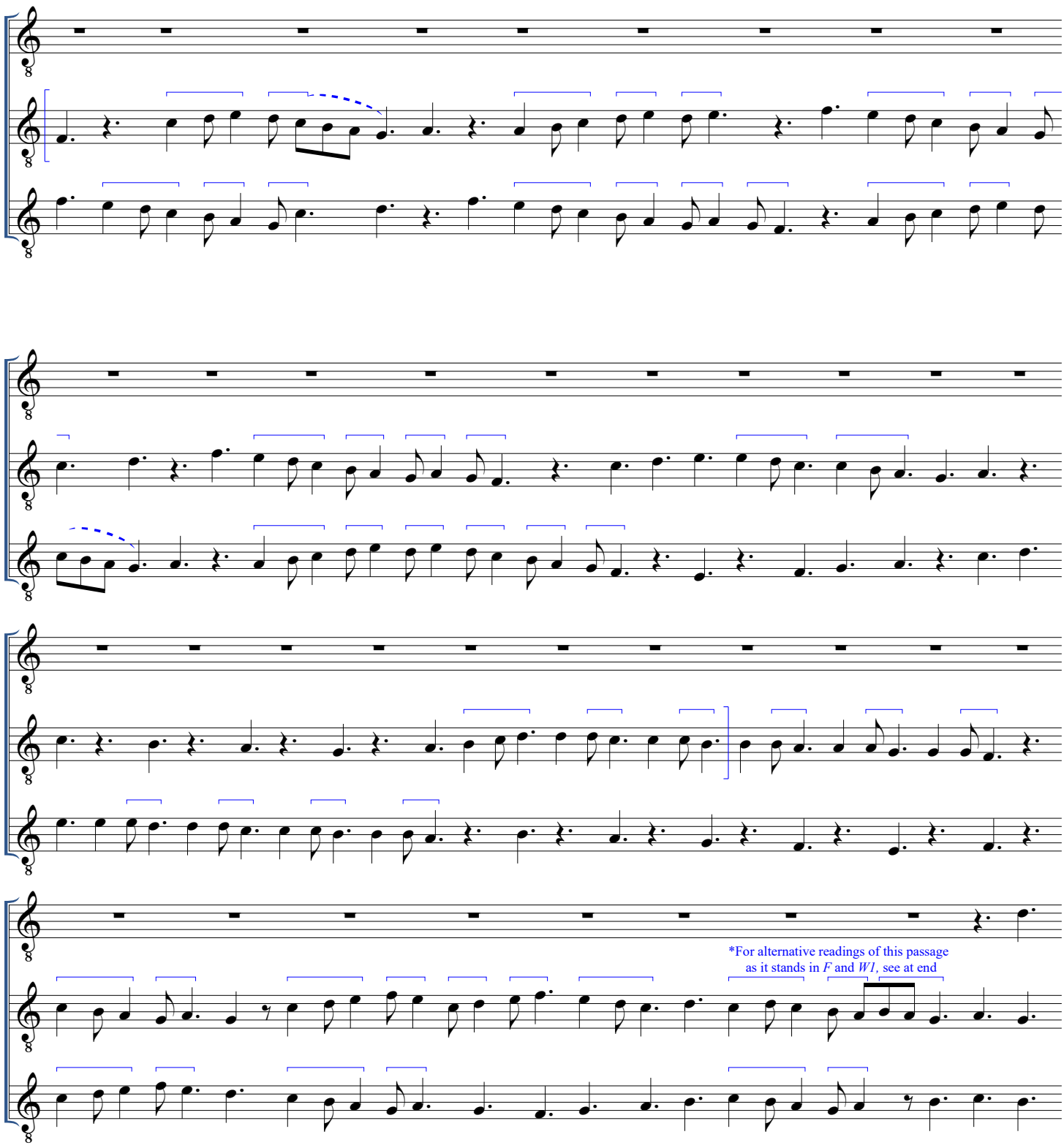
| T: si=*f* not in *W1*

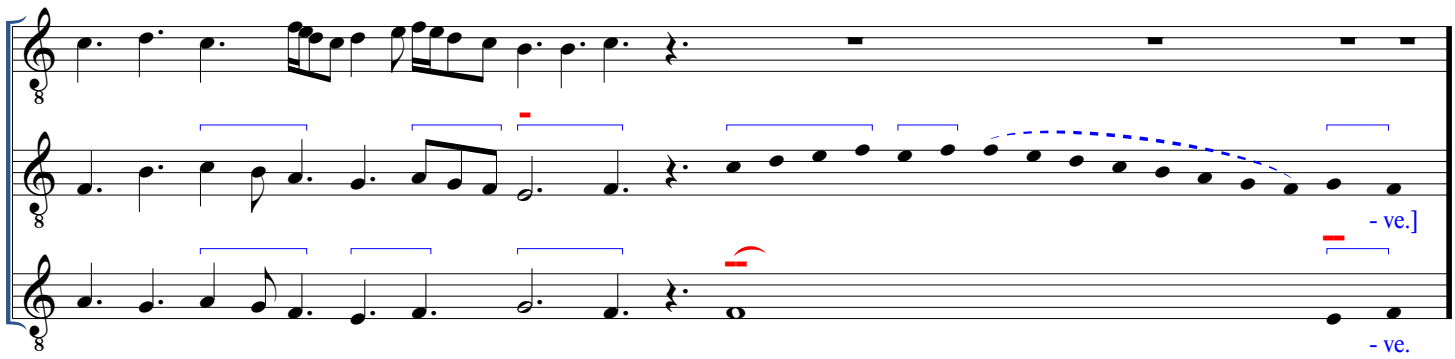


b. *W1,* f. 71r (64r), I (halfway through), as it stands in the MS



US-NYcub N-66


*For alternative readings of this passage
as it stands in *F* and *W1*, see at end


- ve.]
- ve.

PORTA SALUTIS AVE

Conductus (I2/269)

F, f. 361v (7,116)

Porta salutis, a[ve]. Per te patet exitus a vhe.	Portal of salvation, hail. Through you lies open an escape from woe.
Venit ab eva vhe. Vhe quia tollis, ave.	The woe came from Eve. Because you eliminate woe, Hail.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 116, f. 361v: a2; complete text, consisting of a single elegiac couplet (see the notes on the text below), with a possible capital opening line 2. No provision for additional text.

W1, fasc. 8, no.1, f. 70r (63r): a2, complete text, with possible capital heading line 2 and no provision for additional poetry. Piece is ruled for three parts, but Tr was never entered (see the report on *US-NYcub N-66,* below). This redaction shows fewer errors and omissions than the version in *F.*

US-NYcub N-66 (New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, N-66), f. Zv: a3; fragmentary. This repurposed double leaf (the visible side of which constitutes the two folios Zv and Ar) now serves as a protective pastedown to its host volume.[1] Reports of the content of its obverse side indicate it is now completely obliterated.[2] The left half of the leaf (f. Zv), with much of its substance extremely difficult to read due to fading and the presence of occasional small holes, shows four staves containing portions of two systems of the final cauda of *Porta salutis,* with the second system revealing the traces of a Tr voice known from no other source, but the existence of which is implied by the blank staves that remain for this piece in *W1*.[3] Of the verbal text, only parts of a very smudged final syllable remain. I have not yet succeeded in reconstructing the remains of the Tr as an alternative reading, due to the difficulties posed not only by the legibility of the voice in this source, but also because of the uncertainties that arise with regard to the alignment of the parts, which are compounded by an overlapping phrase design. For a partial attempt, embracing the very end of the piece, see Mashcke, *"Porta salutis,"* 194.

Text only:

As Maschke's article demonstrates (*"Porta salutis,"* 201-202), a very wide variety of sources transmits the text of this conductus, often with minor variations. It appears, for example, as the motto of several surviving corporate seals from two different abbeys in the United Kingdom. In addition to its presence as a brief quotation within the course of various types of works, manuscript sources that contain the couplet include collections of poetry, short verses, or proverbs; it also serves as a colophon for theological treatises and miscellanies, and was several times taken as a jumping-off point for lengthier poems and poetic centos. The

---

[1]For a treatment (including images) of *US-NYcub N-66,* upon which much of this description relies, see Eva M. Maschke, "Neue Conductus Fragmente aus dem ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Frankfurt am Main," *Studi Musicali: Nuova serie* 1,2 (2010): 295-312, especially 298-306. As Maschke shows here, *US-NYcub N-66* originally came from the same source as the Frankfurt conductus fragments *(D-F Fragm. lat.VI.41).* For the latter items, see 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.

[2]For this detail, as well as more on this source, couched as part of an extensive treatment of *Porta salutis ave,* see Eva M. Maschke, "*Porta salutis ave:* Manuscript Culture, Material Culture, and Music," *Musica Dsiciplina,* 58 (2013): 167-229, at p. 169, note 11.

[3]The apparent remains are as follows: the first extant staff presents the T from approximately L11-L57 of the cauda. The remaining three lines constitute a single system of three voices, containing what appears to be the remainder of the piece. The staves of the second system begin with the T at L58, and the D at L63 – thus significantly misaligned.

possibility that many further instances of the text lie waiting to be unearthed is very likely. As a result, only two text-only sources are listed below, since these collections of poetry are elsewhere associated with the Parisian conductus repertory. For the entire range of sources so far identified, see the listings in Maschke, *"Porta salutis,"* 225-229, and the inventory on the *CPI* website (http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk).

OxRawl (GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 14, f. 237r (8r): text only; rubric: "Versus de beata virgine" ("Verses on the Blessed Virgin"); the couplet is written in the bottom two lines of the leaf.

F-Pn n.a.l. 1544 (Paris, Bibliothéque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1544), f. 75v; text only, slightly varied ("qua" for "te" in line 1,5); appears as the final couplet of the cento poem *Vale sole clarior;* rubric: "Salutationes beate virginis" ("Greetings to the Blessed Virgin").[4]

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

This piece is not to be confused with the conductus *Porta salutis Maria* (O25 in Anderson's conductus edition, revised from O23 in his published catalog of the repertory/-).

***Notes on the Text*:** The poem is a single leonine elegiac distich, a metrical scheme with a first line in classical dactylic hexameter, followed by one in dactylic pentameter; the term "leonine" refers to the fact that each line here has a two-syllable internal rhyme, occurring at the caesura and at the end.[5] In this case the all rhyme sounds are the same. Throughout the couplet the poet has played with a common medieval conceit: a frequently encountered anagrammic play on words, contrasting the woe ("vae / vhe") of Eve ("Eva") that was counteracted by Mary's response to Gabriel's greeting ("ave") at the Annunciation; see Luke, 1:28.[6] For some similar treatments within the main Parisian sources, see the conductus *O lilium convallium* (F18/236), line 8, and *Stella serena* (F29/339), line 7, appearing in *F*-6 at nos. 46 and 57, respectively.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,3:** F: second syllable of "ave" omitted. **2,8:** F: the final syllable is placed at the beginning of the penultimate phrase of cauda, 13L prior to the start of the *punctus organi;* the placement adopted here follows *W1.* **MUSIC:** Although the *US-NYcub N-66* source is not considered in the critical report of Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 4:89-90), I have not supplied its variants here; its content is so degraded that there would be too many uncertainties in terms of detail. One minor observation, though, is that *US-NYcub N-66* agrees with *W1* against *F* in the problematic passage reported below in the final cauda. **General remarks:** *Porta salutis* is one of only nine conductus within the main Parisian sources that has a final on *f,* whether with *b-flat* sigs or not; all but three of these, moreover, are Marian.[7] Of these, one should

---

[4]An image of the leaf may be found here: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033677x/f81.item.r=NAL%201544.

[5]Metrical conductus texts (all in dactylic hexameter, except where noted) within the four main "Notre Dame" manuscripts *(F, W1, W2, Ma)* are *Alma redemptoris mater* (I23/13), *Celorum porta* (J19/55 – a leonine hexameter couplet), the elegiac couplet *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), and two textually related pieces uniquely transmitted in *Ma: Salve sancta parens patrie* (J58/317) and *Salve sancta parens enixa* (J57/316). In *Ma,* moreover, *Salve sancta parens enixa* is preceded by the conductus setting of *Alma redemptoris.*
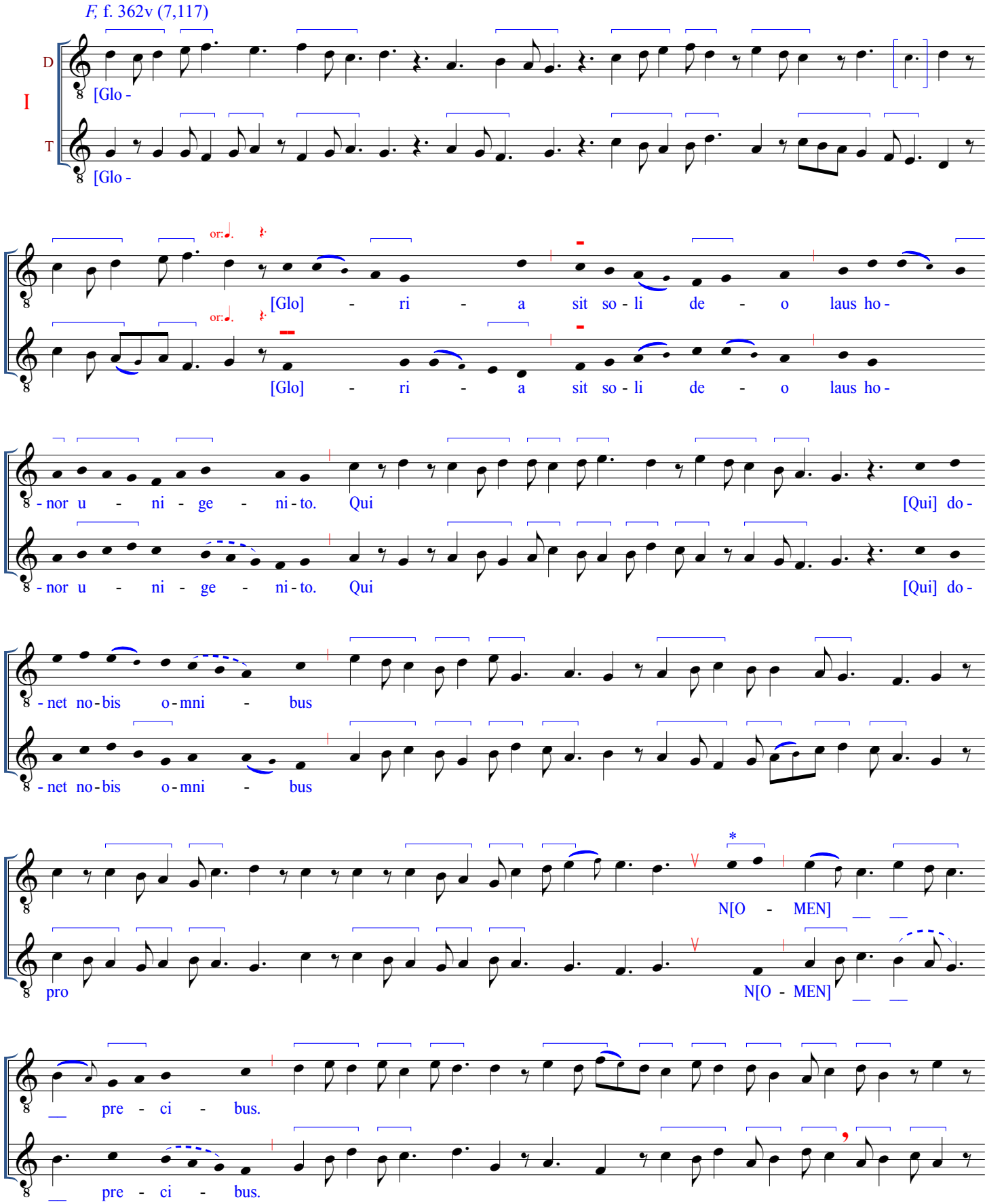
[6]Luke, 1:28: "Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: 'Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus' " ("And the angel, entering, said to her: 'Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women' ").

[7]The nine conductus in *F, W1, W2,* and *Ma* with *f* finals are: *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), Philip the Chancellor's *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16, P46/39), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9), *Fons* (or *Flos*) *preclusus* (K72/129, perhaps by Peter of Blois), and Philip's *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329). The final three pieces in this list are the non-Marian ones.
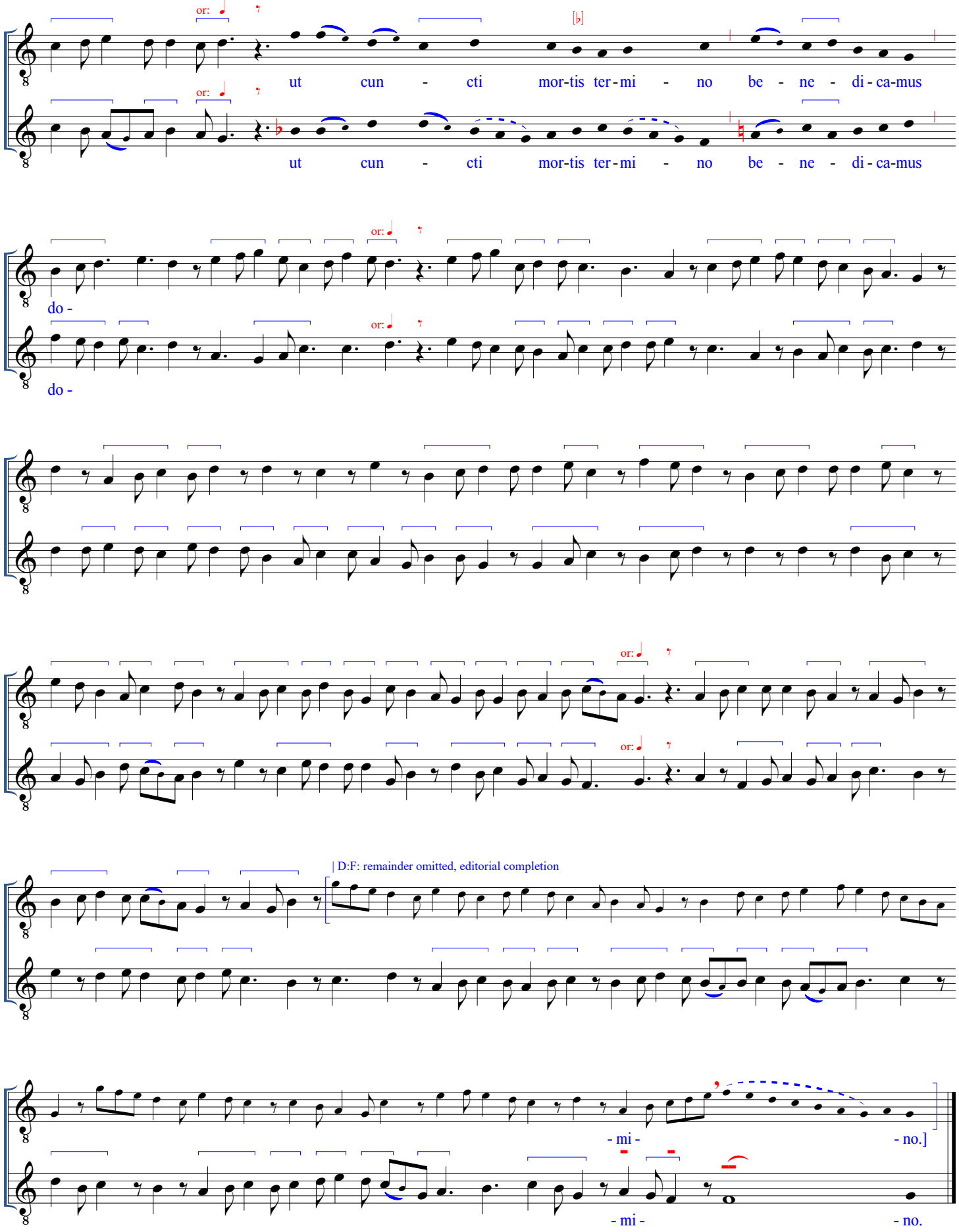
particularly note *Celorum porta*, at *F*-7,72, which, in common with *Pia mater* that happens to precede it directly in *F,* shares some additional notable textual and musical characteristics with *Porta salutis.* **Motivic profusion:** *Porta salutis,* notable for its profusion of caudae in proportion to its *cum littera* sections, features many repeated melodic motives of varying length throughout its course; many of the more significant figures are signaled by boxed letters over the staves in the transcription, but numerous other such gestures could also be cataloged, as smaller units are sometimes recombined with others in different arrangements or with slight variations. The exploitation of melodic sequence is also seen here to a notable degree; such a technique, as well as other types of identity achieved through motivic transposition, is signaled above the staff as usual by additionally enclosing the identifying letter of the motive in parentheses. **Opening cauda:** T; F: L2: most of the other rest strokes in the cauda imply B. Apparently, it was thought important to indicate the TL rest here by a double stroke (as signaled by the mark above the staff); *W1* shows here only a single stroke. T: F: L18,2-L19,1: 2li=*de* partially covers an apparently unwanted stroke, om in the transcription. T: F: L32: 3 of 3li=*b* of *dcb* smudged – not a P, as it might seem. **Cauda on line 1,3:** D: F: L10: stroke om, from *W1.* D: F: L40: two notes *(ga)* om from what in *W1* is written as 3li=*gag.* D: F,W1: L54: *c* for *d,* although W1 could have a low-lying *d.* **Line 1,4-6:** T: F: evidence of erasure precedes the word "per"; a *c*3cl entered here mid-system (possibly as a correction); notably the first four notes of the D here in *F (a,bag)* are 3 higher in *W1,* there forming a chain mostly of parallel thirds that continues as both sources proceed. *F* may be briefly in error here; see the alternative reading from *W1* at the end, which might serve as a correction to the first D phrase in *F.* **Cauda on line 1,8:** D: F: L15-L16: 2si=*c,d* om; taken from *W1.* **Cauda after line 1,9:** T: F: L8: the *f* slightly obscures an unwanted stroke as if an error, om in transcription. **Cauda on line 2,4:** TD: F: L1: rhythmic interpretations of the 4C figures found throughout this cauda are prompted by *W1,* where they are notated as 2li+2C. **Final cauda:** T: F: at the point 8L prior to the *punctus organi* and following the si=*g,* the introduction of an extraneous si=*f* in this MS likely caused the scribe to erroneously ligate the four pitches *efgf* prior to the *punctus organi* as 2li,2li which are rendered as 4si in *W1.* The rhythmic implication of *W1* is followed in the transcription, as it avoids a dissonance occurring in the *F* reading. The readings of both *F* and *W1* for this passage appear as alternative versions at the end of the transcription, where the dissonance in the uncorrected *F* version is noted with an asterisk.

GLORIA SIT SOLI DEO
Conductus (J43/146)

F, f. 362v (7,117)



*The name of the recipient being celebrated is intended to be inserted at this point; any further required syllables may be distributed at the places marked: "__" and the pitches sung with whatever rhythms the performers may choose.


or:
[♭]
ut cun - cti mor-tis ter-mi - no be - ne - di-ca-mus
ut cun - cti mor-tis ter-mi - no be - ne - di-ca-mus
or:
do -
or:
do -
or:
or:
| D:F: remainder omitted, editorial completion
- mi -
- no.]
- mi -
- no.

GLORIA SIT SOLI DEO

Conductus (J43/146)

F, f. 362v (7,117)

I	Gloria sit soli deo;	Glory be to God alone;
	laus, honor unigenito.	praise and honor to the only-begotten one.
	Qui donet nobis omnibus,	May he grant to us all,
	pro *N[OMEN]* precibus,	through prayers on behalf of *(insert name),*
	ut cuncti, mortis termino,	that we all, on the brink of death,
	benedicamus domino.	may praise the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 117, f. 362v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no apparent provisions for additional text, and with nothing distinguishing the opening letter of the BD conclusion; a unique textual and musical setting ; the end of the D is incomplete (see the observations and variants, below). The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** This poem contains elements of a doxological formula, although the Holy Spirit is never directly invoked here with the other members of the Trinity. Also, given the content of lines 4 and 5, in addition to the provision for the insertion of a variable name signaled by line 4,2 (see below), it seems that this piece might well have served as an item in a Requiem service or some other memorial celebration that invokes death or the Last Judgment. Line 2, e.g., has been identified in at least one other poem in a similar context (q.v.). **Textual notes: 2:** this expression occurs as part of a doxology within the final strophe of a *Versus de die judicii et adventu filii dei* found in an eleventh-century MS (no. 189) held (at least during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) in a library in Clermont. The text of this *versus* is edited in Anatole Boucherie, "Mélanges latins et bas-latins," *Revue des langues romanes,* 7(1875): 28-31, see p. 31.[2] The same item is also reported by Karl Strecker, ed., in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini,* vol. 4, part 2, p. 523, Monumenta Germaniae historica: Antiquitates (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923). **4,2:** see the remarks on this word under the observations and variants section below.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 4,2:** for this word, *F,* the unique source, supplies only an ornamental capital "N," written in a horizontally elongated fashion. This feature is almost certainly intended to signal the insertion of the name ("nomen") of the recipient of the celebration. A similar contingency is employed in liturgical books for those ceremonial texts and chants that must serve for multiple individuals.[3] As a result, I

---

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]The edited stanza (no. 13) reads: "Gloria aeterno Patri! / Laus honor Unigenito! / Spritui procedenti / Virtus simul et potestas / Semper sit, et infinita / Per seculorum secula" ("Glory to the eternal father! Praise and honor to the only-begotten one! To the Spirit proceeding at once from them, may there always be strength and infinite power, forever and ever!").

[3]See, for example, the strikingly similar ornamental "N" presented in the text of the *Memento Domine,* a prayer for the remembrance of the living that forms part of the Canon of the Mass, in the Parisian notated missal *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1112,* f. 103v (XCVIIv); an image is available here; see the penultimate line of the second column on the leaf.

have chosen to enter *N[OMEN]* in the edition of the text above and in the music transcription, while *"(insert name)"* appears in the corresponding place in the translation. Disregarding the "N," four syllables thus seem wanting for this line in comparison with the remainder of the poem, but the likelihood that this segment of the piece would have a variable text prompts me not to supply anything beyond what *F* actually presents. For a different treatment that fills out the line with a four-syllable editorial insertion not based on any name, see Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxvi,79, as well as his explanation and provisions for alternative renderings on p. 121. There thus appears to be no justification for Anderson's characterization of line 4 as corrupt. For further information, see also the remarks below on the music for line 4,2. **5:** Anderson's translation of this line (*NDRC,* 5:xxxvi) faultily applies "cuncti" as a modifier for "mortis," despite the fact that the forms of the words used here differ in gender. **6:** on the Benedicamus conclusion to this poem, see the remarks on the music for this passage below. **MUSIC: Opening cauda:** D: F: a note appears to be missing in the fifth phrase of this voice part, at L19; a pre-cadential *c* has been supplied editorially. **Line 4,2:** based only on the way the single capital "N" is underlaid to the music at this point (cf. the remarks on the text for line 4,2), it is not immediately clear how many contingent syllables may be provided for in the musical setting. It seems most likely that the insertion of the variable name could begin over the si=*f* in the T that appears just to the left of the "N" as it is entered in *F*. Such a placement (adopted here) would coincide with the 2li=*ef* in the D, which (in my opinion) suggests a *principium ante principium* formula as is often seen in Parisian organa (and it is so treated in this transcription). The employment of this formula would effectively serve to call attention to the named individual. Indeed, the notational figures at this juncture do not appear to me to make much sense unless treated in this fashion, due especially to the conclusive cadence on *g-d* (the final of the piece as a whole) that precedes this segment, as well as the strokes on either side of the purported *principium* figure. If this is actually the intention of this passage, the available ligatures in the T and D thus seem to allow for the possibility of as many as five syllables for an inserted name. These figures also are set above the extended "N" in the text to suggest it should incorporate them, if needed. In the score, required syllables may be distributed at any of the places marked with an underscore sign (i.e., __), and any remaining untexted music may either be rendered *sine littera,* or conceivably might support further language that could be added to accord with the incorporation of the name (e.g., "O," "nostra," "O pie," "O sancte," "O beata," etc.). **Benedicamus conclusion (line 6):** the text of the BD cauda that closes this piece conforms to the poetic structure (8pp) and rhyme sound "-ino" of the verse that precedes it; it also furnishes a necessary syntactical conclusion to the text as a whole. Furthermore, both the BD and the earlier portions of this piece are oriented on *g,* suggesting an overall agreement between the two sections. Despite the lost material at the end of the D, the T makes it clear that a finish on *g* is intended. Plus, the open cadence on *f-c* just before start of the *g*-oriented BD section makes its conclusive role especially satisfying. **The incomplete D voice:** TD: F: the final portions of the D of this unique piece were never entered, and much of the staves in its final system were also erased. The eradication of the staves begins immediately after the first D phrase on that last system. Following this first gesture, four more *ordines* are then supplied for the D on the mostly expunged staff before the music for this voice part breaks off completely at approximately one-third of the way into the system; the T, however, continues to the end of the system and seems complete, with no erasure of its staff lines. The remnants of this D staff also show that no notes have been erased along with the staff; what is visible at this point in the MS is what has bled though from the other side of the leaf. As the loss is not extensive, I have endeavored to supply my own conclusion for the D, differing from the very successful alternative attempt at reconstruction provided by Anderson (in *NDRC,* 5: 80). Due to the content of the final cadence in the T, I am assuming that a *punctus organi* formula would be appropriate here, and so have offered one.

DEUS PACIS ET DILECTIONIS

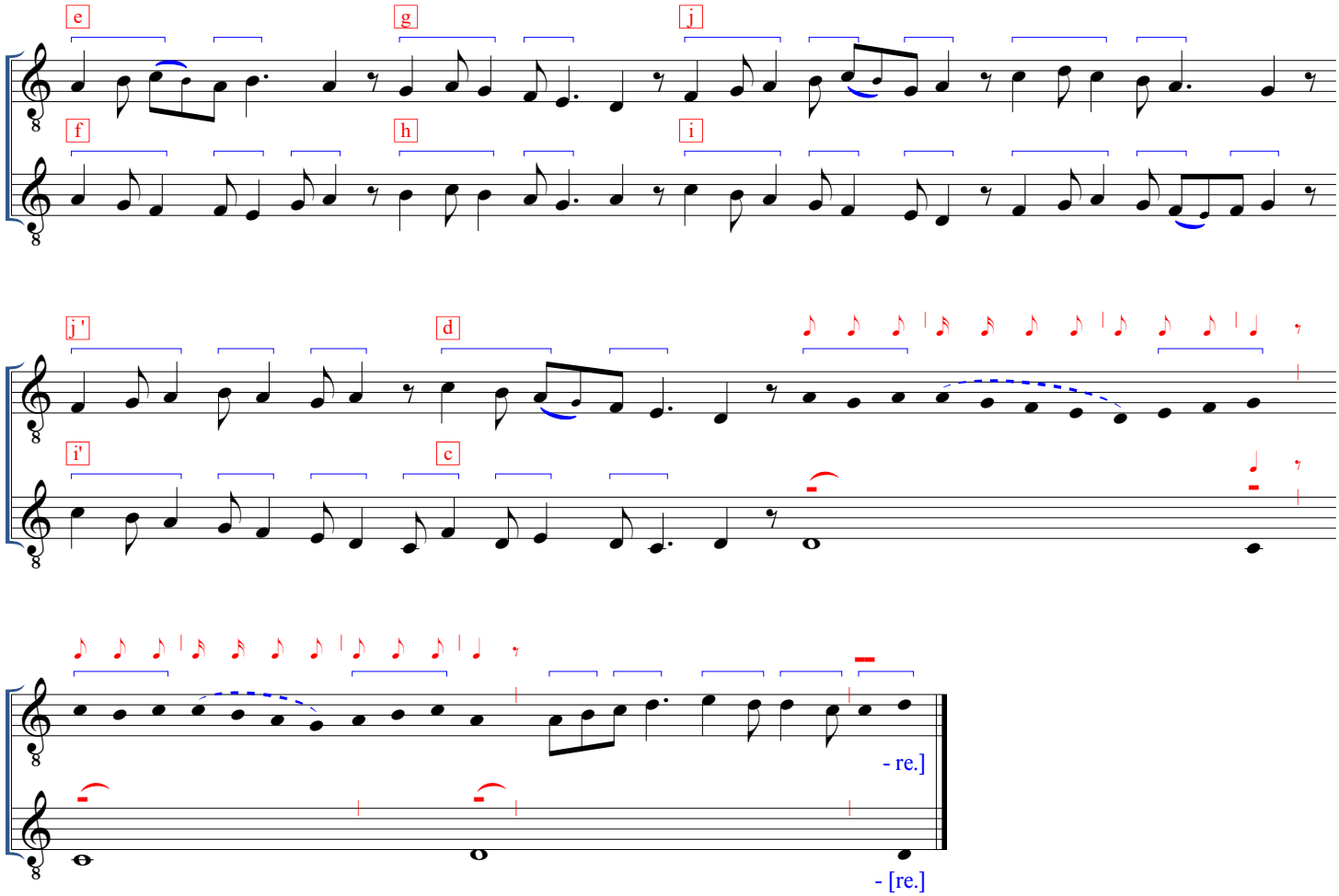
Conductus, Prayer, Grace (J44/93)

F, f. 363r (7,118)

I

D [De - us pa - cis et di - le - cti - o - nis ma - ne - at sem-per no - bis - cum. tu au - tem do - mi - ne no - stri mi - se - re -

T De - [De] - us pa - cis et di - le - cti - o - nis ma - ne - at sem-per no - bis - cum. tu au - tem do - mi - ne no - stri mi - se - re -


e
g
j
f
h
i
j'
d
i'
c
- re.]
- [re.]

DEUS PACIS ET DILECTIONIS

Conductus, Prayer, Grace (J44/93)

F, f. 363r (7,118)

Deus pacis et dilectionis maneat semper nobiscum; tu autem, domine, nostri misere[re.]	May the god of peace and love remain with us always; and you, O lord, have mercy on us.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 118, f. 363r: a2; a unique musical setting of a commonly occurring prayer (see the notes on the text); no provisions for additional words. *Deus pacis* lies at the end of an array of nine relatively elaborate conductus *cum caudis* from *F*-7, 110-118, a series that begins with *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54) and opens with four items that appear to be works by Philip the Chancellor. The next three pieces in *F* after *Deus pacis* form a short group of simpler, syllabic works.[1]

Text only: see the *Notes on the Text*.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** The text is in prose, rather than verse, derived from 2 Corinthians, 13:11: "... et Deus dilectionis et pacis erit vobiscum," and Psalm 40:11: "tu autem Domine miserere mei ... ." The conductus lyric is often found, with occasional variants in its concluding phrases (such as "vobiscum" for "nobiscum" and the words "nostri miserere" exchanged), as a prayer in documents from the twelfth century to the present day. It occurs, for example, at the very end of *Epistola CXXIX* of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux,[2] dated 1133, and throughout the British Isles as a postprandial benediction in the acts of a number of ecclesiastical institutions (as in Salisbury and York) and university colleges, such as those of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; New College, Oxford; and Jesus College, Cambridge, where to this day it is still prescribed as the College Grace to be given after feasts. Given the particular association of the prayer with the grace said after meals, it is conceivable the conductus may have served a similar purpose.[3] The use of prose texts is relatively rare in the Parisian conductus repertory;[4] all – as here – are biblically derived and may either have functioned in liturgical roles in other contexts, or served a demonstrable ceremonial function, as in the conceivable implementation of *Deus pacis* as a mealtime grace.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: final word:** F: last syllable omitted. **MUSIC:** frequent thirds and motivic recall, along with the voice exchange in the final cauda, may point to Insular features consistent with the

---

[1]These are *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Ave nobilis venerabilis* (J46/35), and *Helysei manubrio* (I53/135). The very next piece, *Regis decus et regine* (J47/301 – again a work by Philip the Chancellor), begins a new series of more elaborate works *cum caudis* from *F*-7,122-126.

[2]See *PL,* 182, col. 285B .

[3]On the environment of the public reading *(lectio publica)* that regularly accompanied meals in religious houses as a possible venue for performing conductus, see Mark Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song: Latin Poetry and Music in the Conductus* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 57-62.

[4]All told, these 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) – a piece with music only in *W1;* like the work under consideration, all of these have close ties to the texts of liturgical or ceremonial items.

common appearance of the text as a prayer in British ecclesiastical and university circles. **Opening cauda:** D: F: at the end of the last phrase of the cauda, from L16,2-L17, several notes have been erased and never re-entered; the editorial completion is based on the D phrase in the final cauda just before the organal close, where both voices imply a repeat of the earlier material. **Final cauda:** D: F: for the last two notes of the sixth phrase, at L23,3-L24,1, the 2li=*ga* is smudged or blotted, yet still legible.

HAC IN DIE SALUTARI
Conductus (J45/151)

F, f. 363v (7,119)

I

D [Hac in di - e sa - lu - ta - ri mo - net plau - su re - no - va - ri no - vus an - nus

a a'

T Hac in di - e sa - lu - ta - ri mo - net plau - su re - no - va - ri no - vus an - nus

cir - cu - la - ri du - ctu re - no - va - tus. mov - et an - nus su - sci - ta - ri gau - di - um re -

cir - cu - la - ri du - ctu re - no - va - tus. mov - et an - nus su - sci - ta - ri gau - di - um re -

[Refrain?]

- na - tus. hoc in an - hoc in an - hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - no

- na - tus. hoc in an - hoc in an - hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - no

[Refrain?]

Vox so - no - ra sol - vat o - ra si - ne mo - ra hoc in an - hoc in an -

Vox so - no - ra sol - vat o - ra si - ne mo - ra hoc in an - hoc in an -

hoc in hoc in hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - no.]

hoc in hoc in hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - hoc in hoc in hoc in an - no.

HAC IN DIE SALUTARI

Conductus (J45/151)

F, f. 363v (7,119)

I	Hac in die salutari,		On this day of salvation,
	monet plausu renovari		the new year, being renewed,
	novus annus circulari		announces its renewal by the
	ductu renovatus.		striking up of a ring dance.
	Movet annus suscitari	5	The year, reborn, causes
	gaudium, renatus.		joy to be rekindled.
[Refr.?]	Hoc in an-,		In this ye-,
	hoc in an-,		in this ye-,
	hoc in an-,		in this ye-,
	hoc in, hoc in, hoc in anno.	10	in this, in this, in this year.
	Vox sonora		Let a resounding voice
	solvat ora		loosen our lips
	sine mora.		without delay.
[Refr.?]	Hoc in an-,		In this ye-,
	hoc in an-,	15	in this ye-,
	hoc in, hoc in, hoc in an-,		in this, in this, in this ye-,
	hoc in, hoc in, hoc in an-,		in this, in this, in this ye-,
	hoc in, hoc in, hoc in anno.		in this, in this, in this year

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 119, f. 363v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with a capital heading line 11, indicated by the extra vertical space in the poem above, and with no provisions for additional text; a unique musical and textual setting. This and the next two pieces form a short group of three simpler, syllabic works, following the previous array of nine more elaborate conductus *cum caudis* from *F*-7,110-118, a series that began with *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54).

Text only: none.

Music only:

The opening notes in both voices of *Hac in die salutari* recollect the start of the first phrase of the final cauda in the conductus *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66), found in the following briefly noted sources:

F, fasc. 7, no. 68, f. 328v: a2; Strophe I, complete, with BD at end.

Hu, no. 148, fol.137r: a2, in mensural notation; Strophe I complete; no BD conclusion.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** As this piece has a number of characteristics that intimate it could contain one or more refrains as well as one or more stanzas, there is some ambiguity as to how to interpret its verse structure. For example, it could be multi-stanzaic, with two differently constructed strophes (lines 1-10, 11-18) set to through-composed music, or it might present a single stanza, as conjectured above. Furthermore, it could contain a single refrain, beginning either at line 7, or even 11 or 14; or, alternatively, two multiple but closely

related refrains, from lines 7-10 and 14-18, might be the intended construct. This last interpretation begs comparison to the structure of a *rondellus,* as seen in the types of pieces transmitted in *F*-11. With *Hac in die salutari,* though, we would have a relatively lengthy nine-line stanza interrupted by a partial internal and longer concluding refrain. In contrast to the most familiar forms of the Latin *rondelli,* however, *Hac in die salutari* does not show the same attention to the thorough repetition of musical material that usually obtains in these refrain songs.[1] Unfortunately, all of these structural questions are likely to remain unanswered unless further textual and musical sources surface.[2] **1-4:** This work is one of a number of conductus that invoke the new year, and might thus be appropriate for liturgical or festive use at Circumcision or for the so-called Feast of Fools on 1 January, as well as Christmastide in general. Also conceivable is the celebration of the new year at a different time of the year, such as Easter, Christmas, or the feast of the Annunciation (March 25). For an analogous situation in another conductus that also praises renewal (this time of spring) and communicates elements of the dance, see the notes on the text to the conductus *Veris ad imperia* (F11/373). For more information on pieces that bring up the new year, see the notes to the text to *Hac in anni janua* (E6/148) and those of *Ysyas cecinit* (C4/188), lines 25 and 27. 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 invocation of the ring dance in lines 3-4 may be metaphorical, as the turn to a new year has similar connotations of circularity and return. Donna La Rue, for example, has shown that certain terms associated with dance may be less indicative of actual dancing in the context of a liturgical celebration, and may rather connote festivity without actually involving dance.[3] For other conductus with possible references to dancing, see, in addition to *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), *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), especially lines 15-17.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: 10,4:** D: F: *f* for the editorially emended *g,* due to the fact that, if left alone, this would be the only harmonic interval of a second in the entire piece, which is otherwise heavily consonant.

[1]See the conductus *Baculi sollempnia* (J52/20) located eight pieces after *Hac in die salutari* at *F*-7,127 for some analogous features that suggest a comparison to the Latin *rondelli* in *F*-11.

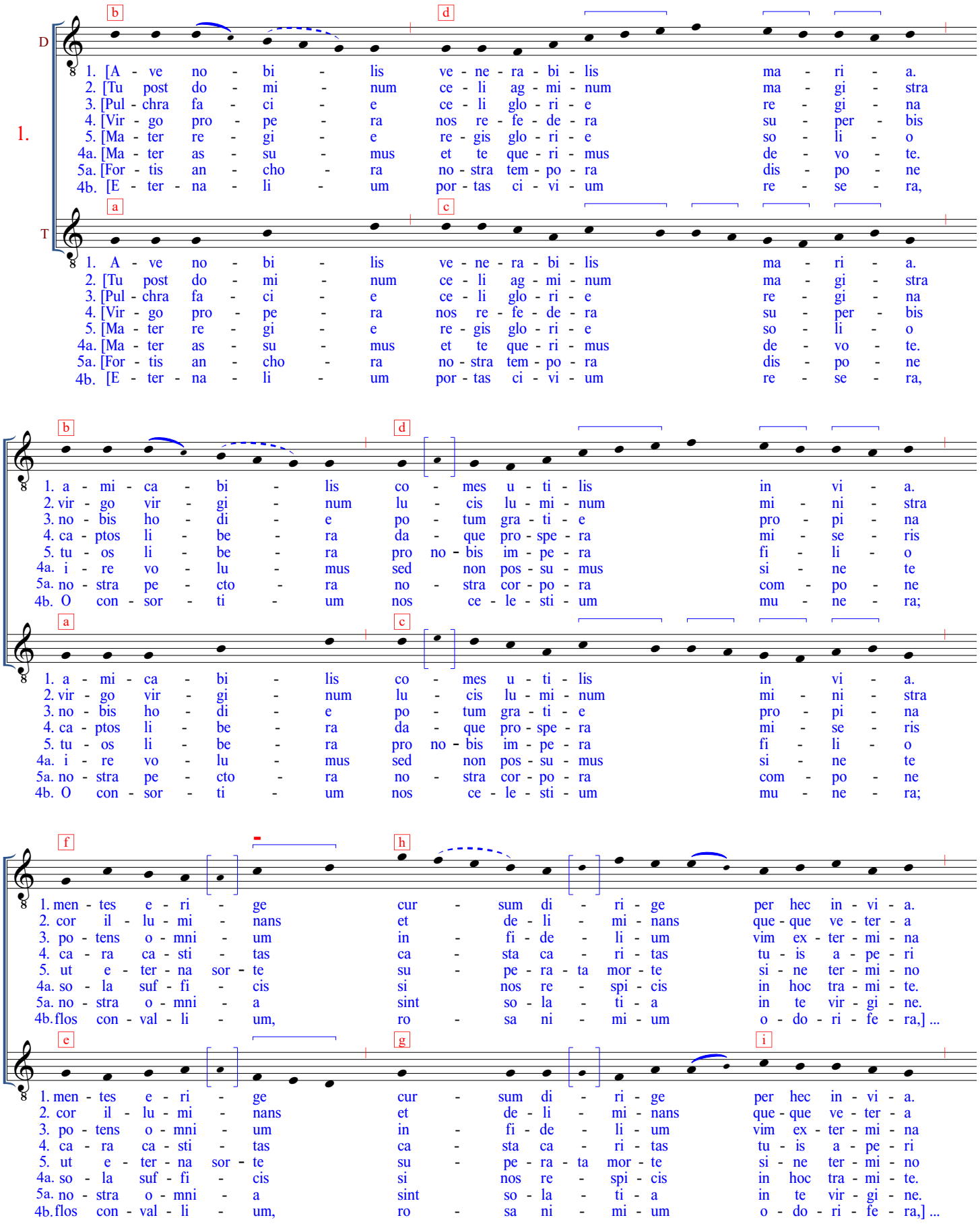
[2]Discussion along similar lines of the unusual characteristics of *Hac in die salutari* can be found in Mary Channen Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2013), 674-676. Here the observations of Robert Falck from his "The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertories: A Study of Source Concordances and Their Relation to the Chronology and Provenance of Musical Styles." PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970, 121-123 are also brought into play.

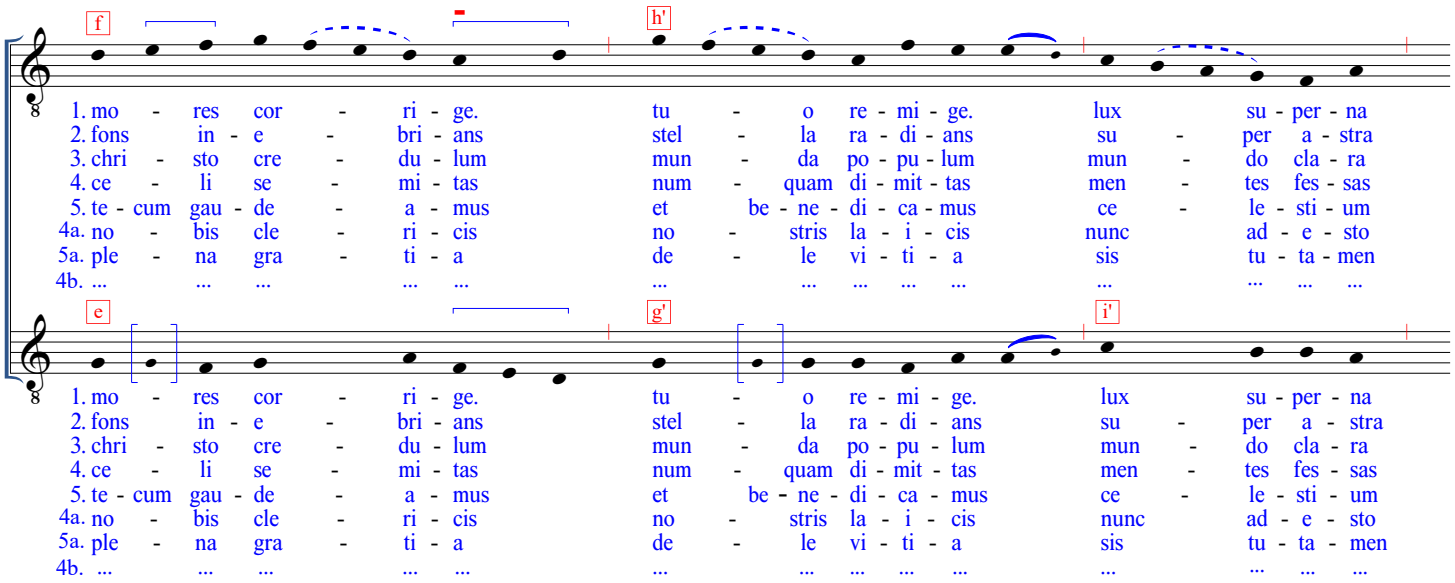
[3]See Donna La Rue, "Tripudium: Its Use in Sources from 200 BCE to 1600 CE," *ARTS (The Arts in Religious and Theological Studies),* vol. 7, no. 3 – separately paginated – (1995): 25–29.

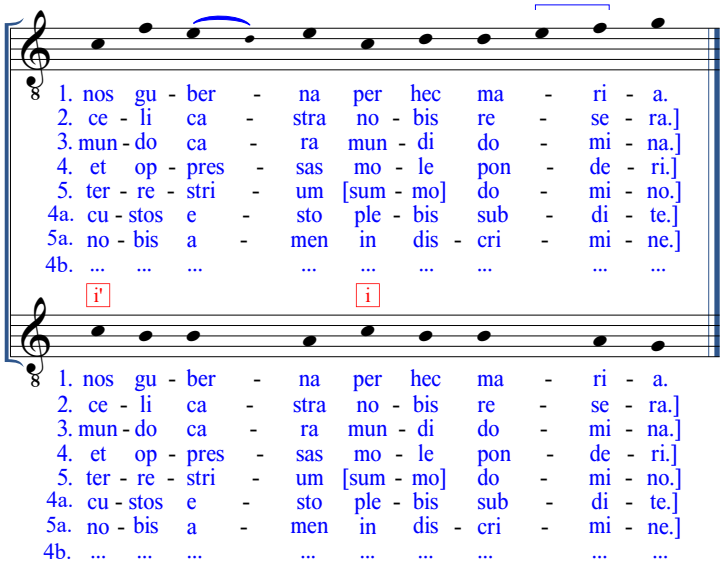
AVE NOBILIS VENERABILIS MARIA – *F, LG2,* and *Pa3517* settings

Conductus, Sequence (J46/35)

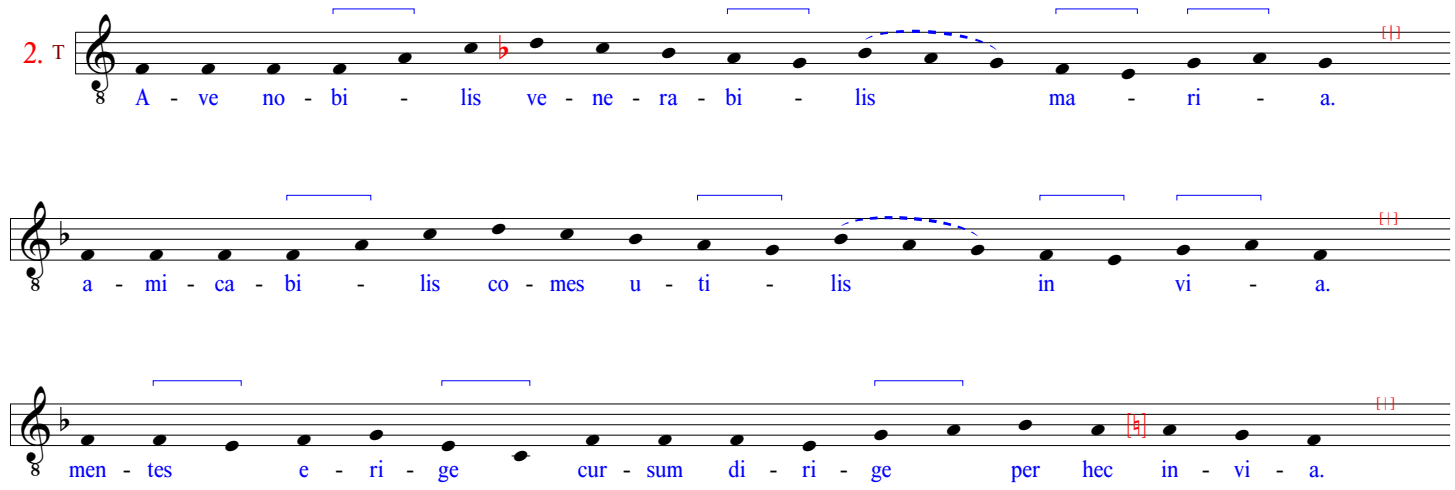
F, f. 363v (7,120): Strophe I; *LG2:* Strophes II-V; *FB:* Strophes IVa, Va; *DO882:* Strophe IVb (incomplete)

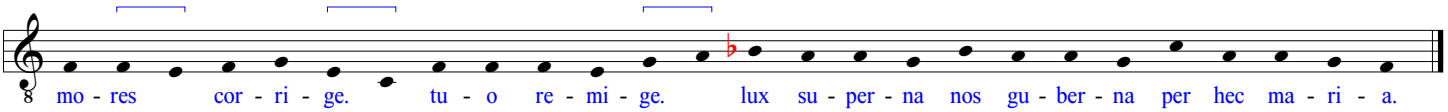




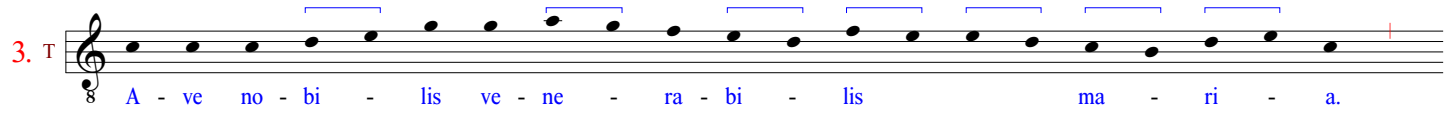


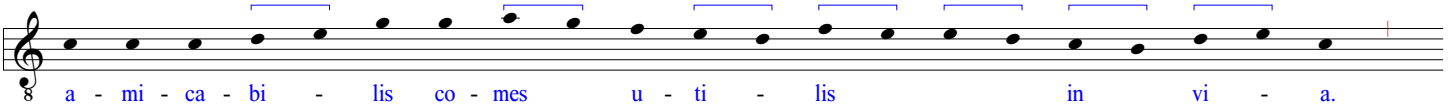
LG2, f. 282v: Strophe I only of Strophes I-V, final on *f*

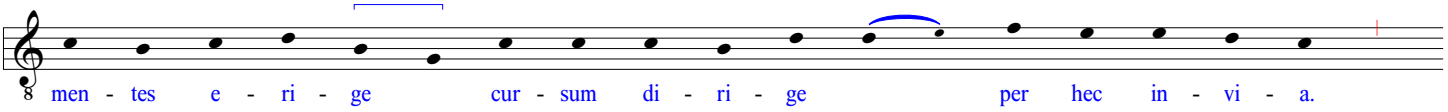


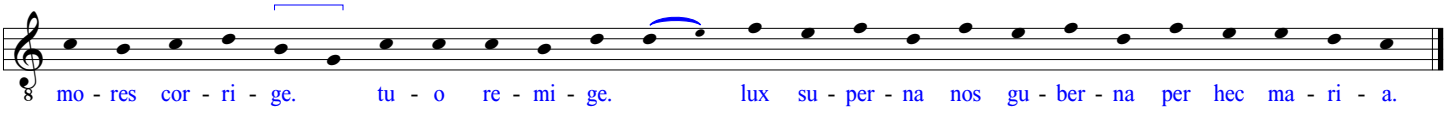


Pa3517, f. 13v: Strophe I only of Strophes I-III, final on *c*









AVE NOBILIS VENERABILIS MARIA – *F, LG2,* and *Pa3517* settings

Conductus, Sequence (J46/35)

F, f. 363v (7,120): Strophe I; *LG2:* Strophes II-V; *FB:* Strophes IVa, Va; *DO882:* Strophe IVb (incomplete)

I	Ave, nobilis,	Hail, noble,
	venerabilis	venerable
	Maria,	Mary,
	amicabilis	friendly
	comes, utilis	companion, helpful
	in via.	on the journey.
	Mentes erige;	Lift our spirits;
	cursum dirige	direct our course
	per hec invia.	through these impassable tracks.
	Mores corrige	Set our conduct aright
	tuo remige;	with your rudder;
	lux superna,	heavenly light,
	nos guberna	steer us
	per hec maria.	through these seas
II	[Tu, post dominum,	You, after the Lord,
	celi agminum	are the mistress
	magistra.	of heaven's armies.
	Virgo virginum,	Virgin of virgins,
	lucis luminum	minister of the
	ministra,	light of lights,
	cor illuminans	illuminating the heart
	et deliminans	and driving away
	queque vetera,	each and every sin of old,
	fons inebrians,	intoxicating spring,
	stella radians	star shining
	super astra,	above the heavenly bodies,
	celi castra	unlock for us
	nobis resera.	the fortifications of heaven.
III	Pulchra facie,	Lovely of countenance,
	celi glorie	queen of
	regina,	heaven's glory,
	nobis hodie	serve to us
	potum gratie	today the
	propina.	drink of grace.
	Potens, omnium	Powerful one,
	infidelium	eliminate the might
	vim extermina.	of all the unfaithful.
	Christo credulum	Cleanse the people
	munda populum,	trusting in Christ,
	mundo clara,	lady shining for the world,
	mundo cara,	lady precious to the world,
	mundi domina.]	and mistress of the world.

The following two stanzas, transmitted only in *LG2,* appear after Strophe III.

IV [Virgo, propera. — Virgin, hurry.
Nos refedera. — Reunite us in alliance.
Superbis — Free those captured
captos libera — by the proud
daque prospera — and grant good outcomes
miseris. — to the wretched.
Cara castitas, — Esteemed chastity,
casta caritas, — chaste esteem,
tuis aperi — open up to your own
celi semitas. — the paths of heaven.
Numquam dimittas — May you never abandon
mentes fessas — minds weary
et oppressas — and oppressed by the
mole ponderi. — weight of the millstone.

V Mater regie — Mother of regal glory
regis glorie — on the throne
solio, — of the king,
tuos libera. — free your adherents.
Pro nobis impera — Command your son
filio, — on our behalf, so that,
ut, eterna sorte, — during our everlasting destiny,
superata morte, — having conquered death,
sine termino — we may rejoice with you
tecum gaudeamus — without end
et benedicamus — and may bless
celestium — the [highest] lord
terrestrium — of the celestial and
[summo] domino.] — terrestrial.

The following two stanzas, transmitted only in *FB,* appear after Strophe III.

IVa [Mater, assumus — Mother, we are here
et te querimus — and seek you
devote. — devotedly.
Ire volumus — We wish to proceed,
sed non possumus — but we cannot
sine te. — without you.
Sola sufficis — You alone are enough
si nos respicis — if you watch us
in hoc tramite. — on this track.
Nobis clericis, — For us clerics,
nostris laicis, — for our laity,
nunc adesto. — be now present.
Custos esto — Be the guardian
plebis subdite. — of a subject people.

Va Fortis anchora, — Sturdy anchor,

nostra tempora		arrange our
dispone;		daily lives;
nostra pectora,		set our hearts,
nostra corpora,		our bodies,
compone.	90	in order.
Nostra omnia		Let all our
sint solatia		consolations
in te, virgine		be in you, virgin
plena gratia.		full of grace.
Dele vitia;	95	Expunge vices;
sis tutamen		be a safeguard
nobis – amen –		for us – amen –
in discrimine.]		in a crisis.

The following incomplete stanza is transmitted only in *DO882,* following Strophe III.

IVb	[Eternalium		Unbar the
	portas civium	100	gates of the
	resera.		eternal citizens.
	O consortium		O celestial
	nos celestium		company,
	munera.		reward us.
	Flos convallium,		Flower of the valley,
	rosa nimium		rose exceedingly
	odifera,]		fragrant,
	...		...

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 120, f. 363v: a2, with final on *g* and no sigs throughout; setting of Strophe I only, with no provision for more stanzas. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7, and which also obtains for the following piece, *Helysei manubrio* (I35/153). The music in *F* is centered on *g,* a tone higher than *LG2* and *DO882,* and a fourth lower than *Pa3517.* The opening stanzas of the first and last of these alternative transpositions are supplied here after the version of *F* for comparison.[1]

LG2 (Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2 (17); F-LG 2 (17); "Fontevraud Gradual"), f. 282v: a1 (T), with final on *f* (like *DO882*) and with *b-flat* sigs entered when needed; Strophes I-V, each fully supplied with music and headed with an illuminated initial; the unique stanzas presented in this source (IV-V) cast this work as a *Benedicamus domino* acclamation; rubric: "Sequentia de sancta maria" ("Sequence about Saint Mary"). The first strophe of this rendering is given for comparison following the version from *F.*[2]

Pa3517 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517; F-Pa 3517; ArsB), f. 13v: a1 (T), with final on *c* and no sigs throughout; Strophes I-III, with II-III written separately after the musical setting of I and indicated by painted initials. The first strophe of this rendering is given for comparison following the versions from *F* and *LG2.*

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Images of *LG2* available at: https://bnl-bfm.limoges.fr/s/bibliotheque-virtuelle/item/75.

This MS is one of the sources of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coincy.[3]

FB (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660a; D-Mbs Clm. 4660a; "Fragmenta Burana"), f. IVr (3r): a1 (likely the T), in unheightened neumes written over every stanza; Strophes I-III, IVa, Va, each indicated by capitals. This transmission is in a more cursive text hand, contrasting with those of the other two poems entered above and below *Ave nobilis* on this leaf, each of these also entered by different scribes.

DO882 (Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, 882; D-DO 882), f. 175v: a1 (T) with final on *f* (like *LG2*) and occasional *b-flat* sigs; Strophes I-III, followed by the uniquely transmitted, incomplete Strophe IVb; music entered for all stanzas. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me, and the MS is presently lost; details derive from the edition in Anderson, *NDRC,* and the CPI website.

Text only:

D-HR Cod. Il Lat. 2, 8°, 13 (Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlungen [now in the University Library, Augsburg], Cod. II Lat. 2 , 8°, 13), f. 132v: text only of Strophes I-III. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; information derives from Anderson, *NDRC,* and the CPI website.

D-TR 1878; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1878, f. 154v: text only of Strophes I-III. Images of this source are presently unavailable to me; information is drawn from Anderson, *NDRC,* and the CPI website.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** There are a wide variety of ways to construe the verse structure of this poem in praise of the Virgin Mary. Here, a route that favors shorter lines has been taken. This results in a pair of tercets of 2(5pp)+3p, followed by 5(5pp) lines, concluding with a 2(4p)+5pp – or possibly 5p – tercet, with various strategies available for considering these units as parts of larger constructs. Strophe V, however, presents five lines (61,63,64,66,67) with an extra syllable (6p for 5pp) in comparison to the other stanzas (see below in the observations and variants of the verbal text),[4] and the succession of rhyme sounds varies in each stanza, except for the identity between I and what remains of IVb. **Stanzaic disposition:** All sources but *F* transmit at least Strophes I-III, which group appears to constitute the core set of stanzas for this poem. The variety of additional or alternative strophes found in other MSS (5 stanzas in 3 sources – with these added ones all following upon I-III) is notable. The use of rhyming vowels other than "-i-" and "-a" in the third and sixth lines of IV, V, IVa, Va, and IVb also sets apart these seemingly ancillary units. In terms of the inclusion and performance of the stanzas beyond III, if V is used, it perhaps had best bring the presentation of the entire text to a close, no matter what other strophes may be called upon to precede it, since V functions essentially as a BD acclamation. **Textual notes: 1-14 (Strophe I):** although not directly stated, this opening stanza is primarily given over to images that recall the Virgin Mary's frequent designation as *stella maris,* star of the sea, a figurative guiding light for mariners. This address occurs in a number of other conductus in *F,* notably in the setting of the metrical liturgical text *Alma redemptoris mater* (I32/13). David A. Traill, *Carmina Burana,*

[3]Images of *Pa3517* available here: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55006913x/f32.item.

[4]The six-syllable content of these lines is not indicated in the verse analysis provided by the CPI website.

2:728,[5] suggests that the additional references to journeying in lines 77-82 (occurring in a stanza found only in *FB*) may imply a pilgrimage, based on the inclusion of both clergy and laity among the travelers. **19-20:** the "light of lights" is Christ, suggested by John, 8:12,[6] and implied by the phrase *lumen de lumine* from the Nicene Creed. **23:** the interpretation of "vetera" as "old sins" is prompted by 2 Corinthians, 5:17,[7] which recalls Isaiah, 26:3.[8] **21:** see Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 2:10, where the illuminator of hearts is the Lord.[9] **56:** millstones, due to their great weight and the degree of labor involved in their use, represent life's hardships and death. **57-59:** a frequent epithet of Mary is "throne of Solomon," see, e.g., the remarks on line 15 of Philip the Chancellor's conductus *O Maria virginei* (E14/239), and lines 67-68 of *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75/28) by the same poet. **106-107:** for the symbol of the rose as it pertains to the Virgin, see the notes to the text of the conductus *Flos de spina procreatur* (H29/127), lines 1-2.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: General remarks:** Since multiple sources *(F, LG2, DO882)* are used to supply the stanzas not transmitted in *F,* and since *Pa3517* as well as *LG2* is drawn on here to furnish an alternative to the musical setting in *F,* all textual variants within these sources are collated. For *DO882,* unavailable to me, the variants reported here come from Anderson, *NRDC,* 5:122. Throughout *LG2* there is very little to no apparent punctuation. Final periods may be present for Strophes I-II, but none are visible for III-V; those in the music transcription are added editorially. **Extra syllables and notes:** The fifth stanza of *LG2* differs in versification from the others in giving several lines with supernumerary syllables. Lines 61,2 ("nobis"), 63,3 ("sorte"), 64,1 ("superata"), 66,1 ("tecum"), and 67,2 ("benedicamus") all add an extra syllable to their verses, along with an added note to accommodate them. Interestingly, this anomaly is particular only to this uniquely transmitted stanza; it appears in no other strophes in *LG2* or in any other stanzas in any other MSS that contain this poem. It also makes one question whether the fifth stanza was crafted in conjunction with the others or whether it was conceived independently and tacked on to the larger poem to allow it to serve as a *Benedicamus domino* acclamation. The extraneous material (with the extra notes bracketed and in a smaller size) has been incorporated into the musical transcription of the *F* version to allow performance, if desired. **Textual variants: 4-5:** LG2: lines exchanged. **4:** DO882: O micabilis. **9,3:** LG2: devia. **16,2:** Pa3517: omnium. **19,1:** Pa3517: luxque. **21,1:** DO882: nos. **22-24:** DO882: om. **22,2:** FB,Pa3517: eliminans. **33,1:** LG2: portum; adopted reading from all other applicable sources. **38,2:** Pa3517: fidelem. **39,1:** LG2: mundi; adopted reading from all other applicable sources, except *D-TR 1878:* salva. **40,1:** DO882: munda. **41:** Pa3517,DO882: munda caro. **42,1:** FB: munda, although Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:122, following Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana,* 30,[10] indicates there is a mark for correction in the form of a small "i" placed over the final letter of this word. This, however, could be an errant penstroke. **60:** LG2: tuo libere; editorial emendation after Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxviii. **78,1-2:** FB: sinnos; corrected after Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:122, following Meyer,

---

[5]David A. Traill, ed. and transl., *Carmina Burana,* 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, nos. 48-49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[6]John, 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 follows me, walks not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.").

[7]2 Corinthians, 5:17: "Si qua ergo in Christo nova creatura, vetera transierunt: ecce facta sunt omnia nova" ("If then any be in Christ a new creature, the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new.").

[8]Isaiah, 26:3: "Vetus error abiit: servabis pacem; pacem, quia in te speravimus" ("The old error is passed away: thou wilt keep peace: peace, because we have hoped in thee.").

[9]Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 2:10: "Qui timetis Dominum, diligite illum, et illuminabuntur corda vestra" ("You that fear the Lord, love him, and your hearts shall be enlightened.").

[10]Wilhelm Meyer, ed., *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901).

Fragmenta Burana, 30. **58,1:** LG2: regi; editorial emendation after Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxviii. **70,1:** LG2: om, with notes provided for the two syllables; editorial completion, after Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xxxviii. **99:** Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:ixl: externalium; I assume this is printed erroneously for "eternalium." **100,1:** porta. **MUSIC:** See the above observations on the text concerning the appearance of extra syllables and notes in Strophe V. **Line 2:** D: F: 3 of 3li=*e* faded as if erased; retained by comparison with D of line 5. **14,1:** LG2: the unusual, rather unexpected *c* for this syllable does sound as though it might be an error for *b-flat,* as the other sources might suggest. However, this reading occurs in each of the fully written-out strophes in this source, so it has been retained.

HELYSEI MANUBRIO

Conductus (I35/153)

F, f. 364r (7,121)

I

D [He - ly - se - i ma - nu - bri - o se - cu - ris ad - a - pta - ti - o

T He - ly - se - i ma - nu - bri - o se - cu - ris ad - a - pta - ti - o

no - vel - lo fit con - nu - bi - o. e - mer - si - o de flu - vi - o

no - vel - lo fit con - nu - bi - o. e - mer - si - o de flu - vi - o

se pre - bu - it que la - tu - it. iam pa - tu - it et af - fu - it

se pre - bu - it que la - tu - it. iam pa - tu - it et af - fu - it

re - dem - pti - o con - si - li - o pa - ren - tis. fit re - stau - ra - ti - o

re - dem - pti - o con - si - li - o pa - ren - tis. fit re - stau - ra - ti - o

chri - sti com - mer - ti - o na - scen - tis.]

chri - sti com - mer - ti - o na - scen - tis.

Alternative ending in *W2* on *c/g* (scribal error?)

D [na - scen - tis.]

T na - scen - tis.

HELYSEI MANUBRIO

Conductus (I35/153)

F, f. 364r (7,121)

I	Helysei manubrio		The fitting of the axe head
	securis adaptatio		to Elisha's handle
	novello fit connubio.		makes for a novel type of union.
	Emersio	de fluvio	Its raising from the river
	se prebuit	que latuit.	revealed what lay hidden.
	Iam patuit	et affuit	Already visible and close at hand
	redemptio	consilio	was redemption according to
	parentis.		the father's plan.
	Fit restauratio		Restoration is achieved
	Christi commertio		through the transaction of the
	nascentis.		birthing of Christ.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 121, f. 364r: a2; Strophe I, complete; there is a bit of space available at the right margin of the last system, but this is occupied with empty staff lines after the end of the piece, so it appears there was no intention to include additional strophes, assuming any ever existed. The piece begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7,[1] and which also obtains for the preceding piece, *Ave nobilis venerabilis* (J46/35). This work ends a brief series of three pieces in *F,* all *sine caudis* and presented there as single-stanzas, although the middle work (*Ave nobilis venerabilis Maria* [J46/35]) has verifiable additional strophes. The very next piece, Philip the Chancellor's *Regis decus et regine* (J47/301), begins a new series of more elaborate works *cum caudis* from *F*-7,122-126.

W2, fasc. 7, no. 19, f. 139v: a2; Strophe I, complete; like *F,* a small amount of space is left to the right of the final system, occupied by empty staff lines, so it seems extremely unlikely any additional stanzas, if available, were ever destined for entry. The last line of the music, possibly due to an error of transposition in the T down a third by the scribe, ends on an unusual *c/g* sonority (given as an alternative following the version in *F*), rather than on a unison *g* as in *F.*

Text only: none.

Music only:

The music of the T in lines 5-6,2 is the same as the T in the opening three phrases of the final cauda of the conductus *Regnum dei vim patitur* (H33/302), thus showing an example of syllabic/melismatic identity that occurs across two different works; this piece is transmitted with music in the following briefly noted sources:

F, fasc. 7, no. 98, f. 352v: a2.

W1, fasc. 9, no. 31, f. 119v (110v): a2.

W2, fasc. 7, no. 25, f.144r: a2.

In addition, the text alone of *Regnum dei* appears in the following briefly noted MSS:

---

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

OxRawl (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510; GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510), no. 22, f. 239v (10v).

US-NHub Beinecke MS 712.59 (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 712.59), no. 1, recto (the shelfmark refers only to a single leaf); ruled for music a2 that was never entered.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: 1-3:** a story from 4 Kings (2 Kings), 6:1-7, relates how the prophet Elisha was called by his followers to journey to Jordan to cut timber in order to make themselves larger living quarters there, their present dwellings being too constricted. Elisha accompanied them to Jordan, and when one of the party lost the head of a borrowed axe in the river while felling a tree, Elisha cut a wooden stick and threw it upon the water where the iron had sunk. The axe-head miraculously "swam" to the surface to meet the stick, and allowed the man to recover it. In this poem, the stick has been joined with the head to become the handle of the axe, and the combination of these two unlike materials, marvelously united, is rendered into a meditation on the incarnation of God as a human. **4-5:** the miracle of the swimming axe is here interpreted typologically, representing a "hidden" allegory from the Old Testament that prefigures an event in the New, in this case the union of human and divine achieved by the birth of Jesus. **6-11:** Much use is made here of the language of commerce with the words "redemptio" and "commertio." In effect, the human race achieves a restoration ("restauratio") to its former sinless state thanks to the sacrifice of Christ, as God the Father offers his Son in exchange for mankind's sins (implied here by "commertium/commercium," i.e., "transaction/exchange/business dealing"). This results in the redemption ("a buying back") of humanity. **7-8:** cf. Psalm 48:8.[2] **10-11:** cf. the opening texts of the antiphons "O admirabile commercium," and "O felix commercium,"[3] as well as line 42 of the conductus *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (K15/99), and the opening of Strophe C (line 40) of the conductus *Notum fecit dominus* (a contrafact of *Si Deus est animus* [H32, 324], q.v.).

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** F: no variants. **2,1:** "securis" construed here as genitive singular; the form is identical to the nominative. **2,2:** for the connotation of "adaptatio" adopted here, note the entry on this word in Du Cange, *Glossarum,*[4] where it is equated with *accommodatio* and *applicatio.* **4-7:** rather than splitting these 8pp lines into equal 4pp members wherever there is an internal rhyme within the verse (as in Anderson, *NDRC,* 4:xli), I have rendered each of these rhyming pairs here as a single unit, with the internal rhyme indicated by additional horizontal spacing. **4,1:** a word rare in the standard dictionaries, though clearly the opposite of "immersio," from "emergo"; see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/emersio. **MUSIC:** There is a frequent si,3C figure outlining a descending melodic fourth (*c-g,* once *g-d*) throughout nearly every line of the D voice and appearing twice in the tenor, represented in the transcription by the letter "x" placed above the staff. **Line 11:** In *W2,* the music ends on an unusual *c/g* sonority rather than on a unison *g* as in *F.* This is likely the result of a combination of a scribal transposition error in the T and attempted correction in the D, which corresponds generally to the *F* reading throughout. The final cadence in *W2* is supplied as an alternative after the *F* version.

---

[2]Psalm 48:8: "Frater non redimit, redimet homo: non dabit Deo placationem suam ..." ("No brother can redeem, nor shall man redeem: he shall not give to God his ransom ... .").

[3]*Cantus Index,* nos. 003985 and 205632, respectively

[4]*Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis,* Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, ed., (Niort: L. Favre, et al., 1883-1887); available online: http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr. and at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/adaptatio.

REGIS DECUS ET REGINA

Conductus: (J47/301)

F, f. 364v (7,122): Strophes Ia, IIa; *Praha,* f. 38v (no. 23): Strophe Ib; *Ch,* f. 5r (no. 5): Strophe IIb

I

D

a. [Re -
b. [Le -

T

a. Re -
b. [Le -

[Re] - gis de - cus et re - gi - ne sa - ga pel - les et cor - ti - ne
[Le] - ctum or - nat co - lor flo - rum men - tem pa - scit o - dor mo - rum

[Re] - gis de - cus et re - gi - ne sa - ga pel - les et cor - ti - ne
[Le] - ctum or - nat co - lor flo - rum men - tem pa - scit o - dor mo - rum

vi - o - le ro - se li - li - a. sa - ga
tri - plex in tri - bus gra - ti - a con - fi -

vi - o - le ro - se li - li - a. sa - ga
tri - plex in tri - bus gra - ti - a con - fi -
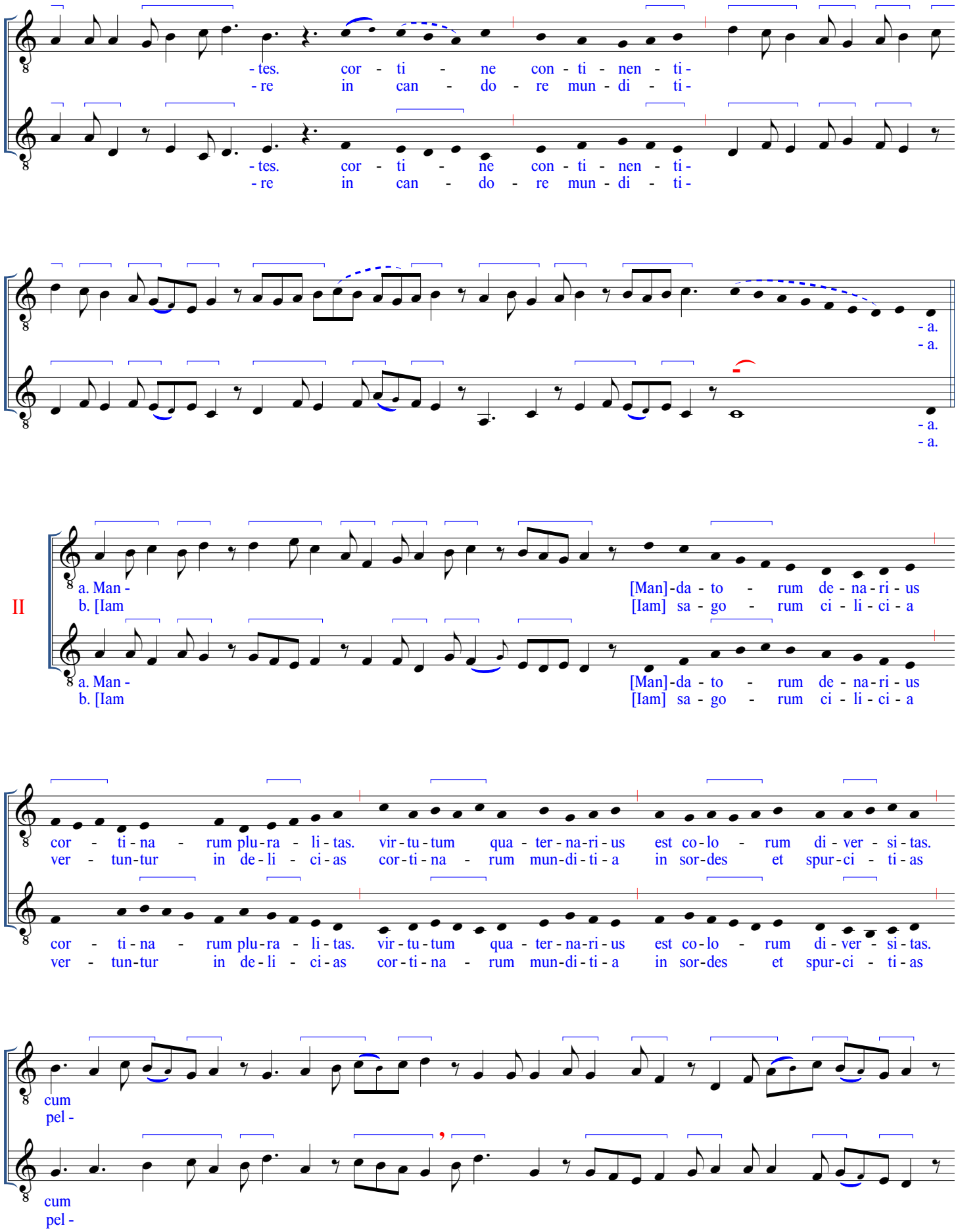
or:
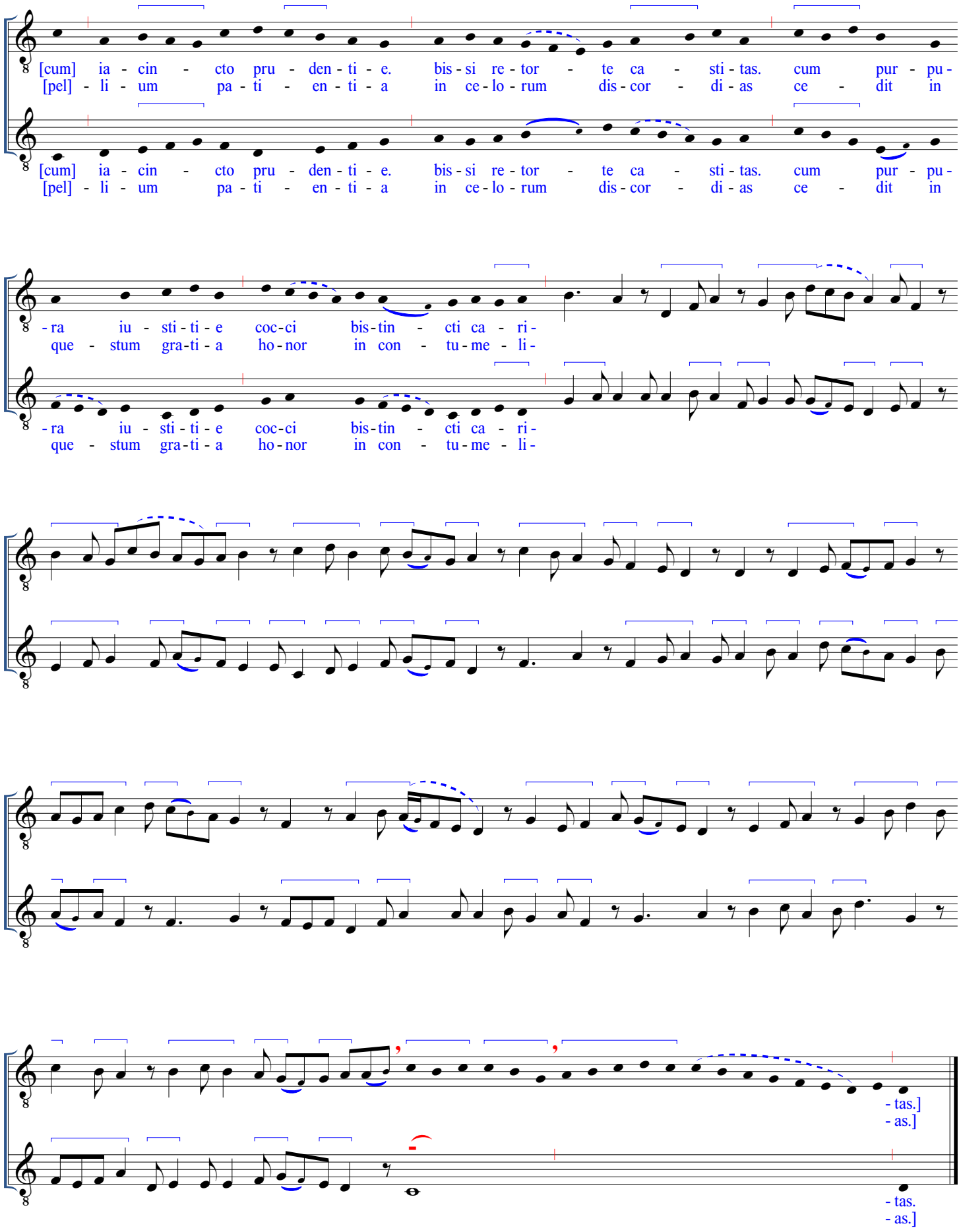
si - gnant con - fi - ten - - tes.
- ten - tes in li - vo - - re

si - gnant con - fi - ten - - tes.
- ten - tes in li - vo - - re

pel - [pel] - les ru - bre pa - ti - en -
pa - [pa] - ti - en - tes in ru - bo -

pel - [pel] - les ru - bre pa - ti - en -
pa - [pa] - ti - en - tes in ru - bo -


-tes. cor - ti - ne con - ti - nen - ti -
-re in can - do - re mun - di - ti -
-tes. cor - ti - ne con - ti - nen - ti -
-re in can - do - re mun - di - ti -
- a.
- a.
- a.
- a.
II
a. Man - [Man]-da - to - rum de - na - ri - us
b. [Iam [Iam] sa - go - rum ci - li - ci - a
a. Man - [Man]-da - to - rum de - na - ri - us
b. [Iam [Iam] sa - go - rum ci - li - ci - a
cor - ti - na - rum plu - ra - li - tas. vir - tu - tum qua - ter - na - ri - us est co - lo - rum di - ver - si - tas.
ver - tun - tur in de - li - ci - as cor - ti - na - rum mun - di - ti - a in sor - des et spur - ci - ti - as
cor - ti - na - rum plu - ra - li - tas. vir - tu - tum qua - ter - na - ri - us est co - lo - rum di - ver - si - tas.
ver - tun - tur in de - li - ci - as cor - ti - na - rum mun - di - ti - a in sor - des et spur - ci - ti - as
cum pel -
cum pel -


[cum] ia - cin - cto pru - den - ti - e. bis - si re - tor - te ca - sti - tas. cum pur - pu -
[pel] - li - um pa - ti - en - ti - a in ce - lo - rum dis - cor - di - as ce - dit in
[cum] ia - cin - cto pru - den - ti - e. bis - si re - tor - te ca - sti - tas. cum pur - pu -
[pel] - li - um pa - ti - en - ti - a in ce - lo - rum dis - cor - di - as ce - dit in
- ra iu - sti - ti - e coc - ci bis - tin - cti ca - ri -
que - stum gra - ti - a ho - nor in con - tu - me - li -
- ra iu - sti - ti - e coc - ci bis - tin - cti ca - ri -
que - stum gra - ti - a ho - nor in con - tu - me - li -
- tas.]
- as.]
- tas.
- as.]

REGIS DECUS ET REGINE

Conductus (J47/301)

F, f. 364v (7,122): Strophes Ia, IIa; *Praha,* f. 38v[b] (no. 23): Strophe Ib; *Ch,* f. 5r (no. 5): Strophe IIb

Ia Regis decus et regine:
saga, pelles, et cortine,
viole, rose, lilia.
saga signant confitentes,
pelles rubre patientes,
cortine continentia.

They are the glory of a king and queen,
the coverings, skins, and curtains,
the violets, roses, and lilies.
The coverings signify those who confess,
the red skins those who suffer,
while the curtains denote chastity.

Ib [Lectum ornat color florum.
Mentem pascit odor morum.
Triplex in tribus gratia:
confitentes in livore,
patientes in rubore,
in candore, munditia.]

The color of flowers adorns this collection.
Their fragrance refreshes a mind of good character.
In these three is a triple grace:
in violet-blue, those who confess,
in rose-red, those who suffer,
in lily-white, purity.

IIa Mandatorum denarius
cortinarum pluralitas;
virtutum quaternarius
est colorum diversitas,
cum iacincto Prudentie,
bissi retorte Castitas,
cum purpura Iustitie,
cocci bistincti Caritas.

The number of the curtains
denotes the Ten Commandments;
the variety of their colors
equals four of the Virtues,
with the blue of Prudence,
and the Chastity of fine twined white linen,
with the purple of Justice,
and the Charity of double-dyed scarlet.

IIb [Iam sagorum cilicia
vertuntur in delicias,
cortinarum munditia
in sordes et spurcitias,
pellium patientia
in celorum discordias;
cedit in questum gratia
honor in contumelias.]

But now the haircloths of the coverings
are transformed into enticements,
the purity of the curtains
into baseness and filth,
the suffering of the skins
into discords of the heavens;
grace gives way to gain,
honor to reproach.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 122, f. 364v: a2; Strophes Ia, IIa only, with IIa signaled by a capital and with no space allotted for further text. This piece begins a series of five more complex works *cum caudis* up through *F*-7,126 (*Librum clausum et signatum* [J51/198]) after the preceding group of three simpler items. Additionally, from here to the end of the fascicle, *F* is the only one of the four main Parisian conductus sources to transmit these pieces.

Ch (F-CECad 3.J.250; Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250),[1] no. 5, f. 5r: a2; music and text survive only for the final 10L of the concluding cauda through the *punctus organi,* the last

[1]For a recent study devoted to the Châlons fragments, see Ilana 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).

syllable of IIa, and a separate transmission of the poetry of Strophe IIb written in a dedicated space within the writing block following the final system. This is the only extant source for IIb. A single empty staff, surmounting the music of the T and D on the two staves below it, appears at the top of this leaf, which is the first page of the single extant bifolium that constitutes this particular fascicle of the MS. If not due to scribal error, the empty staff could suggest the possibility that a unique setting a3 might have been intended but not completed for *Ch,* a hypothesis also prompted by the fact that the text of Strophe IIb occupies the entire vertical space allotted to this conjectured three-staff system.[2] *Regis decus* is then succeeded on ff. 5r and 5v by single motetus voices from three different pieces, each lacking tenors. The second and last leaf of the fascicle, ff. 6r-6v, is non-contiguous with the first and shows a fragmentary single-texted redaction a3, with tenor, of the widely transmitted motet *O quam sancta quam benigna / Et gaudebit* (vdW 317/M24).

Text only:

Praha, no. 23, f. 38v[b]: text only, Strophes Ia-IIa (but completely omitting the last verse of IIa, line 20), with an upper-case opening guide letter (or initial?) in the gutter between the columns and the beginnings of the subsequent stanzas signaled by upper-case letters. This is the only extant source for Ib, and, since the penultimate line of IIa (line 19) fills up the folio and concludes this extant series of Notre Dame texts, it is difficult to assess here whether the last line of Strophe IIa and all of Strophe IIb were lost with subsequent pages or never entered (although the latter seems most likely, since according to Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:123, the following folio (39r) begins with a new item); nonetheless it is at least conceivable that further texts may have followed *Regis decus.* A marginal rubric, typical for the poems in this source, is omitted for this specific piece, although the label "conductus" for the previous entry (*Centrum capit circulus* [J38/57]) may have been intended to apply to this item as well.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** The poem is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in *Praha.* Dronke, ("Lyrical Compositions," 583)[3] raises doubt about the attribution, although I disagree with him (see "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 14, note 35, and 284-286).[4] The entire text is an allegorical treatment of the materials and colors of the curtains and coverings used in the construction of the Tabernacle that housed the Ark of the Covenant; see Exodus, 26 and 36; cf. also the nod to this theme in Philip's organum prosula *Adesse festina* (A12/- – vdW58/M2), lines 20-25. Also, very much in Philip's mold, the positive qualities assigned to the decorations are flipped on their heads in the final stanza and have now become reprehensible; see the notes on the text for lines 21-22, below.[5] For further treatment of *Regis decus* and a collection of patristic references concerning the symbols used here (drawn primarily from Bede's *De tabernaculo* and *In Pentateuchum*), see Anderson's notes to this text in *NDRC,* 5:xl-xli; Anderson's treatment has been invaluable for the commentary

---

[2]Schroeder, "A Codicological and Contextual Analysis," 22-23, suggests that the empty staff is the result of an error on the text scribe, who entered the poetry of IIb at the end of the system prior to the music being inscribed, and who assumed that the piece was to have three voices. She also posits here a possible confusion on the part of the scribe who drew the staves, who might have been unfamiliar with the number of voices needed for the pieces that were to be entered.

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

[4]Thomas 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).

[5]For an analogous inversion of biblical material, see Philip's *Caput in caudam vertitur* (J37/54), preserved 12 pieces earlier in *F.*

here. **Textual notes: 1:** the mention of royalty in this line is somewhat obscure, but may possibly refer to Christ and the Virgin. **2-6:** see Exodus, 26:1,7,14,[6] and the nearly identical respective passages in Exodus, 36:8,14,19. The ten linen curtains (*cortinae*) displaying the four different colors (white, violet-blue or hyacinth, purple, and scarlet) formed the outline of the tabernacle proper, over which were first laid layered coverings (*saga*) of goat-skins (*cilicia* or *cilicina*), and then rams' hides (*pelles arietum*) over these, dyed red and violet respectively. The connections of the tabernacle materials with the three differently colored flowers mentioned in line 3 and the virtuous qualities associated with those colors is further explored in the following stanza. **7-12 (Strophe Ib):** the colors of the flowers treated here, and referred to earlier in line 3, also correspond to the essential hues (blue/purple, red, and white) used for the Tabernacle. Hence the poet imbues them with the same allegorical qualities. In addition to the explanations given by Anderson for this passage, note the even more closely corresponding explanation of the floral symbolism given by Peter Riga and Egidius Parisiensis in the *Aurora.*[7] **7,1:** none of the most typical meanings for "lectum" seems to be especially satisfactory. Neither "chosen one" or "bed" seems suitable in view of the rest of the poem. As a result I have provisionally leaned towards the sense of this word as denoting an object made up of various items collected and brought together. For this meaning see the *DMLBS,* s.v. "lectus," 1.2, at. There may also be a connection with another definition of this word as "bed hangings," since the Tabernacle's own hangings and coverings might conceivably extend to such an association. For this sense, see the *DMLBS,* s.v. "lectus," 2.3.[8] **15-20:** within this stanza, the ten curtains of the tabernacle, equated logically with the 10 Commandments in lines 13-14, have their colors likened to three of the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Justice, and Chastity or Temperance – Fortitude is left out of the picture) and one of the three theological virtues (Charity, omitting Faith and Hope). The tetrad of the cardinal virtues arises in various places. They are depicted in the Bible (Wisdom, 8:7)[9] and described, amidst other authors, by Cicero (*De officiis,* I,ii,5), Ambrose (*De officiis ministrorum,* I,xxiv-xxv; *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam,* 5,62-67), and Augustine (*De moribus ecclesiae,* chap. 15). The theological virtues, issuing from the act of grace bestowed by God, are mentioned in Thessalonians, 1:3,[10] 5:8,[11] and 1 Corinthians, 13.[12]

---

[6]Exodus, 26:1: "Tabernaculum vero ita facies: decem cortinas de bysso retorta, et hyacintho, ac purpura, coccoque bis tincto, variatas opere plumario facies" ("And you shall make the tabernacle in this manner: You shall make ten curtains of fine twisted linen, and violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed, diversified with embroidery."). Exodus, 26:7: "Facies et saga cilicina undecim, ad operiendum tectum tabernaculi" ("You shall make also eleven curtains of goats' hair, to cover the top of the tabernacle."). Exodus, 26:14: "Facies et operimentum aliud tecto de pellibus arietum rubricatis: et super hoc rursum aliud operimentum de janthinis pellibus" ("You shall make also another cover to the roof, of rams' skins dyed red; and over that again another cover of violet coloured skins.").

[7]Petrus Riga and Egidius Parisiensis, *Aurora,* (on Genesis, lines 196-198), as quoted in Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense,* 4 vols. (Paris, F. Didot, 1852-1858), 2 (1855): 123: "Illi quos varius virtutum splendor honorat, / Sunt violae, sunt et lilia, suntque rosae. / Sunt violae qui sunt humiles; sunt lilia casto / Corpore degentes; sunt patiendo rosae" ("Those [flowers] that the manifold splendor of the virtues honors: / they are violets, and they are lilies, and they are roses. / Those are violets who are humble; those dwelling in a chaste / body are lilies; roses are for one suffering.").

[8]Both definitions available through: https://logeion.uchicago.edu/lectus.

[9]Wisdom, 8:7: "Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes: sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet, et justitiam, et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus." ("And if a man love justice: her labors have great virtues; for she teaches temperance, and prudence, and justice, and fortitude, which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in life").

[10]Thessalonians, 1:3: "Memores operis fidei vestrae, et laboris, et caritatis, et sustinentiae spei Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ante Deum et Patrem nostrum" ("Being mindful of the work of your faith, and labour, and charity, and of the enduring of the hope of our Lord Jesus Christ before God and our Father.").

[11]Thessalonians, 5:8: "Nos autem, qui diei sumus, sobrii simus, induti loricam fidei et caritatis, et galeam spem salutis" ("But let us, who are of the day, be sober, having on the breastplate of faith and charity, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.").

[12]1 Corinthians, 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.").

For references drawn from Bede, who connects these colors to several of the virtues mentioned in the conductus poem, see Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:xli, notes 4 and 5.[13] **21-2:** the goat-skin coverings *(cilicia)* of the Tabernacle are here equated with the hairshirts or sackcloth (also called *cilicia*) worn by penitents (see, for just two biblical citations, Ezekiel, 7:18, and Jeremiah, 4:8),[14] which in an inversion typical of Philip have been transformed into representations of their opposites; the same sort of degradation applies to the curtains and hides in lines 23-26.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** Since all sources are drawn on to supply the text, all verbal variants are recorded here. **1,2:** Praha: decor. **3,3:** Praha: lylia. **10,1:** due to the ambiguity of the abbreviation used in *Praha,* Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xl) supplies "confidentes"; either reading is conceivable, with the alternative choice adopted here assuming direct parallelism between Strophes Ia and Ib. **18,1:** Praha: byssi. **21,3:** Ch: cicilia. **20-28:** Praha: never entered or lost. **MUSIC: Cauda on line 4.3:** D: F: the rhythm of the 4li occupying L8-L10 is rendered somewhat unusually here as if it were two 2li figures; an erased 2li=*ab* follows; an alternative, more regular rhythm for this passage appears above the staff, which would render the passage just a shade less consonant. **Cauda on line 13,1:** T: F: at L9, an atypical reading of 3li as BBB seems necessitated by the D figure above.

[13]Anderson cites *PL,* 91, cols. 324 (from *In Pentateuchum*) and 426 (from *De tabernaculo*).

[14]Ezekiel, 7:18: "Et accingent se ciliciis, et operiet eos formido: et in omni facie confusio, et in universis capitibus eorum calvitium" ("And they shall gird themselves with haircloth, and fear shall cover them, and shame shall be upon every face, and baldness upon all their heads."). Jeremiah, 4:8: "Super hoc accingite vos ciliciis; plangite, et ululate: quia non est aversa ira furoris Domini a nobis" ("For this gird yourselves with haircloth, lament and howl: for the fierce anger of the Lord is not turned away from us.").

BEATUS SERVUS SAPIENS
Conductus (J48/46)
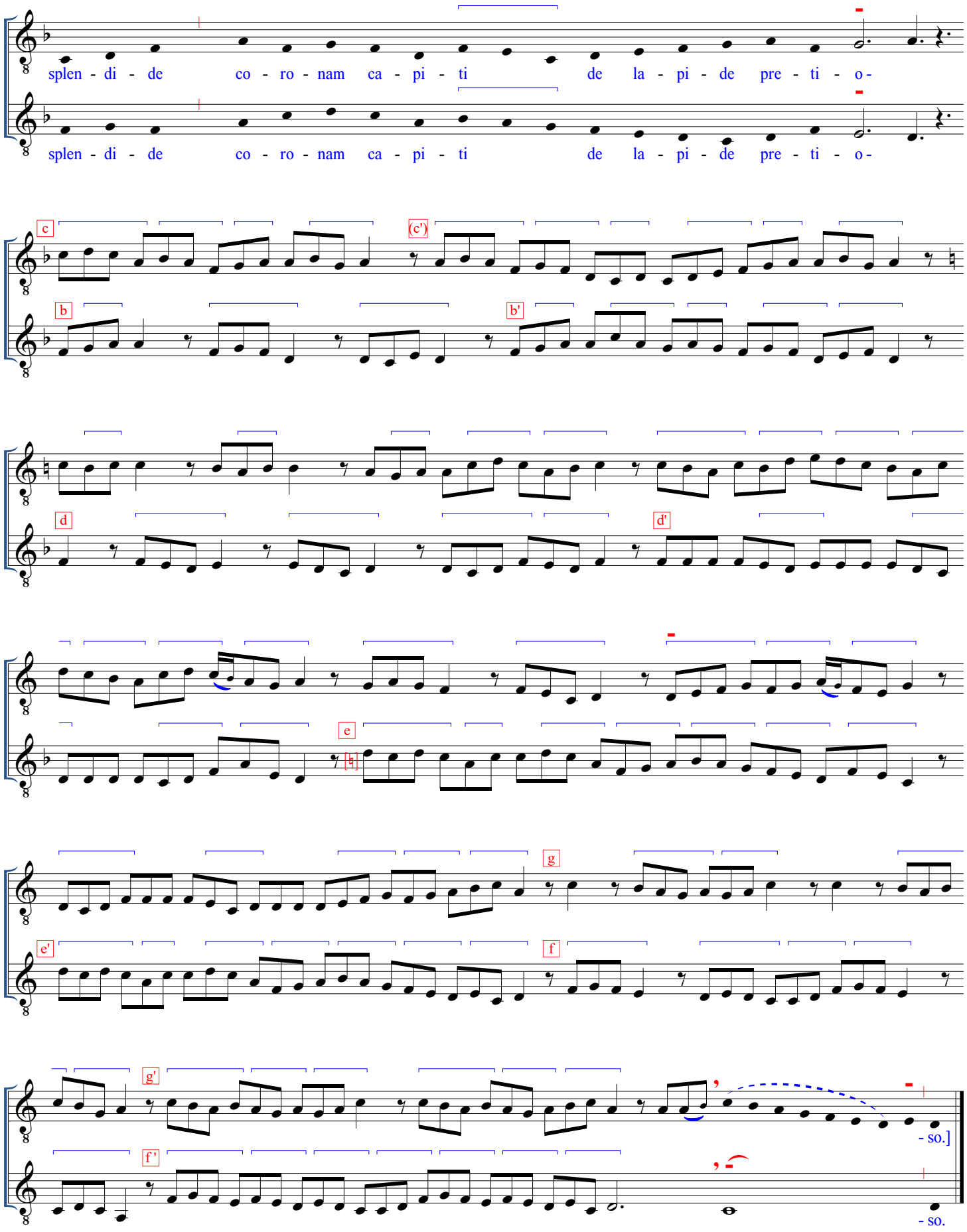
F, f. 365r (7,123)

I

D [Be - a - tus ser - vus sa - pi - ens cus - to - di - ens vi - gi - li - as. sic sa - pi - as et vi - gi - les.

T a (a') Be - [Be] - a - tus ser - vus sa - pi - ens cus - to - di - ens vi - gi - li - as. sic sa - pi - as et vi - gi - les.

ut fer - ti - les fru - ctus re - fe - ras. ne dif - fe - ras. sed [sed] fi - at pro - ti - nus ut do - mi - nus ad - ve - ni - ens in - ve - ni - ens te vi - gi - lem et sta - bi - lem re - mu - ne - ret. et pro - spe - ret i - ter tu - um con - ti - nu - um ad gau - di - a ce - le - sti - a. ti - bi spem me - ri - ti do - mi - nus


splen - di - de co - ro - nam ca - pi - ti de la - pi - de pre - ti - o -
splen - di - de co - ro - nam ca - pi - ti de la - pi - de pre - ti - o -
c
(c')
b
b'
d
d'
e
e'
f
g
g'
f'
- so.]
- so.

BEATUS SERVUS SAPIENS

Conductus (J48/46)

F, f. 365r (7,123)

I	Beatus servus sapiens,	Blessed is the wise
	custodiens	servant keeping
	vigilias.	the nightly vigils.
	Sic sapias	You should be observant in
	et vigiles,	the same way, and keep watch
	ut fertiles	so that you may
	fructus referas.	yield fertile fruits.
	Ne differas,	Do not delay,
	sed fiat protinus,	but let this be done forthwith,
	ut dominus,	so that the Lord,
	adveniens,	arriving
	inveniens	and finding
	te vigilem	you wakeful
	et stabilem,	and steadfast,
	remuneret	may reward
	et prosperet	and make prosperous
	iter tuum	your unbroken
	continuum	journey
	ad gaudia	towards heavenly
	celestia.	joys.
	Tibi spem meriti	May the Lord splendidly
	dominus	bestow on you
	splendide,	the hope of worthiness:
	coronam capiti	a crown of
	de lapide	precious stones
	pretioso.	for your head.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 123, f. 365r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with no provisions for additional text; a unique source for both text and music.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Versification:** Unlike a number of other conductus with irregular rhythmical verse structures, this poem does not provide any obvious evidence of a quantitative metrical scheme. Likewise, this text also challenges attempts to impose further regularity by combining various verses into larger units with internal rhyme. Attempting to use the phrase structure of the music is also not very helpful in determining a poetic scheme, due to the extended, breathless phrase that occupies lines 9-16. As a result I have divided this text into its smallest recurring rhyming components, differing in a few ways from Anderson's edition. I have separated Anderson's line 22 into lines 22 and 23 here, because 23 corresponds with the earlier "-inus" rhymes of lines 9-10; and I have kept the MS reading of "splendide " for line 23 ("splendido" appears in Anderson,

NDRC, 5:xlii), since it makes sense as is and rhymes with "lapide" two lines later. The most frequent component of the verses throughout is the 4pp line, typically disposed into couplets; but the opening is an indivisible 8pp verse, while 5pp and 6pp units then interrupt as the poem progresses, prior to the close that adds 3pp lines to the mix and finishes with an unrhymed unit of 4p (the accentuation of which may also apply to line 17 ["iter tuum"], unless the latter was read irregularly to conform to the surrounding 4pp verses). In this regard the text is somewhat like that of *Parit preter morem* (E12/261) or *Frater iam prospicias* (I31/132) in its almost playful concatenation of short, jangling lines. The result is also comparable to much motet poetry, or to Philip the Chancellor's organum or conductus prosulas, although I would not press for his authorship of this poem. *Beatus servus sapiens* even has the feature of an "orphaned," unrhymed line at its end, akin to the close of a motet that might quote its tenor text outside of the rest of the rhyme scheme of the poem (a feature that is also noticeable, for example in the conductus prosula *Minor natu filius* [K82/208] – see my *Motets and Prosulas,* 50).[1] **Biblical content:** Anderson's fruitful combing of this poem (*NDRC,* 5:xlii, much of which is incorporated below) reveals that its brief lines are packed with biblical references, perhaps not a surprising occurrence for a text that is concerned with remaining vigilant to the coming of the Lord's judgement. The result is analogous to the bevy of scriptural recollections seen in Philip's motet *In omni fratre tuo* (vdW 197/M13 – in *Motets and Prosulas,* 66-67). In addition to the specific biblical echoes presented below, Jesus's two parables of the faithful servant (Matthew, 24:42-51; Mark, 13:34-37; and Luke, 12:35-48) and the wise and foolish handmaidens (Matthew 25:1-13, following directly upon the former citation) are relevant throughout to this poem, since they both focus on the need to keep watch for the unexpected coming of the Lord. **Textual notes: 1:** see Matthew, 24:46,[2] and the similar language in Luke, 12:37 and 12:43. Also see Luke, 12:38,[3] and Revelation, 16:15,[4] along with some similar language in 2 Peter, 3:10. **2-3:** the same expression is in Luke, 2:8.[5] **4:** see Romans, 14:6.[6] **6-7:** see Matthew, 7:17,[7] and cf. Luke, 8:14.[8] **10-11:** see the remarks for line 1. **13:** cf. Mark 13:33.[9] **14:** cf. 1 Corinthians, 15:58,[10] plus the similar expression in Colossians, 1:23. **15:** cf.

---

[1]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).

[2]Matthew, 24:46: "Beatus ille servus quem cum venerit dominus eius invenerit sic facientem" ("Blessed is that servant whose master finds him doing so [i.e., his duties] when he returns").

[3]Luke, 12:38: "Et si venerit in secunda vigilia et si in tertia vigilia venerit et ita invenerit, beati sunt servi illi" ("And if he should come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants").

[4]Revelation, 16:15: "Ecce, venio sicut fur. Beatus qui vigilat et custodit vestimenta sua ne nudus ambulet et videant turpitudinem eius" ("Look, I come like a thief. Blessed is the one who stays awake and guards his clothes, so as not to walk about naked, and people see his shame.").

[5]Luke, 2:8: "Et pastores erant in regione eadem vigilantes et custodientes vigilias noctis supra gregem suum" ("And there were shepherds in the same region, keeping watch over their flocks at night.").

[6]Romans, 14:6: "Qui sapit diem domino sapit" ("He who observes the day observes it for the Lord.").

[7]Matthew, 7:17: "Sic omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit mala autem arbor fructus malos facit" ("Thus every good tree brings forth good fruit, and an evil tree brings forth evil fruit").

[8]Luke, 8:14: "Quod autem in spinis cecidit hii sunt qui ... non referunt fructum" ("And that which fell among thorns are the ones who ... yield no fruit.").

[9]Mark 13:33: "Videte, vigilate, et orate; nescitis enim quando tempus sit" ("Take heed, watch, and pray; for you know not when the time may be.").

[10]1 Corinthians, 15:58: "Itaque, fratres mei dilecti, stabiles estote et inmobiles" ("Therefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast and unmoveable").

Hebrews 11:6.[11] **17:** see Deuteronomy, 2:7;[12] the expression is also in Nehemiah, 2:6. **21-23:** see Ecclesiasticus [Sirach], 16:15.[13] **22:** in the translation at this point, I have assumed that the verb of line 15 ("remuneret") is meant to apply here as well. **24-26:** redolent of Psalm 20:4.[14]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Opening cauda (over line 1,1):** although possible, the use of mode 2 for the latter portion of this melisma (beginning after the breath marks in the transcription) is unlikely, given the lack of a concluding 3li for this section. Such a ligation would be expected in an mode-2 setting, and its absence gives considerably more weight to the "upbeat" mode-1 reading employed here. As a result, all of the caudae in this piece are interpreted as conforming to the first mode (see also the remarks on the closing cauda of the work). **Closing cauda (over line 26):**, given the emphasis solely on the use of mode 1 earlier in this piece (see the remarks on the opening cauda), the transcription of this striking closing melisma in mode 6 presents the final notes in each of its phrases and their subsequent rests according to the paradigm of mode 1 (i.e., each phrase closes with an L followed by a B rest). Although Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:123) allows for an alternative reading of this cauda in an iambic mode 3 (and, given the rhythmical evidence of the rest of the melismas in this piece, trochaic mode 3 would be an additional – if not more likely – alternative for performance), the consistent use by the scribe of 4li figures at the opening of each phrase – whenever such ligation is possible – suggests that the mode-6 reading is what is most clearly represented and called for in this piece. The melisma itself holds a special attraction in that the T (and in one case the D) often presents closely related pairs of phrases or phrase groups where the second member fills in holes left by rests or longer notes in the first statement, while the D, echoing a quality seen in the T's melodies, accompanies with gestures that frequently emphasize melodic sequence. Similarities among the longer phrases are marked above the staves in the score.

[11]Hebrews 11:6: "... credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quia est et inquirentibus se remunerator fit" ("... for it is necessary that one who comes to God believe that he exists and is a rewarder to those seeking him.").

[12]Deuteronomy, 2:7: "Dominus Deus tuus ... novit iter tuum ..." ("The Lord your God ... has known your journey ... .").
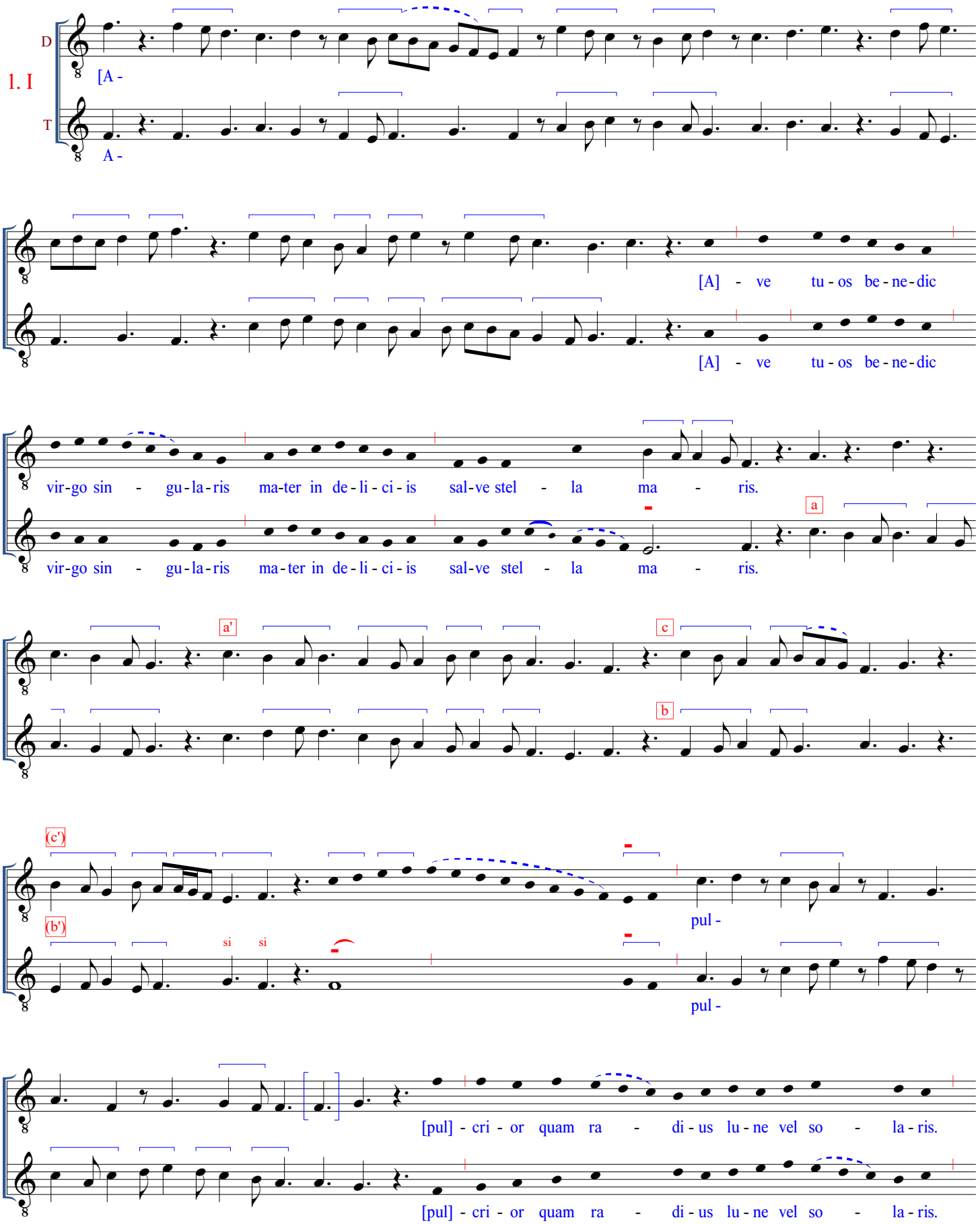
[13]Ecclesiasticus [Sirach], 16:15: "Omnis misericordia faciet locum unicuique secundum meritum operum suorum, et secundum intellectum peregrinationis ipsius" ("All mercy shall make a place for every man according to the worthiness of his works, and according to the knowledge of his journeying.").
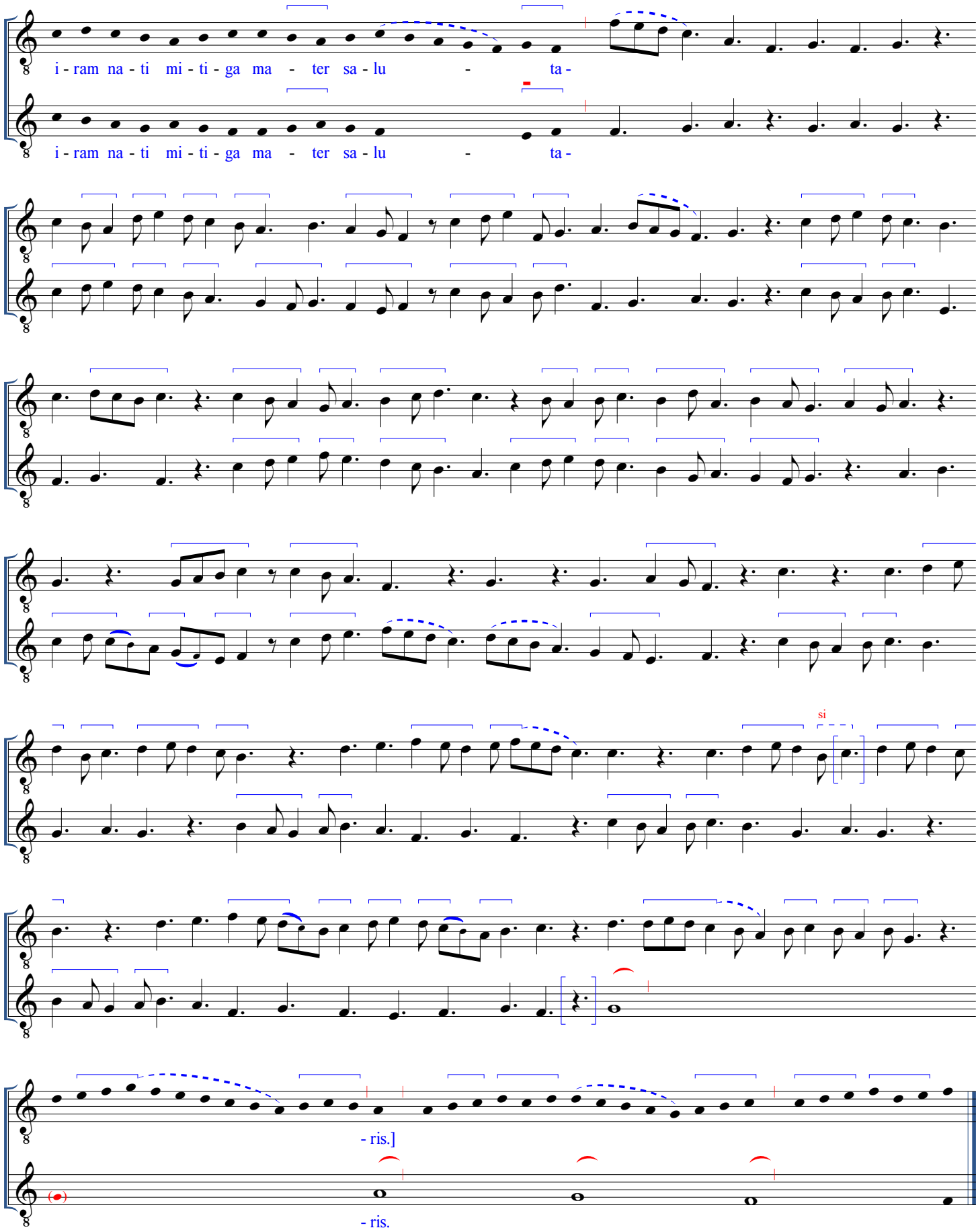
[14]Psalm 20:4: "Quoniam praevenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis; posuisti in capite eius coronam de lapide pretioso" ("For you [the Lord] have come before him with blessings of sweetness; you have placed on his head a crown of precious stones.").

AVE TUOS BENEDIC – *F* and *Owc* versions

Conductus (J49,O22/124)
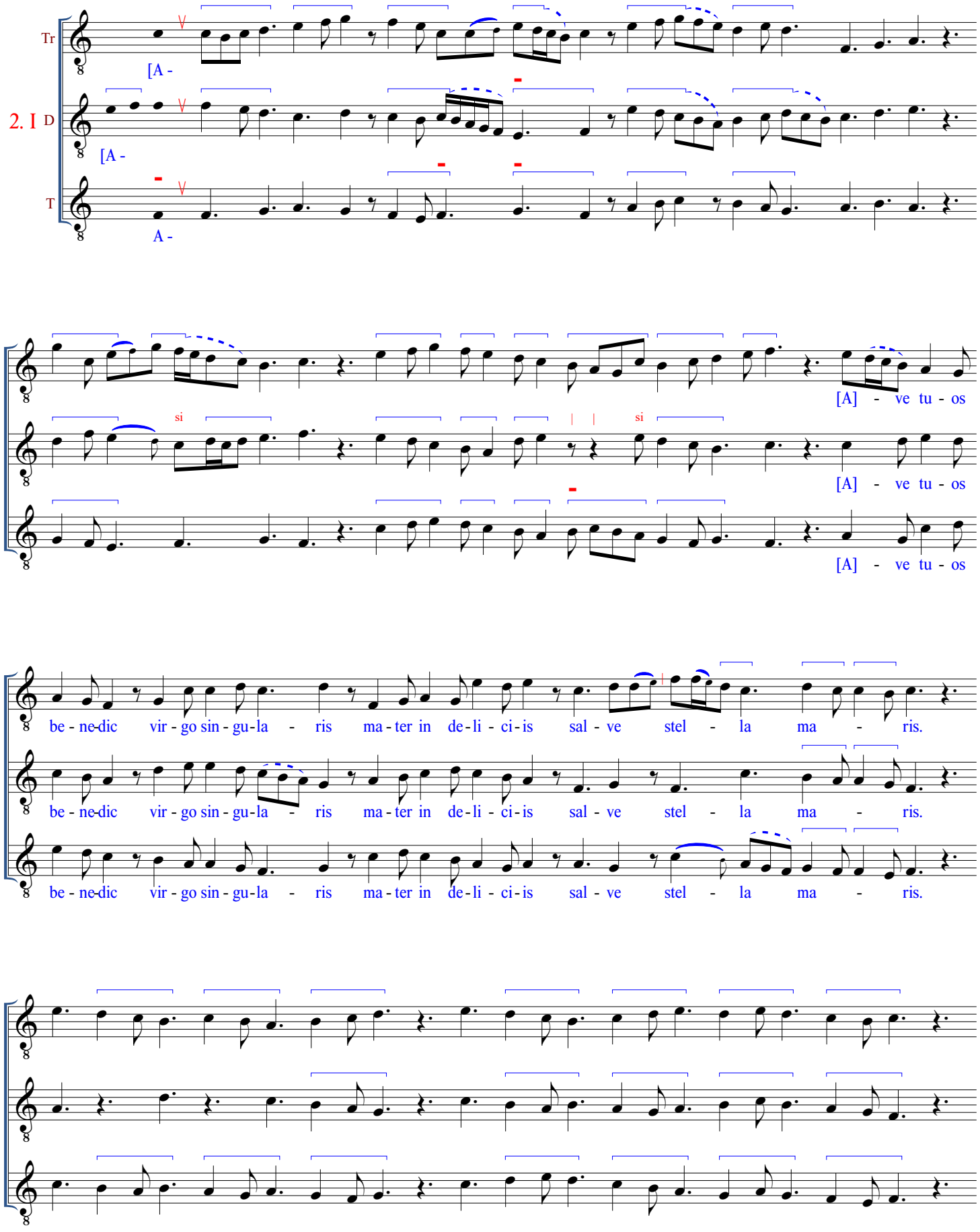
F, f. 366r (7,124)
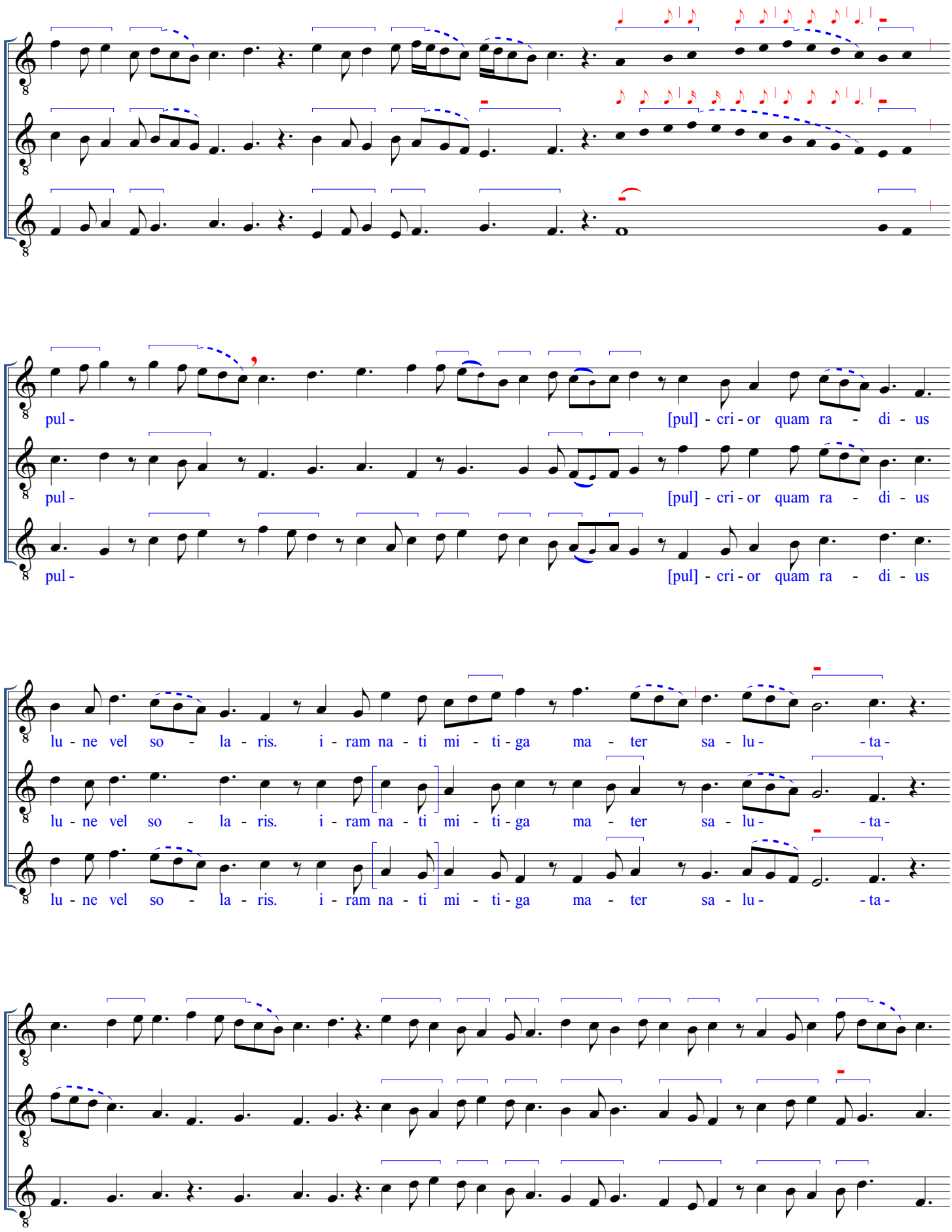


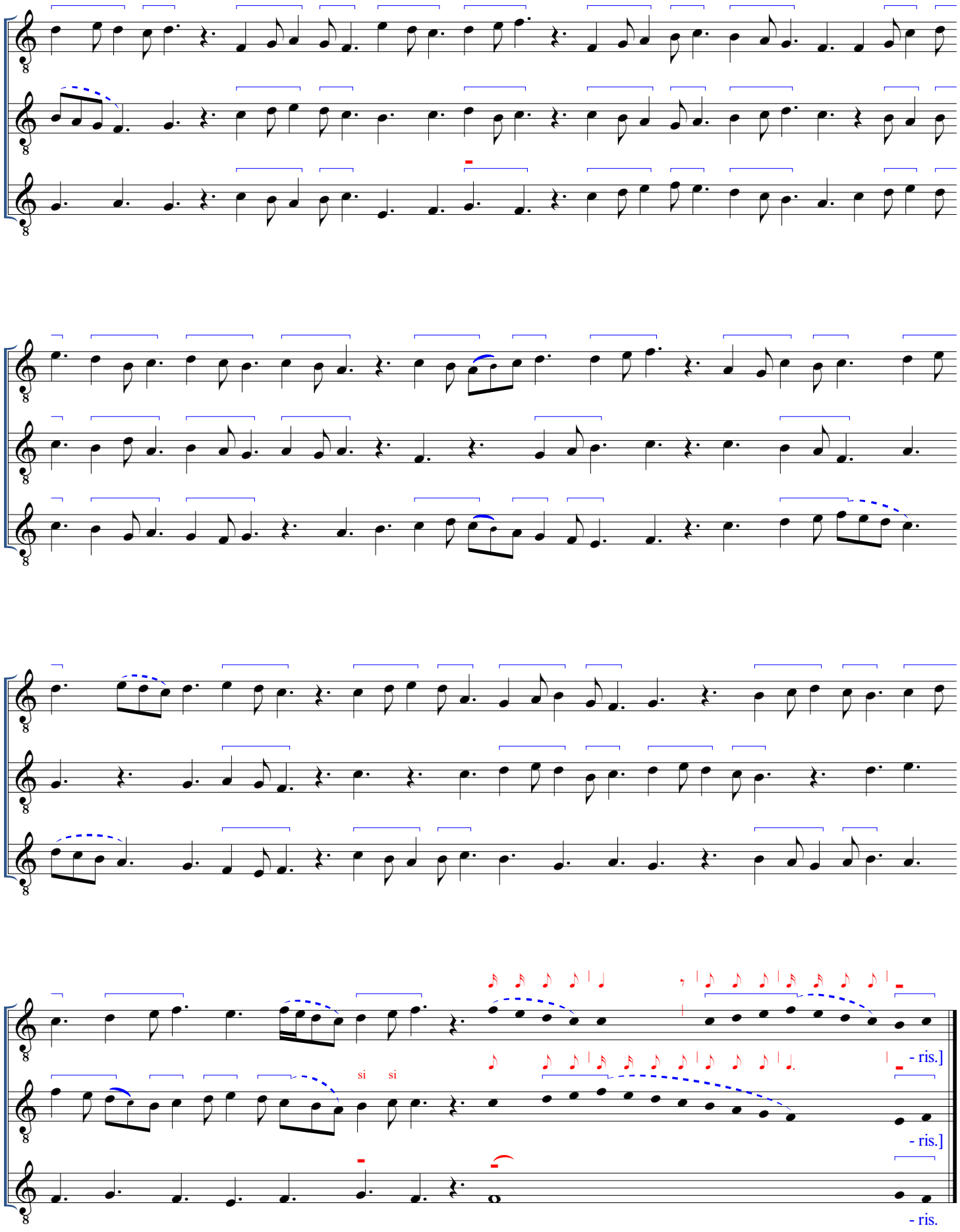


AT THE END OF THIS PIECE IN *F,* ABOUT HALF OF THE REMAINDER OF f. 366v IS VOID OF NOTATION, AND ff. 367-370 ARE ALSO UNUSED.

*GB-Owc MS 213** f. 1v (no. 2)




pul -
[pul] - cri - or quam ra - di - us
pul -
[pul] - cri - or quam ra - di - us
pul -
[pul] - cri - or quam ra - di - us
lu - ne vel so - la - ris. i - ram na - ti mi - ti - ga ma - ter sa - lu - - ta -
lu - ne vel so - la - ris. i - ram na - ti mi - ti - ga ma - ter sa - lu - - ta -
lu - ne vel so - la - ris. i - ram na - ti mi - ti - ga ma - ter sa - lu - - ta -


si si
- ris.]
- ris.]
- ris.

AVE TUOS BENEDIC – *F* and *Owc* versions

Conductus (J49,O22/124)

F, f. 366r (7,124)

I	Ave! Tuos benedic,	Hail! Bless your very own,
	virgo, singularis	O virgin, mother
	mater in deliciis.	matchless in delights.
	Salve, stella maris,	Greetings, star of the sea,
	pulcrior quam radius	more lovely than beam
	lune vel solaris.	of moon or sun.
	Iram nati mitiga.	Appease the wrath of your son,
	mater salutaris.	mother of salvation.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 124, f. 366r: a2, Strophe I, complete. The piece ends in the middle of the third system of f. 366v, with nothing more entered on the leaf outside of the remaining empty staves. A gap of four empty folios (367-370), ruled as well with empty staves allowing for music a2, follows this item before the next piece, *Floret ortus virginalis* (J50/126), begins on the *second* system of f. 371r, with the first system on the page displaying empty staves.

Owc (Oxford, Worcester College, MS 213; GB-Owc MS 213*),* no. 2, f. 1v: a3, Strophe I, complete, with *cum littera* portions written in English mensural notation. The entire piece is essentially preserved, despite the two leaves of this MS having once served as flyleaves (now removed) in the host volume, *MS 3.16 (A)**.[1] *Ave tuos benedic* is the second of the four extant conductus that appear in this source, all of which begin with the word "Ave."[2]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: Content:** The poem is a rather routine Marian work, opening with acclamations of praise and closing with a request for the Virgin's merciful intervention between the speaker and Jesus. In addition to the commonplace attribute *stella maris* in line 4, the comparative images in line 5 of the rays of the moon and the sun are noteworthy, because these symbols are usually applied to the Virgin and Christ, respectively. **Issues with numbering in Anderson's catalog:** In Anderson's published catalog,[3] the "J-series" reference number for this piece (J49) indicates that it was considered as a two-voice work unique to a central source, in this case *F.* As such it was published in 1979 as part of vol. 5 of his edition (*NDRC,* 5: *2pt Conductus, Unica in the Central*

[1]It still appears under this siglum on the CPI website. Images of this source are available on DIAMM and may be viewed via this link: https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/580/#/.

[2]These four works are, in the order of the source: *Ave, virga decoris incliti* (O21/-) – f. 1r, *Ave tuos benedic* (J49, O22/124) – f. 1v, *Ave, Maria, salus hominum* (O23/-) – f. 2r, and the fragmentary *Ave regina caelorum ave decus* (O24/-) – f. 2v. All but the second item are *unica.*

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

Sources, 88-90). Since that time, the Worcester College source became available, which is in three parts. This discrepancy necessitated an additional catalog entry for the work, now located within Anderson's "O series." Both versions were included in 1986 within vol. 9 of the *NDRC* edition (*3pt Conductus in Related Sources,* pp. 52-55 *[Owc]* and pp. 56-58 *[F]*). As a result, both Anderson's reference numbers J49 and O22 may be considered valid for this work, and each applies as appropriate to the two closely related musical settings of this poem in Anderson's unpublished annotated personal copy of his catalog. Due to the revision in numbering undertaken by Anderson within his annotated catalog, the reference numbers of pieces in his edition sometimes diverge from those in the catalog's original published version.[4]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** There are no variants between the transmissions of the poem in *F* and *Owc,* except for the likelihood of the alternative spelling "delitiis" for line 3,3 in the latter MS. Even the punctuation is identical, except that the period after line 6,3 in *F* cannot be verified absolutely for *Owc,* due to the encroachment at this point of what looks like an adhesive bordering strip that has been attached to the binding edge of the leaf. Happily, though, this strip has been trimmed at those places where it might have obscured any musical elements. **7,2:** Owc: middle two letters of "nati" illegible due to wear. **MUSIC: General remarks:** *Ave tuos benedic* is one of only nine conductus among the four main Parisian sources *(F, W1, W2, Ma)* that has a final on *f;* all but three of these, moreover, are Marian, and several of them have features and circumstances that suggest an Insular original may be appropriate.[5] Both of these attributes apply to *Ave tuos benedic.* Disregarding the additional Tr voice, the version of the conductus in *Owc* is quite readily comparable to the *F* redaction. The occasionally differences include the extension of the closing *punctus organi* (see below) in *F,* the opening with an organum-like *principium ante principium* in the D of *Owc,* and its occasional re-ligation of a few phrases, usually without causing major changes, in comparison to *F.* **The notation of *Owc:*** In addition to its specification of mode-1 rhythms (with frequent TL extensions) for the *cum littera* sections of this piece, achieved by alternating longs and English (rhomb-shaped) breves, independent groups of *conjuncturae* (those not connected to a previous square-note ligature) are generally written in a form common to Insular sources; this consists wholly of rhomb shapes, with a short diagonal stroke descending from the left of the first element of the C group. Also, although the caudae are generally written with modal, as opposed to mensural ligatures, a number of descending 2li figures are written *sine proprietate.* Typically this occurs on the first element of a 2li when it precedes a major cadence and is sometimes combined with a written elongation of this initial note (as in the T of the second phrase of the opening cauda of the piece, at L7-L8. Otherwise, the sp 2li ligature may appear when it repeats the same note that immediately precedes it. Such a figure is used, for example, in all parts simultaneously in the cadence over line 4,3 ("maris"), and non-synchronously in all three parts in the approach to the cadence at the end of the cauda on line 5,1 ("pulcrior"). **Opening cauda (over line 1,1 – "Ave"):** T: Owc: the stroke before the fourth T phrase after the initial intonation (at L8,2) is nearly obscured by the following 3li=*bag;* its presence is confirmed by *F.* **Line 1,3:** Tr: Owc: the *g* over the second syllable of "benedic" is obscured by wear, but visible. **Cauda over line 4,3 ("maris"):** D: F: the rhythmic reading of the penultimate ligature (3li=*agf*) before the *punctus organi* at L27,2-4is based on comparison with *Owc.* **Cauda over line 5,1 ("pulcrior"):** D: F: the penultimate note of the cauda, a si=*f,* is om; it has been supplied from comparison to *Owc.* The erasure of a *g* at this point in *F* suggests that originally a 2li=*fg* was entered, similar to

---

[4]For example, since the four *Owc* pieces were not initially included in the published version of the catalog, all were subsequently inserted as members of his "O" series *(3pt Conductus in Related Sources),* as O21-O24, which placed them before an array of eight conductus transmitted in *Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 497 (GB-Occc 497).* The *Owc* pieces appear under these new numbers in vol. 9 of *NDRC.* Additionally, the numbering of the earlier part of this section of the catalog had been further disrupted by the deletion of two items near the start of the "O" series (O2-O3), due to Anderson's reclassification of these works as prosae.

[5]These nine conductus are: *Ave tuos benedic* (J49,O22/38), Philip the Chancellor's *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16,P46/39), *Celorum porta* (J19/55), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), *Porta salutis ave* (I2/269), *Adiuva nos deus* (J4/9 – unique to *W1*), *Fons* (or *Flos*) *preclusus* (K72/129, perhaps by Peter of Blois), and Philip's *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40/329). The final three pieces in this list are the non-Marian ones.

what occurs at this point in *Owc.* However, slight differences in the T (*Owc* ends the cauda with an apparent 2li, rather than the 2si in *F*) necessitated changing the D in *F* to conform. Also the existing antepenultimate D note in *F* (si=*f,* the one before the omitted *f* in the score) has a possible plica stroke, similar to what is seen in the varying reading of *Owc* here as well; alternatively, this could be an indication by the scribe of *F* that the note is to be performed as an L. **Line 7,2 ("nati"):** TD: Owc: pitches missing due to wear, supplied from *F.* **Final cauda (over line 8,2 – "salutaris"):** Tr: Owc: in the middle of the fifth Tr phrase of the final cauda (at L37-L39. where the phrase overlap starts), the first of the 2si=*f,f* is worn, but still slightly visible. D: F: the *c* that occurs 15L prior to the *punctus organi,* has been erased and is restored from the evidence of *Owc;* it is preceded by a si=*b* in *F,* whereas a collective 2li=*bc* is needed for these two pitches, as in *Owc.* T: F: an expected rest August 10, 2026stroke before the copula that precedes the closing *punctus organi* is om, supplied from *Owc.* **Closing *punctus organi*:** D; F: unlike the previous organal flourish over line 5,1 ("pulcrior"), the final close in *F* is significantly expanded in comparison to *Owc.*
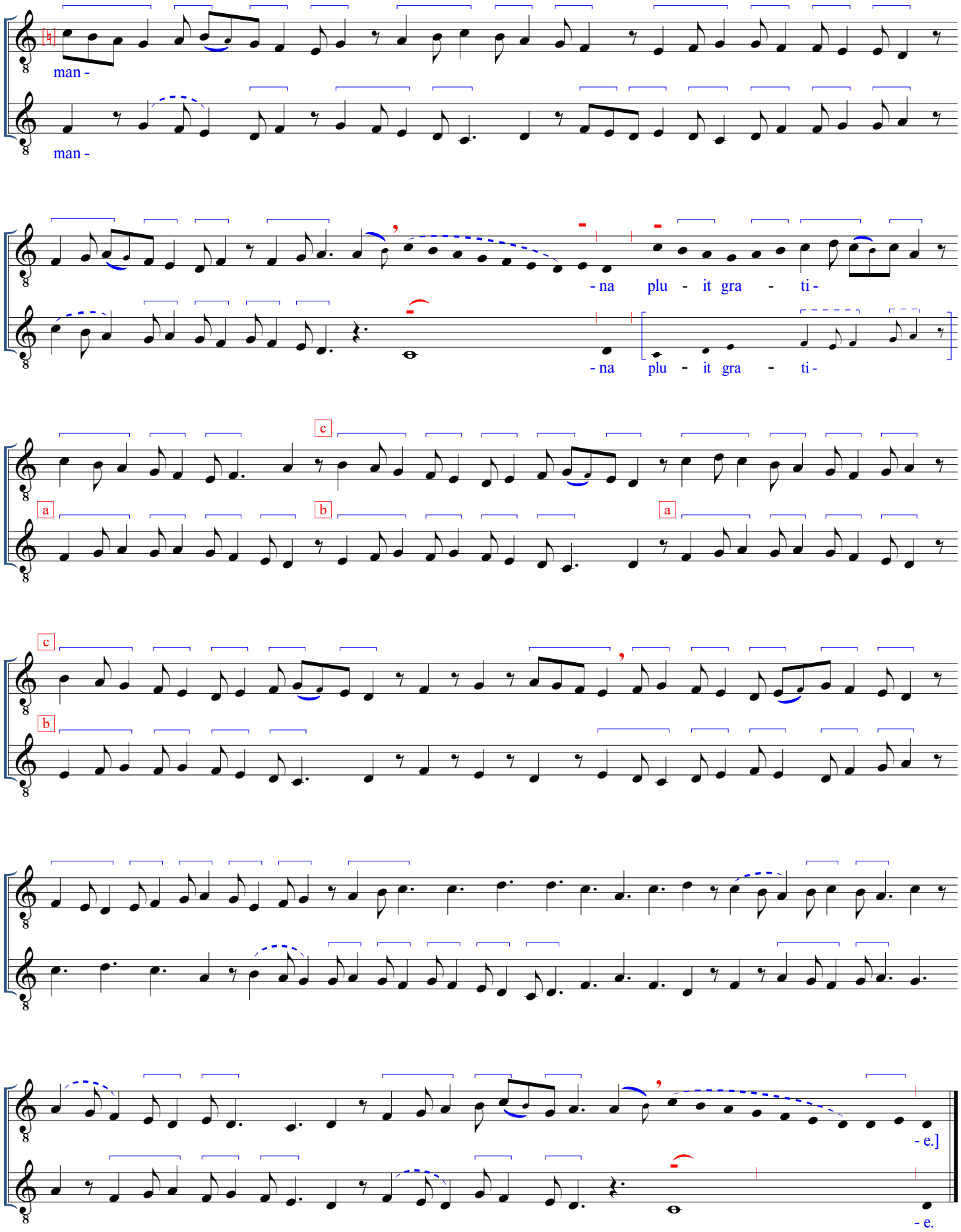
FLORET ORTUS VIRGINALIS
Conductus (J50/126)

F, f. 371r (7,125)

I

D [Flo - ret or - tus vir - gi - na - lis. pro - - dit fru - ctus e - ter - na - lis.

T Flo - [Flo] - ret or - tus vir - gi - na - lis. pro - - dit fru - ctus e - ter - na - lis.


man -
man -
- na plu - it gra - ti -
- na plu - it gra - ti -
- e.]
- e.

FLORET ORTUS VIRGINALIS

Conductus (J50/126)

F, f. 371r (7,125)

I	Floret ortus virginalis.	A	virginal garden blooms.
	prodit fructus eternalis.	2	Eternal fruit comes forth.
	manna pluit gratie.		The manna of grace rains down.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 125, f. 371r: a2; Strophe I, complete, with some empty space occupied by staff lines at the end of the last system of the piece, but no evidence of intent to include additional stanzas. A unique transmission of both text and music, the piece begins on the second of the six two-staff systems on this page; the preceding four folios, 367 to 370, present blank staves, as does the first system of f. 371r.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.
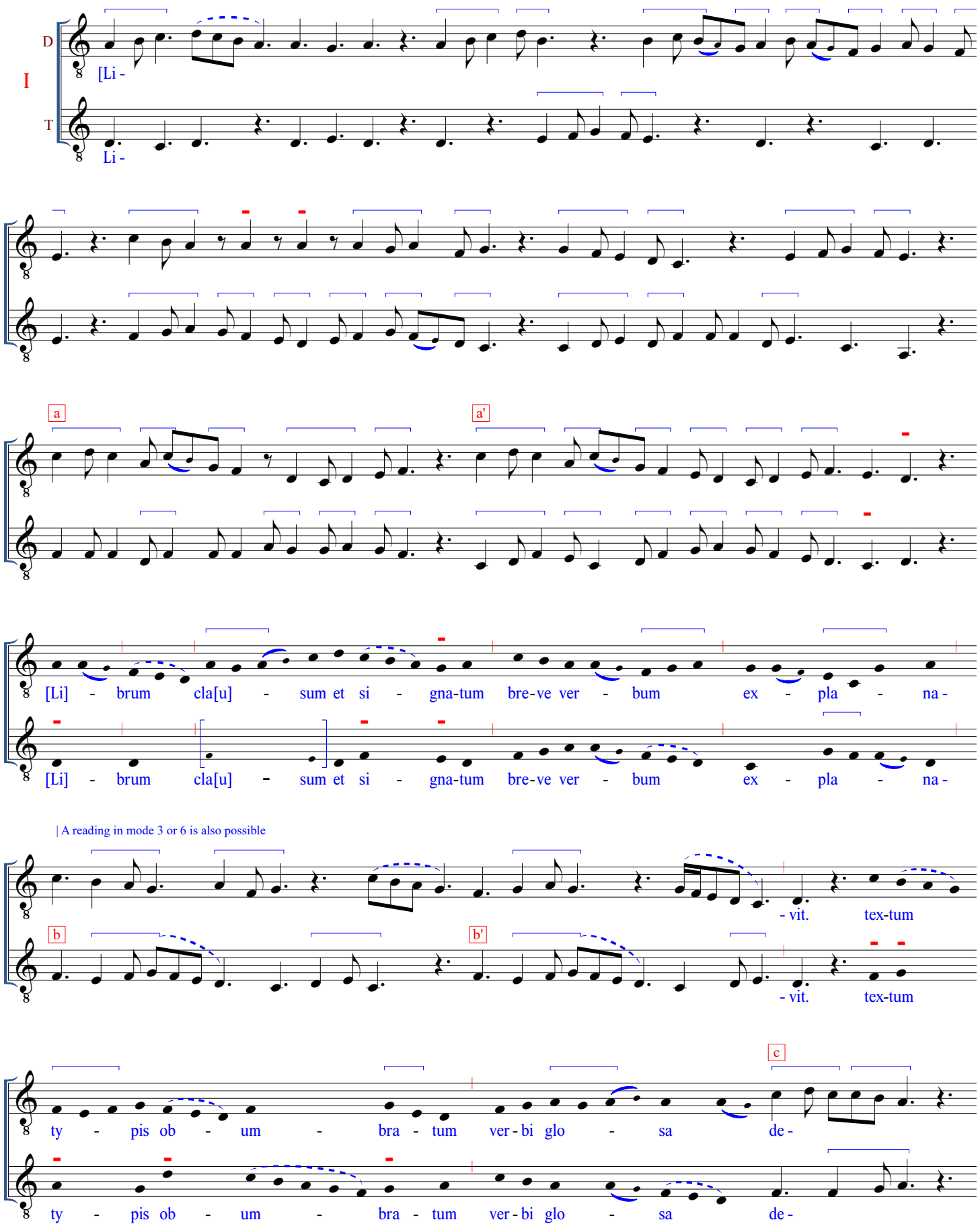
***Notes on the Text*:** each of the three lines in this short poem is given over to a symbol of the Virgin, Christ, and the incarnation, respectively. **3,1:** on manna as a figure for Christ or his body (and thus evoking the Eucharist), see the *Distinctiones* of Alain de Lille (in *PL,* 210, col. 849D, bottom), s.v. "manna": "Manna ... Dicitur corpus Christi" ("Manna ... is said to be the body of Christ."). Hence, manna raining down from heaven suggests God's gift of grace through Christ's incarnation. References to manna in the Bible include: Exodus, 16:1-36; Numbers, 11:4-9; Joshuah, 5:11-12; Psalm 77: 23-25.
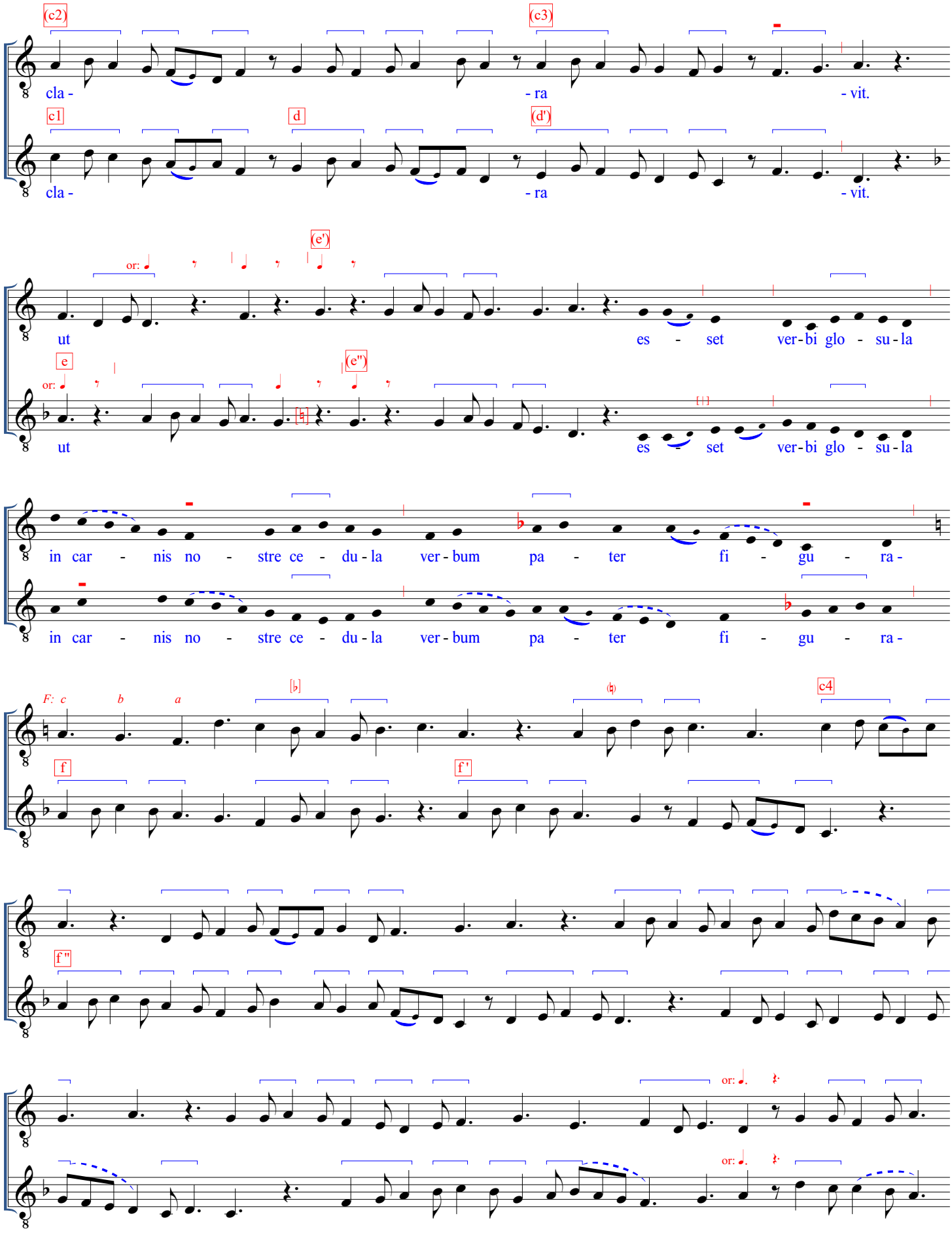
Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,2:** alternative spelling of "hortus." **MUSIC: opening cauda:** D: F: the first *c* of the opening phrase at L2 appears to be written as *d,* due to lack of space. **Line 3,2-3:** T: F: music for the first four syllables not entered, editorial completion.

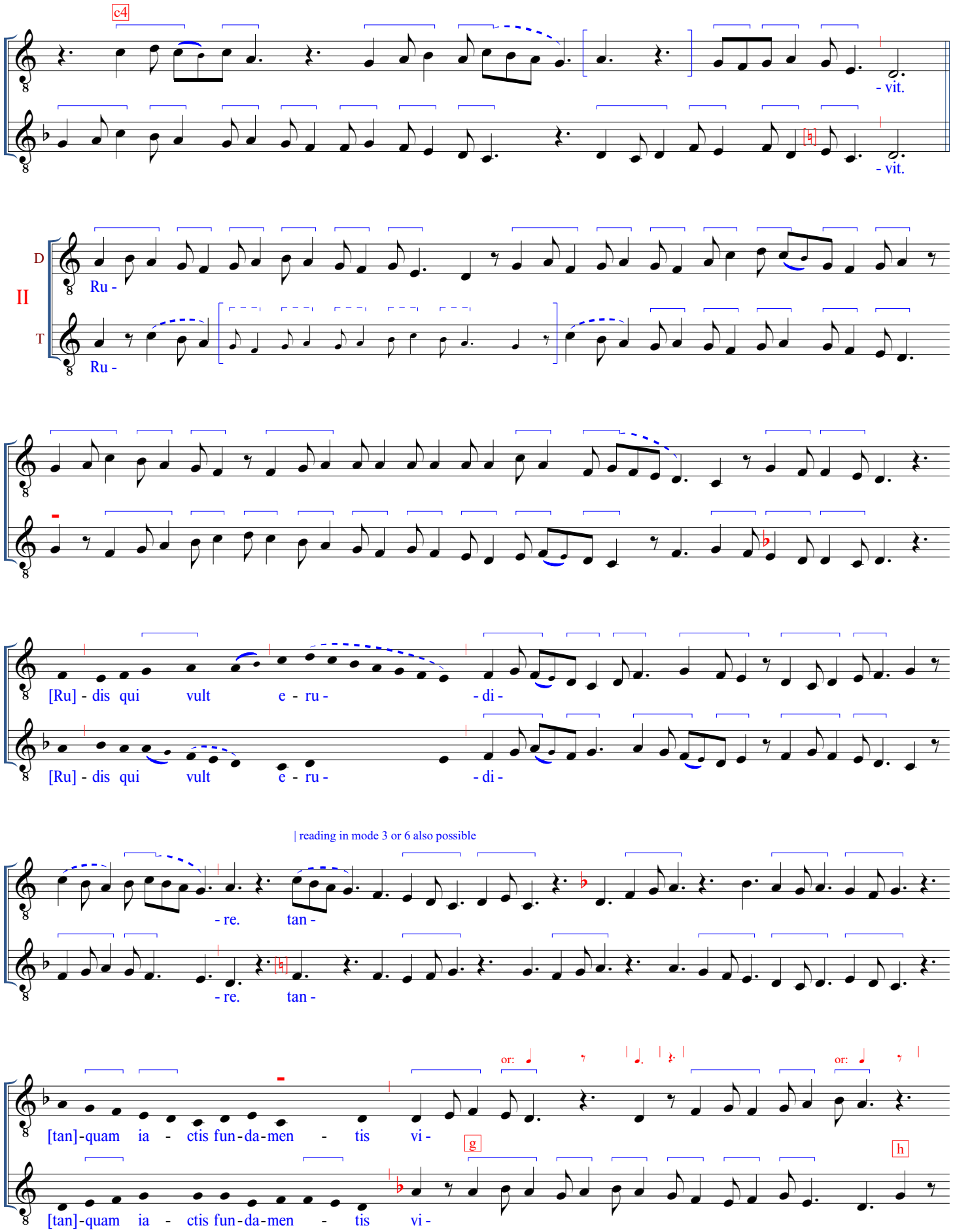
LIBRUM CLAUSUM ET SIGNATUM
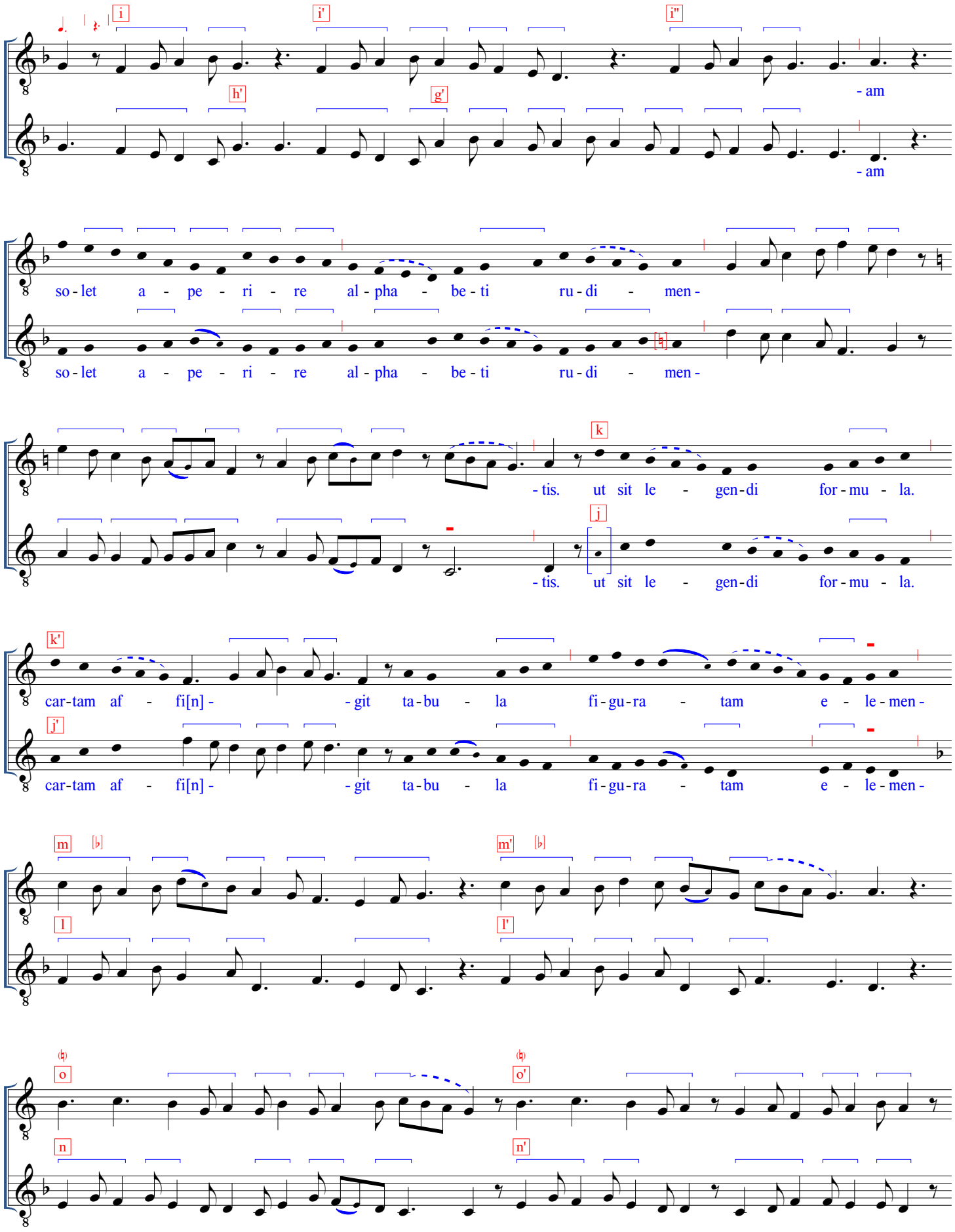
Conductus (J51/198)

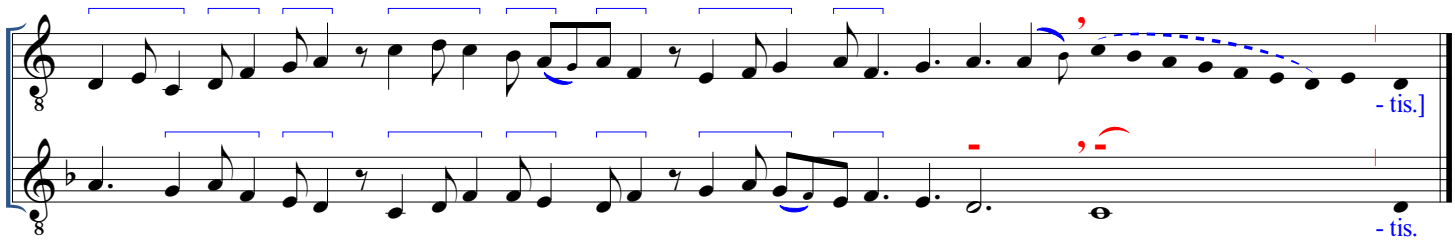
F, f. 371v (7,126)




(c2)
(c3)
cla - - ra - vit.
c1
d
(d')
cla - - ra - vit.
(e')
or:
ut es - set ver-bi glo - su-la
e
(e")
or:
ut es - set ver-bi glo - su-la
in car - nis no - stre ce - du-la ver-bum pa - ter fi - gu - ra-
in car - nis no - stre ce - du-la ver-bum pa - ter fi - gu - ra-
F: c
b
a
c4
f
f'
f"
or:
or:


c4
- vit.
- vit.
II
D
T
Ru -
Ru -
[Ru] - dis qui vult e - ru - di -
[Ru] - dis qui vult e - ru - di -
| reading in mode 3 or 6 also possible
- re. tan -
- re. tan -
or:
or:
[tan]-quam ia - ctis fun-da-men - tis vi -
[tan]-quam ia - ctis fun-da-men - tis vi -
g
h


i
i'
i''
h'
g'
- am
- am
so - let a - pe - ri - re al - pha - be - ti ru - di - men -
so - let a - pe - ri - re al - pha - be - ti ru - di - men -
k
- tis. ut sit le - gen - di for - mu - la.
j
- tis. ut sit le - gen - di for - mu - la.
k'
car - tam af - fi[n] - - git ta - bu - la fi - gu - ra - tam e - le - men -
j'
car - tam af - fi[n] - - git ta - bu - la fi - gu - ra - tam e - le - men -
m
m'
l
l'
o
o'
n
n'


- tis.]
- tis.

LIBRUM CLAUSUM ET SIGNATUM

Conductus (J51/198)

F, f. 371v (7,126)

I Librum cla[u]sum et signatum
breve verbum explanavit.
Textum, typis obumbratum,
verbi glosa declaravit.
Ut esset verbi glosula,
in carnis nostre cedula
verbum pater figuravit.

A brief word has made plain
a book closed and sealed.
A gloss of a word has clarified
a text obscured by figures.
The Father imprinted the word
upon the page of our flesh
for it to be a little gloss of the word.

II Rudis qui vult erudire
tanquam iactis fundamentis
viam solet aperire
alphabeti rudimentis,
ut sit legendi formula,
cartam affi[n]git tabula
figuratam elementis.

Just as an uneducated person who wants
to learn is accustomed to open a path
with established foundations
through the rudiments of the alphabet,
in order that there may be a basis for reading,
so does the table [of the law] fashion a map
inscribed with the first principles.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 126, f. 371v: a2, Strophes I-II complete, with no provision for further stanzas and with II indicated by the usual capital; a unique instance of both text and music.

Text only: none, but see the observations and variants for a late printed source for the text of lines 4,3 and 8,4 below.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** For a study of this work, and in particular an investigation as to how the implementation of its caudae may act as figurative "glosses" that can convey textual symbolism and contribute to the apprehension of the poem's and the composition's structure, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, "Making Sense of Medieval Latin Song: *Conductus cum caudis* and Biblical Exegesis," paper presented at a musicology colloquium at the University of Florida, Gainesville, 31 March 2017. I am grateful to Dr. Bevilacqua for making his work available to me prior to its publication. **Textual notes: 1-4:** in the manner of an exegetical gloss, the single short word "ave" – Gabriel's greeting to Mary at the Annunciation (Luke, 1:28)[1] – explains the meaning behind the writings of the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the birth of Christ. **1:** for the image elsewhere in the conductus repertory of the sealed book as a figure of the Old Law unlocked by a word, see *Magnificat ... qui iudicat* (H10/203), lines 41- 45.[2] **4-7:** in the poem the word "verbum" suggests various, simultaneous connotations: as the "Ave" of Gabriel (as above, lines 1-4); as the "Word" that is God himself (John, 1:1),

[1]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' ").

[2]Magnificat ... qui iudicat (H10/203), lines 41-45: "Summis ima confederat / descendens verbum domini, / pacem reportans homini, / librumque clausum reserat, / unita carne numini" ("The Word of the Lord, descending, bringing back peace to mankind, joins together the highest with the lowest, and unlocks the closed book by uniting flesh to divinity.").

impressed in human form as Christ through the miracle of the incarnation;[3] and (as also above) the writings of the Old Testament that are now explained and revealed with the action of Gabriel's salutation. Hence, with the incarnation of Christ through the word "ave," God imprinted the Word on human flesh, with the result that the secrets hidden in the words of the Old Law are revealed. **6:** cf. 2 Corinthians, 3:2-3;[4] and the analogous expressions in Proverbs, 3:3; Proverbs, 7:3; and Jeremiah, 17:1. **8-14 (Strophe II):** the Old Testament, and particularly the table of the old, Mosaic Law represented foremost by the Ten Commandments, contains prefigurations of the covenant revealed in the New Testament and serves as a precursor or template for it, as in the remarks for lines 1-4, above.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,2:** F: clasum; editorial emendation. **4,3:** F: sevit, thus apparently wanting two syllables. The emended reading adopted here ("declaravit"), likely stemming from a now-lost medieval source, comes from the version of *Librum clausum* published in the *Pia quaedam vetustissima Poemata* of Matthias Flacius Illyricus of 1552.[5] It is deemed preferable because it is essentially synonymous with the meaning of the word in *F,* and its implementation unifies the syllable count, rhyme, and accentual patterns of lines 2,4, and 7 – results that suggest the word in *F* is erroneous. Significantly, with this change and the ones proposed for line 8, both stanzas are now uniform in poetic structure and rhyme scheme, making this a through-composed setting of a strophically formulated text. Fortunately and perhaps significant for the conjecture of a textual error in *F,* there is room in the cauda to contain the additional syllables. For a similar situation, see below for line 8. **6,4:** F: alternative form of "schedula" ("page"). **7,3-8,1:** F: the final syllable of Strophe I and the opening syllable of II are rather wildly misaligned with the music. The two syllables sit together below an otherwise note-free portion of the staff, situated between the second and third musical figures of the T of the cauda that opens Strophe II, and thus placed much later than needed. Furthermore, the left arm of the first letter of the capitalized (and likely faulty) word "Vides" that begins Strophe II extends into the T staff at a point where 6-7 Longs worth of material is missing in the T (see below in the remarks on the music of the cauda opening line 8,1). **8 (begins Strophe II):** F: Vides qui vult credere ("You see he who wants to believe ..."), which does not appear to make much sense. As with line 4,3, the adopted reading comes from the redaction in Flacius's *Pia quaedam vetustissima Poemata* (although Flacius curiously gives the plural "rudes" for the singular "rudis" that would agree with the verb "vult" – the latter choice appears here in this edition). This reading makes much better sense in the context of the strophe and – like line 4,3 – equalizes the syllable count and accentual qualities of lines 8 and 10, which suggest *F* may indeed be corrupt. As a result, with both emendations the two stanzas are now formally identical. And as with line 4 the additional syllable in line 8 from the Flacius reading ("erudire" for "credere") can be accommodated to the musical setting without interference. **9,2:** F: apparently "lactis"; the top of the first letter, though, has a slight flourish that differs somewhat from the typical lower-case form of the letter "L," but this may just be a slight slip of the pen. **13,2:** F: affigit; the adopted change ("affingit") is an editorial emendation that seems to make a bit more sense in the context of the poem than the MS reading ("affixes" in English). **MUSIC:** Several caudae can be performed either in mode 3 or 6; some caudae allow various interpretations of non-coincident rests as short or long with

---

[3]John, 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.").

[4]2 Corinthians, 3:2-3: "Epistula nostra vos estis, scripta in cordibus nostris, quae scitur et legitur ab omnibus hominibus: manifestati, quoniam epistula estis Christi ministrata a nobis et scripta non atramento sed spiritu dei vivi; non in tabulis lapideis sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus ("You [readers] are our epistle, written in our hearts, which is known and read by all men: being manifested, that you are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, and written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart").

[5]*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. xci-xcii. The book is available online here.

equally acceptable results; alternatives are signaled above the staves. The piece is also tightly constructed with repetition and recollection of a good number of motives, some clearly interrelated. Many such relationships are signaled above the staff with boxed letters, and certainly many more could be posited. **Opening cauda:** T:F: the stroke preceding the 2li=*ef* at L24,2-L25,1 is partly obscured by the notational figure, suggesting it is unwanted; it is om from the transcription. T: F: the second phrase from the end, at L37-L44, is written 3 lower. **Cauda, line 5,1:** D: F: following L6, an erased *b-flat* sig. **Cauda closing line 7 (ends Strophe I):** D: F: thanks to the prior placement of a *c*3cl, the first 3si of the melisma are written 3 higher (as *c,b,a*) than they appear in the transcription and are preceded with a curious sig quad on *d* (placed in the transcription on the staff line for *b*). After these first three notes, the remainder of the cauda does not seem to require further transposition. However, due to the prevailing *b-flat* sig in the T, which continues into the subsequent system, along with the dissonance and cross relations that result if these three D notes and the *b* and *b-flat* pitches in both voices are read as indicated, I have emended just these opening three notes, moving them 3 lower (as *a,g,f*), justifying the move by supposing the clef may be misplaced (possibly originally intended to follow the three-note group), and that the sig quad on *d* was intended for *b,* in order to show that the following note, though written as *c,* was supposed to be *a.* Even so, this logic is a bit strained; it does not fully account for the sig quad situation and it also results in a rather uncharacteristic leap of a sixth to the fourth note of the phrase. Alternatives could be preferable, including favoring *b-naturals* over *b-flats* for this passage. T: F: 4L into the penultimate T phrase of the cauda, at L49, there is a faint but visible stroke arising from the first element of the 3li=*gac* at this point, making the figure look as though it is *cum opposita proprietate.* This appears to be another instance of trying to obscure an erroneous stroke by trying to hide it with the following figure, so the mark is not considered in the transcription. D: F: 6L-7L before the cauda's conclusion, the D suggests some material is missing or corrupt: after the 2li+3C=*ac*+*bag* group at L59-L60, an erased si=*a* is still visible with what looks like a fairly long tail, followed by a stroke that also appears partially effaced. The next phrase opens with a 2li,2li=*gf,ga* and attempting to coordinate this gesture with the T along with omitting the erased material not only indicates that something is missing, but introduces a dissonance that is uncharacteristic of this piece as a whole. The reading here has thus been emended, restoring the apparent erasures and using the extant figures as much as possible, but avoiding the dissonance. **Cauda opening line 8,1 (begins Strophe II):** T: F: missing material from L3,2-L9, supplied editorially. This is also the place where there are discrepancies in the underlay of the verbal text with the music, see the discussion of this above in the observations on the text, lines 7,3-8,1. **Line 11,2:** T: F: just before the penultimate syllable of "rudimentis," there is a page turn without an expected and necessary *c*4cl to begin the first T staff on f. 372v; in the transcription it is assumed to be present. There is also no *b-flat* sig to start this staff and none seems called for until the beginning of the final cauda. **Line 12,1:** T: F: the opening note of this phrase is omitted; supplied editorially.

BACULI SOLLEMPNIA
Conductus (J52/20)

F, f. 372v (7,127)

I

D [Ba - cu - li sol - lem - pni - a, pa - tri na - to glo - ri - a,

T Ba - cu - li sol - lem - pni - a, pa - tri na - to glo - ri - a,

in - ci - tant ad gau - di - a nos in cri - sti no - mi - ne.

in - ci - tant ad gau - di - a nos in cri - sti no - mi - ne.

pa - tri, na - to glo - ri - a sit cum san - cto fla - mi - ne.

pa - tri, na - to glo - ri - a sit cum san - cto fla - mi - ne.

[Refrain?]

[Refr.?] Gau - di - o ni - mi - o re - so - net hec con - ti - o,

Gau - di - o ni - mi - o re - so - net hec con - ti - o,

gau - di - a tri - pu - di - a de - cent hec sol - lem - pni - a.]

gau - di - a tri - pu - di - a de - cent hec sol - lem - pni - a.

BACULI SOLLEMPNIA

Conductus (J52/20)

F, f. 372v (7,127)

I	Baculi sollempnia		The solemn feasts of the staff
	– Patri, nato gloria! –		– Glory to the Father and Son! –
	incitant ad gaudia		arouse us to delights
	nos in Christi nomine.		in the name of Christ.
	Patri, nato gloria	5	Glory be to the Father and Son
	sit cum sancto flamine.		along with the Holy Spirit.
Refr.?	Gaudio nimio		Let this company
	resonet hec contio;		resound with exceeding joy;
	gaudia, tripudia,		delights, celebrations,
	decent hec sollempnia.	10	are apt for these solemnities.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 127, f. 372v: a2; Strophe I and likely refrain, complete, with no provisions for additional text and with supposed refrain beginning with a capital. This piece initiates a series of three more modest works, *F*-7,127-129, with less extensive or – as in this case – no caudae;[1] this series is then followed by the more ornate *Christi miles* (J55/58), to close the fascicle. This is a unique transmission of both music and text.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: The apparent refrain:** The survival of this piece in a single source poses problems in assessing whether it actually does have a refrain and whether it may have possessed more strophes. There are five other conductus within the main Parisian sources with likely refrains that survive only as single stanzas, all but one of which are unique to *F*.[2] In *Baculi sollempnia,* the exhaustive musical repetition in the T that occurs within the six-line "stanzaic" portion of the piece (aAabAb) readily invokes features of many of the Latin *rondelli* preserved in the eleventh fascicle of *F,* which in itself suggests more strophes once were extant.[3] As a result of the stanza's melodic coherence, the change in both musical and textual design that follows in the concluding four lines (cdc'e) sets this portion of the poem in such relief that its consideration as anything other than a refrain seems misplaced, but a feature of this type is not normally associated with rondeau-like works

[1]The other two pieces are: *Ave maris stella ave singularis* (J53/34) and *Circa mundi vesperam* (J54/63).

[2]These are *Legis in volumine* (F13/193), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *O Maria stella maris lux* (K71/238), and *Stella maris lux ignaris* (K79/338). The fifth work, *Non habes aditum* (J29/221), occurs only once in the central complex of Notre Dame manuscripts (again in *F*), but survives additionally in a textual transmission in *OxRawl.*

[3]See the conductus *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151) located eight pieces prior to *Baculi sollempnia* at *F*-7,119 for some analogous features that suggest a comparison to the Latin *rondelli* in *F*-11.

such as the pieces in *F*-11.[4] **Textual notes: 1:** poetic references to the rod and staff in the context of a liturgical feast are frequently connected with the celebrations of the feast of the Circumcision on 1 January; see, for example, in addition to *Baculi sollempnia,* the conductus *Gregis pastor Tityrus* (L90/-), stanzas III and IV of *Ysayas cecinit – (Titire tu patule)* (C4/188), and *Novus annus hodie (I)* (F5/227), the latter of which is designated as "Conductus ad bacularium" in the Sens Circumcision office *(F-SEm 46)*. On this day at Notre Dame of Paris, for example, the subdeacons temporarily assumed the offices and certain privileges and 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.[5] **9,2:** on the term *tripudium* (often rendered as "dance") and its various connotations, see Donna La Rue, "Tripudium," 25–29.[6] In this case I have translated the term as "celebration" due to the lack of additional circumstances that might point more clearly to dance. For other conductus that may mention dancing, see, in addition to *Baculi solempnia, Nicholai presulis* (F27/217), *Trine vocis tripudio* (E4/351), *Hac in die salutari* (J45/151), *Genitus divinitus* (I25/144); and notice also the troped organum *Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino* (A7/44 – vdW 761/BD VI), especially lines 15-17.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC:** no variants.

[4]Further discussion of the special properties of *Baculi sollempnia* appears in Mary Channen Caldwell's dissertation, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2013), 670-674. Caldwell aptly describes it as a "reworked *rondeau*" (673), reconfigured by the addition of the extraneous refrain of lines 7-10.

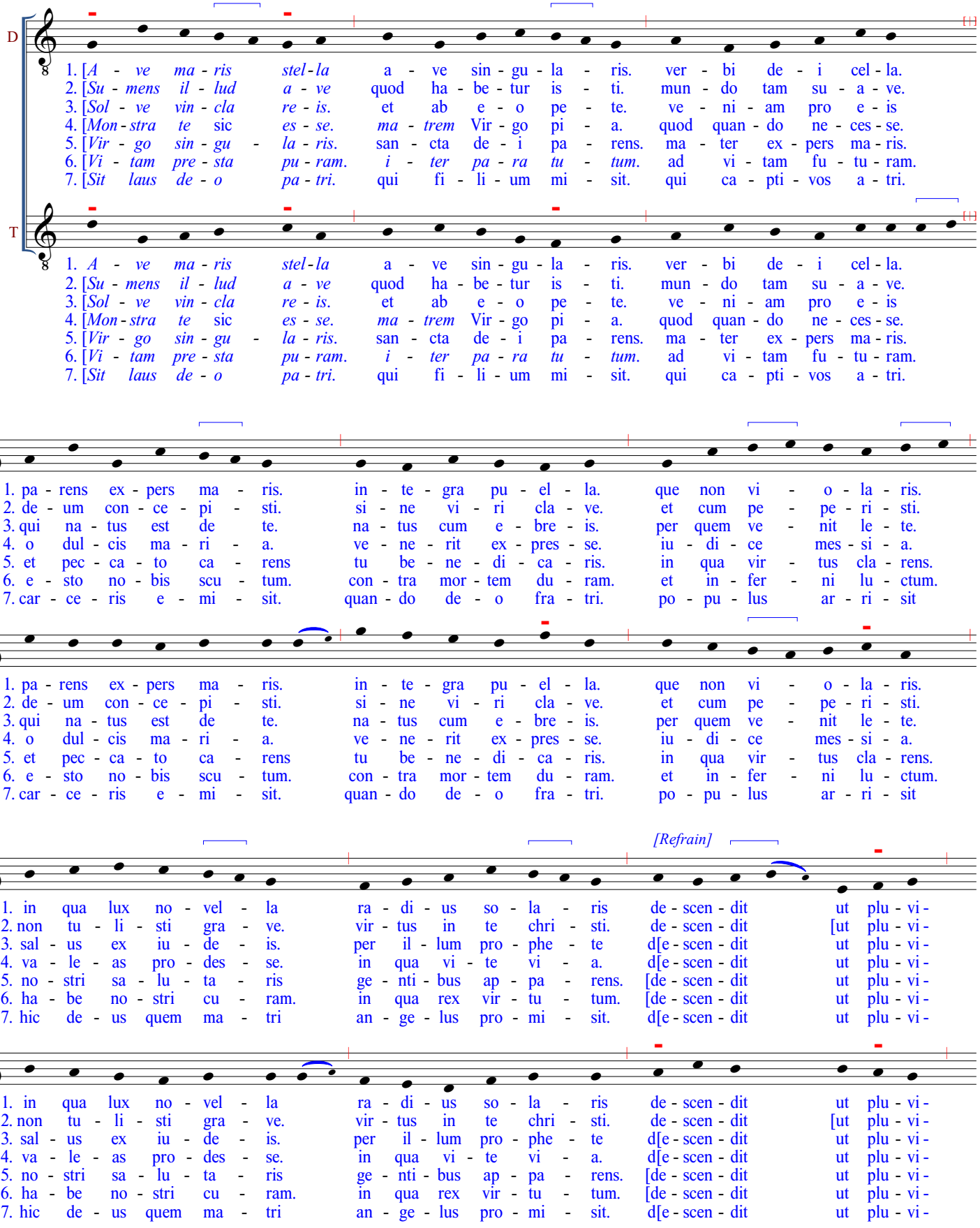
[5]For information on these practices, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony,* 239-242, which offers a brief consideration of *Baculi sollempnia* on pp. 241-242 that notes its appropriateness for the Circumcision festivities; and Max Harris, "A Rough and Holy Liturgy: A Reassessment of the Feast of Fools," 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), at 80-84; and *idem, Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), at 99-106.

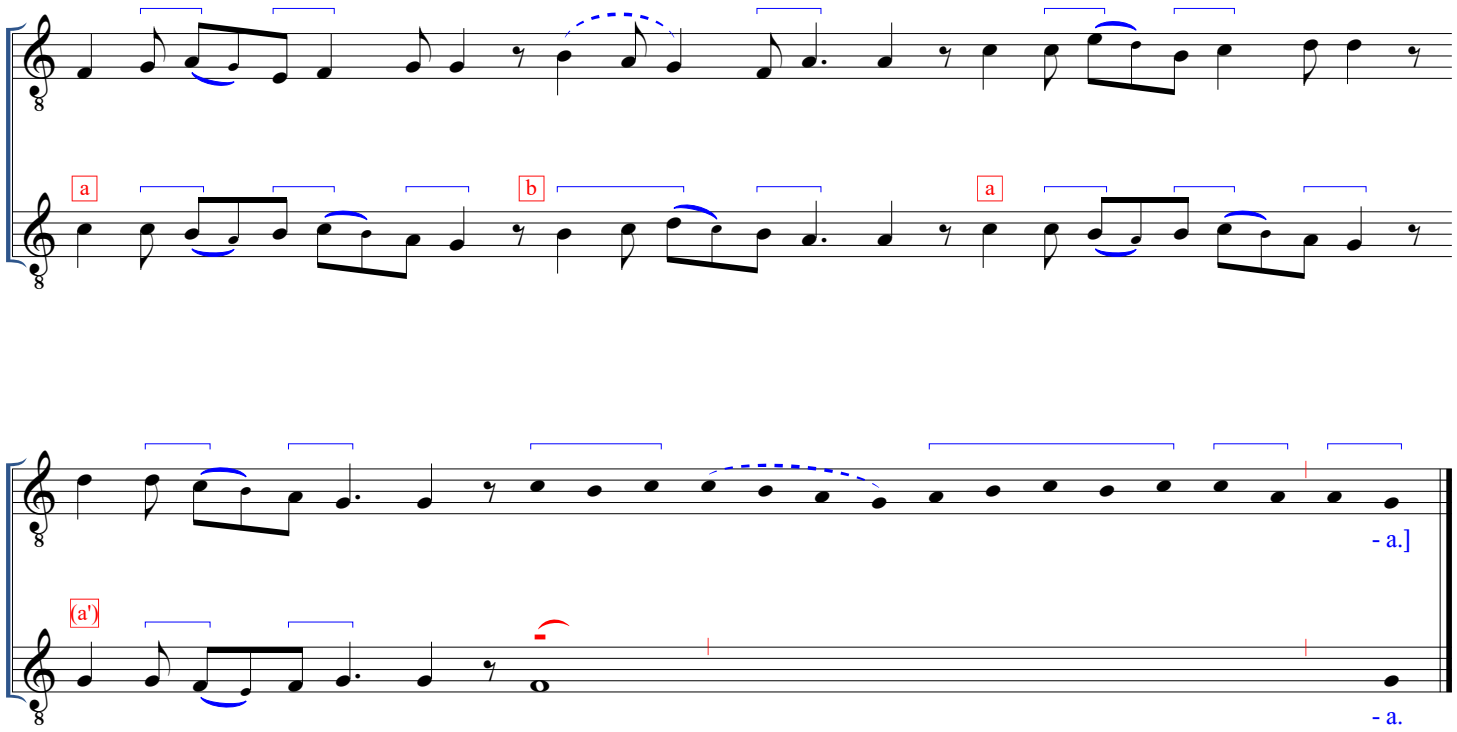
[6]Donna La Rue, "Tripudium: Its Use in Sources from 200 BCE to 1600 CE," *ARTS (The Arts in Religious and Theological Studies),* vol. 7, no. 3 – separately paginated – (1995): 25–29.

AVE MARIS STELLA AVE

Conductus (J53/33)

F, f. 373r (7,128): Strophe I; *Vat602,* f. 9v: Strophes II-VII




a
b
a
- a.]
(a')
- a.

AVE MARIS STELLA AVE

Conductus (J53/33)

F, f. 373r (7,128): Strophe I; *Vat602,* f. 9v: Strophes II-VII

I	*Ave, maris stella.*	*Hail, star of the sea.*
	Ave, singularis	Hail, special chamber
	verbi dei cella,	of God's word,
	parens expers maris,	mother uncorrupted,
	integra puella,	intact maiden,
	que non violaris,	you who are inviolate,
	in qua lux novella,	upon whom a new light,
	radius solaris,	a ray of the sun,
Refr.	descendit ut pluvia.	fell like the rain.
II	[*Sumens illud ave*	*Taking on that "hail,"*
	quod habetur isti	which is considered
	mundo tam suave,	so sweet to this world,
	deum concepisti	you conceived God
	sine viri clave;	without a man's key;
	et cum peperisti	and when you gave birth
	non tulisti grave.	you did not bear it grievously.
	Virtus in te Christi.	The strength of Christ
Refr.	descendit [ut pluvia].	fell upon you like the rain.
III	*Solve vincla reis*	*Cast the chains from off the guilty*
	et ab eo pete	and seek pardon for
	veniam pro eis	them from the one
	qui natus est de te,	who was born to you
	natus cum Ebreis,	and born among the Hebrews,
	per quem venit lete	the one through whom salvation
	salus ex Iudeis.	came joyfully from the Jews.
	Per illum prophete	Through that saying of the prophet,
Refr.	d[escendit ut pluvia].	he fell like the rain.
IV	*Monstra te* sic *esse.*	So *show yourself to be*
	matrem, Virgo pia,	*a mother,* kind virgin,
	quod quando necesse,	so that when there is need,
	O dulcis Maria,	O sweet Mary,
	venerit expresse.	and the Messiah shall clearly
	iudice Messia,	have arrived as judge,
	valeas prodesse,	you may have the power to aid,
	in qua vite via.	you on whom the way of life
Refr.	d[escendit ut pluvia].	fell like the rain.
V	*Virgo singularis,*	*Most special virgin,*
	sancta dei parens,	holy bearer of God,
	mater expers maris	mother uncorrupted
	et peccato carens,	and free from sin,
	tu benedicaris.	you are blessed,
	in qua virtus clarens	you on whom the shining virtue

	nostri salutaris,		of our salvation,
	gentibus apparens,		appearing to the Gentiles,
Refr.	[descendit ut pluvia.]		fell like the rain.
VI	*Vitam presta puram.*		*Provide a pure life.*
	Iter para tutum		*Prepare a safe journey*
	ad vitam futuram.		towards the life to come.
	Esto nobis scutum		Be a shield for us
	contra mortem duram		against harsh death
	et inferni luctum.		and the affliction of hell.
	Habe nostri curam,		Take care of us,
	in qua rex virtutum.		you on whom the king of virtues
Refr.	[descendit ut pluvia.]		fell like the rain.
VII	*Sit laus deo patri,*		*Praise be to God the Father,*
	qui filium misit,		who sent his son,
	qui captivos atri		who released the captives
	carceris emisit,		of the dark prison,
	quando deo fratri		because the people smiled
	populus arrisit.		on God as a brother.
	Hic deus quem matri		This is the God that the
	angelus promisit;		angel promised to the mother;
Refr.	d[escendit ut pluvia.]		he fell like the rain.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 128, f. 373r: a2; Strophe I and refrain only, with no provision for further text, and no special delineation for the refrain. This piece, and the two that follow it to close the fascicle, begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1]

Vat602 (I-Rvat Urb. lat. 602; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 602),[2] f. 9v: a1 (T); Strophes I-VII, complete, in Beneventan script, headed by a large painted initial that looks more like an "M" than an "A" (despite the guide letter right next to it) and with the beginning of the stanzas shown by capitals bearing flecks of the same red paint used for the opening initial, while the irregularly placed capital "V" that starts line 29,2 also attracted this decoration. The refrain is signaled by the same means, both in its first presentation and in the inconsistent cues that close the residual strophes (as indicated in the text above), with the exception of the whole-word refrain cue in II ("descendit") having no such flecking. Curiously, what looks like a relatively large, erroneously placed red initial "C," filled in with blue and yellow paint, appears in the left margin just before the fourth syllable of line 43,2 on f. 10r; this apparent anomaly is seen also on folio 11r. Periods or small ticks punctuate nearly every line. The melody transmitted by this source (generally concordant with that of *F*) uses heightened Beneventan neumes, but is incomplete for the last four syllables, ceasing with the second word of the refrain in line 9 when the scribe begins the next page, upon which the remaining text is entered with no provision for any music nor space for the cauda that occurs in *F*.

Text only:

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Images of this source are available at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.602

GB-Cu Ff. VI. 14 (Cambridge, University Library, Ff. VI. 14); f. 26v: text only of Strophes I-VII, complete, with the opening lines following *Vat 602,* rather than *F* (see the variants on the text given below for lines 1-2); images of this source are presently unavailable to me; details come from Anderson, *NDRC,* 5:124, and the CPI website.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This poem begins every stanza with the opening line (and in Strophe VI the opening two lines) of each respective strophe of the Marian hymn *Ave maris stella* (Cantus Index, no. 008272), a chant associated most closely with the feast of the Annunciation; these quotations are italicized in the above text, translation, and transcription. See also in this regard the conductus *Ave salus hominum* (F26/37) and *Ave maris stella virgo* (D1/34), which also incorporate the opening line of the same hymn, and *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur insere* (J41/360), along with *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur insere* (J41/360), which derive several of their lines from various stanzas of the Pentecost hymn *Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum visita* . Furthermore, the refrain (seen first in line 9) contains a biblical reference. **4:** My rendering of this line, as well as Anderson's translation as "mother without touch of man" (*NDRC,* 5:xliv), are attempts to give the right connotation, but they require explanation, as the phrase literally means "mother devoid of the sea." In a completely different context, the idiom "expers maris" is one applied to wine that has not been mixed with sea water. The expression appears in Horace, *Satires,* book 2, no. 8, line 15,[3] in connection with wine from the Greek island of Chios.[4] Hence, Mary, untouched by man, has preserved her chastity in the same way that an undiluted wine maintains its original strength and flavor. The choice of this particular expression was likely prompted by Mary's designation as *stella maris.* The same idiom reappears in line 39. **7:** numerous biblical passages refer to Christ as light, see, e.g., John, 8:12,[5] 9:5, 12:46; this image arises frequently in the conductus repertory. **8:** the sunbeam is a common symbol for Christ; see, for example the textual notes to the conductus *A solis ortus cardine processit* (F22,Q23/5), lines 1-4. **9 (refrain):** on divinity appearing as rain, see the notes below for lines 26-27. This same verse also appears as line 41 of the conductus *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus* (H32/324), preserved earlier in *F* (7,95), deriving either from Matthew, 7:24-27,[6] which recounts the parable of the house built on rock and the one built on sand, or – more likely given the Marian focus at this point in both poems – from Psalm, 71:6.[7] Additionally a nearly equivalent line appears in *A solis ortus cardine processit* (see also above), line 19: "descendit sicut pluvia," and the image of falling rain (closely juxtaposed to

---

[3]Horace *Satires,* 2,8,13-15: "... ut Attica virgo / cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes / Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers." ("... like an Attic maid bearing Ceres' sacred emblems, there came forward dusky Hydaspes with Caecuban wine, and Alcon with Chian, unmixed with brine."). The translation is from *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica,* H, Rushton Fairclough, transl. (Cambridge, Mass.: William Heinemann, 1942), p. 239.

[4]According to a number of commentators on the Horace passage, the poet apparently also intended to convey cynically through this expression that the wine had not crossed the sea, as Chian wine would have, but was a domestic product, served up deceitfully by the host of the party as a more impressive import. See William Drummond, transl., *The Satires of Persius translated with Notes* (London: J. Ginger, 1803), p. 184.

[5]John, 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 follows me, walks not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.").

[6]For the quotation of the entire passage from Matthew, 7:24-27, see the notes to the text of *Si deus est animus – Notum fecit dominus,* at line 41.

[7]Psalm, 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.").

the image of Mary standing for Gideon's fleece, just as it is in *Notum fecit dominus*) also arises in Philip the Chancellor's conductus *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (I) (F16/39), lines 14-15. **10-12:** perhaps a nod to the text of the sequence *Verbum bonum et suave* (Cantus Index no. ah54218),[8] which begins: "verbum bonum et suave personemus illud ave" ("let us sound forth that 'hail,' a word good and sweet"). **10:** Gabriel's greeting of Mary at the Annunciation and her agreeing to bear Jesus, see Luke, 1:28, 1:38;[9] note also the reference in lines 61-62. **14:** with its use of the figure of a key, this is a rather unusual expression that I have not noticed before in reference to Mary's bearing of Jesus without the need of a man. I have also not found an analogous connotation for the key in the dictionaries I have consulted. It is also at least conceivable that the word "clave" here may be an unusual but verifiable form of "clavus" ("nail"), another object with phallic connotations.[10] **16:** for this sense of the word "grave," see the DMLBS, available at https://logeion.uchicago.edu/grave. **26-27:** on rain as a type for the incarnation of Christ in the writings of the Old Testament prophets, see Hosea, 6:3,[11] and Isaiah, 45:8.[12] **35:** see John, 14:6,[13] and Psalm 15:11[14] (along with its citation in Acts, 2:28). **39:** see the remarks for line 4. **59-60:** although it is not a direct correlation in terms of this poem, for biblical passages referring to Jesus as a brother, see Mark, 3:34–35,[15] Hebrews, 2:11-12,[16] and Romans, 8:29.[17] **61-62:** another reference to the Annunciation, as in line 10. The whole scene is given in Luke, 1:26-38.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1:** Vat602: Ave mari stella. **2:** Vat602: ave stella maris. **3,2:** F: first letter

---

[8]Available at: https://cantusindex.org/search?t=&cid=ah54218&genre=All.

[9]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' "). Luke, 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.").

[10]For this form, see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/clavus, under the DMLBS heading, at 3.

[11]Hosea, 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.")

[12]Isaiah, 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.").

[13]John, 14:6: "Dicit ei Jesus: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita. Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me" ("Jesus said to him [Thomas]: 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man comes to the Father, but by me.' ").

[14]Psalm 15:11 "Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae; adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo: delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem. " ("You [the Lord] have made known to me the ways of life, you shall fill me with joy with your countenance: at your right hand are delights even to the end.").

[15]Mark, 3:34-35: "Et circumspiciens eos, qui in circuitu ejus sedebant, ait: Ecce mater mea et fratres mei Qui enim fecerit voluntatem Dei, hic frater meus, et soror mea, et mater est." ("And looking round about on them who sat about him, he [Jesus] said: 'Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my brother, and my sister, and mother.' ").

[16]Hebrews, 2:11-12: "Qui enim sanctificat, et qui sanctificantur, ex uno omnes. Propter quam causam non confunditur fratres eos vocare, dicens: Nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio ecclesiae laudabo te" ("For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one. For which cause he [Jesus] is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying: 'I will declare thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the church will I praise thee.' ").

[17]Romans, 8:29: "Nam quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus" ("For whom he [the Father] foreknew, he also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of his Son; that he might be the firstborn amongst many brethren.").

of "dei" mangled, looks somewhat like "b." **4:** Vat602: virgo singularis (note line 37). **16,2:** Vat602: erroneous period follows. **20,4:** Vat602: looks more like "peto" or "peta"; reading from *GB-Cu Ff. VI. 14,* and from need to supply rhyme. **26,3:** Vat602: prophetam; reading from *GB-Cu Ff. VI. 14,* and need for rhyme. **31,2:** Vat602: written as if "dulcrs"; from *GB-Cu Ff. VI. 14.* **61,4:** Vat602: matris; from *GB-Cu Ff. VI. 14,* and need for rhyme. **MUSIC:** no variants. Notice the close audible correspondence of the first phrase of *Ave maris stella ave* with the opening of the two-part conductus *Nove geniture* (I13/224). Even though each voice in both pieces has a different contour, together the two songs differ in sound merely with the penultimate (and here only in the D) and final syllables (both T and D) of the phrase.

CRICA MUNDI VESPERAM

Conductus (J54/63)

F, f. 373r (7,129)

I

D [Cir - ca mun - di ve - spe-ram sal-vans si - bi dex - te - ram le - gis lit - te - ram

A

T Cir - ca mun - di ve - spe-ram sal-vans si - bi dex - te - ram le - gis lit - te - ram

spi - ri - tu com - pla - nat vul - ne - ra - tum sa - nat vir sa - ma - ri - ta - nus.

B

spi - ri - tu com - pla - nat vul - ne - ra - tum sa - nat vir sa - ma - ri - ta - nus.

II

D Car - nis ful - gens tra - be - a vi - sus in y - du - me - a. sed a vi - ne - a

A

T Car - nis ful - gens tra - be - a vi - sus in y - du - me - a. sed a vi - ne - a

cu - stos re - pel - li - tur. e - ger pro - se - qui - tur me - di - cum in - sa -

B'

cu - stos re - pel - li - tur. e - ger pro - se - qui - tur me - di - cum in - sa -

*alternative readings in modes 3 or 1 also possible, see at end

b b'

a a' c c'
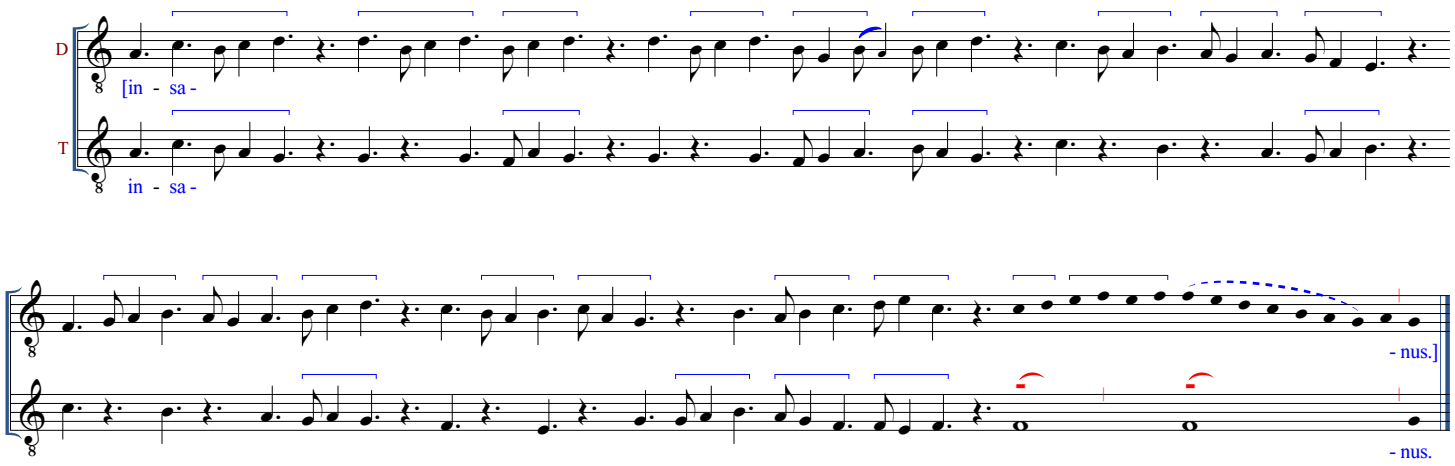
- nus.]

- nus.
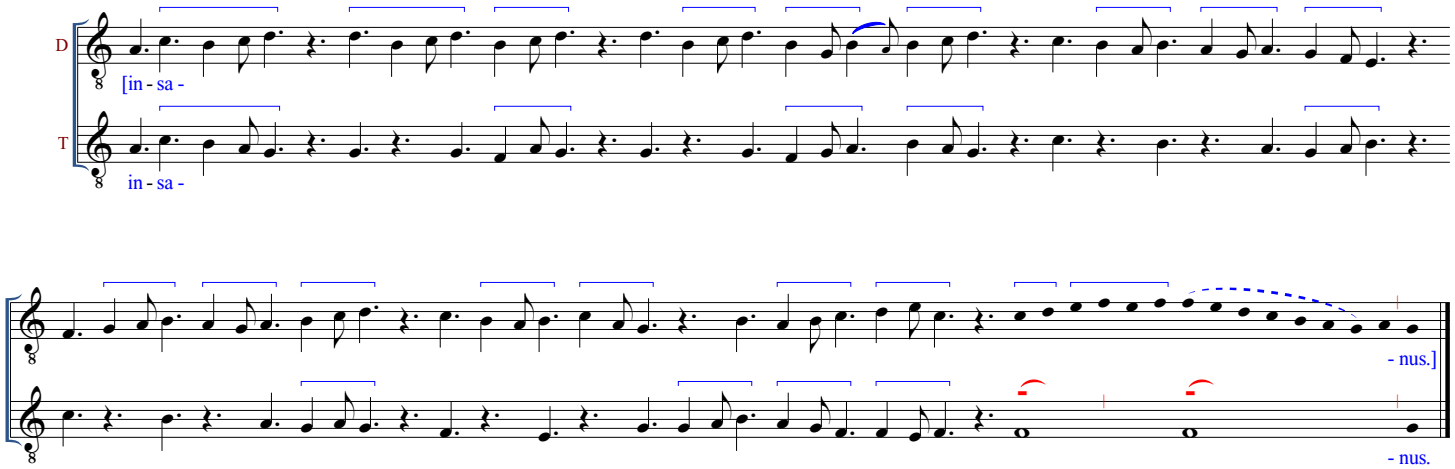
(alternative readings follow)

***ALTERNATIVE READINGS OF FINAL CAUDA:**

a. Mode 3:



b. Mode 1:



CIRCA MUNDI VESPERAM

Conductus (J54/63)

F, f. 373r (7,129)

I	Circa mundi vesperam,	Around the world's evening tide,
	salvans sibi dexteram,	reserving the right hand for himself,
	legis litteram	he makes plain the letter
	spiritu complanat;	of the law through the spirit;
	vulneratum sanat	the Samaritan man
	vir Samaritanus.	heals the wounded one.
II	Carnis fulgens trabea,	Shining in a red-stained robe of flesh,
	visus in Ydumea,	he was seen in Edom,
	sed a vinea	but the caretaker is driven
	custos repellitur;	away from the vineyard;
	eger persequitur	the sick man, unwell,
	medicum insanus.	persecutes the physician.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 129, f. 373r: a2: Strophes I-II, complete, with II headed by a capital; unique source for text and music, with a strophically repeating Tenor under a through-composed Duplum. The piece (as do the ones that precede and follow it) begins mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1]

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*:** This poem presents yet another treatment of the passing of the Mosaic covenant to the new covenant offered by Christ, with occasional nods towards the events of the Last Judgment. **1:** as indicated by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xlvi, note 1) with reference to Augustine (*Sermones,* 81, paragraph 8), the coming of Christ during the "old age of the world" (figured in Augustine's text by the birth of Isaac to Abraham during his old age) signified the end of the covenant of the Old Testament.[2] Cf. also the third strophe of the hymn *Conditor alme siderum* (Cantus Index no. 008284): "Vergente mundi vespere, uti sponsus de thalamo, egressus honestissima virginis matris clausula" ("With the evening tide of the world approaching, like a bridegroom from his bedchamber, he [Jesus] came forth from the enclosure of the most distinguished virgin mother."). In addition, this expression bears echoes of the Last Judgment that will occur at the end of time, as suggested by the content of line 2; lines 7-8 (q.v.) also evoke the event. **2:** most likely this line refers to Jesus's simile of the separation of the sheep and goats from Matthew, 25:31-46. Here the blessed (the sheep, appearing at God's right hand) are separated from the condemned (the goats, at his left) during the Last Judgment, just as a

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Augustine's text may be consulted in *PL,* 38, col. 504; here the number of the paragraph in the sermon is 8, not 7 as given in Anderson: "... quia in senectute mundi misit tibi Christum ... . Ideo seni Abrahae natus est filius, quia erat utique Christus in ipsius mundi senectute uenturus" ("... because he sent Christ to you in the old age of the world ... . Therefore a son was born to the aged Abraham, because assuredly Christ was to come in the old age of this world").

shepherd will divide the different animals in his flock. For some language quite close to this line of the conductus text, cf. Psalm 91:1.[3] **3-4:** the "he" who makes the letter plain is God through Christ's incarnation. On the letter versus the spirit of the law, see 2 Corinthians, 3:5-6,[4] and the similar expressions in Romans, 7:6; and 2:29; the biblical citation also prompts the opening couplet of the conductus *Cortex occidit littere* (I6/69). The parable of the Good Samaritan, evoked in lines 5-6 (q.v.) also refers indirectly to distinction between the letter and spirit of the Old Testament law. **4:** see the closing lines (21-22, from Strophe III) of the conductus *Relegentur ab area* (C6/304): "novelle vetus pagina / spiritu complanatur" ("the ancient page [of the law] is newly smoothed [or "made plain"] by the Spirit."). **5-6:** a reference to the parable of the good Samaritan: Luke, 10:29-37, where the Samaritan is often taken as a figure of Christ (as in the reference given by Anderson in *NDRC,* 5:xlvi, note 3, from Isidore of Seville,[5] which is also consonant with the interpretations of Origen and Augustine). Furthermore, the relation of this parable by Jesus is prompted by a question from a person "expert in the law" ("legis peritus"); and its point is to show the difference in behavior expected from the practitioners of the old law (represented by the Priest and the Levite who pass by the wounded man) versus the new (the Samaritan); see Anderson, *ibid.,* drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria.*[6] For other references to the story of the Samaritan, see the conductus *Dic Christi veritas* (C3/94), lines 21-24, and the possible indirect evocation in line 1 of *Excitatur caritas in Yericho* (F30/111). **7-8:** the man appearing in Edom in the red-stained robe (*trabea* – specifically a toga of purple cloth or of white cloth with purple stripes)[7] is a figure of Christ, who at the Last Judgment will glorify those who have accepted the new covenant and condemn the ones who have refused it. The main biblical reference is to Isaiah, 63:1.[8] See also Revelation, 19:13-15;[9] and the discussion of related imagery in the notes on the text for Strophe II (lines 11-17) of the conductus *Virga Yesse regio* (I24/383). **9-10:** see the parable of the wicked vinekeepers in Luke, 20:9-19; Mark, 12:1-12; and Matthew, 21:33-46. In the story, a landowner (a figure for God) plants a vineyard (God's people or his covenant with them) and leases it out to caretakers (false priests, prophets, and lawgivers, as well others who do not participate in Christ's new

---

[3]Psalm 97:1: "... Salvavit sibi dextera eius, et brachium sanctum eius" ("... His [the Lord's] right hand has wrought salvation for himself, and his arm is holy.").

[4]2 Corinthians, 3:5-6: "... sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est, qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros Novi Testamenti, non litterae sed spiritus. Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat" ("but our sufficiency is from God, who also has made us suitable ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit. For the letter kills, but the spirit gives life").

[5]From Isidore's *Allegoriae,* taken from *PL,* 83, cols. 123-124: "Samaritanus descendens, qui vulnera eius curavit, Christus est custos noster, qui de caelo descendit, et genus humanum a vulneribus peccatorum curavit" ("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").

[6]The text is cited from *PL,* 114, cols. 286D-287A, taken from Augustine.

[7]For this definition, see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/trabea.

[8] Isaiah, 63:1: "quis est iste qui venit de Edom tinctis vestibus de Bosra, iste formosus in stola sua, gradiens in multitudine fortitudinis suae? 'Ego, qui loquor iustitiam, et propugnator sum ad salvandum' " ("Who is this that comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosra, this beautiful one in his robe, walking in the greatness of his strength? 'It is I, who speak justice, and who am a defender for salvation' ").

[9]Revelation, 19:13-15: "Et vestitus erat vestem aspersam sanguine, et vocatur nomen eius Verbum Dei." Et exercitus qui sunt in caelo, sequebantur eum in equis albis, vestiti byssino albo et mundo. Et de ore ejus procedit gladius ex utraque parte acutus, ut in ipso percutiat gentes. Et ipse reget eas in virga ferrea: et ipse calcat torcular vini furoris irae Dei omnipotentis ("And he was clothed with a garment sprinkled with blood, and his name is called the Word of God." And the armies that are in heaven followed him on white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth proceeds a sharp two-edged sword; that with it he may strike the nations. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treads the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of God the Almighty.). For a investigation of the multiple contexts of the winepress image in a study centered around the Latin *rondellus Vineam meam plantavi,* transmitted in the eleventh fascicle of *F,* f. 466v, see the article by Mary Channen Caldwell, " 'I Have Trodden the Winepress Alone': The Voice of Christ and the Mystic Winepress in a Thirteenth-Century Conductus." *Revue de musicologie,* 108 (2022): 3-40.

covenant). The tenants mistreat and even kill the servants of the landowner (true prophets) who come to collect the fruits of the vineyard. When the owner ultimately sends his son (Christ), the vinekeepers slay him as well (an allegory of the Crucifixion). Jesus concludes by saying that the evil caretakers will be slain by the wrathful owner and the vineyard will be turned over to others who will properly return its fruits to him. The Gospel parable is directed against the priests and Pharisees who follow the old law; it thus continues the distinctions of the old versus the new covenant seen throughout this poem. This parable and its imagery also arises in Strophe II (lines 11-17) of the conductus *Virga Yesse regio.* **11-12:** the followers of the old law seek to harm Christ, who brings the new; see Matthew, 9:12;[10] as well as the related expressions in Mark, 2:17, and Luke 5:31. Cf. also the indirect correspondence of this passage with Luke, 4:23.[11]

Observations and Variants: **TEXT:** no variants. **MUSIC: Structure:** this piece is somewhat unusual in that the T voice essentially offers two nearly identical written-out strophes, while the setting of the D differs in each stanza. Another factor involved in the workings of the T is that the poetic scheme of the couplets in lines 4-5 and 10-11 is slightly different. Both have rhyming lines of six syllables, but the members of Strophe I are accented p, while those of II are pp. One might suppose an unusual accentuation for one of the two groups in order that they might be brought into line with the other in performance; but the slightly different underlay of text to music in each of the two stanzas at these points suggests that the composer or scribe of the melody sought to distinguish and accommodate the different accentuations. **Line 9,2:** T: F: the ficta *b-flat* is prompted by the use of this pitch at the corresponding place in Strophe I (the second syllable of line 3,1). **Final cauda (on line 12,2):** as indicated in the note in the score, there are different possible ways to read the rhythms of this cauda. Although mode 6 is clearly preferable as the default interpretation, being signaled by the 4li figures that occur both at the start of the cauda, as well as on the penultimate syllable of the poem that immediately precedes it, the si,3li successions of ligatures that appear throughout the rest of this melisma's course also suggest the conceivability of reading it in an extended iambic or trochaic mode. These alternatives are given at the end of the transcription. T: F: at L22,2, this first note of the 3li just before the closing *punctus organi* may possibly be *g,* which would harmonize better with the D at this point, but the first note of the ligature is not extended enough into the space above to cause me to make this change.

[10]Matthew, 9:12: "At Iesus audiens, ait: 'Non est opus valentibus medico sed male habentibus'" ("But Jesus, hearing this, said: 'There is no need for a physician for those who are healthy, but for those who are ill.").

[11] Luke, 4:23: "Et ait illis: 'Utique dicetis mihi hanc similitudinem: medice cura te ipsum ...'" ("And he [Jesus] said to them [the Nazarenes]: 'Doubtless you will say to me this similitude [i.e., proverb]: "Physician, heal thyself ...").

CHRISTI MILES CHRISTO
Conductus (J55/58)

F, f. 373v (7,130)

I

D [Chri -

T Chri -

y or:

x or:

x

y

[Chri] - sti mi-les chri-sto com - mi - li - tat chri - stum se-quens chri - sto co - ha - bi - tat.

[Chri] - sti mi-les chri-sto com - mi - li - tat chri - stum se-quens chri - sto co - ha - bi - tat.
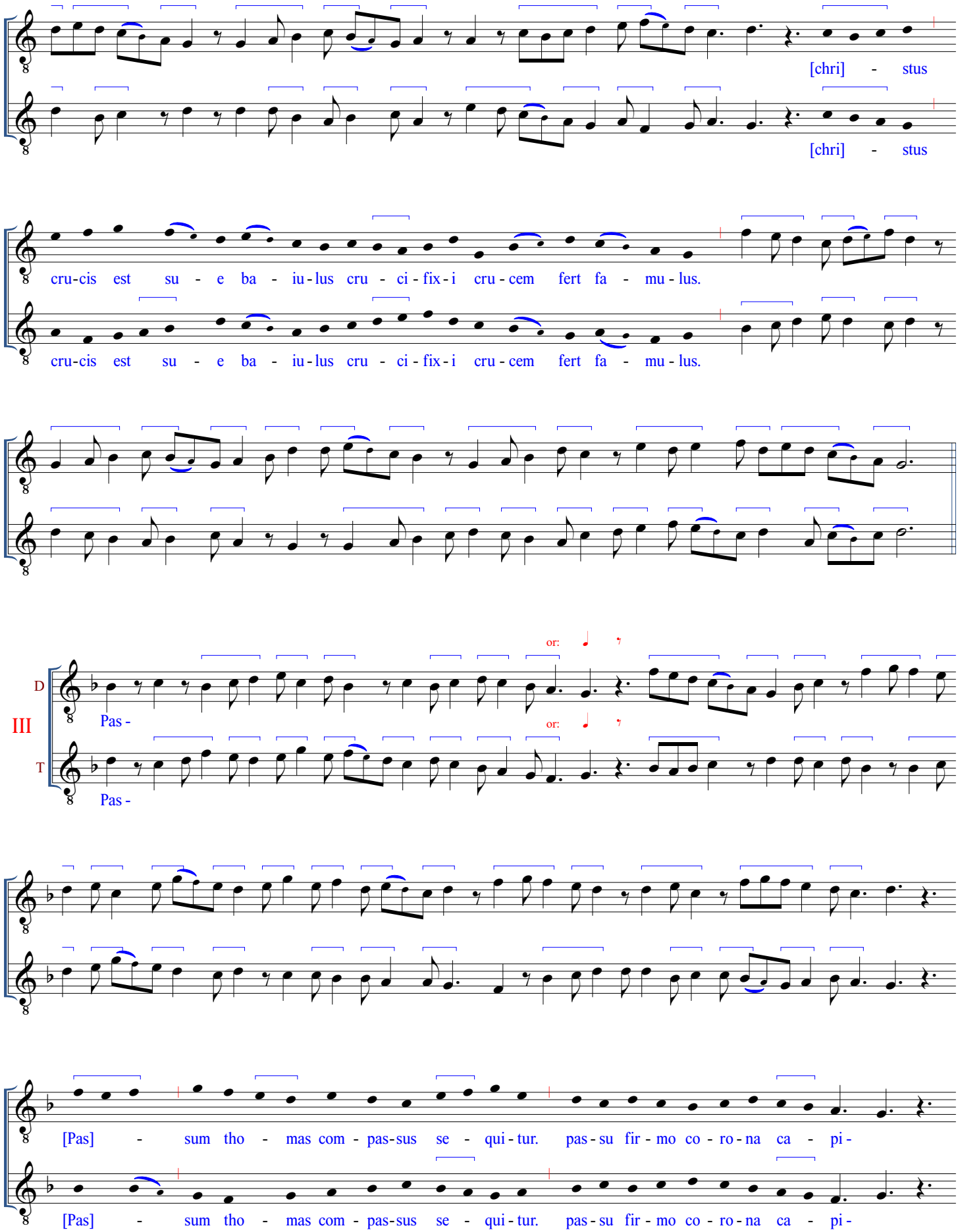
y
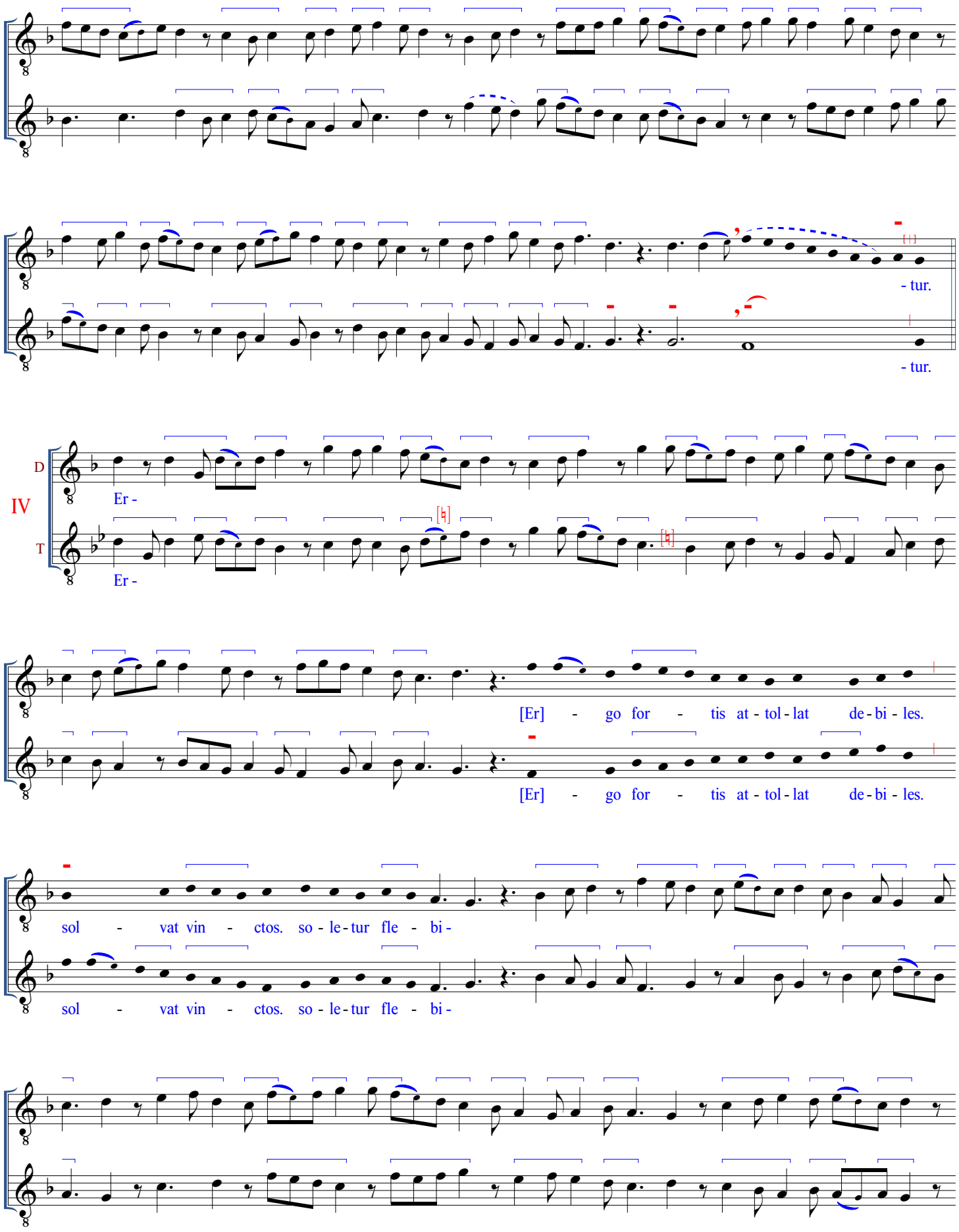
x
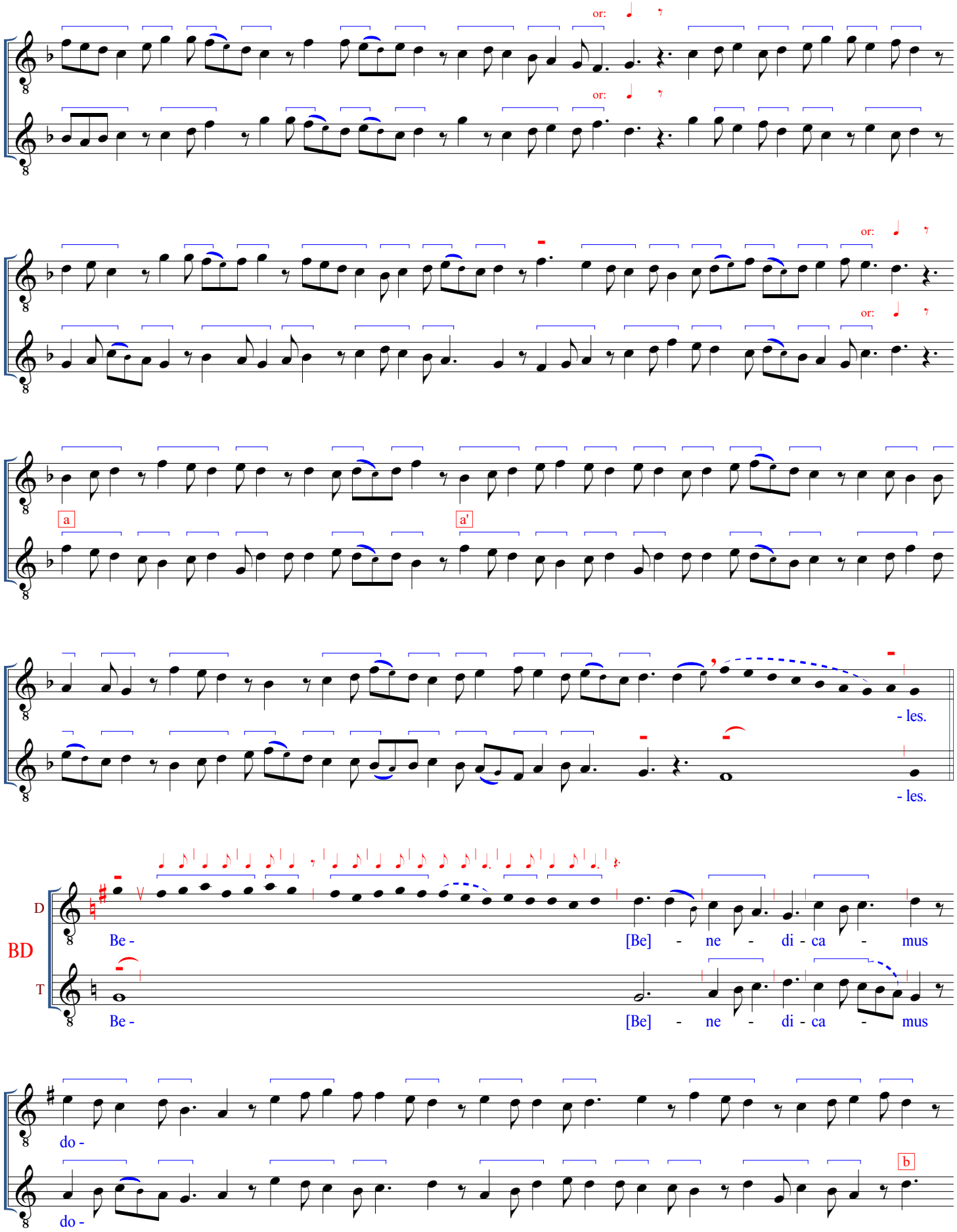
[II]

D chri -

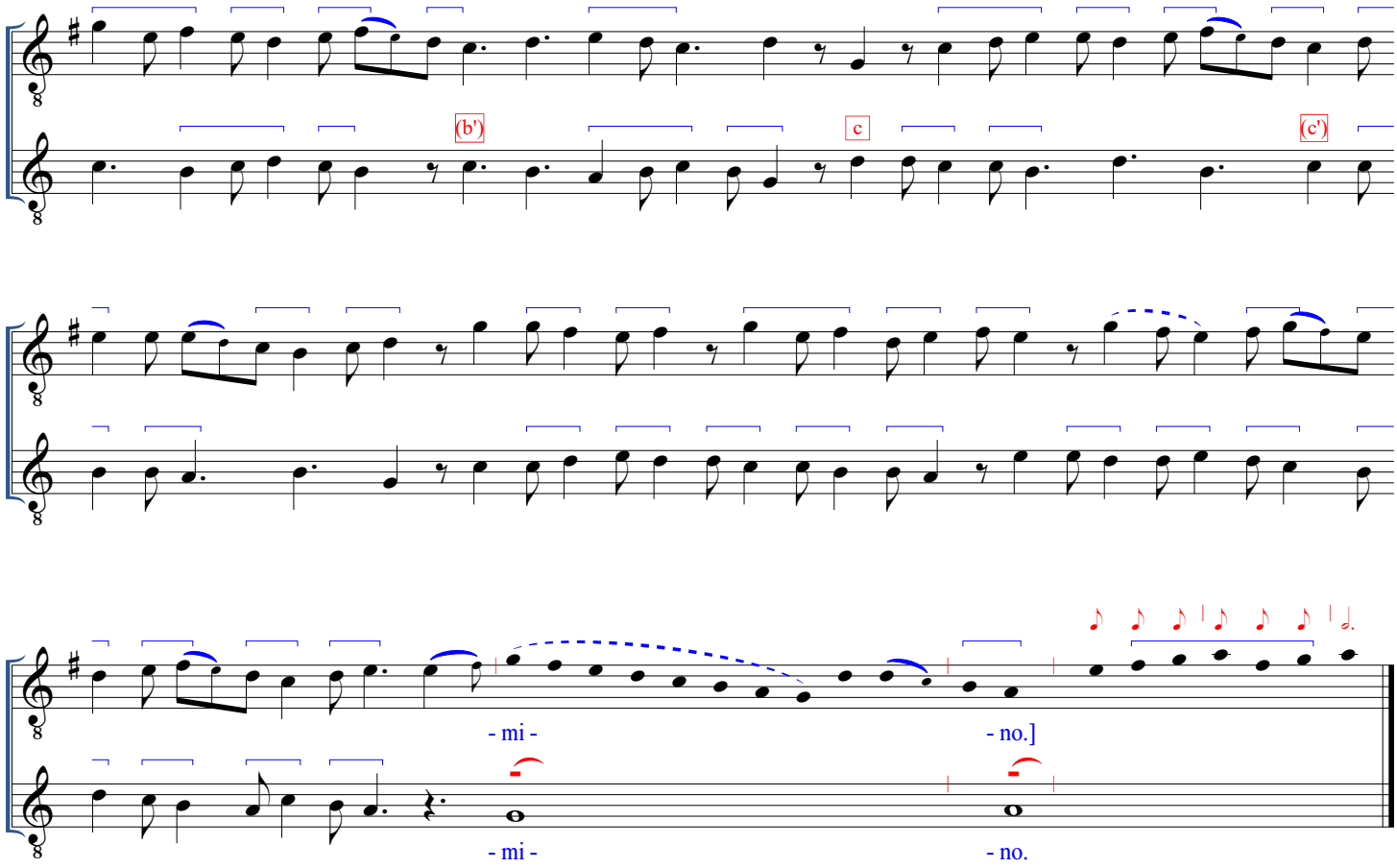
T chri -


[chri] - stus
[chri] - stus
cru-cis est su - e ba - iu-lus cru - ci-fix-i cru-cem fert fa - mu-lus.
cru-cis est su - e ba - iu-lus cru - ci-fix-i cru-cem fert fa - mu-lus.
III
D
T
or:
Pas-
or:
Pas-
[Pas] - sum tho - mas com-pas-sus se - qui-tur. pas-su fir-mo co-ro-na ca - pi-
[Pas] - sum tho - mas com-pas-sus se - qui-tur. pas-su fir-mo co-ro-na ca - pi-


- tur.
- tur.
D
IV
T
Er -
Er -
[Er] - go for - tis at - tol - lat de - bi - les.
[Er] - go for - tis at - tol - lat de - bi - les.
sol - vat vin - ctos. so - le - tur fle - bi -
sol - vat vin - ctos. so - le - tur fle - bi -


or:
or:
or:
or:
a
a'
- les.
- les.
D
BD
T
Be -
[Be] - ne - di - ca - mus
Be -
[Be] - ne - di - ca - mus
do -
do -
b

| D: F: *c;* an equally valid alternative emendation could retain the MS reading and change the T pitch to *c.*



THIS WORK IS THE FINAL ITEM IN THE SEVENTH FASCICLE OF *F;* IT IS FOLLOWED BY A SERIES OF SIX LEAVES (ff. 375-380), RULED FOR MUSIC WITH THE SAME SYSTEM LAYOUT, BUT WITH EMPTY STAVES.

CHRISTI MILES CHRISTO

Conductus (J55/58)

F, f. 373v (7,130)

I	Christi miles Christo commilitat; Christum sequens, Christo cohabitat.	The soldier of Christ fights in company with Christ; following Christ, he dwells together with Christ.
[II]	Christus crucis est sue baiulus; crucifixi crucem fert famulus.	Christ is the bearer of his own cross; the servant bears the cross of the crucified.
III	Passum Thomas compassus sequitur; passu firmo corona capitur.	Suffering together with Christ, Thomas follows the path; with a firm stride the crown is gained.
IV	Ergo, fortis attollat debiles, solvat vinctos, soletur flebiles.	So let the strong lift up the weak, set free the conquered, and let the woeful be consoled.
BD	*Benedicamus domino.*	Let us bless the Lord.

SOURCES:

F, fasc. 7, no. 130, f. 373v: a2; Strophes I-IV, as delineated above, and BD, complete, with III and IV indicated by capitals, but not [II], as signaled by the vertical spacing of the above text; a unique setting of text and music; the BD is signaled by a smallish blue-painted initial with red tracery. *Christi miles* and the previous two pieces begin mid-system on the folio (rather than at the left margin), something that happens only 12 times in *F*-7.[1] This work is the final item in *F'*s seventh fascicle; it is followed by a series of six leaves (375r-380v), ruled for music with the same system layout, but with empty staves.

Text only: none.

Music only: none.

Contrafacts: none.

***Notes on the Text*: General remarks:** in line 5 it becomes clear that this piece celebrates St. Thomas of Canterbury, born Thomas Becket (21 Dec. 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). Becket was infamously murdered on 29 Dec. 1170 by four of the king's nights while at prayer in Canterbury cathedral. He also spent the years 1164-1170 in exile in France as the guest of King Louis VII (reg. 1137-1180) during his ongoing conflicts with Henry. Becket was canonized as early as 21 Feb. 1173 and immediately venerated as a martyr throughout Europe, while Henry was compelled to do public penance for the crime at Canterbury (12 July 1174). Although it is not without ambiguity, the poem's content suggests the text was written after Thomas's martyrdom, given the language alluding to the archbishop's suffering and the suggestions he is following the same course as Christ in being martyred. The musical setting, moreover, is quite ornate and sophisticated; it implies a date of composition well after the event alluded to in the poem. Clément Morin, in his study of this work, has suggested several possibilities for a rough dating for this piece.[2] Of these, the one that seems most probable (though unsubstantiated) is the year 1220, the fiftieth, jubilee anniversary of Thomas's martyrdom, when his remains were translated from their original resting place in the

[1]For a list, see the source report on *F* for *Pia mater gratie* (J18/268), at *F*-7,71, on f. 331r.

[2]Clément Morin, "*Christi miles:* conduit à la gloire de S. Thomas Becket," *Quadrivium*, 12 (1971): 57-63, at 62-63.

crypt beneath the floor of Canterbury cathedral to a shrine located above it in the Trinity Chapel (constructed 1180-1184).[3] An additional, circular chapel that led off from the Trinity Chapel held further relics, and became known as the "Corona" or "Becket's Crown" (see also the remarks for line 6,3). The shrine had its treasures confiscated by Henry VIII in 1538. ***Benedicamus domino* conclusion:** this conductus is one of several in the main "Notre Dame" sources to close with a BD versicle. As with a number of other works with this feature, the *Benedicamus* is not obviously prompted by the content of the main portion of the text.[4] Even though the BD acclamation follows smoothly from lines 7-8, which prepare it with their switch to the subjunctive mood and which describe actions that one might easily attribute to the Lord as well as Thomas, it remains independent in terms of rhyme and syllable count. It thus appears tacked on, and may possibly be optional for inclusion. Particularly striking in this regard is that *Christi miles* concludes its *Benedicamus* section with a short organal flourish on *a* after spending the course of the entire composition anchored on *g* (even though it passes through four different sets of signatures along the way – see below in the observations on the music). This is the only case of a conductus closing on *a* within the four main "Parisian" manuscripts (*F, W1, W2,* and *Ma*). **Poetic/ Strophic construction:** discounting its ancillary *Benedicamus* conclusion, *Christi miles* is one of only five examples within the "Notre Dame" conductus repertory to consist solely of ten-syllable lines with a regular proparoxytonic accent (10pp).[5] Besides the three-part *Ortus summi,* which in addition to its luxuriant musical *cum littera* sections presents a relatively modest closing melisma, and the exceptionally ornate, extended caudae of *Christi miles,* all the other examples of the use of the isosyllabic 10pp poetic scheme offer unpretentious musical settings, with sections devoted to caudae notably absent. In my article "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 115,[6] I propose that the majority of these isosyllabic 10pp works may stem from an earlier chronological layer of the Parisian conductus repertory written before ca. 1200, with *Christi miles* being the notable exception. As is typical for poetic lines with a 10pp scheme, *Christi miles* has a regular caesura after the fourth syllable of each line, and – except for its editorially emended opening line and the one that immediately follows – it also features a regular division in the latter half of each verse into 3+3 syllables (for the emendation, see the variant reported for line 1,4). The strophic disposition of the poem, on the other hand, is much more ambiguous. Capital letters begin lines 5 and 7, thus suggesting major divisions at these portions of the text, but there is no corresponding expected demarcation to start line 3 (reflected in the text's presentation above by the lack of a space after this verse). I provisionally follow Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xlvi) and Dreves (*AH,* 21:90, no. 138) in presenting the poem as four identically fashioned strophes, but it is just as valid to consider it as forming a single stanza (lines 1-8), or divisible into two equal (1-4, 5-8) or three unequal units (1-4, 5-6, 7-8). **Textual notes: 1-2:** for a biblical reference to the common appellation "soldier of Christ," see 2 Timothy,

[3]Morin notes that recognition of the event of 1220 prompted the installation of the renowned stained glass window honoring archbishop Thomas in the martyrs' chapel on the north side of Chartres cathedral.

[4]These "non-conforming" *Benedicamus* include, in addition to *Christi miles* (J55/58): *Brevi carne deitas* (J42/51); *Leniter ex merito* (E2/195) in the first of the two versions of this piece as transmitted in *W1* – which, interestingly, happens to feature a *Benedicamus* ending otherwise associated with the conductus *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214); *O lilium convallium* (F18/236), but only in its state outside the Notre Dame sources in *I-CFm Cod. LVI* (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale); and *Columbe simplicitas* (J16/66). The other conductus that feature a BD conclusion in the four main sources are: *Naturas deus regulis* (C7/214), *Deus creator omnium* (H11/89), *Ista dies celebrari* (H30/189), *Relegata vetustate* (H23/303), *Gaude virgo virginum* (A) (G5/139), and *Gloria sit soli deo* (J43/146). In addition, *Veni creator spiritus et in me robur* (J41/360), is not provided with a BD tag, but strongly implies that one should be appended. See the discussion in the notes to that piece.

[5]The others are: *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (K61/267, by Philip the Chancellor, text datable to 1198), *Homo vide que pro te patior* (K53/164, also by Philip), *O varium fortune lubricum* (J27/247), and *Ortus summi peracto gaudio* (F4/257).

[6]Thomas B. Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology,* 64 (2001): 104-151.

2:3-4.[7] A comparable expression is used in reference to St. Thomas in the opening lines of the conductus *Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228, datable to 1173), as well as at the start of its third, last strophe (lines 21-22).[8] **1,4:** see the discussion of the emendation of this word below under the observations and variants of the text. **3-4:** according to Denis Stevens ("Music in Honor of Saint Thomas of Canterbury," 341),[9] these lines illustrate Christ and St. Thomas bearing each other's crosses "... since an archbishop was not permitted to carry his own insignia of office, but could and did figuratively bear Christ's cross through his martyrdom." However, according to typical grammatical rules reflected in the translation, the word "sue" here would refer to Christ's, not Thomas's cross. Alternatively, one might suppose that the cross of one crucified that Thomas bears here may figure as a symbol for his assassination. **5:** for the identification of Thomas, see the general remarks above. Alternatively, the line could read "... Thomas follows the sufferer" ("passum," i.e., Christ), but the reference to the "firm stride" in line 6 prompts the adopted interpretation. **6,3:** in addition to its significance as an emblem of heavenly reward bestowed at the Last Judgment (see 1 Peter, 5:1-4;[10] James, 1:12;[11] Revelation, 2:10[12]), the mention of a crown in this context would conceivably evoke the "Corona" or "Becket's Crown": this term was used to designate part of the special chapel construction in Canterbury Cathedral that held the martyr's remains (see the above general remarks), so-called because it supposedly contained the crown of the archbishop's head, which, reportedly, was completely cut away when Becket was murdered.

Observations and Variants: **TEXT: 1,4:** F: quo militat. I have rather reluctantly chosen to use the proposed emendation "commilitat," preferred by Anderson (*NDRC,* 5:xlvi, 124), which goes back to Dreves, *AH,* 21:90, no. 138, where the substituted reading, surprisingly, is not recorded. Despite the wide latitude of translations made possible by retaining the original MS reading of "quo," in my opinion the various results are still rather awkward for use in the context of this poem. This alteration of "quo militat" to "commilitat" is supported by the use of "commilito" ("fellow soldier") – a noun with military connotations analogous to the expressions in line 1,1-2 – in biblical passages from Philippians, 2: 25,[13] and Philemon, 1:2.[14] It also corresponds by assonance with "cohabitat" in line 2,4. **8,4:** there is no period after this conclusory word in *F;* one has been added editorially. Conceivably the punctuation could be hidden by the subsequent illuminated initial "B" of the closing *Benedicamus* versicle of line 9. **MUSIC: Signatures:** Outside of the curiosity of the last gesture of the

---

[7]2 Timothy, 2:3-4: "Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu. Nemo militans inplicat se negotiis saecularibus; ut ei placeat cui se probavit" ("Labor as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No man, being a soldier to God, entangles himself with secular businesses; that he may please him to whom he has engaged himself.").

[8]*Novus miles sequitur* (E11/228), lines 21-22: "Thoma nati parvuli / miles triumphalis" ("Thomas, victorious soldier of the [king's] young son.").

[9]Denis Stevens, "Music in Honor of Saint Thomas of Canterbury," *The Musical Quarterly*, 56 (1970): 311-348, at 341.

[10]1 Peter, 5:4: "Et cum apparuerit princeps pastorum, percipietis immarcescibilem gloriæ coronam" ("And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory.").

[11]James, 1:12: "Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem: quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se" ("Blessed is the man that endures temptation; for when he has been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God has promised to them that love him.").

[12]Revelation, 2:10: "... Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitæ" ("... Be you faithful until death: and I will give you the crown of life.").

[13]Philippians 2:25: "Necessarium autem existimavi Epaphroditum fratrem, et cooperatorem, et commilitonem meum, vestrum autem apostolum, et ministrum necessitatis meae, mittere ad vos" ("But I have thought it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow labourer, and fellow soldier, but your apostle, and he that has ministered to my wants.").

[14]Philemon 2:2: "et Appiae sorori carissimae, et Archippo commilitoni nostro, et ecclesiae, quae in domo tua est" ("And to Appia, our dearest sister, and to Archippus, our fellow soldier, and to the church which is in your house.").

BD closing on *a* (see the above discussion of the *Benedicamus domino* conclusion), it is also quite notable, even curious, how each of the stanzas that are headed by capital letters in the musical setting, along with the BD, run through four different sets of signatures (none for I-[II], one flat in both parts for III, an additional *e-flat* sig in the T at the opening of IV, and one sharp for the BD, respectively). This feature could pull some weight into how one chooses to evaluate the strophic organization of this text. For a discussion of the poetic ambiguities, see the above remarks in the textual notes concerning stanzaic construction. **Caudae:** the melismas in this piece frequently exploit phrase overlap, and regularly require or imply B rests throughout their nearly breathless course. In the few places where I have placed TL rests, thinking they might be especially appropriate, alternative shorter rest values – equally valid – are often given above the staves. In Strophe I the caudae close several phrases with the same formula in both voices (marked with a boxed "x" and "y" above the respective staves); in the cauda that closes the strophe, the elements of this formula are exchanged between the T and D. Further motivic interaction and repetitive gambits arise throughout these impressive melismas. **Opening cauda:** T: F: the closing note of the melisma is written as *f,* clearly a mistake, as it lacks a cadence. The original rationale may have been to supply a repeated *f,f*=LL penultimate sonority prior to the (omitted) cadence on *g,* but there is no supporting indication in the D at this point. The failure to enter the cadential *g* in the T may have been a result of confusion prompted by the beginning of the subsequent *cum littera* segment in the T that opens with the same needed *g.* As is commonplace after a conductus cauda in the main sources, the repetition of the vocalized syllable is implied at the start of the following *cum littera* segment, where (as here) a note appears in all parts, with a subsequent as well as preceding stroke, to accommodate the reiterated syllable; the syllable, though, is typically not written out a second time. **Cauda opening Strophe [II] (at line 3,1):** D: F: an extra, unnecessary 2li=*ag* appears as the penultimate figure of the third cauda phrase in this voice (after L14,1); omitted in the transcription. **3,5:** D: F: an erased stroke, omitted in the transcription, follows the *b* over the third syllable of "baiulus." Since the supposed intent of the erasure was to forestall a break between lines 3 and 4, none has been supplied here. **Closing Benedicamus versicle: Line 9,2:** T: F: for the unusually angular melodic gesture of the 3li=*d*↓*g*↑*c* at the start of the fourth T phrase over "do[mino]" at L14-L15,1 of the melisma, *b* or *a* may originally have been intended for the middle pitch of the ligature, due to the constraints of space for entering this figure; I leave it as a *g,* reflecting what I see in the MS. TD: F: in the seventh T phrase over "do[mino]," upon the appearance of the 2si=*d,b* in the T at L30-L31, there is a dissonance between the T's si=*d* and a simultaneous *c* in the D voice. As on-beat discords throughout all the caudae in this piece are minimal, one may well suppose a mistake of a melodic second in either the T or D voices. Changing the T at this point to *c* or the D to *d* are both feasible. Furthermore, even though the T phrase at this point is engaging in a rhythmically varied repetition of the melodic content from its previous two phrases (5 and 6, from L17-L21 and L22-L26), a comparison of these related portions does not argue forcefully for the preference of one emendation over the other. In this case, I have provisionally decided to alter the D pitch to *d,* and indicated the opportunity for the alternative emendation of the T to *c* above the staff. This latter possibility is the one that appears in Anderson's edition (*NDRC,* 5: 102), although it goes unreported in his commentary (p. 124). **Final *punctus organi* phrase:** on this striking ending on *a,* see the above remarks on the *Benedicamus* conclusion in the textual notes.