

A Codicological and Contextual Analysis of  
Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Music)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2018

Date of final oral examination: 5/7/2018

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*for*  
*Mom and Dad*  
*and*  
*Chris*

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>Pitch Designations.....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>List of Examples.....</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>xviii</b>
<b>List of Tables.....</b>	<b>xx</b>
<b>Chapter One: The Manuscript: Codicological and Paleographical Considerations ..</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Surviving Bifolia.....	4
1.3 Manuscript Recycling .....	9
1.4 The Parchment.....	11
1.5 Dimensions and Rulings.....	14
1.6 Staves and Notation .....	21
1.7 Text .....	24
1.8 Corrections.....	28
1.9 Pen-Flourished Initials .....	34
1.10 Chronology of Production.....	40
1.11 Contents.....	41
1.11.1 Another Collection by Philip the Chancellor?.....	46
1.12 Date .....	50
1.12.1 <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> .....	53
1.13 Another <b>Ch</b> Fragment: Gautier de Coinci's <i>Miracles</i> .....	57
1.14 <b>Ch</b> 's Origins .....	65
1.15 Conclusion.....	75
<b>Chapter Two: The Ch Sequences and the Question of Prevenance.....</b>	<b>77</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	77
2.2 <i>Per eundem tempus</i> : A Case of Mistaken Identity.....	78
2.3 The Case for St. Quentin .....	85
2.4 <i>Ad Martini titulum</i> .....	94
2.5 <i>Paule doctor gentium</i> .....	98
2.5.1 St Paul and the Sword.....	100
2.6 Contrafacts.....	105
2.6.1 <i>Per eundem tempus</i> / <i>Laudes crucis atollamus</i> .....	105
2.6.2 <i>Ad Martini titulum</i> / <i>Paule doctor gentium</i> / <i>Mane prima sabbati</i> .....	109
2.7 <i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> .....	122
2.7.1 The Feast(s) of the Three Kings .....	127
2.7.2 <i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> and St Gereon.....	137
2.7.3 The Music of <i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> .....	144
2.8 A Sequentiary?.....	151

2.9 A Single-Author Sequence Collection? .....	154
2.10 Conclusion: Provenance .....	163
<b>Chapter Three: Organization in Ch: The Macro, the Micro, and the Question of Strophic Form .....</b>	<b>167</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	167
3.2 Organization in <b>Ch</b> .....	168
3.3 The Strophic Forms of <b>Ch</b> .....	174
3.4 Strophic Poetry .....	177
3.5 “Pseudo-Strophic” Motets .....	194
3.5.1 <i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> (317) / [ <i>Et gaudebit</i> ] [M24].....	196
3.5.2 <i>O Maria maris stella</i> (448) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37] .....	203
3.5.3 <i>In veritate comperi</i> (451) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37] .....	216
3.5.4 The <i>Veritatem</i> [M37] Motet Complex: Exceptions that Prove the Rule.....	226
3.5.5 <i>Excursus: The Veritatem Melisma</i> .....	235
3.6 Conclusion: Genre, Again .....	247
<b>Chapter Four: Rhythmic Text, Rhythmic Music.....</b>	<b>253</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	253
4.2 Origins: Clausula or Motet? .....	255
4.3 Verse Length and Rhythm.....	260
4.3.1 <i>Homo quam sit pura</i> (231) / [ <i>Latus</i> ] [M14].....	265
4.3.2 <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216) / [ <i>Nostrum</i> ] [M14].....	272
4.4 The Problem with Verse Length Rhythms .....	285
4.4.1 <i>In veritate comperi</i> (451) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37].....	286
4.4.2 <i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> (317) / [ <i>Et gaudebit</i> ] [M24].....	292
4.5 Notation .....	297
4.5.1 Lengthened Noteheads .....	298
4.5.1.1 The Monophonic Motets .....	299
4.5.1.2 The Polyphonic Motets .....	304
4.5.2 Score Format.....	310
4.5.2.1 Score Format in <b>LoA</b> and <b>Worc</b> .....	313
4.6 Conductus Rhythm.....	318
4.6.1 Conductus Verse Lengths and Rhythm.....	323
4.6.2 <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> (K55).....	326
4.6.3 <i>Gedeonis area</i> (F15) .....	329
4.6.4 <i>De rupta rupecula – Pictavorum idolum – Terra Bachi Francia</i> (F25) .....	331
4.6.5 <i>O Maria virginei</i> (E14) .....	335
4.6.6 <i>Regis decus et regine</i> (J47).....	339
4.7 Conclusion .....	342
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>345</b>
<b>Appendix A: Ch Gathering Structure.....</b>	<b>346</b>
<b>Appendix B: Ch Conductus and Motet Concordances.....</b>	<b>347</b>
<b>Appendix C: Ch Sequences.....</b>	<b>349</b>

<i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> (AH 55, 365) .....	350
<i>Ad Martini titulum</i> (AH 8, 190) .....	351
<i>Paule doctor gentium</i> (AH 40, 263) .....	353
<i>Per eundem tempus</i> .....	355
<b>Appendix D: Ch Monophonic Motets</b> .....	<b>356</b>
<i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216) / [ <i>Nostrum</i> ] [M14].....	357
<i>Eximia mater</i> (101) / [ <i>Et illuminare</i> ] [M9] .....	358
<i>Homo quam sit pura</i> (231) / [ <i>Latus</i> ] [M14] .....	359
<b>Appendix E: Motets in Score Format</b> .....	<b>360</b>
<i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> (317) / [ <i>Et gaudebit</i> ] [M24] ( <b>Ch</b> ) .....	361
<i>In veritate comperi</i> (451) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37] ( <b>Ch</b> ).....	362
<i>O Maria maris stella</i> (448) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37] ( <b>Ch</b> ).....	366
<i>Agmina milicie</i> (532) / [ <i>Agmina</i> ] [M65] ( <b>LoA</b> ) .....	368
<i>Serena virginum</i> (69) / [ <i>Manere</i> ] [M5] ( <b>LoA</b> ) .....	370
<i>Ex semine Abrahe</i> (483) / [ <i>Ex semine</i> ] [M38] ( <b>Worc</b> , Frag. XVIII).....	375
<b>Appendix F: Rhythmic Versions of Ch Conductus</b> .....	<b>376</b>
<i>Regis decus et regine</i> (J47).....	377
<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> (K55) .....	380
<i>O Maria virginei</i> (E14) .....	381
<i>Gedeonis area</i> (F15) .....	385
<i>De rupta rupecula</i> (F25i) .....	386
<i>Pictavorum idololum</i> (F25ii) .....	388
<i>Terra Bachi Francia</i> (F25iii) .....	390
<b>Appendix G: Motet and Conductus Verse Length and Rhythm Tables</b> .....	<b>392</b>
<b>Ch Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics</b> .....	393
<b>Mensural Conductus Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics</b> .....	395
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>399</b>

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I must thank my advisor Lawrence Earp for the extraordinary amount of time and energy he put into bringing this project to fruition. His patience, generosity, and enthusiasm shaped every page and I am very grateful. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, David Crook, Jeanne Swack, Charles Dill, and Leslie Blasius for the time and commitment they devoted to this project and to my education over the years. Through you all I have learned how to be a scholar, a teacher, and a mentor. Thank you.

Research for this project was made possible by several funds from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The Lemoine-Midelfort Fellowship provided the means for my trip to the Archives départementales de la Marne in Châlons-en-Champagne. Travel grants from the Mead Witter School of Music, and the Graduate School allowed for additional research in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, and the Archives nationales.

This project is also indebted to the kind and helpful assistance of the numerous librarians who assisted me with my research. I would particularly like to thank the librarians at the Archives départementales de la Marne, Archives nationales, and Bibliothèque nationale de France who patiently guided me through their unique procedures for obtaining admittance and viewing their archival treasures. I am also grateful to the librarians at Mills Music Library, Tom Caw and Jeanette Casey. Thank you for your tireless support and aid in all things library related.

Finally, I could not have accomplished this project without the love and kindness of my colleagues, friends, and family. Kelly Hiser and Jeremy Zima, you finished before me but will always be my class of 2009. Caitlin Schmid and Tom Scahill, your friendship has provided succor, and book club the lively conversation that constantly challenges and broadens me. My

dissertation study-buddies, Lesley Hughes, Chelsie Propst, Stephen M. Kovaciny, and Matt Ambrosio, thank you all for helping me think out loud, buckle-down, and write. You are an amazing support system. Chris, thank you for always believing in what I do and taking pride in it. You lift me up. Mom and Dad, I could not have accomplished this work without your love, generosity, and support. I am forever grateful.

## Abstract

This dissertation reevaluates the significance of the fragments of a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript of French polyphony, Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250 (hereafter, **Ch**). Of the original manuscript, which may once have comprised over 350 folios, nine complete bifolios from three separate gatherings survive and were reassembled from the covers of seventeenth-century alderman records for Châlons-sur-Marne, a town approximately 150 km east of Paris (the name was changed to Châlons-en-Champagne in 1998). Since their discovery, the Châlons fragments have remained virtually unexamined. Two articles published well over fifty years ago by Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Chailley contain the most detailed discussions available concerning the fragments, however they are largely descriptive and in several instances incorrect. These, and later, scholars for the most part ignore the important implications of some unusual characteristics of this fragmentary manuscript, including the presence of rare liturgical sequences in non-liturgical order, the intermingling of genres (motet and conductus) following no obvious format such as number of voices, single motet voices without tenors, and finally the extremely rare notation of motets in score. I address these differences and place them within the larger context of current scholarship on Notre-Dame polyphony in an attempt to reconsider broader issues of organization, genre, and the development of rhythm.

Chapter One focuses on the codicological and paleographical characteristics of the manuscript fragments. The first part of the chapter examines the physical characteristics of the manuscript, considering in detail the dimensions and rulings of the individual folios, the decorative pen-flourishing, and scribal characteristics. The second



part of the chapter considers the fragments' contents, two gatherings of which primarily include pieces attributed to Philip the Chancellor, as well as issues of dating. I also introduce a second fragment from Châlons (Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.139), a hitherto unknown fragment of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, which physically resembles **Ch**, and, as I discovered, was written by the same scribe. This new fragment, together with the evidence provided by the physical characteristics of **Ch**, suggests not only that the original collection of music may have been much smaller than previously thought, but that the original manuscript may also have originated outside of Paris.

Chapter Two examines the contents of the fragmentary sequence gathering, which I have designated gathering *x*, in an attempt to further understand questions of **Ch**'s provenance. In this chapter I show that the sequence *Per eundem tempus*, an *unicum* used by previous scholars to assign the manuscript to the abbey of Marchiennes, was incorrectly identified and therefore the manuscript has no direct relationship to that community. A detailed analysis of the Three Kings sequence, *Maiestati sacrosancte*, not only suggests that the feast to which it is typically assigned, the *Translatio trium regum*, may not have existed in the mid-thirteenth century when the manuscript was written, but also may be the work of Philip the Chancellor. In fact, the organization of the sequence gathering suggests that the collection may have originated as a group of pieces by the same author, and thus the entire gathering may have been composed by Philip. These new attributions are supported to a certain degree by stylistic characteristics, topics, as well as a preference for Parisian melodies.

In Chapter Three I consider issues of organization in the remaining two gatherings of the **Ch** fragments, which I have labelled gatherings *y* and *z*. The intermingling of conductus and motets with various numbers of voices in these gatherings has prompted some scholars to reevaluate notions of genre as they relate to this collection of pieces. However, understanding the fragments not as a large collection of Notre-Dame polyphony akin to the Florence codex, but rather as a small collection of pieces by Philip the Chancellor renders any notion of an arrangement of pieces by genre insignificant. Rather, the organization of pieces in these gatherings appears to relate to shared topics as well as an alternation between topics that chastise and topics that offer models of proper behavior and/or redemption, common among other small collections of Philip's works.

A second important characteristic of the pieces in gatherings *y* and *z* is strophic form. Many of the pieces, both motets and conductus, include additional strophes that are unique to the manuscript. Pursuing the concept of "strophic-ness," I take an in-depth look at how treatises on rhythmic poetry discuss the topic of the "strophe" and show that these discussions need not be limited to the poetic forms of the conductus and sequence, as they often are, but apply equally well to the poetic form of the motet. Then focusing primarily on the two M37 *Veritatem* motets in **Ch**, *O Maria maris stella* (448) and *In veritate comperi* (451), I demonstrate that tenor repetitions produce a "pseudo-strophic" form in these motets. Finally, through an examination of the entire *Veritatem* motet complex as well as the *Veritatem* organum, I argue that the *Veritatem* melisma was an addition to the *Magnus liber organi* following the popularity of *O Maria maris stella*, a motet built on the similar melisma *Misit Dominus* rather than *Veritatem*.

Chapter Four investigates the relationship of rhythm to poetic verses types. Following unpublished work of Lawrence Earp, I show that specific rhythmic verse types, i.e., of a certain number of syllables and concluding accent, favor specific rhythmic patterns. I then demonstrate the ways in which these patterns are or are not employed in the **Ch** motets and that at least three factors contribute to the “correct” rhythmic interpretation of the text: the verse type, the influence of a motet’s pseudo-strophic form, and certain elements of the *cum-littera* notation. The notation of the fragments, especially the rather rare score format of the motets, plays a significant role in deciphering rhythm. This evidence indicates that the intention of the manuscript notation was to indicate correct rhythmic performances of the pieces without requiring prior knowledge of the music, say, from a discant clausula in modal rhythmic notation. Finally, using a similar methodology employed for the motets, but using data gathered from mensural conductus, I show that verse length rhythms, influenced by notational features, may also be applied to the **Ch** conductus. The exercise demonstrates that while certain conductus accept a rhythmic interpretation easily, others may not have been intended for performance in consistent metrical rhythms.

The **Ch** fragments offer another perspective on the consumption and distribution of Parisian music in the mid-thirteenth century. Unlike the large collections of Notre-Dame polyphony, such as the Florence codex, which dominate our understanding of how Parisian music was used and understood, **Ch** provides an alternative model in which a small collection of topically related music circulates in an easily readable and performable form. This suggests a new, possibly non-Parisian audience for the music; in addition, the topical choices suggest an educational function whereby the singers and/or

audience is instructed in orthodox behavior and belief. It is no surprise that most if not all of the texts were composed by Philip the Chancellor and that they might have been paired with Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. **Ch** is a manuscript that teaches and preaches, reflecting the interests and concerns of the communities in which the music and manuscript originated and with whom they were shared.

## Abbreviations

<b>3.J.139</b>	Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.139
<i>AH</i>	<i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i>
<b>ArsA</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 135
<b>ArsB 3517</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 3517
<b>ArsB 3518</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 3518
<b>Assisi 695</b>	Assisi, Biblioteca Del Sacro Convento, Ms. 695
<b>Ba</b>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
<b>Camb</b>	Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS A 410
<b>Ch</b>	Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250
<b>Cl</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 13521
<b>Clm 10075</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10075
<b>Carmina Burana</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660
<b>CTr</b>	Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1
<b>Codex 1150</b>	Cologne, Dombibliothek, Codex 1150
<b>Douce 308</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
<b>Erf</b>	Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Folio 169
<b>F</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
<b>Fauvel</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146
<b>Ha</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25566
<b>Hs-521</b>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-521
<b>Hs-837</b>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-837
<b>Hs-876</b>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-876
<b>Hs-2777</b>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-2777
<b>Hu</b>	Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas 9
<b>lat. 1112</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1112
<b>lat. 8884</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8884
<b>lat. 14819</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14819
<b>LoA</b>	London, British Library, Egerton 2615
<b>LoB</b>	London, British Library, Egerton 274
<b>LoC</b>	London, British Library, Add. 30091
<b>Lyell</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72
<b>Ma</b>	Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España 20486
<b>Metz</b>	Metz, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, Ms 732bis
<b>Mo</b>	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196
<b>Ms. 266</b>	Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 226
<b>MüA</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 42
<b>N</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615
<b>Praha</b>	Prague Castle Archive, Metropolitan Chapter Library, N VIII
<b>R</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844
<b>Sab</b>	Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, XIV L3
<b>St. Gall 546</b>	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 546
<b>Stary Sącz</b>	Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, Muz 9
<b>Stutt</b>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 95
<b>StV</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139

<b>Tort</b>	Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cód. 97
<b>W1</b>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 (677)
<b>W2</b>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 (1206)
<b>Worc</b>	Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68

Gautier Manuscripts

<b>A</b>	Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, 34
<b>B</b>	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 10747
<b>D</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 3517–3518 ( <b>ArsB</b> )
<b>E</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 817
<b>F</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 986
<b>H</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1533
<b>K</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1613
<b>L</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22928
<b>M</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2163
<b>N</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25532
<b>O</b>	Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1969
<b>S</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 24541
<b>T</b>	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 551
<b>e</b>	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique, 4816
<b>k</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 423
<b>p</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 19166
<b>r</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, ms 589
<b>t</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 23111
<b>v</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 113
<b>x</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 15110
<b>25</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 19152

## Pitch Designations

In this dissertation a note in a particular octave is designated in italics using the following system: *ABCDEFGGabcdefg*, in which *c* corresponds to C4 (middle c).

## Examples

- Example 2.1:** Strophe 1aa of *Per eundem tempus* (Ch, fol. 4r) and 3aa of *Laudes crucis atollamus* (lat. 1112, fol. 284r)..... 107
- Example 2.2:** Comparison of *Per eundem tempus* (Ch, fol. 4v) and *Laudes crucis* (lat. 1112, fol. 284r) 3ab/1ab and 3bb/1bb..... 108
- Example 2.3:** Comparison of Opening of *Mane prima* (lat. 1112, fol. 264v), *Ad Martini titulum* (Ch, fol. 1v), and *Paule doctor gentium* (Ch, fol. 3r)..... 112
- Example 2.4:** Versicle 8/7 of *Mane prima sabbati* (lat. 1112, fol. 265r; lat. 14819, fol. 69r), *Ad Martini titulum* (Ch, fol. 2v), and *Paule doctor gentium* (Ch, fol. 4r) ..... 113
- Example 2.5:** Comparison of *Paule doctor gentium* Versicle 8 (Ch, fol 4r), and *Mane prima sabbati* Versicle 8 (lat. 1112, fol. 265r; lat. 14819, fol. 69r)..... 113
- Example 2.6:** Versicle 3a/4a of *Mane prima sabbati* (lat. 1112, fol. 265r) and *Gaude prole* (lat. 1112, fol. 283r)..... 117
- Example 2.7:** Comparison of Versicle 8 of *Mane prima sabbati* (St. Denis and north: lat. 1107, fol. 351r) and *Gaude prole* (cathedral: lat. 1112, fol. 283r) ..... 118
- Example 2.8:** Comparison of Final Strophes in *Gaude prole* (lat. 1107, fol. 382r; lat. 1112, fol. 283r; lat. 14819, fol. 135v) and *Paule doctor* (Ch, fol. 4v) ..... 119
- Example 2.9:** *Maiestati sacrosancte* Strophes 8a–9b (Ch, fol. 1r)..... 145
- Example 2.10:** Strophe 7.1 of *Maiestati sacrosancte* Compared to Strophe 11.1 of *Laudes crucis* ..... 146
- Example 2.11:** *Laudes crucis* as Source Material for *Maiestati sacrosancte* (Ch, fols. 1r-1v) ..... 148
- Example 3.1:** *O quam sancta quam benigna* Strophe Comparison ..... 204
- Example 3.2:** Comparison of *Ecce Sacerdos, Misit Dominus*, and *Propter veritatem* Chant with *Propter veritatem* Cantus Firmus from the *Magnus liber* ..... 210
- Example 3.3:** *O Maria maris stella* Tenor and Chant Comparison ..... 211



<b>Example 3.4:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Strophe Comparison .....	<b>213</b>
<b>Example 3.5:</b> Strophic Orientation of <i>O Maria virgo Davitica</i> (449).....	<b>214</b>
<b>Example 3.6:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Beginning of Cursus ii (Perfections 25–32) .....	<b>224</b>
<b>Example 3.7:</b> <i>Tuit cil qui sunt</i> (468) Refrain with Tenor Comparison .....	<b>234</b>
<b>Example 3.8:</b> Comparison of F <sub>b</sub> Graduals.....	<b>238</b>
<b>Example 4.1:</b> <i>Homo quam sit pura / Stupeat natura</i> Perfections 37–48.....	<b>270</b>
<b>Example 4.2:</b> Comparison of <i>–latus</i> Chant Melisma and Tenor.....	<b>271</b>
<b>Example 4.3:</b> <i>Nostrum est impletum / Latus</i> Strophe Comparison .....	<b>274</b>
<b>Example 4.4:</b> Comparison of <i>Nostrum</i> Clausula and <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> , Perfections 9–20.....	<b>276</b>
<b>Example 4.5:</b> Comparison of <i>Nostrum</i> Clausula and <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> , Perfections 25–32.....	<b>277</b>
<b>Example 4.6:</b> Comparison of <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> Text Settings, Perfections 9–20 ..	<b>279</b>
<b>Example 4.7:</b> <i>Hui matin a la jornee</i> Strophe Comparison .....	<b>282</b>
<b>Example 4.8:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Beginning of Cursus I (Perf. 1) & Cursus II (Perf. 65) Compared.....	<b>288</b>
<b>Example 4.9:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Opening of Cursus I.ii, II.ii, and III.ii .....	<b>289</b>
<b>Example 4.10:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Comparison of <i>iam elati</i> with Cursus II.ii .....	<b>290</b>
<b>Example 4.11:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Comparison of <i>iam elati</i> with Cursus I.i.....	<b>291</b>
<b>Example 4.12a:</b> Comparison of <i>Et gaudebit</i> Clausula in <b>F</b> with Motet Texts (317, 315, 321, 320, and 319).....	<b>294</b>
<b>Example 4.12b:</b> Comparison of <i>Et gaudebit</i> Clausula in <b>F</b> with Motet Texts (317, 315, 321, 320, and 319).....	<b>295</b>
<b>Example 4.13:</b> Ending of <i>Nostrum</i> Clausula and <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> Compared .....	<b>301</b>
<b>Example 4.14:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Alternate Endings.....	<b>306</b>
<b>Example 4.15:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Cursus ii Concluding Dissonance .....	<b>306</b>
<b>Example 4.16:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Comparison of <i>gloria</i> and <i>bivio</i> Notation.....	<b>308</b>
<b>Example 4.17:</b> <i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> Tenor Alignment.....	<b>311</b>
<b>Example 4.18:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Tenor Alignment .....	<b>313</b>
<b>Example 4.19:</b> <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> Verses 7–8 plus Refrain ( <b>F</b> , fol. 438r; <b>Ch</b> , fol. 7r) .....	<b>328</b>
<b>Example 4.20:</b> <i>Gedeonis area</i> Verses 5–10 ( <b>Ch</b> , fol. 16r).....	<b>331</b>
<b>Example 4.21:</b> <i>Pictavorum idolum</i> Verses 6–8 ( <b>Ch</b> , fol. 18r).....	<b>334</b>

<b>Example 4.22:</b> <i>Terra Bachi Francia</i> Verses 9–12 ( <b>F</b> , fols. 246v–247r).....	<b>335</b>
<b>Example 4.23:</b> <i>O Maria virginei</i> Strophes 6–7 ( <b>Ch</b> , fols. 12r–12v).....	<b>339</b>
<b>Example 4.24:</b> <i>Regis decus et regine</i> Verses 1–3 ( <b>F</b> , fol. 364v).....	<b>342</b>

## Figures

<b>Figure 1.1:</b> Surviving Bifolia.....	5
<b>Figure 1.2:</b> Bifolium 10–15 (fols. 10v, 15r) .....	6
<b>Figure 1.3:</b> Ch Quire Number, fol. 18v.....	6
<b>Figure 1.4:</b> Quire Numbers in French <i>Chansonniers</i> .....	8
<b>Figure 1.5:</b> Ch Inscription (Clockwise from Top Right: fols. 18r, 7v, 11r, 14v).....	10
<b>Figure 1.6:</b> Impressions Resulting from the Overlapping of Bifolium 7–18 with Bifolium 9–16, and Bifolium 5–6 with Unknown Bifolium.....	10
<b>Figure 1.7:</b> Top Frame Ruling Lacking, fol. 6r .....	15
<b>Figure 1.8:</b> Ruling as Top Staff Line, fol. 1v.....	15
<b>Figure 1.9:</b> Rulings Between Staves of Polyphony, fol. 7v.....	19
<b>Figure 1.10:</b> Comparison of the Pen-Flourished Letter <i>E</i> .....	35
<b>Figure 1.11:</b> Initial <i>D</i> Pen-Flourishing, fol. 16v .....	38
<b>Figure 1.12:</b> Comparison of Pen-Flourished Initials <i>D</i> and <i>P</i> .....	41
<b>Figure 1.13:</b> Comparison of Initials and Pen-Flourishing in Ch, 3.J.139, F and lat. 8884.....	62
<b>Figure 1.14:</b> 3.J.139 Inscriptions .....	64
<b>Figure 1.15:</b> Comparison of Pen-Flourishing from Non-Parisian Manuscripts.....	67
<b>Figure 2.1:</b> Executions of Peter and Paul, London, British Library, MS Harley 2801 fol. 21r .....	101
<b>Figure 2.2:</b> Paul with Sword, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Bib. e. 7, fol. 375v .	102
<b>Figure 2.3:</b> Paul as Crusader-Converter, Toldedo, Biblioteca Capitulare, <i>Bible</i> <i>Moralisée</i> , Vol. III, fol. 152r .....	104
<b>Figure 3.1:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Tenor Designation?.....	210
<b>Figure 3.2:</b> Punctuation between Cursus II and III .....	223
<b>Figure 4.1:</b> <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> , Missing Notation in F, fol. 384v .....	276
<b>Figure 4.2:</b> Final Phrase of <i>Nostrum</i> Clausula and <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> Compared...	300
<b>Figure 4.3:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Elongated Noteheads.....	305
<b>Figure 4.4:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Tenor Alignment with Phrase Endings .....	312
<b>Figure 4.5:</b> <i>Agmina milicie</i> Tenor Alignment (LoA, fol. 90r).....	315
<b>Figure 4.6:</b> <i>Agmina milicie</i> Splitting of Tenor 2 si   over System (LoA, fol. 90v).....	317
<b>Figure 4.7:</b> Opening of <i>Ex semine abrahe</i> (Worc, Frag. XVIII, fol. 1v).....	317

**Figure 4.8:** *De rupta rupecula* Two-Note Phrases (Ch, fol. 16v)..... **333**

## Tables

<b>Table 1.1:</b> Condition of Parchment Leaves .....	12
<b>Table 1.2:</b> Text Block Measurements.....	17
<b>Table 1.3:</b> Gathering <i>z</i> Rulings (fols. 7v–13r) .....	20
<b>Table 1.4:</b> Ch Letter Types.....	25
<b>Table 1.5:</b> Musical Corrections.....	29
<b>Table 1.6:</b> Textual Corrections.....	33
<b>Table 1.7:</b> Contents.....	42
<b>Table 1.8:</b> Medieval and Modern Attributions to Philip in Ch Gatherings <i>y</i> and <i>z</i> .....	50
<b>Table 1.9:</b> <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> Text and Translation .....	54
<b>Table 1.10:</b> Comparison of Letters in Ch and 3.J.139.....	58
<b>Table 1.11:</b> 3.J.139 Variants with Koenig’s Base Text .....	69
<b>Table 1.12:</b> Variants between Ildefonsus MSS and 3.J.139 .....	70
<b>Table 2.1:</b> <i>Per eundem tempus</i> Text and Translation.....	80
<b>Table 2.2:</b> <i>Martyri Quintino laudes</i> Text and Translation.....	89
<b>Table 2.3:</b> Comparison of the Openings of <i>Decem uno ferme lustris</i> and <i>Per eundem tempus</i> .....	91
<b>Table 2.4:</b> <i>Ad Martini titulum</i> Text and Translation .....	95
<b>Table 2.5:</b> Comparison of Severus’s <i>Vita</i> and <i>Ad Martini titulum</i> .....	97
<b>Table 2.6:</b> <i>Paule doctor gentium</i> Text and Translation.....	99
<b>Table 2.7:</b> Comparison of <i>Laudes crucis atollamus</i> and <i>Per eundem tempus</i> .....	106
<b>Table 2.8:</b> Comparison of <i>Ad Martini</i> , <i>Paule doctor</i> , and <i>Mane prima</i> .....	109
<b>Table 2.9:</b> Comparison of <i>Ad Martini</i> , <i>Paule doctor</i> , <i>Mane prima</i> and <i>Gaude prole</i> ....	114
<b>Table 2.10:</b> <i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> Text and Translation .....	123
<b>Table 2.11:</b> <i>Letetur ecclesia</i> Text and Translation.....	138
<b>Table 2.12:</b> <i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i> (Gereon and Three Kings) Compared.....	139
<b>Table 2.13:</b> <i>Letabundus</i> and Gautier’s <i>Contrafact Hui Enfante</i> Compared.....	158
<b>Table 2.14:</b> <i>Ceciderunt in preclaris</i> Text and Translation .....	161
<b>Table 3.1:</b> <i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> Text and Translation .....	198
<b>Table 3.2:</b> <i>Virgo virginum regina</i> and <i>Memor tui creatoris</i> .....	200
<b>Table 3.3:</b> <i>O Maria maris stella</i> Text and Translation.....	206

<b>Table 3.4:</b> Comparison of <i>O Maria maris stella</i> , <i>O Maria Dei cella</i> , and <i>Glorieuse de amie</i> .....	<b>208</b>
<b>Table 3.5:</b> Comparison of Tenor Designations .....	<b>217</b>
<b>Table 3.6:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Text and Translation.....	<b>218</b>
<b>Table 3.7:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Cursus Divisions .....	<b>221</b>
<b>Table 3.8</b> <i>Veritatem</i> Motets.....	<b>228</b>
<b>Table 4.1a:</b> Ch Verse Lengths and Related Rhythms .....	<b>261</b>
<b>Table 4.1b:</b> Ch and F Verse Lengths and Related Rhythms Compared .....	<b>262</b>
<b>Table 4.2:</b> <i>Homo quam sit pura</i> Text and Translation.....	<b>266</b>
<b>Table 4.3:</b> <i>Stupeat natura</i> Text and Translation.....	<b>267</b>
<b>Table 4.4:</b> <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> Text and Translation .....	<b>273</b>
<b>Table 4.5:</b> <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> Comparison of Verses 2–6 and 14–17 .....	<b>280</b>
<b>Table 4.6:</b> Comparison of <i>Nostrum est impletum</i> and <i>Hui matin a la jornee</i> .....	<b>284</b>
<b>Table 4.7:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Summary of Deviant Verse Rhythms.....	<b>287</b>
<b>Table 4.8:</b> <i>O quam sancta</i> Summary of Deviant Verse Rhythms .....	<b>293</b>
<b>Table 4.9:</b> <i>Eximia mater</i> Verse Rhythms.....	<b>302</b>
<b>Table 4.10:</b> <i>In veritate comperi</i> Notation .....	<b>308</b>
<b>Table 4.11:</b> <i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> Notation.....	<b>310</b>
<b>Table 4.12:</b> Summary of Conductus Verse Lengths and Rhythm.....	<b>325</b>
<b>Table 4.13a:</b> <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> Typical Rhythms.....	<b>327</b>
<b>Table 4.13b:</b> <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> Alternative Rhythms 1 .....	<b>327</b>
<b>Table 4.13c:</b> <i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> Alternative Rhythms 2.....	<b>327</b>
<b>Table 4.14:</b> <i>Gedeonis area</i> Typical Rhythms .....	<b>329</b>
<b>Table 4.15a:</b> <i>De rupta rupecula</i> Typical Rhythms .....	<b>332</b>
<b>Table 4.15b:</b> <i>Pictavorum idolum</i> Typical Rhythms .....	<b>332</b>
<b>Table 4.15c:</b> <i>Terra Bachi Francia</i> Typical Rhythms .....	<b>332</b>
<b>Table 4.16:</b> <i>O Maria virginei</i> Typical Rhythms.....	<b>337</b>
<b>Table 4.17a:</b> <i>Regis decus et regine</i> Typical Rhythms .....	<b>341</b>
<b>Table 4.17b:</b> <i>Regis decus et regine</i> Alternative Rhythms .....	<b>341</b>

# Chapter One: The Manuscript Codicological and Paleographical Considerations

## 1.1 Introduction

The manuscript fragments Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3.J.250 (hereafter **Ch**), were recovered from bindings of seventeenth-century alderman records for the city of Châlons-sur-Marne in the early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The fragments consist of nine bifolia which make up one complete gathering and fragments from another two gatherings.<sup>2</sup> Two bifolia contain the text and music for two complete and two partial monophonic sequences. A third bifolium, mutilated by a horizontal tear in the center of the vellum along its entire length, comprises a second gathering which includes two complete and one fragmentary monophonic motets, the final cauda of a two-voice conductus, and the middle of a three-voice motet. The final six bifolia, comprising the complete gathering, begin with the concluding fragment of a monophonic conductus and also contains two complete three-voice motets and five three-voice conductus, the last of which is incomplete. A quire signature (*xxix*) appears at the bottom of the final folio of this gathering and provides the only clue to the size of the original manuscript. Given that at least one gathering would have been required to complete the unfinished conductus and that each gathering also comprised six bifolia, the original manuscript would have comprised 360 folios at minimum, a size surpassed, among other collections of Notre-Dame polyphony, only by Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1 (**F**).

Few scholars have discussed **Ch** in much detail. Two articles, by Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Chailley from 1956 and 1962 respectively, provide the most thorough overview to date

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<sup>1</sup> The city changed its name from Châlons-sur-Marne to Châlons-en-Champagne in 1998.

<sup>2</sup> A table of the gathering structure of the fragments appears as Appendix A.

of the manuscript fragments and the pieces contained within.<sup>3</sup> They furnish basic textual information including subject, social context and variants. Uncommon texts are transcribed. The music is treated similarly, with melodies compared for variants and filiation, and transcriptions provided for musical *unica*. The authors describe the physical characteristics in some detail, assigning a Parisian origin for the musical notation such as note shapes, staff lines, and clefs, as well as the alternating red and blue initials. Ownership of the manuscript, on the other hand, is assigned to the Abbey of Marchiennes in northern France. This is based primarily on the textual evidence of the fragmentary sequence *Per eundem tempus* (fols. 4r–4v) which Hourlier assigns to the translation feast of St Eusebia (18 November) celebrated exclusively at that abbey. Textual evidence also provides Chailley and Hourlier a means for the partial dating of **Ch**. The final three conductus, *De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum* and *Terra Bachi Francia* (combined into a single conductus in **F**), describe incidents of Anglo-French conflict during the early military career of Louis VIII which Chailley and Hourlier use together with paleographic characteristics to argue for a dating sometime during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Mark Everist provides a more specific dating for **Ch** through his broader codicological investigation of thirteenth-century French manuscripts containing Notre-Dame polyphony.<sup>5</sup> In his study, Everist groups **Ch** with two similarly constructed manuscripts, the fragmentary Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 42 (**MüA**), and London, British Library, Add. 30091 (**LoC**). Responding to Luther Dittmer's brief comparison of **Ch** to **MüA**, which stemmed from their similarity in dimensions and content, Everist notes that the significant differences in

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<sup>3</sup> Jacques Chailley, "Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit d'ars antiqua à Châlons sur Marne," in *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. H. Anglès, et al. (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1962), 140–50; Dom Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne* 30 (1956): 141–59.

<sup>4</sup> Chailley and Hourlier, "Cantionale," 150; Chailley, "Fragments," 142.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), 137–49.



*mise-en-page*, including number of staves, as well as the number and width of staff-lines, challenges any conclusions based on evidence of identical text blocks (110 mm x 75 mm), which all three manuscripts have in common.<sup>6</sup> Differences in page layout directly correspond, Everist believes, to differences in repertory: unlike **Ch**, both **LoC** and **MüA** contain Latin and French two-part motets. Though he suggests the possibility that **Ch** may have originally included two-voice motets in French and Latin and **MüA** may have included monophonic works as well as polyphonic pieces in score such as those presented in **Ch**, he envisions a more probable scenario in which the parchment used for **Ch** and **MüA** were frame-ruled together in the same workshop then separated to form two distinct manuscripts.

Accepting the Parisian provenance of **LoC** and **MüA**, Everist demonstrates a similar origin for **Ch** by comparing the pen-flourishing with that of **F** and the Dominican Missal Paris, BnF, lat. 8884. Though neither is identical to **Ch**, both demonstrate similarities which confirm to Everist the manuscript's origin in Paris, the view first articulated by Hourlier and Chailley. While **Ch** shares certain characteristics with **F**, the remarkably similar flourishings in **lat. 8884** not only link **Ch** to Paris, according to Everist, they also suggest a date from approximately the same time, not significantly before 1243, a date which fits within the period proposed by Chailley and Hourlier.

My own work builds from the foundational narratives laid by these scholars, correcting where necessary, expanding where possible, to provide the most thorough analysis of the **Ch** manuscript fragments to date. What emerges is a story quite different from those previously told.

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<sup>6</sup> Not because of differences in *mise-en-page* which Everist notes, but rather because both sets of fragments contain the conductus *O Maria virginiei*, Dittmer concludes that the two groups of fragments, **MüA** and **Ch**, originated as separate manuscripts. Luther A. Dittmer, "The Lost Fragments of a Notre Dame Manuscript in Johannes Wolf's Library," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 122–33, at 132–33.

The following chapter divides roughly into two parts. The first focuses on the physical characteristics of the manuscript, which, because of the few surviving folios, can be discussed in great detail, including the nature of the surviving fragments, their reuse, as well as the scribal practices employed to create the manuscript, such as the text, notation, and artistic supplements, and finally the surviving musical repertory. In the second part I use this analysis together with some additional textual and codicological information to posit an alternative to the current narrative of the manuscript's provenance.

## 1.2 Surviving Bifolia

The **Ch** fragments comprise nine bifolia in three different gatherings or quires (see Figure 1.1 and Appendix A). The incomplete nature of the manuscript makes the precise arrangement of these gatherings in relation to one another impossible to ascertain with any certainty. To remove, if only marginally, the gatherings' labels from an implied order in the original manuscript I have chosen to identify each gathering according to the variables  $x$ ,  $y$ , and  $z$ .<sup>7</sup> Gathering  $x$  consists of the two innermost bifolia of a quire and contains two complete and two fragmentary sequences. Gathering  $y$  is a single, internal bifolium—presuming each gathering included six bifolia, this bifolium would have been either bifolium 2, 3, 4 or 5—containing polyphonic conductus, as well as monophonic and polyphonic motets. Finally, the remaining six bifolia, gathering  $z$ , present a complete gathering and comprise three-voice conductus and motets plus a single monophonic conductus to begin the gathering.

The individual folios of the manuscript have a modern foliation in the upper right corner. There is no evidence to suggest when this modern foliation was added; Houlier and Chailley do

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<sup>7</sup> While these labels also suggest a chronological order, I find them less obvious than 1, 2, 3 or A, B, C, given that they frequently imply mathematical variables.

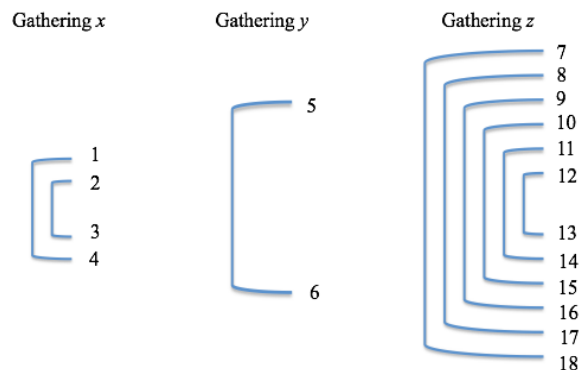


Figure 1.1: Surviving Bifolia

not speculate on the issue though it seems likely that it occurred during the initial effort in Châlons to collate the manuscript fragments.<sup>8</sup> The folios of gathering *x* are numbered 1–4, the single bifolia of gathering *y*, 5–6, and the complete gathering *z*, 7–18. Apparently when the fragments were first discovered and gathered together there was some confusion with the bifolia of this final sexternarion, since fols. 7–14 have two foliations, the latter of which is crossed out: 7/11, 8/12, 9/13, 10/14, 11/7, 12/8, 13/9, 14/10. The crossed-out foliation indicates that, initially, the two middle bifolia (11–14, 12–13) were considered part of a separate gathering, though the reason is unclear. Possibly, the darkening along the bottom staff of what is now fol. 10v obscured the fact that the new piece was a conductus rather than a motet and the obvious similarity in music between the first two systems on fols. 10v and 15r suggested, to the untrained eye of the archivist, that they must follow one another (see Figure 1.2).

Gathering *z* also contains the only piece of evidence for estimating the extent of the original manuscript; the roman numeral *xxix* appears in the center of the final verso's bottom

<sup>8</sup> In 1925 the director of the National Archives, Charles-Victor Langlois, asked all departmental archivists to collect the fragments of medieval manuscripts used as binding materials in their collections and send them to the National Archives in Paris for analysis. Some departmental archivists followed this mandate, however, the Châlons-sur-Marne archivist, Just Berland, did not. This is verified by the lack of fragments from Châlons in the National Archives' collection. It may have been Berland himself who added the modern folio numbers. René Gandilhon and Dom Jacques Hourlier, *Inventaire sommaire de fragments de manuscrits et d'imprimés conservés aux Archives de la Marne* (Châlons-sur-Marne: Archives de la Marne, 1956), 5. An example of a study of such fragments is Paolo Rinoldi, "Frammenti letterari occitani dalle Archives Nationales de France," *Cultura Neolatina* 75 (2015): 273–96.



Figure 1.2: Bifolium 10–15 (fols. 10v, 15r)

edge, an apparent gathering number (see Figure 1.3). The piece on this verso, the conductus *Terra Bachi Francia*,<sup>9</sup> lacks its ending and therefore the manuscript would have possessed at least a thirtieth gathering. Assuming every quire comprised six bifolia, just as gathering z, the

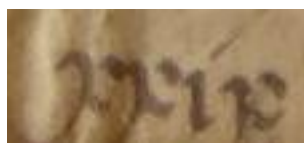


Figure 1.3: Ch Quire Number, fol. 18v

manuscript would have comprised at least 360 folios. This size significantly eclipses other large collections of Notre-Dame polyphony, such as Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 628 (677) and 1099 (1206) (**W1** and **W2**), with approximately 200 and 250 folios respectively, and is

<sup>9</sup> *Terra Bachi Francia* appears as the third strophe of the conductus *De rupta rupecula* in **F**, the only other known source to transmit this piece. The scribe of **Ch**, on the other hand, clearly marks this poem as a new piece through the employment of a large, pen-flourished initial. See my discussion below, Chapter 4.6.4.

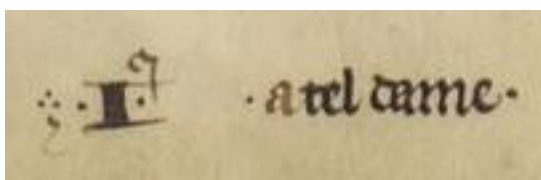
only surpassed by **F**, with over 400 folios. The placement of the numeral on the final folio of the gathering and the absence of a similar numeral on any other folio supports its designation as a quire number, however it demonstrates a less-common way of organizing gatherings in the thirteenth century. The employment of Roman numerals usually indicates a folio number. For example, **F** and **W1** employ Roman numerals in the center of the top margin on each recto for just such a purpose. I am aware of only one other manuscript with center, bottom margin folio numerals like that in **Ch** (see below). Jacques Hourlier felt the small dimensions of the manuscript precluded a codex of such a large size and insisted the numeral was simple foliation. Hourlier's collaborator, Jacques Chailley, remained ambivalent, at different times offering both possibilities as an explanation.<sup>10</sup>

The absence of similar quire numbers in the manuscripts of Notre-Dame polyphony as well as many other contemporary French manuscripts could reflect any number of circumstances including trimming and erasure. Several of the thirteenth-century polyphonic collections lack quire indicators of any kind, including **F**, **W2**, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 (**Mo**). What evidence does survive demonstrates that the predominant method for organizing quires of manuscripts in the thirteenth century was the use of catchwords. **W1** and Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España 20486 (**Ma**) both employ catchwords which, for instance, are visible on fols. 34v(40v) and 40v, respectively. The late-thirteenth-century *La Clayette* manuscript Paris, BnF, n.a.fr. 13521 (**Cl**) employs the longer catchphrases common to textual manuscripts.

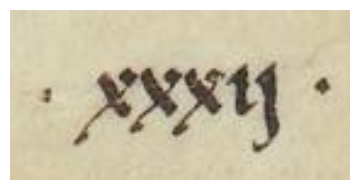
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<sup>10</sup> In the original article on **Ch** from 1956, Hourlier described the roman numeral as a gathering number. Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," 141. Apparently later he contradicted that claim. Chailley, "Fragments," 140.

Quire numerals occur most often in the French *chansonnières* but they are still uncommon. Paris, BnF, fr. 25566 (**Ha**), a collection of works by Adam de la Hale dated to the late thirteenth century, employs both quire numbers and catchphrases (see Figure 1.4). The bold, majuscule roman numeral is centered by two dots (symbols which also center the catchphrase following) and ornamented by other dots and flourishes. While the numeral itself is extravagant in comparison to that found in **Ch**, both manuscripts share the positioning of the numeral in the bottom-center edge of the lower margin. Trouvère manuscript **S**,<sup>11</sup> on the other hand, employs a subtle quire number more in keeping with that found in **Ch**. The numeral is miniscule though still centered by dots to the left and right unlike the following catchphrase. Rather than centered at the bottom edge of the lower margin, the numeral lines up with the left margin of the second textual column. After this first quire number, the numbers disappear and only the catchwords remain as quire indicators until fol. 256v, where the remnants of majuscule numerals similar to **Ha** appear on the left margin for several quires and then disappear. Only Trouvère **C**, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 389, employs the same method of numbering quires as **Ch**. Originating in Lorraine in the late thirteenth century, the manuscript comprises gatherings of four bifolia, the last folio of which employs only a small numeral in the center, bottom margin (see Figure 1.4).



Paris, BnF, fr. 25566, fol. 17v



Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 389, fol. 249v

Figure 1.4: Quire Numbers in French *Chansonnières*

Little codicological work has been done on quire numbers in the thirteenth century. It is no surprise, therefore, that two decades following Hourlier's and Chailley's discovery, Mark

<sup>11</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 12581.

Everist accepted without contention the numeral of **Ch** as a quire number of a large collection of polyphonic music, citing the earliest article by Hourlier and Chailley which posited a large number of folios for the complete **Ch** manuscript without equivocation.<sup>12</sup> While I do not dispute that the roman numeral on the final folio of gathering *z* indicates a quire number, or the resulting size of the original manuscript, later in this chapter I hope to provide additional evidence that the Châlons fragments possess certain characteristics more in line with French *chansonniers* than with the central collections of Notre-Dame polyphony.

### 1.3 Manuscript Recycling

Sometime after 1601, the owners of manuscript **Ch** disassembled the codex into individual bifolia and employed the individual sheets of parchment as covers for alderman records for the years 1600–1601. From the writing evident on bifolia 7–18 and 11–14 we can see how these very small bifolia were fit together to create covers. The bottom edge of bifolium 11–14, rotated counterclockwise, was overlapped with the top edge of bifolium 7–18 also turned counterclockwise and glued together. A hand, or hands, in black and brown ink then wrote over these two bifolia. The inscription reads: *1600 Echevinage. Registre des causes depuis septembre mil six cens jusqu'au le diziesme apvril mil six cen ung* (see Figure 1.5).<sup>13</sup> Spellings indicate that the covers were created from the bifolia sometime in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

A light-blue imprint on the left margin of fol. 7v indicates that a third bifolium was attached to 7–18 (see Figure 1.6). The imprint looks very much like the pen-flourished *I* from the opening of *In veritate comperi* at the bottom of the folio, but actually derives from the left edge of the letter *D* from the conductus *De rupta rupercula* on fol. 16v. A close inspection of this

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<sup>12</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 141.

<sup>13</sup> Gandilhon and Hourlier, *Inventaire sommaire*, 42.

<sup>14</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, “Cantionale Cathalaunense,” 141.

initial shows conspicuously faded pigment in the letter's lower left which corresponds exactly to

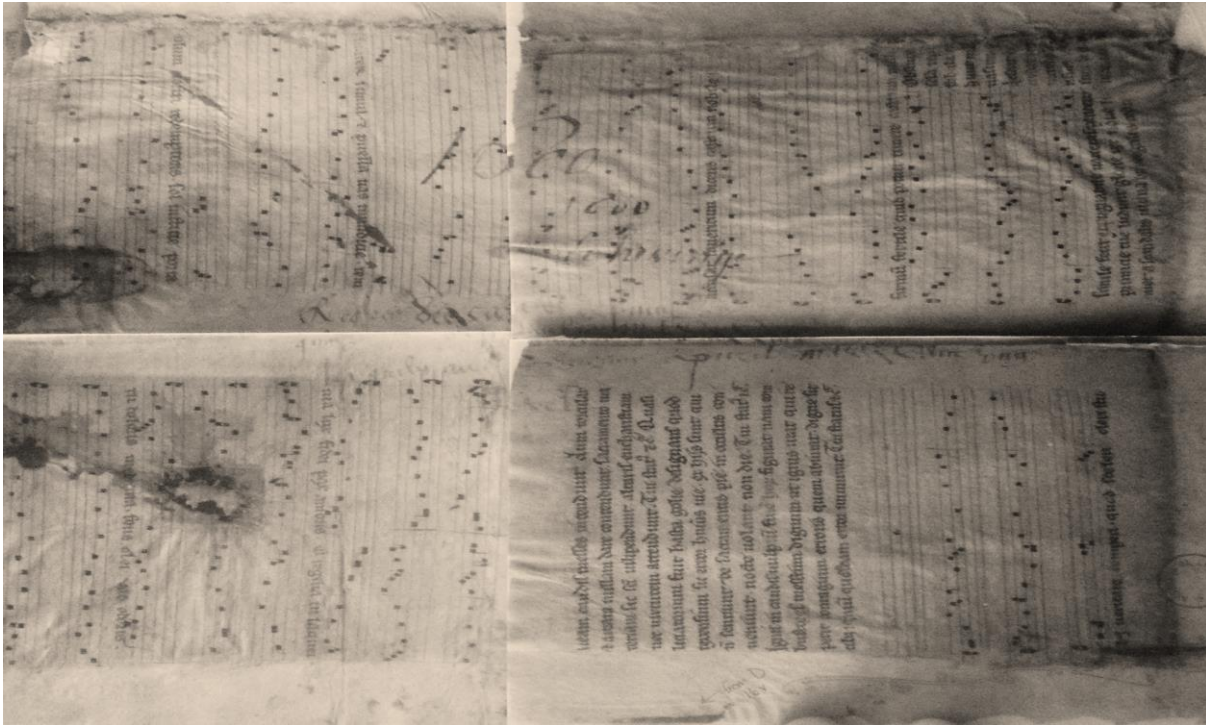


Figure 1.5: **Ch** Inscription (Clockwise from Top Right: fols. 18r, 7v, 11r, 14v)



fol. 7v



fol. 5r

Figure 1.6: Impressions Resulting from the Overlapping of Bifolium 7–18 with Bifolium 9–16, and Bifolium 5–6 with Unknown Bifolium



the impression visible on fol. 7v. Aside from these three bifolia the arrangement of the other bifolia into the various parts of the Register's cover proves difficult. There is, however, another light-blue letter impression in the top left margin of fol. 5r. This example, of what I believe is the letter *M*, also indicates the overlap of bifolia along the long edge of the parchment (see Figure 1.6). Unfortunately, the bifolium which created this impression on fol. 5r is not among the **Ch** fragments. The similarity in pigment and letter shape strongly suggests that another bifolium from the original manuscript survived as part of the cover and was separated from **Ch**.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.4 The Parchment

The condition of the parchment varies from folio to folio. Reuse of the manuscript bifolia as covers exposed the skins to varying degrees of hardship including bending, wrinkling, gluing, staining of various kinds, and writing. The later disassembling of the leaves from each other also caused damage, specifically holes and tears, ranging from inconsequential to considerable. The extent of the damage and repair is too extensive to describe in detail. Table 1.1 catalogs the general types of damage and repairs apparent throughout the manuscript. The dark discoloration on many of the folios derives primarily from exposure to the elements while employed as a cover and from the bending of the velum. An extreme but representative example of this occurs on fol. 18r. As Table 1.1 demonstrates, the most consistent damage to the parchment occurs along the edge(s) of the various folios. I am uncertain about the reason for this tearing. Perhaps the edges were glued to another surface and removed by ripping. The only bifolium that lacks any marginal tearing, bifolia 5–6, instead received a tear through its entire horizontal midsection, bisecting the parchment in half. That these internal edges were adhered to some surface is obvious from the remains of glue that is visible along the edges of the tear on fols. 5v and 6r. It seems possible that

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<sup>15</sup> It is possible that whatever bifolium was attached at this point was too damaged after removal to be saved.

	tears/holes (large)	tears/holes (small)	tape	glue	discoloration	later writing	tom edges	Archives stamp	
gathering <i>x</i>	1r	X <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>b</sup>		X		X <sup>d</sup>	X	
	1v	X <sup>a</sup>					X <sup>d</sup>	X	
	2r						X <sup>d</sup>		
	2v				X	X	X <sup>d</sup>	X	
	3r		X				X <sup>de</sup>		
	3v		X				X <sup>de</sup>	X	
	4r						X <sup>de</sup>		
	4v			X <sup>b</sup>		X	X <sup>de</sup>	X	
	gathering <i>y</i>	5r	X <sup>a</sup>			X			X
		5v	X <sup>a</sup>		X				X
6r		X <sup>a</sup>		X					
6v		X <sup>a</sup>						X	
gathering <i>z</i>	7r		X <sup>c</sup>				X <sup>de</sup>	X	
	7v				X	X	X <sup>de</sup>	X	
	8r			X <sup>b</sup>	X		X <sup>df</sup>	X	
	8v		X				X <sup>df</sup>		
	9r	X <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>b</sup>			X <sup>d</sup>		
	9v	X <sup>a</sup>				X	X <sup>d</sup>		
	10r		X <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>b</sup>	X	X	X <sup>d</sup>	X	
	10v		X <sup>a</sup>		X	X	X <sup>d</sup>	X	
	11r	X <sup>a</sup>	X	X <sup>b</sup>	X	X	X <sup>de</sup>		
	11v	X <sup>a</sup>	X		X	X	X <sup>de</sup>	X	

Table 1.1: Condition of Parchment Leaves

gathering z (cont.)	tears/holes (large)	tears/holes (small)	tape	glue	discoloration	later writing	torn edges	Archives stamp
11r	x <sup>a</sup>	x	x <sup>b</sup>		x	x	x <sup>de</sup>	
11v	x <sup>a</sup>	x			x		x <sup>de</sup>	x
12r	x	x	x <sup>b</sup>		x		x <sup>d</sup>	
12v	x	x			x		x <sup>d</sup>	x
13r							x <sup>d</sup>	
13v					x		x <sup>d</sup>	x
14r	x <sup>a</sup>				x		x <sup>d</sup>	
14v	x <sup>a</sup>		x <sup>b</sup>		x	x	x <sup>d</sup>	
15r		x <sup>a</sup>					x <sup>de</sup>	x
15v		x <sup>a</sup>	x <sup>b</sup>				x <sup>de</sup>	x
16r					x		x <sup>d</sup>	
16v							x <sup>d</sup>	x
17r		x					x <sup>def</sup>	
17v		x			x		x <sup>def</sup>	x
18r	x				x	x	x <sup>d</sup>	
18v	x		x <sup>c</sup>		x <sup>a</sup>		x <sup>d</sup>	x

<sup>a</sup> text and/or music is obscured or missing

<sup>b</sup> clear tape

<sup>c</sup> book tape

<sup>d</sup> top edge

<sup>e</sup> vertical edge

<sup>f</sup> bottom edge

Table 1.1: Condition of Parchment Leaves, cont.

those responsible for rescuing the fragments from their function as covers carefully removed those portions with music and text but abandoned such rigor for the relatively empty margins.

Tearing the parchment would have proved easy, since the vellum itself is very thin. It is so thin, in fact, that often the notation and staff lines on the opposite side of the folio are visible through the parchment. The outer margins of the text block provide ample examples where the clefs of the opposite page appear. The fine, smooth quality of the parchment offers another piece of evidence in support of a large-sized manuscript: the larger the manuscript the thinner the vellum must be for the codex to have a reasonable size.

### 1.5 Dimensions and Rulings

The condition of the manuscript fragments has made determining the precise dimensions and rulings problematic. Different scholars have arrived at different measurements. Hourlier and Chailley listed the folios at 152 mm x 112 mm, and the text block at 115 mm x 75 mm.<sup>16</sup> Everist, revising Luther Dittmer's comparison of **Ch** and **MüA**, ignored the folio measurements but calculated the text block at 110 mm x 75 mm.<sup>17</sup> At their largest these dimensions approximate those listed by Hourlier and Chailley. My own measurements of the manuscript offer a less pristine picture. The problem derives from the mutilated nature of the bifolia edges and the difficulty in discerning ruling lines. The dimensions of the individual leaves vary widely. The height varies from 140 mm to 151 mm—even within the same gathering the difference varies up to 5 mm—and the width from 104 mm to 110 mm.

While the process of measuring individual leaves is straightforward, the measurement of **Ch**'s text blocks is more complicated. There are several issues at play. First, in most cases, there

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<sup>16</sup> Gandilhon and Hourlier, *Inventaire sommaire*, 41; Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," 141.

<sup>17</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 140. For Dittmer's description of **MüA** see Luther A. Dittmer, *Eine zentrale Quelle der Notre-Dame Musik* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 17–20. For its relationship with **Ch** see Luther A. Dittmer, "The Lost Fragments," 132–33.

are no discernible upper-boundary rulings. A clear example of this can be seen on fol. 6r (see Figure 1.7). In the right margin of this folio the vertical ruling is quite clear as are the three horizontal text lines which extend beyond the edge of the text block while the top frame-ruling is absent. Evidence demonstrates that the staff scribe frequently drew the top line of the staves directly on top of the leadpoint rulings. Many folios provide examples in which the top staff line coincides with the line on which the text above is written. Explicit evidence of this practice appears on fol. 1v, where the staff line below the word *militum* and the leadpoint ruling continues beyond the right vertical frame ruling (see Figure 1.8).<sup>18</sup> Second, on some folios the vertical ruling lines are skewed. Though in certain cases this may result from damage sustained by the parchment there are others that appear to reflect problems with drawing the text block. The most



Figure 1.7: Top Frame Ruling Lacking, fol. 6r

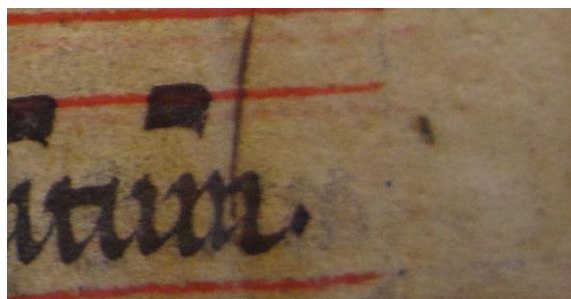


Figure 1.8: Ruling as Top Staff Line, fol. 1v

<sup>18</sup> John Haines, in his discussion of staff construction in the thirteenth century, notes that the Dominicans, and others following their practices, drew their staves between text rulings, a departure from the twelfth-century practice of using rulings as scaffolding for the staff. He states, “The staff lines were drawn independently of the ruling, without pricks or ruling lines as a guide.” John Haines, “The Origins of the Musical Staff,” *Musical Quarterly* 91, nos. 3–4 (2008): 321–78, at 363. While deviating from this practice slightly with the placement of the top staff line on the frame and text rulings, it is clear that the **Ch** staff scribe was employing a similar practice. The practice of drawing the top staff line on the text ruling requires further study.

obvious example occurs on fol. 7v where the left vertical frame ruling leans to the right so the width of the text block is slightly smaller on the top of the text block than at the bottom. Because of these difficulties the actual dimensions of the text block are significantly more variable than the measurements provided by previous scholars. The most consistent text blocks occur on fols. 1r–5v, averaging approximately 109 mm x 74 mm, very close to Everist’s measurements. The block of fol. 6 is the most unusual because of an extra staff in the lower margin of each side of the folio heightening the text block an extra 10 mm, though even with this extra staff it only differs by two millimeters from two of the nine-stave folios in gathering z. The text blocks of gathering z vary much more significantly, ranging from 108–118 mm in height and from 70–75 mm in width. Those blocks taller than 115 mm occur mainly at the end of the gathering but there does not appear to be any specific reason for this difference (see Table 1.2).

Aside from providing the means for measuring the text block, ruling lines help determine the initial plan for the content of the various folios. Evidence of this on a small scale is the appearance of vertical ruling lines for shortened staves, that is, those staves that follow a pen-flourished initial. The ruling lines of gathering z also demonstrate that the initial plan of certain folios was supplanted at some time during the copying process. The discrepancies between rulings and repertoire occur most notably through the first half of gathering z, which, other than the conclusion to the refrain song *Dogmatum falsas species*, exclusively contains three-part polyphony. Typically, sections of multi-staved polyphony are ruled as large blocks, each block providing enough space for the line of text and all necessary staves.<sup>19</sup> Such a layout occurs on fols. 14r–18v. Prior to these folios, however, the rulings, as far as can be distinguished, are more complex. Folio 7v provides an interesting example. The folio commences with the final strophes

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<sup>19</sup> This is an extension of the Dominican practice of drawing staves between rulings. Haines, “Origins of the Musical Staff,” 363. For an example of how this was done in **F** see Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 65–66.

## gathering.x

	1r	1v	2r	2v	3r	3v	4r	4v
W	74*	74+	75	73 <sup>a</sup>	74	75	75	73 <sup>b</sup> 71+ <sup>c</sup>
H	108	108	112	110	109+	109	109	109

## gathering.y

	5r	5v	6r	6v
W	75 <sup>b</sup>	70 <sup>b</sup>	72	72+ <sup>b</sup> 74 <sup>c</sup>
H	110	110	120	120

## gathering.z

	7r	7v	8r	8v	9r	9v	10r	10v	11r	11v	12r	12v	13r	13v	14r	14v	15r	15v	16r	16v	17r	17v	18r	18v
W	72+ <sup>b</sup> 74 <sup>c</sup>	72 <sup>b</sup> 74+ <sup>c</sup>	70 <sup>a</sup>	72+	71	71	74	73 <sup>a</sup>	74+	72	72 <sup>a</sup>	73	73+	73	75	74 <sup>a</sup>	73	71	73	72	73	74 <sup>a</sup>	74 <sup>a</sup>	71
H	114	107 <sup>b</sup> 110 <sup>d</sup>	112	115	115	115	110	108	114	113	110	109	110	113	117	115	113	112	118	117	116	117+	117	118

\* All measurements in mm

<sup>a</sup> Page too dirty to make exact measurement<sup>d</sup> Measurement at the top of the text<sup>b</sup> Measurement at the top of the page<sup>c</sup> Measurement at the bottom of the page

Table 1.2: Text Block Measurements

of *Dogmatum falsas*. Unlike the previous folio, which is ruled for every text line, there are no obvious rulings for the residual text. Either the space in the top third of the text block was intended for a different purpose, or it was understood that the scribe would write the remaining text guided either by the text or the ruling lines visible from the reverse side. For whatever reason (possibly the generous spacing allotted the text in general throughout the manuscript) the final strophes of *Dogmatum falsas* required more space than intended. The first clear ruling occurs above the eighth line of text followed by another line under the tenth text line.<sup>20</sup> This is the same amount of space allotted to a single staff and text line in the monophonic portions of the manuscript. That the scribe understood this space as sufficient for three lines of text is evident from gathering *y* where that is the exact space employed for the additional strophes. The same ruling dimensions continue for the rest of the page (see Figure 1.9). This means that there is another ruling line between the last line of text and the first empty staff on the page, as well as between each of the three staves for the opening of the motet *In veritate comperi*. This system of rulings demonstrates that, at least for the final two-thirds of the folio, the intended use was for monophony. It may also explain why there is an empty top staff: seeing a ruling line, the staff scribe entered the staff without realizing that the corresponding piece only required three staves.<sup>21</sup>

Folios 8r and 8v have this same ruling system: upper third empty, bottom two-thirds ruled for monophony. Following these folios, the rulings on 9r–13v vary greatly. Folios 9r and 10r appear to be ruled for three-part polyphony like fols. 14–18, though each may have an additional

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<sup>20</sup> There are what appear to be faint lines under text lines 6 and 9 as well as through text line 5. The latter is evident from the ink bleed through in the center of the word *designans*. The faintness of these lines in comparison with those above line 8 and under line 10 lead me to believe they are bleed through from the opposite folio. If they are rulings intended for fol. 7v I have trouble understanding their purpose, though the distance between the middle of text line 5 and the top of line 8 would approximate that between lines 8 and 10.

<sup>21</sup> This, however, doesn't account for the empty staves on other folios (see below).





Figure 1.9: Rulings Between Staves of Polyphony, fol. 7v

ruling line under the first and seventh staff respectively. Similarly, fol. 12r has only a single additional ruling line under staff seven, and fol. 11r has an additional ruling line under staff one with two more possible rulings under staves four and five. Folios 9v, 10v, and 11v each have between two and three extra ruling lines, while fols. 12v and 13r are identical with ruling lines under the first three and last four staves (see Table 1.3). While the faded condition of the manuscript as well as the scribe's frequent practice of drawing the top line of the staff over a ruling line make many of these rulings difficult to distinguish, it is clear that while some of the folios contain music corresponding to the appropriate ruling, others do not. This suggests that certain assumptions about **Ch** as a musical collection, especially concerning its size and repertory, need to be reevaluated.

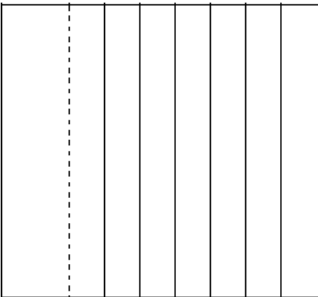
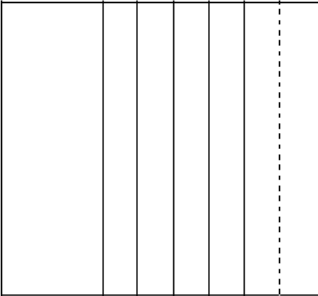
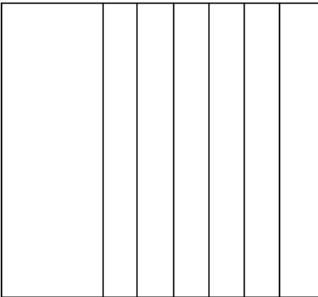
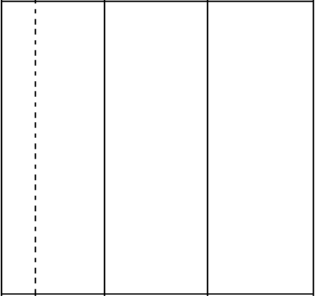
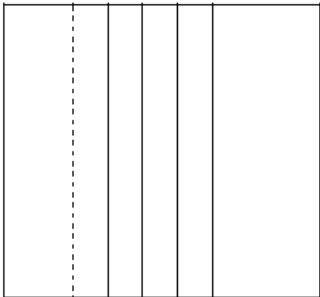
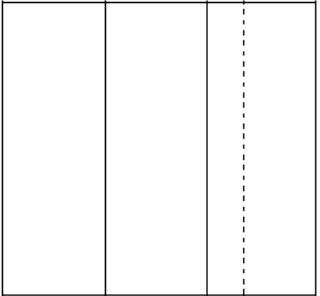
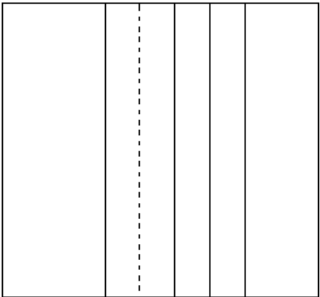
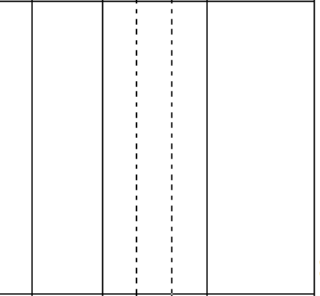
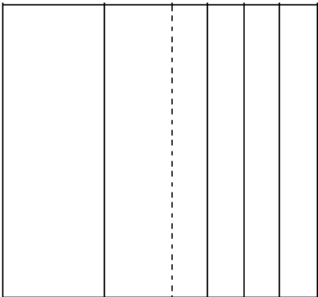
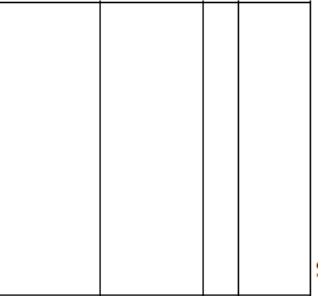
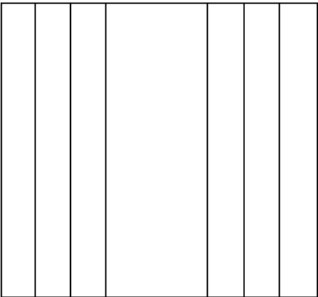
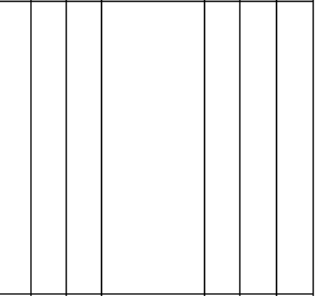
			
			
			

Table 1.3: Gathering z Rulings (fols. 7v–13r)

## 1.6 Staves and Notation

The staves of **Ch** are more varied than Everist, in his brief description of the manuscript, suggests. His summation, “Ch uses nine staves to a page, staves of five lines (not even tenors in polyphony are on staves of four lines) 9 mm high,”<sup>22</sup> greatly simplifies the actual manuscript since none of these points is entirely correct. First, though most folios do contain nine staves, fols. 6r and 6v have ten staves, and fols. 5v, 7r and 7v contain fewer than nine staves, eight, one and four respectively, to accommodate additional poetic strophes. Second, while it is true that there are many examples of 9 mm staves, especially in gathering z, the majority of staves vary between 7.5 mm and 8.5 mm with 8 mm the most common staff size. Of the 304 measurable staves (four staves from gathering y are torn through) only thirty-nine are 9 mm, while 162 are 8 mm. Finally, there are several four-line staves, though the reason for four lines instead of five is unclear; as Everist states, none of these four-line staves holds a motet tenor. The possibility that the four-line staves reflect a smaller musical ambitus is contradicted by several examples of five-line staves which do not utilize the top space and line. It seems likely this was just an oversight on the part of the staff scribe: each four-line staff corresponds to a larger-than-usual distance between the top of the four-line staff and the bottom of the staff above.<sup>23</sup>

Other evidence suggests the staves were drawn quickly, if not carelessly. First of all, spaces between the individual staff lines can vary significantly, suggesting that they were drawn individually.<sup>24</sup> Second, the edges of staves in **Ch** are more erratic. The right edge of the staves on most folios aligns very consistently with the right edge of the text block, while the left edge

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<sup>22</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 140.

<sup>23</sup> The distance between two staves usually varies between 4–5 mm. This measurement increases to 6 mm when one staff has only four lines.

<sup>24</sup> This is evident both from the different sizes of the staves themselves which, among the five-line staves, range from 7–10 mm and between staves of the same size whose spacings between individual staff lines can vary widely.

consistently exceeds the left edge of the text block and most staff lines are of different lengths.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps this implies that the staff scribe drew them from right to left, or perhaps upside-down. A similarly erratic staff style appears in the later fascicles of **W2**, specifically those in which each staff corresponds to a line of text, i.e., monophony or two-voice motets. In the case of **W2**, however, the most ragged end of the staves corresponds to the right edge of the text block rather than the left. One final interesting point is that staff lines appear on top of the text meaning they were drawn *after* the text was written. This occurs throughout the fragments and is especially noticeable where the *litterae notabiliores* enter the space reserved for the staves.<sup>26</sup>

Two other indicators point to the drawing of staves after the text. Small vertical marks, not unlike the strokes of division between the musical phrases, appear between each pen-flourished initial and the following text.<sup>27</sup> These marks, usually visible beneath the adjacent staff lines, seem to suggest a right-most edge for the absent initial. In gathering *z* they also provide a boundary for the left-most edge of the, as yet, undrawn staff, where the ruling lines are absent. More evidence is the presence of several empty staves in gatherings *y* and *z*. As noted above gathering *y* has three empty staves, one at the top of fol. 5r and two on the bottom of fols. 6r and 6v. Gathering *z* has a single empty staff in the middle of fol. 7v, between the final strophes of *Dogmatum falsas* and the beginning of the motet *In veritate comperi*. Based on the discussion above, the empty staves on fols. 5r and 7v are easily accounted for. In the first instance, the extra strophe on the right margin of the page alone indicates that the space should comprise three

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<sup>25</sup> These characteristics correspond to three (varying number of lines, irregular line spacing, different line ending points) of the five criteria John Haines outlines for individually drawn staff lines. The others include blotting at line ends, and the abrupt vertical shift of a single staff line. See Haines, "The Origins of the Musical Staff," 364–65.

<sup>26</sup> Sean Curran notes a similar characteristic in *La Clayette*. Sean Curran, "Reading and Rhythm in the 'La Clayette' Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521)," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 23, no. 2 (2014): 125–51, at 132, 134.

<sup>27</sup> The single exception is the *I* of *In veritate comperi* on fol. 7v where no room was left for the initial by the staff scribe.

staves despite the fact that the only other surviving version of the piece, *Regis decus et regine*, is also in two parts. This is bolstered by the fact that without the extra (empty) staff there would only be eight staves in the space allotted for nine.<sup>28</sup> The empty staff in the middle of fol. 7v, on the other hand, appears to be the result of the rulings. With the text of the previous piece complete, and the folio ruled for four staves, the scribe followed the rulings despite the fact that the motet only needed three staves. Both of these examples suggest that the staff scribe was unfamiliar with the music associated with the texts in question. It also seems likely that the scribe simply drew a staff where the rulings patterns necessitated one. This seems to be the case for the extra staves on fols. 6r and 6v. Each folio has an additional staff at the bottom of the page both extending the number of staves to ten and increasing the size of the text block to 120 mm. The reason for this extra staff is unclear since the motet on those folios, *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) / [*Et gaudebit*] [M24], only requires three staves when written in score as it is here. Nevertheless, a ruling line is clearly visible beneath the extra staff on fol. 6r.<sup>29</sup>

The music is written in black square notation. The *cum littera* notation employs longs with stunted stems (in some cases virtually no stem at all) which may reflect a quick copying or writing style, while ligatures and plicas have deliberately long stems. The noteheads range from very small precise squares to squares with curved upper and lower edges (perhaps also indicative of quick execution) to rectangles. Those of the latter style in many cases are deliberate elongations of the notehead while in other cases simply suggest imprecision. Clefs are carelessly marked, frequently misaligned with the appropriate staff line and on many folios imprecisely aligned vertically, written either on the vertical line of the text block or to its left or right.

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<sup>28</sup> Presumably this is an error attributable to the text scribe since the music on the preceding lost folios must have been for two voices as well.

<sup>29</sup> No such line appears on fol. 6v, but the page is fairly dirty so it may have rubbed away or faded due to time or treatment.

The *f-sharp* accidental and strokes of division, according to Hourlier and Chailley, are not original to the manuscript but the addition of a later hand or hands.<sup>30</sup> The ink generally appears lighter than that used for the notation, clefs, *b-flats*, and text, suggesting their addition at a time distinct from the original notation. However, there are two examples of the sharp that appear underneath the pen-flourished initials indicating that they must be contemporary.<sup>31</sup> The strokes of division are more problematic. Strokes of division separate musical phrases which coincide, at least in the sequences, with *puncti* in the text.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the motets and conductus the strokes function both to coordinate parts and to indicate rests, similar to examples in other Notre-Dame sources. Though unnecessary for the sequences, the strokes of division perform an integral function for the motets and conductus, and the addition of them at a later date seems counterintuitive. Evidence from a correction on fol. 13r indicates these strokes of division must have been contemporaneous with the notation because the stroke associated with the erased melody has been partially erased and is followed by a new one a short distance after.

### 1.7 Text

The text is written in French Gothic book script of lowest grade and medium quality (*littera miniscula gothica textualis rotunda libraria media*; see Table 1.4).<sup>33</sup> The grade (*rotunda*) of the script manifests itself in the rounded bottoms of the minims which in a *quadrata* or *semi-quadrata* script would have more clearly defined “feet.” Though the script demonstrates many

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<sup>30</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, “Cantionale Cathalaunense,” 141.

<sup>31</sup> For instance, staff 4 on fol. 17v, and staff 1 on fol. 18v.

<sup>32</sup> Deeming calls these strokes of division “alignment lines” and says, “their most common use at this time was to assist the alignment of notes and syllables, particularly in polyphony written in score format, where the spatial distance of the upper parts from the text necessitated a guide to alignment.” Helen Deeming, “Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes,” *Scriptorium* 60 (2006): 38–59, at 51.

<sup>33</sup> I take my terminology from Michelle P. Brown, whose approach reflects the terminological practices of her mentor T. J. Brown and Gerard Isaac Leiftnick. Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts From Antiquity to 1600*, 4th ed. (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2007). For a more detailed explanation of Leiftnick’s approach see Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20–24.

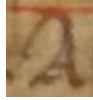

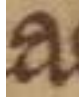






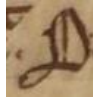
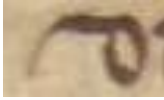

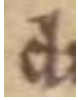


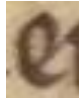


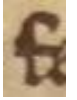

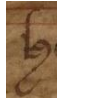







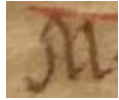
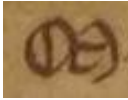


Letter				
A a				
B b				
C c				
D d				
E e				
F f				
G g				
H h				
I/J i/j				
K k				
L l				
M m				

Table 1.4: **Ch** Letter Types

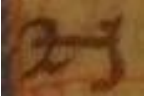

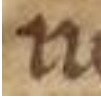











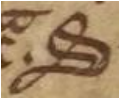
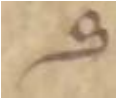


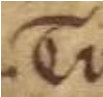


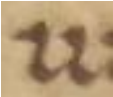





N n				
O o				
P p				
Q q				
R r				
S s				
T t				
U/V u/v				
X x				
Y y				
Z z				

Table 1.4: **Ch** Letter Types, cont.

typical characteristics of Gothic script, certain elements stand out to make this scribe's hand unique. The bows of minuscule letters, like the minims, are generally more rounded than square especially in the *a*, *b*, *h*, and *p*. The minuscule *t*, unlike many other *rotunda* or *semi-quadrata*



scripts (such as those in **F**) always possesses a small ascender above the horizontal cross stroke, just as with the modern lowercase *t*. The most significant differences occur in the *litterae notabiliores*, or capital letters, however. First, there is a small loop in the lower left corner of the four letters *B*, *C*, *D*, and *S*. Though the looped-*S* is not unique to **Ch**, its horizontal elongation, as opposed to the more vertically-stacked *S* common in other manuscripts of this period, makes it unusual. Second, the overall shape of the capital *B* is quite peculiar. More commonly the capital *B* resembles a modern uppercase *B* with the upper bow angled diagonally upward rather than horizontally. In **Ch**, the *B* resembles a large minuscule *b* with the upper bow flattened into a second vertical ascender. Third, the capital *H*, a larger ornamented minuscule *h*, culminates its open bow with a fishhook. Finally, the *P* ranges from the more common capital with ornamental hook on the left descender to rounded nubs more commonly seen on the *I/J* capital. I have found only one other manuscript in which most of these characteristics appear (see section 1.13 below).

The scribe executed the text carefully and neatly. In general, words are widely spaced so that each word is clearly distinguishable from those before and after, yet despite this generous approach to text layout there are remarkably few abbreviations. Chunks of text without music, such as the extensive additional strophes for the refrain song *Dogmatum falsas species*, on the other hand, are written more compactly, though not nearly as densely as in certain fascicles of **F** and **W2**, in which sections of text frequently appear to run together. In fact, unlike **F**, all text appears to be treated equally throughout the fragments receiving the same amount of vertical space whether with music or without. Three lines of text correspond to the space allocated for one text line plus a staff.<sup>34</sup> The additional strophes of three conductus, *Gedeonis area*, *De rupta rupecula*, and *Pictavorum idolum*, are the only examples of additional strophes exceeding the

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<sup>34</sup> **F** employs the same amount of space for either three lines of text (early in the manuscript) or more commonly five lines of text. See, for instance, fols. 10v and 428r.

writing block. In the first and third instance this could have been avoided by employing smaller text, but, perhaps for the sake of consistency of appearance, this option was not employed.<sup>35</sup> In the second instance, the entire second strophe appears below the text block (fol. 17r). This is the result of the music not only requiring the entirety of the text block, but also exceeding it by a single syllable—the final syllable following its concluding cauda. What seems striking is the scribe’s awareness of how much space was necessary for the music to fit comfortably, even though it was not yet notated as he wrote. Though not widely spaced, the music in no way reflects a style of notation forced by lack of sufficient room to resort to expediciencies such as overlapping or smaller ligatures.

### 1.8 Corrections

There are a number of musical corrections evident in the manuscript fragments (see Table 1.5). The corrections include erasures made at the time of the original copying as well as changes made with a slightly different ink and, therefore, possibly at a later date. Most of these corrections comprise only one or two notes, however, there are two examples which include lengthy passages erased and re-notated. **Ch**’s copying errors fall into three categories according to John Haines’s classification: transposition, omission, and dittography/repetition.<sup>36</sup> According to Haines, the error of transposition occurs when a scribe writes notes at the wrong interval. On folio 16r a phrase was incorrectly written up a minor third, however, no notes were erased to correct the error. Rather a second clef on c4 was drawn above the incorrect original c3 clef (Table 1.5H). Perhaps because the second phrase of the system was entered correctly, the scribe

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<sup>35</sup> There is also the possibility that with such a small text block the scribe felt incapable of writing a smaller script. However, this seems unlikely given his ability to execute small abbreviations above the text on fols. 7r and 7v.

<sup>36</sup> Haines describes five types of errors in thirteenth-century manuscripts also including misalignment and substitution. John Haines, “Erasure in Thirteenth-Century Music,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance. Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 60–88.






Ex.	Folio	Location	Type of Error
A	2r	staff 9, notes 1 & 2	dittography
			
B	9r	staff 4, note 2	omission
			
C	10v	staff 4, note 12	later addition
			
D	10v	staff 5, penultimate note	later addition
			
E	12v	staff 7, notes 9–18	omission (11v Tu vulneris: text is tu generis)
			

Table 1.5: Musical Corrections

Ex.	Folio	Location	Type of Error
F	13r	staff 1, notes 3–10	omission ( <i>comminuis</i> or <i>restitutis</i> 13v)
G	15v	staff 9, note 6	later addition
H	16r	staff 2, clef	transposition
J	17r	staff 7, notes 1 & 2	omission

Table 1.5: Musical Corrections, cont.

opted to leave the original c3 clef rather than add another clef in the middle of the system, cramped between the stroke of division and the first note of the phrase.

By far the most common error in **Ch** is omission. Folios 9r and 17r demonstrate the simplest of these, in which only a single note has been omitted. In the case of fol. 9r the note omitted was the first *d* entered after the erased plicated *d* (Table 1.5B), and on fol. 17r the *f* was omitted before the following *e* (Table 1.5J). More complicated omissions appear on fol. 12v (Table 1.5E) and fol. 13r (Table 1.5F). In each of these instances, an entire phrase has been copied incorrectly and the pitch or pitches preceding may have guided the eye of the scribe to a different section of music. However, in the case of the error on fol. 12v the text may have also guided the eye of the scribe since the error, on the text *Tu generis*, derives from the beginning of a similar, previous strophe *Tu vulneris*.

**Ch** also contains three notational “corrections” possibly added after the original notation. Each example occurs in an ink of a lighter hue and in each case single notes were changed into a two-note ligature. Two of the three examples occur in the final phrase of the motet *In veritate comperi* (fol. 10v). Because the final phrase of **Ch**’s triplum is unique to this manuscript, speculating on this addition (Table 1.5C) in comparison with other extant versions is impossible. The reverse is true, however, in the case of the duplum addition (Table 1.5D). **Ch**’s original notation leapt from *b* to *G* then back to *b* on the first three syllables of the final word *ultionum*. This causes an interesting tritone clash with the final tenor note, an *F*, as well as with the triplum an octave above. Only **W2**, **Mo** and London, British Library, Egerton 274 (**LoB**) conclude with the same tritone “resolving” out to the fifth on the final syllable. In each case, an *a* appears either on the previous syllable, as in **W2** and **Mo**, or as a lower neighbor after the tritone as in **LoB**. In all other extant versions the music avoids the tritone by replacing the single *b* on the third

syllable with an *a–b* binaria. The **Ch** emender turned the original *b* into this *a–b* binaria, which seems to suggest the influence of later versions of the motet as seen in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 (**Ba**), **Cl**, and Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas 9 (**Hu**). The final example of an addition occurs on the first syllable of *ignea* in the conductus *Gedeonis area* (Table 1.5G). This may have been altered/corrected to mirror the opening phrase of the piece which contains the same music. The only other extant version of this piece, in **F**, provides exactly the same music for both phrases.

The textual corrections are fewer in number and less evident than their musical counterparts (see Table 1.6). There are six marginal annotations typical of corrections and glosses seen in thirteenth-century manuscripts. Like the musical corrections, the marginal annotations appear in different styles and in different colored ink making it difficult to determine if they result from a single hand or from several hands, though multiple hands seem likely. Because of the mutilated nature of many of the parchment edges, only two of the marginalia remain in their complete form. Both of these examples, on fols. 4v (Table 1.6A) and 5r (Table 1.6C), are preceded by a right-leaning diagonal followed by a dot. A third annotation, on fol. 17r (Table 1.6F), also follows a right leaning diagonal though no dot is apparent, perhaps absorbed by the initial stroke of the letter *a*.

Each marginal cue references, or appears to reference, a word in the adjacent line of text. Unfortunately, it is difficult to tell if, in fact, the word referenced has been corrected. Only the annotation of fol. 7r (Table 1.6D), which lacks the diagonal line-dot indicator and deliberately employs only the first four letters of the word in question (*absconditus*), corresponds to an obvious text. For instance, the examples on fol. 7v (...*t*) (Table 1.6E) and fol. 5r (*et*) may indicate a correction because both words appear with a darker ink in the body of the text.

Ex.	Folio	Marginal Annotation	Reference Word
A	3v	...u	questionum
B	4v	ave	ave
C	5r	et	et
D	7r	absc	absconditus
E	7v	...t	immurat
F	17v	aq...	aquatica

Table 1.6: Textual Corrections

Alternatively, the ink around them simply could have faded. The examples on fol. 4v (Table 1.6B) and fol. 17r, on the other hand, may demonstrate another hand, or perhaps a more deliberate hand. In each case, the word corrected, *ave* and *aquatica* respectively, employs a *u* that deviates from the typical shape: in both words the right minim is topped by a triangle, a sort of upper foot, virtually absent in other examples of that letter.

### 1.9 Pen-Flourished Initials

**Ch** contains thirteen large initials alternating red and blue, each with elaborate pen-flourishing in the opposite color. Prior to the painting process, the initials were cued by a small letter near the space left for the initial.<sup>37</sup> Only a single cue letter remains. It stands slightly to the left of the initial of the sequence *Paule doctor gentium*. In general, the body of the initials occupy the height of the system of music (i.e., one staff for a monophonic piece, and three staves for the three-voice pieces), and any extenders ascend or descend the distance of another staff. The single exception is the *I* of the motet *In veritate comperi*. In this example, the top of the letter begins on the second line of the bottom staff and descends deep into the lower margin of the folio. Even in this instance, however, the size of the letter corresponds to the size of the music's three staves. This is also the only example in which the system of staves does not accommodate for the decorated initial by means of indentation from the left edge of the text block.

Certain characteristics of the initials themselves help distinguish this artist from others of the period (see Figure 1.10). First, ornamental extensions of the letter that curl away from the initial's body frequently sweep up into a ball. These flourishes occur exclusively in the margins

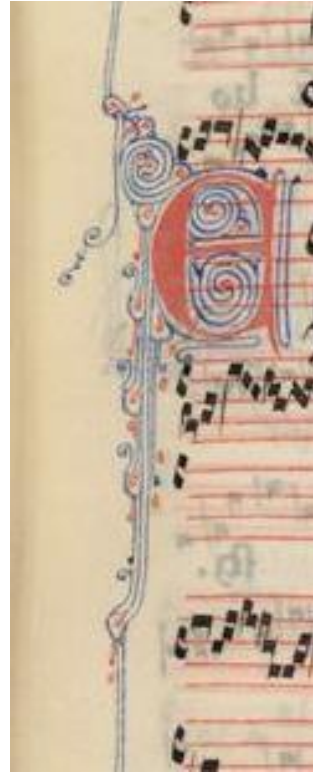
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<sup>37</sup> This practice is also observable in the Dominican Missal, Paris, BnF, lat. 8884, which shares similarities of flourishing with **Ch**, but differs from the practice observable in **W1**, **W2** and **F**, where the cue letter appears in the outer edges of the manuscript margin.





Ch, fol. 5v



F, fol. 65r



Paris, BnF, lat. 8884, fol. 12r



W2, fol. 180v

Figure 1.10: Comparison of the Pen-Flourished Letter E

of the manuscript except on those initials whose ornamental lines only appear within the text block (*E*, *G*). This means that the ornamental extension on the right-side of the open bows of *N* and *H*, for instance, lack this decorative ball. Second, the thickened lines forming sections of an initial's body often appear more angular than rounded in shape. A comparison between the *Es* of **Ch** with those from **F**, **W2** and Paris, BnF, lat. 8884, three manuscripts very similar in terms of decoration, demonstrate this difference. Unlike the pointed left edge of the *E* in **Ch**, the *Es* of the other manuscripts show a more curved form.

As with the style of the initials, the pen-flourishing also remains consistent from letter to letter and gathering to gathering. There are four basic components which are varied and manipulated to create different ornaments around the shape of each initial. These are the tongue, straight or curving lines (ascenders and descenders), the needle and the scroll.<sup>38</sup> The tongue with the addition of the needle becomes the bulb and can appear alone at the end of ascenders or descenders, or in a spiral. Ascenders and descenders (generally straight lines which ascend above or descend below the initial) usually function as connectors for more notable ornaments such as the bulb or scroll, but occasionally create what looks like a hairpin either in a closed or bent-open form and infrequently sweep into a large open loop inevitably cut off in the manuscript's margins. The needle most often appears inside the tongue creating the bulb, but also consistently appears alone warranting its own designation. Finally, the scroll, which Patterson calls "the spiral" but which I have called the scroll to distinguish it from the spiral tongue/bulb, most frequently occurs with the bulb or at the end of ascenders/descenders.

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<sup>38</sup> My terminology borrows and adapts that of Sonia Patterson, "Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," *The Library* 5 (1972): 23–30 and Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

Unfortunately, the blue pen-flourishing in the Châlons fragments suffered far more damage than the red, so in the following discussion I will focus on red pen-flourishing but offer examples from the blue pen-flourishing when possible. One of the best preserved decorated initials is the letter *D* of the three-voice conductus *De rupta rupecula* on fol. 16v (see Figure 1.11). The flourishing is representative of the group as a whole. The inside of the letter primarily contains spiral bulbs, tongues as small fillers, and a few long vertical lines along the inside edges which become bulbs. Not infrequently the needle figure with circle and tail (not unlike a teardrop) looks more like the letter *P*. These same figures appear as a border around the outside of the letter. Vertical lines run along the left edge ending every few millimeters in a bulb which is ornamented with an upward-pointing short hairpin and scroll. The right edge of the letter adjacent to the staves of music remains virtually unadorned with a simple scroll ascending from another bulb-hairpin-scroll figure on the bottom right corner of the initial. A single line attaches this figure with the most ornate design outside the letter in the lower left corner. This group of figures resembles the compact assemblage of spiraled bulbs and tongues present in the interior of the letter. From this ornate outer grouping sprout two descenders which eventually form the bulb-hairpin-scroll figure prominent along the outer left edge of the *D*. From here two more descenders continue the progress down the page ending in a succession of two scrolls, the first with a much more compact scrolling than the latter which continues for several centimeters before sweeping into the scroll. A small needle separates the two descenders when the first moves into its scroll. The flourishing above the letter consists mostly of horizontal hairpins, some with scrolls. An ascender sweeps up from the outer left edge into a bulb and continues above the folio edge presumably into an open loop which descends again into a scroll with a distinct ornament that resembles an *m* + scroll.



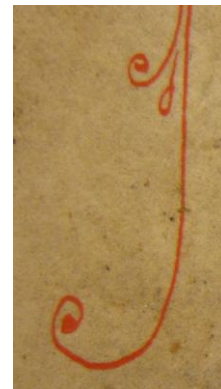
Initial with Flourishing



Internal Flourising



Bulb-Hairpin-Scroll



Descenders into Scroll



*m* + Scroll

Figure 1.11: Initial *D* Pen-Flourishing, fol. 16v

The characteristics observable in and around the *D* of *De rupta rupecula* appear almost without exception in the flourishing of the other initials. Despite this regularity, however, some minor differences do occur. For instance, the flourish I call the *m* + scroll appears quite irregularly. A similar *m* embellishment attached to a scroll appears quite frequently in manuscripts of the period, however, the left ascending edge of the *m* figure is practically unique to **Ch** among the manuscripts I have seen.<sup>39</sup> Second, internal decoration is not limited to the spiral bulbs and filler. The *A* of *Ad Martini titulum* (fol. 1v) contains several flourishes in its upper compartment which resemble a ram in profile more than tongues and a bulb. Finally, the flourishing around and inside the *N* of *Nostrum est impletum* (fol. 5r), difficult to discern, possesses several characteristics not present among the other initials. Within the initial's open bow, a triangular figure appears beneath the upper spiral which resembles a small animal head. This figure is followed below by two long vertical tongues, the left of which has a jagged left edge. Inside the tongue, rather than the typical needle, the figure has been enhanced with extra open circles above the needle's "eye." This figure of several adjacent circles also appears above of the initial among the numerous vertical lines. The cluster of ascenders/descenders occurs frequently among initials with sufficient space above for flourishing, but for some aesthetic reason does not occur below the initial. On the other hand, the multi-circle motif is absent from all red-flourished initials and, unfortunately, the degradation of the blue flourishing makes precise comparison impossible. However, its presence here and not in the red flourishing may suggest that there were at least two different artists responsible for the flourishing of initials.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> I have found one example in **F** on fol. 354v.

<sup>40</sup> If this is the case the flourishers were not distinguished by color. The rather unique *m* + scroll figure occurs in an almost identical angular form in the red flourishing of *T* (fol. 18v) and the blue flourishing of *H* (fol. 5v).

**Ch**'s pen-flourishing provides important codicological evidence for the manuscript's dating. Everist, noting specific similarities between the **Ch** flourishing and that in **F** and the Dominican Missal, Paris, BnF, lat. 8884, suggests a date around 1243.<sup>41</sup> In both cases, the similarities lie in the internal decoration of the letters which relies on interlocking spirals, as well as the external combination of bulb and hairpin into scroll, while differences in the elaborateness of the decoration, in the case of **F**, and unique characteristics in **lat. 8884** suggest different artists (see Figure 1.12).

### 1.10 Chronology of Production

From the above discussion a basic chronology for the construction of the Châlons fragments becomes apparent. As is typical, the folios were first ruled according to a predetermined schema. Then the scribe entered the text. For some unknown reason, the chosen texts did not always correspond to the original schema indicated by the rulings. This occurs most obviously in gathering *z* which is dominated by three-part polyphony but ruled on many folios for a single staff with corresponding text, as well as fols. 6r and 6v where the addition of a tenth, empty staff (as well as ruling line) significantly increased the text block. Whatever the reason, it is clear that these folios' original design was deliberately usurped to accommodate the music it currently contains. Following the text, the staves were entered, each line individually drawn. The fourth step involved entering the music. It seems unlikely that the scribe responsible for the music also drew the staves since a number of staves remained empty. Finally, one or more painters drew the initials and added the flourishing, making sure to disturb the existing notation as little as possible.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Everist describes **lat. 8884**, dated to just before 1243, as in "a near contemporary style" to **Ch**. Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 146–48.

<sup>42</sup> An interesting example of this appears on fol. 17v, where the descender of the initial *P* is painted over the *f-sharp* accidental but around the *c* clef on the fourth staff.



Ch, fol. 16v



F, fol. 171r



Ch, fol. 4r



Paris, BnF, lat. 8884, fol. 208v

Figure 1.12: Comparison of Pen-Flourished Initials *D* and *P*

### 1.11 Contents

The contents of **Ch** include the text and music for seventeen pieces, seven of which are fragmentary, and a small, triangular fragment with a partial staff on each side (see Table 1.7). The four folios of gathering *x* contain two complete and two fragmentary liturgical sequences for St Martin, St Paul, St Quentin and the Magi respectively. The contents of gatherings *y* and *z*, on the other hand, are more complex. The single bifolium of gathering *y* contains the conclusion of a single two-voice conductus *cum caudis*, two complete monophonic motetus parts, and two fragmentary motets, one monophonic and the other for three voices. Gathering *z* also contains a

<b>small swath of parchment</b>			
Folio	Title	Genre	Notes
	Unidentified fragment (recto = <i>Agmina milicie</i> (532)?)	motet?	polyphonic; <i>b-flat</i> in signature
<b>Gathering x</b>			
Folio	Title	Genre	Notes
1r–1v	<i>Maiestate sacrosancti</i>	sequence (frag.)	begins “...-ni ornant”
1v–3r	<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	sequence	
3r–4r	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>	sequence	
4r–4v	<i>Per eundem tempus</i>	sequence (frag.)	ends “Hic inventum...”
<b>Gathering y</b>			
Folio	Title	Genre	Notes
5r	<i>Regis decus</i> <b>or</b> <i>Mandatorum denarius</i>	2v conductus (frag.)	strophic conductus begins with the final cauda on “caritas”; only source with final strophe
5r–5v	<i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216)	1v motet duplum	
5v	<i>Eximia mater</i> (101)	1v motet duplum	strophic
5v	<i>Homo quam sit pura</i> (231)	1v motet duplum (frag.)	ends “prosura verbum...”
6r–6v	<i>O quam sancta</i> (317) / [ <i>Et</i> <i>gaudebit</i> ] [M24]	3v conductus motet (frag.)	begins “...urla redemptoris”; ends “es ad-...”
<b>Gathering z</b>			
Folio	Title	Genre	Notes
7r–7v	<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i>	1v conductus (frag.)	only source with multiple strophes; begins “...in caudis”
7v–10v	<i>In veritate comperi</i> (451) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37]	3v conductus motet	
10v–14r	<i>O Maria virginei</i>	3v conductus	
14r–15v	<i>O Maria maris stella</i> (448) / [ <i>Veritatem</i> ] [M37]	3v conductus motet	
15v–16r	<i>Gedeonis area</i>	3v conductus	strophic
16v–17r	<i>De rupta rupecula</i>	3v conductus	strophic
17v–18r	<i>Pictavorum idolum</i>	3v conductus	strophic
18r	<i>Terra Bachi Francia</i>	3v conductus (frag.)	ends “...aquosa quid”

Table 1.7: Contents

collection of conductus and motets all for three voices, seven in total, as well as a single monophonic conductus. The small fragment is the only unidentified music in the collection. It contains two short phrases, one on either side, from one or two pieces.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Only the “recto” side of the fragment (the side not glued down) contains enough music for possible identification. On a staff with a *b-flat* signature the phrase consists of nine pitches plus a plica on the antepenultimate note: *f–d–e–c–f–g–f(e)–d–c*. The only other clues to the identity of this phrase are the lack of text beneath the staff and the very top of the staff below with what appears to be the top of a *b-flat* signature and first note of *f*. I have found only one close correspondence in the phrase *nule chose n’est portrai te com* from the triplum *Quant froidure* (535) of the



The collection of music in **Ch** is unusual for a variety of reasons. The sequences of gathering *x* are either remarkably uncommon or *unica* with the exception of *Maiestati sacrosancte*, which only gained popularity in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, significantly later than the time of the manuscript's creation. Of the seven conductus, five include residual strophes absent in contemporary sources. *De rupta rupecula*, which **F** presents as a strophic, through-composed conductus, **Ch** divides into three different conductus (*De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum*, and *Terra Bachi Francia*) each supplied with an additional strophe lacking in **F**.<sup>44</sup> Might the manuscript have presented the fragmentary *Regis decus et regine* in a similar fashion? As with *De rupta rupecula*, **F**, the only other musical source, presents the piece as a strophic, through-composed conductus. The late textual source Prague Castle Archive, Metropolitan Chapter Library, N VIII (**Praha**) provides a "second" strophe matching the first in poetic form, but only **Ch** contains a fourth. These four strophes, divided in two by the poetry and therefore musical setting, suggest a similar division into two separate conductus, *Regis decus et regine* and *Mandatorum denarius*, as seen with *De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum*, and *Terra Bachi Francia*. Two of the monophonic pieces, *Dogmatum falsas species* and the motet duplum *Eximia mater*, also have additional strophes unique to **Ch**, an additional nine strophes plus refrains in *Dogmatum falsas species*, and a single strophe in *Eximia mater*. It is also possible

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triple motet on *Agmina milicie* (352) in **CI**. The only differences are the final pitch, which in the French motet is an *e*, and a lack of *b-flat* signature. *Quant froidure* also occurs in **W2** as a conductus-motet. In **W2** the second half of this phrase differs from **CI**, matching more closely the music of the Latin conductus-motet *Agmina milicie*. Despite the different text in **CI** and the different phrase ending, the **Ch** fragment fits rhythmically and harmonically with the corresponding phrase of *Agmina milicie*. That **Ch** could have a conductus-motet version of *Agmina milice* with a similar yet unique triplum is not impossible. In fact, that is exactly the case with the **Ch** version of *In veritate comperi* (451).

<sup>44</sup> Though *Terra Bachi Francia* is fragmentary, it seems likely that it also included a second strophe.

that the fragmentary motet duplum *Homo quam sit pura* appeared with additional strophes as it does in Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, XIV L 3 (**Sab**).<sup>45</sup>

While neither strophic nor tenorless motets are especially uncommon, one unusual characteristic of the **Ch** motets is their notation in score. Each of the polyphonic motets in **Ch** is a conductus-motet, that is a motet in which two upper voices sing the same text homorhythmically. Typically, the format for conductus-motets places the two upper parts in score above their text, like a conductus, followed by an individually notated tenor. **Ch**, on the other hand, places all three voices together above the text with the tenor divided into groups based on tenor pattern (e.g., 3 li | 2 si |).<sup>46</sup> This uneconomical method of notation occurs elsewhere exclusively for sections of organum purum, and, perhaps as a result, for some polyphonic versions of organum prosulae. Two organum prosulae attributed to Philip the Chancellor, *De Stephani roseo* and *Adesse festina*, appear in score at the beginning of **Ma**.<sup>47</sup> Two other organum prosulae, *Beatis nos adhibe* (761) / *Benedicamus domino*, in **F**, and *Veni doctor previe* (359) / *Veni sancte spiritus* [M27], in **F** and London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (**LoA**), are notated in their respective sources with the text written between the motetus and tenor.

Unlike the score format employed in **Ma**, this alternative allows for the simultaneous texting of

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<sup>45</sup> Heinrich Husmann, “Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominkanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3),” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1967): 1–23.

<sup>46</sup> 3 li | 2 si | is shorthand for ternary ligature, stroke, two individual notes, stroke. This shorthand was introduced by Ludwig in his “Exkurs II” in Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1/1, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, ed. Luther A. Dittmer (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), 42–57.

<sup>47</sup> Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing presumably this would also be the case for Philip’s two other prosulae that probably preceded them, *Vide prophecie* and *Homo cum mandato*. Several surviving examples of the organum prosulae are monophonic with no tenor designation. An unusual layout occurs in Stry Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, Muz 9 where the tenor appears in the folio margins. On the Stry Sącz manuscript see Katarzyna Grochowska, “Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stry Sącz Manuscript [PL-SS MUZ 9] and its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-Century Polyphonic Collections” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013).

both upper voices and tenor, hardly a necessity for motets set to tenors of one or two syllables.<sup>48</sup> While these examples are similar, only **LoA** and fragment XVIII of Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68 (**Worc**) preserve conductus-motets with rhythmic tenors (such as those in **Ch**) written in score.<sup>49</sup> Like **Ch**, the two motets in **LoA** appear amongst a collection of three-voice pieces in mixed genres including conductus and organum. Unlike **Ch**, the collection appears clearly organized according to the methods typical of the large Notre-Dame sources, i.e., by genre and number of voices. **LoA** begins with the four-voice organum *Viderunt omnes*, followed by three-voice organa and prosula, three-voice conductus, and finally motets.<sup>50</sup> The **Worc** fragment preserves its single conductus-motet, *Ex semine Abrahe* (483) / [*Ex semine*] [M38], within its parent three-voice organum. Both of these examples stand in sharp contrast to **Ch** whose organization, especially in gatherings *y* and *z*, appears almost chaotic.

Since Hourlier and Chailley's early work on **Ch**, scholars have accepted the fragments as remnants of a large collection of Notre-Dame polyphony comparable in size to that of **F**. As this discussion of the collection's contents indicate, however, the surviving fragments defy the stereotypical form and organization of other large contemporary collections with similar repertoire. First of all, as just noted, not only do motets and conductus intermingle, the number of notated voice parts varies significantly within a gathering. This deliberately contradicts the clear

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<sup>48</sup> In addition to these two contemporary examples, a fourteenth-century manuscript, Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, Cod. 457, contains the unique organum prosula *Vidit rex omnipotens* (1) / *Viderunt omnes* [M1] also written in score. Reaney notes that the "T[enor] text [is] placed beneath the upper voice, because [the] Mot[etus] text [is] under [the] lower voice." Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320–1400)*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, Series B, Vol. 4/2 (Munich-Duisburg: Henle, 1969), 334. This is an interesting inversion of the method used in **F** and **LoA**. Perhaps it is the inability to text the tenor that accounts for the nearly complete lack of tenor pitches in the **Ma** versions of the prosulae.

<sup>49</sup> On **LoA** see Mark Everist, *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79–94v)* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1988). On **Worc** see Luther A. Dittmer, *Worcester Add. 68, Westminster Abbey 33327, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 192* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), and Fred Büttner, *Klang und Konstruktion in der englischen Mehrstimmigkeit des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1990), 186–284.

<sup>50</sup> Only the final piece, the incomplete, three-voice organum *Gaude Maria* (O5) breaks the pattern.

delineation of fascicles by genre and number of voices evident, for example, in **F** and **W2**. Second, another significant organizational method in these large collections, liturgical order, also appears to play no part in **Ch**. While the two motets in gathering *z* employ the same tenor, the four motets of gathering *y* alternate M14, M9, M14, and M24. While the M9 motet may be an aberration obscuring liturgical order, the intermingling of genres—conductus and motet—seems to negate any obvious concern with liturgical ordering. Finally, no other large collection contains liturgical sequences presented in the fashion preserved in **Ch**. In this small gathering as well, the pieces are notated and organized in an atypical way. Rather than in double columns and/or in liturgical order as witnessed in numerous graduals and missals,<sup>51</sup> the sequences in **Ch** appear to be organized alphabetically (see section 2.8 below). Though alphabetical ordering does occur, for instance in two motet fascicles of **W2**, it is uncommon. Everist considers **W2**'s alphabetical ordering an indication of the manuscript's position as a transitional collection of polyphonic music.<sup>52</sup> If alphabetical ordering, in fact, indicates a later organizational method, then that could argue against the early mid-century dating of **Ch** suggested by the pen-flourishing. In fact, in the following sections I will consider some evidence that suggests not only a slightly later date for the fragments, but also an entirely different size and function.

### 1.11.1 Another Collection by Philip the Chancellor?

Recent decades have witnessed a growing trend to identify collections of text/music with the early thirteenth-century chancellor of Paris, Philip. David Traill, in the early 2000s, first analyzed the large collection of conductus in the tenth fascicle of **F** in terms of Philip's poetic style. Out of a total of eighty-three poems in the fascicle, Traill raised the number of poems

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<sup>51</sup> See, for instance, Paris, BnF, lat. 1112 and Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-876.

<sup>52</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 98.

attributed to Philip from sixty-eight to seventy-nine.<sup>53</sup> Shortly thereafter he applied the same approach to a smaller collection of poems in the **Carmina Burana**, arguing that Philip's long career as a poet, from approximately 1181 to 1236, would account for the lack of typical Chancellorian characteristics in some of the poems.<sup>54</sup> While Traill does not dismiss the inclusion of non-Philip texts within these two collections, he points out that collections of poetry often grouped poems according to author.<sup>55</sup> More recently, Katarzyna Grochowska's 2013 Chicago dissertation on the Sary Sącz manuscript, Sary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, Muz 9, argued that the third fascicle of this fragmentary manuscript containing motets and what she calls "motetish" works, also represents a collection of works by Philip the Chancellor.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, I would like to suggest that gatherings *y* and *z* of **Ch** contain a group of pieces either by or believed to be by Philip the Chancellor.<sup>57</sup>

Of the ten pieces in gatherings *y* and *z*—for the purpose of my argument here I consider the final three conductus in gathering *z* as a single piece (as they appear in **F**)—seven are accepted texts by Philip the Chancellor.<sup>58</sup> These include the three conductus *Regis decus et regine*, *Dogmatum falsas*, *O Maria virginei*, and *Gedeonis area*, as well as the motets *Nostrum est impletum*, *Homo quam sit pura*, and *In veritate comperi*. Of these seven pieces, five, or fifty percent of the total ten, have medieval attributions to Philip. The majority of these attributions

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<sup>53</sup> David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia Mediolatina* 10 (2003): 219–48.

<sup>54</sup> David A. Traill, "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21–36," *Studi Medievali* Ser. 3, 47, no. 1 (2006): 267–85.

<sup>55</sup> The obvious examples among music collections in the thirteenth century are the manuscripts containing the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères. Traill, "A Cluster of Poems," 268.

<sup>56</sup> Grochowska, "Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles," 404–11.

<sup>57</sup> Grochowska also posits, following Gordon Anderson and Thomas Payne, that Philip composed both text and music for certain of his "clausula-less" motets. Her argument stems from the correspondence between the text and musical structure of the pieces in question. Grochowska, "Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles," 411–12.

<sup>58</sup> If the small, triangular fragment is accepted as an unicum triplum for the motet *Agmina milicie* (see footnote 43 above) then the number of medieval attributions to Philip would increase to six. It appears in both **Praha** and **LoB** as well as in Henri d'Andeli's *Dit du Chancelier Philippe*.

come either from the manuscript **Praha** or **LoB**, both with collections specifically assigned to the chancellor. These include *Regis decus et regine*, *Gedeonis area*, *O Maria virginei*, and *In veritate comperi*. Only *Homo quam sit pura* is absent from these sources and instead its attribution to Philip appears in the late-thirteenth-century *Chronicle* by the Franciscan friar Salimbene.<sup>59</sup>

Of the three remaining pieces, *Nostrum est impletum*, *Dogmatum falsas*, and *Eximia mater*, the first two have a long history of modern attribution. Payne, following Peter Dronke and Gordon Anderson, accepted *Nostrum est impletum* as part of Philip's oeuvre. Dronke also assigned *Dogmatum falsas* to the chancellor's repertory. The piece includes a refrain which contains text directly related to Philip's motet *In veritate comperi*. According to Traill it also employs the word *contagium*, a word seen almost exclusively in Philip's works.<sup>60</sup> The final piece, the motet *Eximia mater* (or *Et illumina eximia mater*) is the most problematic. Payne considered the motet a possible Chancellorian work because of certain characteristics it shares with other motets by Philip, including its relationship to a three-voice clausula and its strophic form. Ultimately, however, Payne rejected the attribution because of the iambic nature of both the poem and the clausula (characteristics he felt suggested a later version of an originally trochaic piece) and the style of the Marian text.<sup>61</sup> The piece also appears in the *Sary Sącz* manuscript, however, and therefore I include it among the modern attributions to Philip.

Of the three remaining pieces two are also Marian motets, but with more direct links to Philip's oeuvre than *Eximia mater*. *O quam sancta quam benigna* shares the same music with

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<sup>59</sup> Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:247. Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011), 63.

<sup>60</sup> Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10," 237.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 2:379–85.

*Velut stelle firmamenti* which Payne attributes to Philip based on textual characteristics. Payne supports his attribution with Dronke's attribution of the triplum text of the same motet, *Ypocrite pseudopontifices*, to Philip and Heinrich Husmann's assignment of the music to Perotin.<sup>62</sup> While I am not suggesting that this implies that *O quam sancta* must also be by Philip, I believe this could have linked the motet in the mind of the compiler to works by the Chancellor. Similarly, even though the text of *O Maria maris stella* epitomizes the sort of vapid appellations to the Virgin that are apparent in many Marian texts, and thus remains distinct from the poetry associated with Philip, the entire tenor of this motet, with its idiosyncratic musical repetitions, is employed as the tenor of Philip's *In veritate comperi*. Because this suggests that *O Maria maris stella* predates *In veritate comperi* (see section 3.5.3 below), it is possible that the poetry may reflect a style more in keeping with Philip's youth, as Traill suggests.<sup>63</sup> Or, again, the similarities in tenor may have been enough to link the work to Philip.

The only piece that does not easily conform to Philip's body of works is the conductus (or three conductus) *De rupta rupecula*. Several characteristics, not least the emphasis on the fleshly delights of drinking, argue against Philip's authorship. There are no examples of words commonly associated with the Chancellor's poems.<sup>64</sup> Despite the topic of Louis VIII's military conquests, the imagery lacks any sense of violence, and there is no typical moralizing address to humankind.<sup>65</sup> There is some use of assonance and alliteration, but these hardly warrant an attribution to Philip. Nevertheless, the fact that every other piece in these two gatherings may be

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<sup>62</sup> Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 165–66.

<sup>63</sup> Traill, "A Cluster of Poems," 285.

<sup>64</sup> Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10," 232. The poem does employ classical allusions, however, which is another hallmark of Philip's poetic style. See section 2.9 below.

<sup>65</sup> Philip's moralizing frequently occurs at the end of a poem. For instance, the final strophe of *Regis decus et regine*, unique to **Ch**, changes the tone of the entire poem from one of celebrations of virtue to condemnations of hypocrisy. Since the final strophe of *Terra Bachi Francia* is lacking in **Ch**, the presence of such a moralizing conclusion, and hence a clear link to Philip, can only be supposed.

related to Philip's oeuvre in one way or another suggests that this piece may have some link to the Chancellor as well, at least in the mind of the compiler. He was certainly recognized in the Middle Ages as the author of a conductus for Louis VIII's coronation in 1223 (see Table 1.8).<sup>66</sup>

Text	Genre	Medieval/Modern	Source(s)/Notes
<i>Regis decus et regine</i>	conductus	Medieval	<b>Praha</b>
<i>Nostrum est impletum</i>	motet	Modern	Dronke, Anderson, Payne
<i>Eximia mater</i>	motet	Modern	<b>Stary Sącz</b>
<i>Homo quam sit pura</i>	motet	Medieval	Salimbene <i>Chronica</i>
<i>O quam sancta</i>	motet	none	Music of Philip's <i>Velut stelle firmamenti</i>
<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i>	conductus	Modern	Anderson, Payne, Traill
<i>In veritate comperi</i>	motet	Medieval	<b>LoB</b>
<i>O Maria virginei</i>	motet	Medieval	<b>Praha, LoB</b>
<i>O Maria maris stella</i>	motet	none	tenor of <i>In veritate comperi</i>
<i>Gedeonis area</i>	conductus	Medieval	<b>Praha</b>
<i>De rupta rupecula</i>	conductus	none	

Table 1.8: Medieval and Modern Attributions to Philip in **Ch** Gatherings y and z

For the moment, I have passed over the question of authorship as regards the sequences. This is for two reasons. First, there are only a few liturgical sequences that are attributed to Philip, and therefore stylistic comparisons between works in the same genre are more difficult. Second, two of the sequences, *Per eundem tempus* and *Maiestati sacrosancte*, have texts which are decidedly non-Parisian and may predate Philip's literary output. I will return to this question in more detail in Chapter Two (see section 2.9 below).

### 1.12 Date

I have already touched briefly on the dating of the manuscript based on certain characteristics of the extant pen-flourishing, first assigned to the early 1240s by Mark Everist. In this section I will consider two additional pieces of evidence that may provide more possible

<sup>66</sup> The conductus is *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit*. It is also possible that the inclusion of the conductus stems from coincidence of topic: Moses and the rock features prominently in this poem but also briefly in the preceding one, *Gedeonis area*, which is attributed to the Chancellor in **Praha**. I discuss the issue of organization in **Ch** in section 3.2 below.



clues for the manuscript's dating: the conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* and a second manuscript fragment from Châlons-en-Champagne written by the same scribe.

The use of textual evidence to provide dates for music and manuscripts has had a long, and perhaps sordid, history in scholarship.<sup>67</sup> While such a method cannot provide a date before which a manuscript was produced (*terminus ante quem*), it can identify a date after which a collection was compiled (*terminus a quo*). In their initial analysis of **Ch**, Hourlier and Chailley established a *terminus a quo* around 1224 based on the textual references in the three concluding conductus in gathering z, *De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum*, and *Terra Bachi Francia*.<sup>68</sup> The five surviving strophes of these conductus, the first, third and fifth of which appear as a single conductus in **F**, describe Louis VIII and his military exploits. *De rupta rupecula* and *Terra Bachi Francia* juxtapose the water-giving rock of Moses with a wine-giving rock opened by the *gladio Ludovici* (sword of Louis). In the former, wine, and accordingly Louis and France, surpass water—Moses received water out of his rock, but Louis (not unlike Christ) transformed a water-laden rock into one filled with wine—but water's allusion is unclear. The latter clarifies the distinction between water and wine, directly linking France to Bacchus and wine, and England to Moses, water, and beer.<sup>69</sup>

Though not explicitly stated by either Hourlier or Chailley, the “période aiguë de la tension franco-anglaise”<sup>70</sup> intensified more than a decade before Louis VIII's ascension to the

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<sup>67</sup> It is apparently the problems with this manner of dating that prompted Mark Everist's dissertation. Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 37.

<sup>68</sup> Chailley, “Fragments,” 142; Hourlier and Chailley, “Cantionale Cathalaunense,” 150.

<sup>69</sup> The specific choice to mark Moses (the only overtly Biblical figure in these conductus) as the negative counterpart to France and Louis may appear counterintuitive. However, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed an increasing hatred toward the Jewish people in France and especially in Paris. Both Philip Augustus and Louis VIII legislated to control the Jews and their financial powers. It seems a fair assumption that Moses in this context marks the negative Jewish connotation. On Louis's relationship with the French Jews see Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 69–70.

<sup>70</sup> Chailley, “Fragments,” 142.

throne in 1223. Between 1214 and 1217 Louis fought against the English, repelling King John in Normandy and later defeating his forces in England after being proclaimed king in London by John's rebellious barons in 1215. He accepted the position despite the express disapproval both of his father, king Philip Augustus, and the pope. Evidently, the initial foray into England remained in the collective French memory for the rest of the century. An account of the events derived from the late thirteenth-century *Roman du Hem* by the trouvère Sarrasin describes the soldiers causing great mischief because they were forced to drink English beer instead of French wine.<sup>71</sup> After John's death in 1216, many of Louis' English supporters changed their minds and by early autumn 1217 Louis was back in France for good.<sup>72</sup> But Louis's return did not herald the end of his conflict with the English. During the early part of his four-year reign (1223–26), Louis VIII used an army raised to fight the Cathar heresy in the south to forcibly take possession from English stewardship of the western duchy of Poitou, which he believed belonged to him by rights.<sup>73</sup> It is on the subject of this campaign between June and August of 1224 that the three conductus treat. *Pictavorum idolum* describes the conflict with the Poitevins in religious terms. The heretics of Poitou fear the newly crowned king of France, and the strategically significant and powerful port city of La Rochelle (the *rupecula* of the first conductus) is ultimately surrendered by its seneschal, the lord and troubadour Savaric de Mauléon. Whether or not the conductus were written directly following the surrender of La Rochelle, the fact that the pieces allude to it proves that **Ch** could not have been produced before the second quarter of the

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<sup>71</sup> Francisque Michel, ed., *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1840), 161. For a modern edition of the *roman* see Sarrasin, *Le roman du Hem*, ed. Albert Henry (Brussels: Éditions de la Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1939).

<sup>72</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 51–57.

<sup>73</sup> Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France 1180–1223* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 335. H. J. Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon: Baron and Troubadour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 48–49.

thirteenth century. More recent scholarship on the conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* helps narrow this date even further.

### 1.12.1 *Dogmatum falsas species*

Philip's conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* provides additional information on the dating of **Ch**. One of only two extant versions of the refrain-song, **Ch** transmits nine strophes plus the single strophe and refrain contained in **F**, all of which address the issue of heresy.<sup>74</sup> In a 2006 article, David Traill examined the poem at length noting similarities between the language employed by Philip and that witnessed in papal bulls addressing the issue of heresy and heretics, including metaphors involving snakes and their associated venom and biting, cancer, as well as frogs and textile workers (see Table 1.9).<sup>75</sup> More significantly, however, Traill points out that certain references within the poem, specifically flying witches (strophe 9) and the punishment of imprisonment (strophe 10), refer to events directly related to the Inquisition's work in northern France in 1236 and therefore to Philip's direct involvement.<sup>76</sup>

The issue of heresy was of considerable concern in the early thirteenth century, but with the appointment of Pope Gregory IX in 1227 the active persecution of heretics received additional impetus.<sup>77</sup> Unsatisfied with the work of individual bishops and archbishops, Gregory appointed the Dominican friar Robert le Bougre as the Inquisitor General of France in 1234, and soon after, with the support of the archbishop, Robert went to work in the archdiocese of Reims. One of his early stops in 1236 was to the city of Châlons-sur-Marne where the Châlons monk Aubry de Trois-Fontaines records: *In civitate Cathalaunensi presente fratre Roberto et*

<sup>74</sup> Strophe 6 is missing approximately two verses.

<sup>75</sup> Text and translation adapted from Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition," 245–47.

<sup>76</sup> David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition in Northern France, 1235–1236." *Viator* 37 (2006): 241–54, at 247–49.

<sup>77</sup> The following relies on the discussion of Traill, who in turn bases much of his work on Charles Haskins, "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France," in *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 193–244.

<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i>	Translation
<p>1. Dogmatum falsas species  profana novitate  vulpes Samsonis ganniunt,  deserta veritate.  Sub pretextu decipiunt  virtutis simulate,  quarum diverse facies  sed caude colligate.</p> <p>Refrain: Tui status excidium,  Syon, flere non cesses.  Ignis in caudis vulpium  tuas combussit messes.</p>	<p>Samson's foxes yelp out  their false doctrines  of impious novelty.  Truth lies abandoned.  Under the guise of simulated virtue  they ply their deception.  Their faces differ  but their tails are tied together.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion,  for your fallen status.  The fire in the foxes' tails  has burned your crops.</p>
<p>2. Sub vestimentis ovium  latent lupi rapaces,  quorum cancer eloquium,  venenosi, mordaces,  quibus prestant presidium  hypocrite mendaces.  Hi consummant incendium  illi ministrant faces.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Under sheep's clothing  lurk ravening wolves,  venomous and keen to bite,  their eloquence a cancer.  Lying hypocrites  offer them protection.  The hypocrites heap up the fire,  while they apply the torches.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>3. Captivas ducunt simplices,  dum domos viduarum  penetrant mente duplices  predones animarum.  Littere radunt cortices,  non favos scripturarum.  Mortis propinant calices  erroris fel amarum.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Men who prey on souls  make their way with guile  into the homes of widows  and ensnare the simple.  Scraping at the Letter's outer bark—  not the honeyed core of Scripture—  they offer draughts of death,  the bitter gall of error.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>4. Cur dormitis, pontifices?  Cur estis canes muti?  Vulpes sunt inter frutices  nec estis persecuti,  vere colantes culices  camelis involuti,  infructuose salices,  non vacantes saluti.</p> <p>Ref : Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Why do you sleep, bishops?  Why are you the dogs that fail to bark?  Foxes stalk the orchard;  you have not chased them.  With camels all around you,  you're straining off midges.  You are the willows that bear no fruit,  too busy to save men's souls!</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>5. Ecce de fumo putei  exierunt locuste,  vulpes nocive fidei  per quas messes combuste.  Seducte sunt in abditis  mentes culpīs onuste,  que peccatorum meritis  falluntur non iniuste.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Behold! From the smoke of the pit  the locusts have come forth,  the foxes, harmful to our faith,  by whom our crops are burned.  Minds weighed down with guilt  are led astray in secret places.  Their sins make their deception  not unmerited.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>

Table 1.9: *Dogmatum falsas species* Text and Translation

<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i>	Translation
<p>6. Suavis panis absconctus, dulces aque furtive, vite... ..... foris honestus habitus, mentes intus captive, quorum finis interitus inferorum convive.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Bread won by stealth tastes good, and stolen waters are sweet. ..... ..... Outwardly, with honest faces, their hearts within are held in thrall. Their end is death— boon companions of those in hell.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>7. Ecce furnos Egypti intrans Egypti rane, pascunt Egypti filios novi fermenti pane. Panem vite reiciunt, panem doctrine sane, erroribus consentiunt novitatis profane.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Behold the frogs of Egypt entering Egyptian ovens and feeding the sons of Egypt bread of a strange, new leaven. They spurn the bread of life— the bread of doctrine— and give assent to heresies of impious novelty.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>8. Demoliuntur vineam, caudis messes incendunt dum torcular et aream. Nullam dare contendunt sacramento materiam; sic sancti vilipendunt altaris eucharistiam nec virtutem attendunt.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>They destroy the vineyard. With their tails they set the crops, wine-press, and threshing-floor ablaze. Striving to give no meaning to the sacrament, they slander the Eucharist of the holy altar and give its power no heed.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>9. Quasi liciatorium fuit hasta Golie, designans quod texentium sit error huius vie. Ex his sunt qui non sentiunt de sacramentis pie. In occultis conveniunt; nocte volant non die.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>Goliath's spear was like a weaver's beam, implying that along this path weavers tend to go astray. Some there are who hold the sacraments in no respect. The meet in secret and fly by night, not by day.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>
<p>10. Ignis in caudis vulpium finem horum figurat, name combustores messium dignum ut ignis urat. Qui repetit contagium erroris quem abiurat, digne sit cibus ignium. Quosdam error immurat.</p> <p>Ref: Tui status excidium...</p>	<p>The fire in foxes' tails foretells the doom of heretics, for those who burn the harvests should be consumed by fire. Whoever reverts to the plague of heresy forsworn should rightly be fed to flames. Others their heresy immures.</p> <p>Ref: Cease not to weep, Sion...</p>

Table 1.9: *Dogmatum falsas species* Text and Translation, cont.

*cancellario Parieniensi magistro Philippo combusti fuerunt heretici. Horum unus Arnolinus tonsor, totus demoni deditus et ultra modum fetidus, multos in civitate decipiebat.* (In the city of Châlons-sur-Marne, in the presence of brother Robert and master Philip, chancellor of Paris, heretics were burnt. Of those, one Arnolinus the cloth-shearer, completely devoted to the Devil and stinking terribly, deceived many in the city.)<sup>78</sup> Not only does this demonstrate that Philip was intimately and actively involved with the work of the French inquisitors and their battle against heresy, it also provides a link between Philip and the city of Châlons. Of course, this link is not random. His cousin, Philip of Namours, whom the Chancellor had attempted to have elected the bishop of Paris ten years earlier, instead now headed the diocese of Châlons. Therefore, Philip's presence was perhaps not unusual.

Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence that Philip continued with friar Robert into other regions of the Reims archdiocese where the Dominican conducted trials in Péronne (in the diocese of Noyon),<sup>79</sup> Douai, and Cambrai. However, the last of these locations is significant since it is in Cambrai that records indicate the presence of a witch and the imprisonment of eighteen heretics, two events that appear in the conductus text. Traill notes that these events (the presence of witches and the imprisonment of heretics) were uncommon and therefore the probability that Philip encountered them in general discussions of heresy or papal bulls is low.<sup>80</sup> It therefore appears plausible that Philip was part of Robert's entourage when these activities occurred and their presence in the conductus text directly reflect his experiences in the North in 1236. It also implies that the manuscript's *terminus a quo* must be moved up from 1224 to the

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<sup>78</sup> Aubry de Trois-Fontaines, "*Chronica*," ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahnian, 1874), 937, accessed 20 February 2018, <http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/goToPage/bsb00000886.html?pageNo=937&sortIndex=010%3A050%3A0023%3A010%3A00%3A00>.

<sup>79</sup> Like Châlons, Philip had a direct link to Noyon where he was an archdeacon.

<sup>80</sup> Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition," 251.

year of the Chancellor's death. In Chapter Two (see section 2.5.1 below) I will provide additional evidence based on the sequence *Paule doctor gentium* for this later *terminus a quo*.

Chapter Two also addresses the question of **Ch**'s provenance, however it is worth noting again the link between the north and this manuscript. Unlike Everist, Traill willingly accepts Hourlier's assignment of the manuscript to Marchiennes, since it explains the presence of the manuscript fragments in the departmental archives of Châlons-en-Champagne: both are in the province of Reims. A northern provenance makes additional sense in relation to the text of *Dogmatum falsas species*, a conductus warning of the evils of heresy specifically in that region. In the following section I provide evidence of another connection to the north in the form of a second surviving fragment that may have formed a part of the original manuscript from which **Ch** derived.

### 1.13 Another **Ch** Fragment: Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*

The *Inventaire sommaire de fragments de manuscrits et d'imprimés conservés aux Archives de la Marne* describes fragment **3.J.139** summarily with a six-line description: six bifolia excerpted from a thirteenth-century manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, reused in the seventeenth-century as the cover for records of some kind (*Registre du...*).<sup>81</sup> I was initially drawn to the Gautier fragment because of the similarity of folio and text block dimensions, description of alternating red and blue initials, and thirteenth-century date. The significance of this fragment derives primarily, though not exclusively, however, from its scribe who, I believe, also wrote the text for **Ch** (see Table 1.10). All the unusual textual characteristics which are the hallmark of **Ch**—the rounded shapes of minims and bows, the small ascender above the horizontal cross of the *t*, the small, lower-lefthand loops in a number of the *litterae*

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<sup>81</sup> Gandilhon and Hourlier, *Inventaire sommaire*, 26.

Letter	Ch	3 J 139	Ch	3 J 139	Ch	3 J 139	Ch	3 J 139
A a								
B b								
C c								
D d								
E e								
F f								
G g								
H h								

Table 1.10: Comparison of Letters in Ch and 3.J.139



Letter	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139
I/i j/j								
Kk								
Ll								
Mm								
Nn								
Oo								
Pp								
Qq								

Table 1.10: Comparison of Letters in Ch and 3.J.139, cont.

Letter	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139	Ch	3.J.139
R r										
S s										
T t										
U/V u/v										
X x										
Y y										
Z z										

Table 1.10: Comparison of Letters in Ch and 3.J.139, cont.

*notabiliores*, the capital *B* in the shape of a highly ornamented lowercase *b*, and the *h* with lower fishhook—all appear in **3.J.139**. While certain letter shapes in **Ch**, especially the ornate capitals, are absent in **3.J.139** there are enough points of similarity to conclude that the scribes of the two fragments are one and the same.

The fragment **3.J.139** consists of a single gathering of six bifolia (the same number of bifolia in **Ch** gathering *z*) that contain an excerpt from the Miracle of Ildefonsus, one of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (I Mir 12–13 v. 279–1924).<sup>82</sup> The parchment has a rough, scratchy quality to it and appears a darker hue than **Ch**, brown rather than yellow. The bifolia remain in remarkably good condition despite their reuse. Bifolia 1–12 and 2–11 have sustained the worst damage with a horizontal tear through their midsections (similar to bifolium 5–6 of **Ch**), which were later taped back together. Folio 1 lacks a large rectangular section in the lower outside corner, while fol. 11 is missing its bottom corner also on the outer edge. These sections were either excised before the bifolia were reused as a cover or after they were liberated from that function. Other minor damage includes a torn upper edge on most of the folios which suggests that the upper margins were larger than their present state. The dimensions of the folios are nearly identical to those of **Ch** and measure approximately 150 mm x 105 mm for the folio and 105 mm x 80 mm for the text block.<sup>83</sup> The measurements of **Ch**, as noted above, range from 140 mm to 151 mm for folio height, and 104 mm to 110 mm for width, with a text block between 110–20 mm x 70–75 mm.

The decorative initials and their flourishing, identical to **Ch** in terms of coloring, differ in many respects (see Figure 1.13). First of all, the initials are shaped slightly differently. This is

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<sup>82</sup> Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V. Frederic Koenig, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 16–78.

<sup>83</sup> This corresponds with the basic dimensions provided in the *Inventaire sommaire*, which only differed by folio height at 152 mm. Gandilhon and Hourlier, *Inventaire sommaire*, 26.



Ch, fol. 4r



3.J.139, fol. 7r



F, fol. 432v



lat. 8884, fol. 140v

Figure 1.13: Comparison of Initials and Pen-Flourishing in Ch, 3.J.139, F and lat. 8884

evident in the bodies of letters which are more angular in shaping the straight lines of the letters but more rounded in the thickened bows. The ornamental extensions are also generally straighter, avoiding to the same degree the upward and downward curl with terminating ball evident in **Ch**. Second, the flourishing, while exhibiting many of the same figures as **Ch**, includes several additions and alternatives. Unlike **Ch**, where the flourisher drew around the ornamental extensions of the initial, the flourisher of **3.J.139** frequently ignores them by painting directly over them. The scroll, the terminating figure in all ascenders, descenders and hairpins in **Ch**, is replaced in many instances with a squiggle or a small ball. The squiggle also occurs as an alternative to the *m* when attached to the scroll. These squiggle and ball figures occur in precisely the same manner in **lat. 8884** and **F**. The *m* + scroll figure appears occasionally in **3.J.139**, however, the “head” of the *m* always faces down, as usually occurs with this figure, rather than

inverted as in **Ch**. Perhaps the most significant difference, however, is the preponderance of ascenders which terminate in a closed hairpin. Patricia Stirnemann assigned the origin of this figure to the 1240s,<sup>84</sup> and perhaps as a result of its newness it appears only occasionally in **F** and **lat. 8884**.

The differences in pen-flourishing and the slightly larger horizontal dimensions of **3.J.139** might suggest the two fragments originated as separate manuscripts by the same scribe. Perhaps both were part of a collection of books, owned by a single individual, which travelled together to Châlons-sur-Marne. This is certainly a possibility. However, I believe it is also possible that the two fragments were part of the same manuscript. Several factors contribute to this belief. Not only do the fragments appear to have the same scribe, and similar measurements, they share the same gathering size of six bifolia. A comparison with Paris, BnF, fr. 22928,<sup>85</sup> a complete manuscript of Gautier's *Miracles de Notre Dame* with the same number of text lines per column (34) indicates that a comprehensive collection of the *Miracles* would require between twenty-seven and twenty-eight gatherings of six bifolia, therefore making a twenty-ninth gathering of conductus and motets (**Ch** gathering 2, with its gathering signature *xxix*) possible. Numerous sources of Gautier's *Miracles* include collections of music in both French and Latin.<sup>86</sup> There are also manuscripts that include small collections of music with shorter excerpts from the *Miracles*, such as **Cl**. It is therefore possible that **Ch** and the Miracle of Ildefonsus were just two

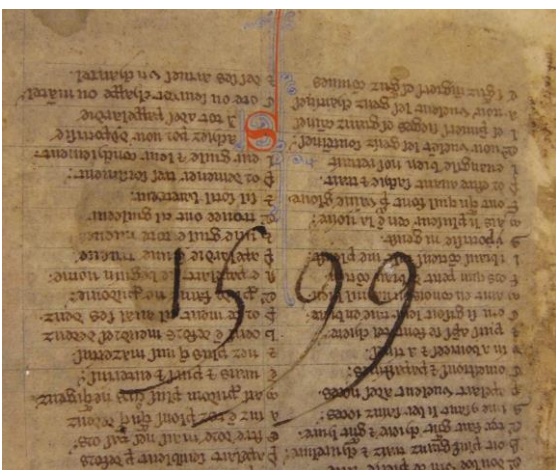
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<sup>84</sup> Patricia Stirnemann, "Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisiennes: 1140–1314," *Revue de l'Art* 90 (1990): 58–73, at 68.

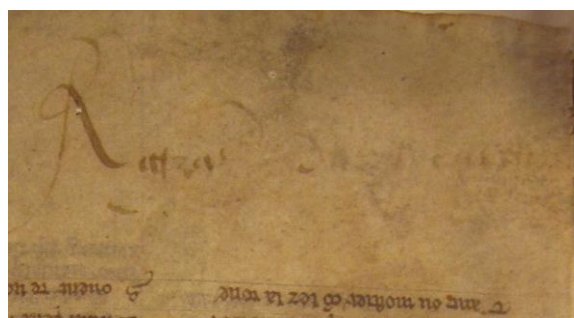
<sup>85</sup> This manuscript has been assigned to the Reims Province and dated to the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. Alison Stones, "Illustrated *Miracles de Notre Dame* Manuscripts Listed by Stylistic Attribution and Attributable Manuscripts Whose *MND* Selection is Unillustrated," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 373–96, at 373.

<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately, most of the work done on Gautier collections with music focus on those manuscripts which include pieces/contrafacts attributed to Gautier himself. A list of these manuscripts appears in Kathryn A. Duys, "Manuscripts that Preserve the Songs of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 367–68. The earlier discussion of these collections and pieces by Jacques Chailley, *Les chansons a la Vierge*, ed. Jacques Chailley (Paris: Heugel, 1959), is now out of date.

parts of a larger miscellany. Finally, both fragments were employed as covers for books with similar functions in consecutive years. All that survives from **3.J.139** to indicate this later use is the nearly indiscernible “Registre du...” in the bottom margin of fol. 6r and the date 1599 in the middle of fol. 9v (see Figure 1.14). While it is certainly possible that two books by the same scribe were dismantled to form the covers of adjacent alderman records for the years 1599 and 1600, it seems more probable that those covers came from the same manuscript.



3.J.139, fol. 9v



3.J.139, fol. 6r

Figure 1.14: **3.J.139** Inscriptions

The addition of this second Châlons fragment to the story of **Ch** provides extra evidence for the dating of the original manuscript to the 1240s or later. As noted above, the flourishing of **3.J.139** suggests a date contemporary with **Ch**. That the styles of the two fragments differ slightly matters little. Many manuscripts provide evidence of multiple flourishers. The *Miracles* themselves only support the date 1224 as a *terminus a quo*. The Miracle of Ildelfonsus, the excerpt which comprises **3.J.139**, went through two phases of composition. In the first phase, Gautier wrote a very short version of the poem with only 116 verses. After his church's reacquisition of the relics of St Leocadia, however, Gautier expanded the original poem between 1222 and 1224 to 2,356 lines with the purpose of describing in detail the relationship between

Ildefonsus and St Leocadia.<sup>87</sup> It is this longer version of the poem that survives in fragment **3.J.139**, therefore the manuscript could not have been composed before 1224 when Gautier finished the longer version of the Ildefonsus poem, a date corresponding to the events depicted in the conductus *De rupta rupecula* and *Pictavorem idolum*.

### 1.14 Ch's Origins

Although the textual and paleographical evidence provided by the analysis of **3.J.139** supports the date suggested by Everist for **Ch**, it does raise certain questions about the manuscript's origins. Everist's conclusions about **Ch**'s origins were based firstly on Hourlier and Chailley's original presumptions about the manuscript and subsequently supported by the flourishing of initials. Everist notes, "[T]he provenance of Ch is perhaps the most challenging since some elements in its repertory point to a non-Parisian origin. However, the few surviving minor initials in the set of fragments serve to confirm Hourlier's proposal that the decoration is Parisian."<sup>88</sup> In linking the flourishing to Paris, Everist relies on two points derived from comparison with two Parisian manuscripts, **F** and the Dominican missal **lat. 8884**. First, the infilling of many initials employs interlocking spirals<sup>89</sup> as witnessed in both manuscripts, and second, the flourishing employs similar components and they are combined in similar ways.<sup>90</sup> However, comparison with several manuscripts from outside of Paris demonstrates that both the type of infilling and the similarities of components are evident in a much larger area than just the French capital. The interlocking spirals, which creates an internal bulb, is evident, for instance, in

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<sup>87</sup> Tony Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes: The Writing of Gautier de Coinci* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007), 25. Masami Okubo, "La formation de la collection des *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci," *Romania* 123, nos. 3–4 (2005): 406–58, at 441–50.

<sup>88</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 147–48.

<sup>89</sup> I should note that while interlocking spirals are suggested by some of the flourishing in **3.J.139**, for instance within the *A* and the *L*, they do not occur in those letters where one would expect them based on a comparison with **Ch**, such as the *P*.

<sup>90</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 148.

a late-thirteenth-century breviary from Châlons (Paris, BnF, lat. 802),<sup>91</sup> while the double spiral figure without the terminating bulb appears in manuscripts of Gautier's *Miracles* from the north to the west. While a few other characteristics of **Ch**'s flourishing are evident in the Dominican example Everist chooses, such as the drawing around the initial's horizontal lines and the curving bulb immediately beneath the initial, the bulb + hairpin + scroll (+ *m*) combination, so prevalent in **Ch**, is virtually absent from this initial as well as other initials in **lat. 8884**. While **F** and other Parisian manuscripts of the period certainly do include this group of flourishes, again, manuscripts from outside of Paris show the same or quite similar components (see Figure 1.15). Though this evidence does not disprove that **Ch** came from Paris, it certainly allows for the possibility that it could have come from elsewhere, and perhaps even later than the 1240s.

The only other means of providing information on the origin of **Ch** comes from an analysis of the Gautier fragment in **3.J.139**. Whether or not the two Châlons fragments were initially intended to form separate parts of the same manuscript, two manuscripts by the same scribe would undoubtedly have originated in the same locale, later travelling together (if, in fact, they travelled at all) to Châlons. Unfortunately, **3.J.139** ultimately provides no more secure method of localizing **Ch**, however certain interesting points do arise. Alison Stones notes that the earliest manuscripts of Gautier's *Miracles de Notre Dame* originated in the archdiocese of Reims.<sup>92</sup> This follows from the fact that Gautier lived and worked his entire life (1177/8–1236) in the diocese of Soissons, a usage of Reims. Unfortunately, despite the abundance of manuscript

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<sup>91</sup> A colophon at the end of the manuscript indicates that scribe was associated with the church of St Nicasius in Châlons: *Scriptus est liber iste tempore quo venerabilis vir magister lambertus ecclesiam beati nichasu cathalaunensis regebat. A cuius crumena scriptor argentum fugabat. Unde ego scripto rogo vos omnis ut oretis pro eo.* Item 12181 in Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, vol. 4 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1976).

<sup>92</sup> Alison Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 65–98, at 90–91.





Ch, fol. 4r



lat. 8884, fol. 208v

Paris, BnF, lat. 802,  
fol. 10r (Châlons c.1275)Paris, BnF, fr.1530,  
fol. 96v (Soissons/  
Laon/Noyon c.1230s–  
40s)Paris, BnF, fr. 25532, fol.  
148r (Soissons/Laon/Noyon  
c.1260–70)Paris, BnF, fr. 2163, fol.  
181v (Morigny 1266)Paris, BnF, fr.19152,  
fol. 2v (Burgundy  
c.1260–70)Paris, BnF, fr. 12615,  
fol. 172r (Artois  
c.1270s–80s)

Figure 1.15: Comparison of Pen-Flourishing from Non-Parisian Manuscripts

sources, the fragmentary nature of **3.J.139** and the few securely (and comparably) dated and located manuscripts including the Ildefonsus miracle makes verification difficult. Stones's earliest source, Paris, BnF, fr. 1530 (**G**), dated to before 1250<sup>93</sup> and therefore possibly the closest chronologically to **3.J.139**, contains the original, short form of the Ildefonsus miracle and therefore cannot be textually compared with **3.J.139**. The ten manuscripts collated in Koenig's edition of the *Miracles*, however, do provide a means of contrasting **3.J.139** with the other, long versions of the miracle.<sup>94</sup>

Of the 1,634 Ildefonsus verses extant in **3.J.139** I noted between sixty and eighty variants from Koenig's urtext.<sup>95</sup> Of the sixty-two significant variants, fifteen are unique to **3.J.139** and include additional verses, a unique pen-flourished initial, omissions (some significant), and alternative words. Of the remaining forty-seven variants, the most correspondences occur between **3.J.139** and **M**, with twenty-three variants, then with **N** and **O**, with eighteen and seventeen variants respectively, and finally with the remaining manuscripts with thirteen or fewer shared variants (see Table 1.11). This breakdown does not provide an entirely accurate representation of the relationship between **3.J.139** and the ten other manuscripts, however. By comparing instead the total number of variants between **3.J.139** and the individual manuscripts we see that while the number of variants between **3.J.139** and **M** is still one of the fewest,

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<sup>93</sup> Stones suggests that the manuscript may date from "well before 1250" based on characteristics of the illuminations, but the flourishing appears to contradict a date too far before mid-century. Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context," 74.

<sup>94</sup> Koenig uses the late-thirteenth-century ms **L** (Paris, BnF, fr. 22928) as the base text and notes the variants in mss **A** (Blois, BM, 34), **B** (Brussels, BR, 10747), **D** (Paris, Ars, 3517–18), **E** (Paris, BnF, fr. 817), **F** (Paris, BnF, fr. 986), **M** (Paris, BnF, fr. 2163), **N** (Paris, BnF, fr. 25532), **O** (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1969), and **S** (Paris, BnF, n.a.fr. 24541). Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles*, 5–94. Where **L** differs from a majority of the other texts, however, **L** is listed as a variant.

<sup>95</sup> This vague number reflects uncertainty as regards spelling variants. Since certain spelling variants did not correspond with a variant catalogued by Koenig I chose to omit them from the table of variants.

Verse	Word/Phrase Variants	Correspondences
354	cist	DO (chist)
387	por	LEF
428	maintiennent	D
430	enmere	MN
475	ne	LBO
489	et (omission)	B
492	ont	MS
567	derres	EMO
610	moult	B (mout)
674	la	AMNOS
706	rendi	BN
716	werbles	D
744	granz	DMSO
754	si bel si bien	LEFN
782	ne (instead of) n'i	
786	et si	L
840	et (omission)	
881	biau (instead of) bel	
887	rendre	O
894	nou	L
899	enchardone	BDNS
975	robardel	LE
975	ne	AMO
999	quan	ANO
1033	achiere (instead of) la chiere	
1059	aprise	AEMNOS
1059	la bece (instead of) l'abc or abc	
1070	tuit	MNOS
1074	digne	BDEMO
1076a	Li arcien sovent l'espruevent	verse only in 3.J.139
1076b	Qui bien leur face ppetit truevent	verse only in 3.J.139
1077	q'un	M
1096	n'a	MO
1098	ce est	ABEFMNOS
1111	lues (instead of) leurs	
1146	si n'a	AO
1048	parage	M
1156	endementres	EMNOS
1184	sont plaines (instead of) sont tout plain	
1192	au	ABDEN
1233	hic a hec (instead of) hic a hic	
1263	ce	MN
1297	qu'il	M
1317	et	BDFM
1327	ne	ABDMO
1361	qu'aucuns	M
1363	grant semblant fait	M
1430	biau (instead of) bel or beles	
1537-50	omission	BDENO
1686	rueve	AF
1687	eneslepas	BEN
1780	lame	FM

Table 1.11: **3.J.139** Variants with Koenig's Base Text

Verse	Word/Phrase Variants	Correspondances
1785	mais (instead of) moissons or maisons	
1789	ne	N
1815	on (omission)	
1816	ne	AEFN
1831	en (instead of) a	
1838	granz	ADN
1863	moutes	AMN
1864	lius et (instead of) livres or lires	
1881	filigree letter	
1887	li	LB
1921	le	M

Table 1.11: **3.J.139** Variants with Koenig's Base Text, cont.

**3.J.139** is marginally more similar to **L** and **E** (see Table 1.12).<sup>96</sup>

MS	# of Variants with <b>3.J.139</b>
<b>L</b>	188
<b>E</b>	195
<b>M</b>	216
<b>F</b>	224
<b>N</b>	243
<b>B</b>	266
<b>D</b>	294
<b>S</b>	372
<b>A</b>	398
<b>O</b>	486

Table 1.12: Variants between Ildefonsus MSS and **3.J.139**

Both **L** and **E** are fairly late manuscripts, the former localized by Stones to the Soissons/Noyon/Laon region around 1300, and the latter to eastern France in 1465.<sup>97</sup> Alternatively, Anthonij Dees localized the language usage in **L** to the Marne region, specifically western Marne (Châlons, for perspective, is in central Marne).<sup>98</sup> Might this suggest a Marne origin for **3.J.139** as well? Not necessarily, since **M**, the next closest manuscript to **3.J.139** (and the manuscript with which it shares the most spelling traits) was copied at Morigny in the

<sup>96</sup> The variants between **3.J.139** and each individual ms (v) = [MS](# variants to base - # variants shared [in the same place but do not coincide] with **3.J.139** - # variants that coincide with **3.J.139**) + [**3.J.139**](# variants to base - # variants shared with MS - # variants that coincide with MS) + # variants that coincide. The numbers differ from those noted in Table 1.11 because those variants are based on Koenig's urtext (mostly based on **L**, but not when **L** diverges from most of the other manuscripts).

<sup>97</sup> Stones, "Illustrated *Miracles*," 373–76.

<sup>98</sup> Anthonij Dees, *Atlas des formes linguistiques des textes littéraires de l'ancien français* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), 526.

diocese of Orléans, but probably closely replicates a late version of the manuscript authorized by Gautier himself. A section of one of the concluding Epistles in the *Miracles* notes that Gautier intended his first copy to go to Robert of Dive in Noyon for illumination. An additional Latin rubric in **M** reiterates this instruction: *Incipit epistolam domini Galteri qui misit librum istum domine Roberti de Diva, priore sancti Blasii, postea abbate sancti Eligii Noviomentis* (Here begins the letter of Master Gautier who sent this book to Master Robert of Diva, prior of St. Blasius, later abbot of St. Eligius in Noyon).<sup>99</sup> This evidence indicates that by 1266, thirty years after Gautier's death, the *Miracles* had already travelled to the south of Paris and quite probably through the capital itself. On the other hand, of the two manuscripts associated with Paris (**B**, from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and **S**, from 1329), **B** is the sixth most similar with 266 variants and **S** is the eighth with 372. While this does not eliminate the possibility that **3.J.139** was copied in Paris, it indicates that if it was it probably derived from a version different from both **B** and **S**.

Another indication that **3.J.139** and **B** were copied from different sources is a large omission in the latter source which is only partially omitted in the former. Five of Koenig's ten sources, **BDENO**, lack verses 1385–1550, an insignificant difference within a miracle with over two thousand verses in total, but perhaps more meaningful considering the original form of the miracle was only 116 verses, fifty fewer than the omitted verses. These verses make up two complete subsections of the poem, as indicated by the use of a pen-flourished letter in many of the manuscripts for verses 1385, 1499 and 1551. The two sections appear to deal primarily with hypocrisy but the last seven verses address the people of Artois and Noyon. It is this final section

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<sup>99</sup> The section from the Epistle (II Epi 33, vv.98–108) reads: *Il m'est avis que bien l'avoï / Quant tout premier l'envoi a lui / Quar ne connois certes nului / Plus volentiers de lui ne lise / Me qui plus tost le contrescrive / Ne qui miex le sache atoutner / Flourir, ne paindre, n'aourner / Livres or tost, va t'en, va t'en, / Va a Noion, plus n'i aten. / Bien sai que jor et nuit la bee / Robert qui m'a mort robeë.* See Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context," 72–73.

together with the previous seven verses that are absent from **3.J.139**. This is an unusual difference. While I have been unable to view many of the other manuscripts with the long Ildefonsus miracle,<sup>100</sup> four of those, **H** (Paris, BnF, fr. 1533), **T** (Besançon, BM, ms. 551), **x** (Paris, BnF, fr. 15110), and **25** (Paris, BnF, fr. 19152), from Paris and southern regions,<sup>101</sup> also lack verses 1385-1550. This “shortened” version may represent a revision to the long version which Gautier later rejected. Masami Okubo has demonstrated that Gautier developed the *Miracles* through five different stages, only the last three of which included the long version of the Ildefonsus miracle. According to Okubo, the three final stages are reflected in manuscripts **LF**, **N**, and **M** respectively.<sup>102</sup> Since **N** is the only one of these four manuscripts lacking verses 1385–1550, either their absence reflects a deliberate choice by Gautier which he later regretted, or a copyist’s choice that was perpetuated. The latter certainly seems likely given that **3.J.139** omits only the last 14 verses. Perhaps scribes from certain locales disliked this material either because of its topic(s) or the specificity of the locales mentioned. Unfortunately, without a more thorough analysis of the differences among the various Ildefonsus miracles and their corresponding manuscripts it is impossible to identify a localized trend.

The lexical differences are also difficult to place with any certainty. Since the texts of the *Miracles* originated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century near Soissons, one would expect to find characteristics of twelfth-century northern lexical practices despite the migration of the

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<sup>100</sup> Besides the ten manuscripts consulted by Koenig for his edition of the *Miracles*, there are an additional nine manuscripts which contain the long form of the Ildefonsus miracle according to Eva Vilamo-Pentti, including **H** (Paris, BnF, fr. 1533), **K** (Paris, BnF, fr. 1613), **T** (Besançon, BM, ms. 551), **x** (Paris, BnF, fr. 15110), **25** (Paris, BnF, fr. 19152), **t** (Paris, BnF, fr. 23111), **k** (Paris, BnF, fr. 423), **p** (Paris, BnF, fr. 19166), **r** (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, ms 589). A later study of mine will incorporate the variants from these manuscripts discussed in Eva Vilamo-Pentti, ed., *De Sainte Leocade: au tans que Sainz Hyldefons estoit arcevesques de Tholete cui Nostre Dame donna l'aube de prelaz* (Helsinki: Långfors and Öhmann, 1950).

<sup>101</sup> Stones, “Illustrated *Miracles*,” 375–377.

<sup>102</sup> Okubo, “La formation.” Okubo’s divisions are based primarily on the ordering of the collections, so the slightly shorter version of Ildefonsus evident in her stage four may be irrelevant. However, she does not seem aware of the differences in length of that miracle in the last three stages because in each stage the miracle is described as the 2356 verse version.

collection over time and to different locales. **3.J.139** certainly demonstrates traits indicative of the earlier thirteenth century. Words such as *tout*, for example, are spelled *tot* throughout the fragment.<sup>103</sup> However, this spelling also occurs in the late-thirteenth-century **L** (though not as often as the later *-ou-*), while **N**, from the third quarter of the century, employs the former. More localized spellings also frequently alternate with the more typical Old French versions. For instance, there are examples where the letter *w* appears consistently across the manuscripts as in the verb *welent* in verse 1464, but spelled as *veu/oe-* in certain manuscripts in verse 1676.<sup>104</sup> Even within the same manuscript, then, indications of dialectal variants could be inconsistent. This is certainly true of **3.J.139**. The only consistent lexical usage throughout **3.J.139** which seems to suggest a distinct dialectal difference is the use of *e* instead of *o* in the masculine pronoun *son*.<sup>105</sup> Among the Gautier manuscripts it appears to be unique. This form of the masculine pronoun, according to Einhorn, is characteristic of the Picard dialect. Unfortunately, other characteristic Picard traits are not evident. Even the comparable feminine pronoun appears as *sa* rather than the typical Picard *se*.<sup>106</sup> As a result, while the lexical details of **3.J.139** may suggest a northern origin, there are no definitive characteristics that demand it.

While the number of variants link **3.J.139** to **L**, in general the spellings accord more consistently with **M**, the manuscript most clearly linked to Gautier himself, and, according to Okubo, the manuscript that represents the final version of the *Miracles* as the author envisioned it. Unlike the three previous stages of the *Miracles*, **M** lacks the larger collections of *chansons*,

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<sup>103</sup> E. Einhorn, *Old French: A Concise Handbook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 13.

<sup>104</sup> **D**: *veulent*; **O**: *voelent*. Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles*, vol. 2, 69. Einhorn assigns the initial *w* to five dialects, Anglo-Norman, Champagne, Picard, Walloon, and Lorraine, with its strongest usage appearing in texts from the last three regions. Einhorn, *Old French*, 138.

<sup>105</sup> The only other places this substitution appears to occur is in the words *honoree* and *l'onora* where **3.J.139** employs an *e* for the first *o* in each word. **H** (Paris, BnF, fr. 1533) and **M** also use *e* in these instances but *son* instead of *sen*.

<sup>106</sup> Einhorn, *Old French*, 139.

instead including only five pieces, three near the beginning of Book II and the final two near the end. Two of these pieces are contrafacts of Notre Dame conductus. The first, *Pour mon chief reconforter*, contrafacts the upper voice of *Sol sub nube latuit* by Walter of Châtillon. The second, *Entendez tuit ensemble*,<sup>107</sup> is a contrafact of Philip the Chancellor's monophonic *Beata viscera*.<sup>108</sup> Both of these pieces appear among the central Notre-Dame sources and thus provide a connection between the music of Paris and the *Miracles* manuscript tradition. Everist, using Koenig, argued that the Notre-Dame influence occurred southward from Paris to Morigny, implying it entered the *Miracles* collections after Gautier's death, rather than northward from Paris to Soissons.<sup>109</sup> That the former contrafact occurs only in manuscript **M** seems to argue for that fact, yet the contrafact of Philip's *Beata viscera* appears in almost all the *Miracles* collections with music. Not only did Gautier compose the text of the contrafact, he clearly valued the piece enough to include it in all of the different iterations of the *Miracles* which contained music.<sup>110</sup> This would seem to suggest that *Entendez tuit ensemble* was a piece he valued and that there was, contrary to Everist's argument, a direct line of transmission between the music/poetry of Philip the Chancellor in Paris and Gautier in the diocese of Soissons.

Consideration of Gautier's *Miracles* has provided additional evidence for the possibility that **3.J.139** and therefore **Ch** originated not in Paris, but outside of the French capital either to the east or the northwest. Everist's proof for the Parisian origins of **Ch** relied solely on similarities of pen-flourishing evident in **F** and the Dominican missal **lat. 8884**, characteristics he

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<sup>107</sup> For a discussion of *Entendez tuit ensemble* and its function within the *Miracles* see Kathryn A. Duys, "Performing Vernacular Song in Monastic Culture: The *lectio divina* in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*," in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, et al. (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007): 123–33.

<sup>108</sup> The melody is not an exact contrafact of *Beata viscera* though it is very close. See Gautier de Coinci, *Les chansons*, 148–52.

<sup>109</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 45–46.

<sup>110</sup> Only the initial stage of the *Miracles* lacks this piece. Okubo, "La collection," 441. Two mss, **DF**, have melodies which differ from Philip's (attributed to Perotin) as well as each other's. Gautier de Coinci, *Les chansons*, 148–52.



employed only for dating in the cases of other manuscripts. While I do not deny the similarities between the flourishing in these manuscripts, other examples from outside Paris, especially those in a late-thirteenth-century breviary from Châlons (BnF, lat. 802; see Figure 1.15 above), indicate that these characteristics were not limited either to the capital or, in some cases, to the 1240s. The correspondence of variants between Gautier manuscript **L** and **3.J.139** also link **Ch**, through their scribe, to Châlons, or at least to the Marne region. The challenge to this assignment comes both from the missing fourteen verses in **3.J.139** which correspond to no known version of the Ildefonsus poem that I am aware of, as well as the use of *sen* instead of the masculine pronoun *son*, also exceptional among the *Miracles* manuscripts, and possibly indicative of the Picard dialect. Though it is impossible to say where exactly the two fragments originated, the evidence suggests the possibility of an alternative to Paris.

### 1.15 Conclusion

From the preceding analysis it is clear that several commonly held beliefs about the Châlons fragments are either no longer tenable, or, are questionable. First of all, while the original large size of the manuscript is not in doubt, the contents should no longer be assumed to coincide with other large collections of Notre-Dame polyphony such as **F**. While it cannot be definitively proven that the second Châlons fragment, **3.J.139**, was bound with **Ch**, the circumstantial evidence certainly points in that direction, and, at the very least, they originated in the same locale. That the manuscript fragments represent a small musical collection is supported not only by the odd arrangement of the pieces within the separate gatherings but also by the discrepancy between rulings and music in gathering *z*, as well as the fact that so many of the pieces appear to be by or closely linked to Philip the Chancellor.

Second, though the date of the manuscript can be assigned to the 1240s, there is reason to doubt that the manuscript was produced in Paris. Two comparable, though later, small musical collections associated with Gautier's *Miracles*, **CI** and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517–18 (**ArsB**), were both produced outside of the capital.<sup>111</sup> While origins and provenance may only be hypothesized in this case, in Chapter Two I will consider in greater detail questions pertaining to this issue. Using the sequences in gathering *x*, I will consider to what extent they can inform our knowledge of the manuscript's audience.

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<sup>111</sup> **ArsB** contains a complete collection of the *Miracles*, while **CI** has only a few excerpts following the motet gatherings. Stones, "Illustrated *Miracles*," 374, 376.

## Chapter Two: The Ch Sequences and the Question of Provenance

### 2.1 Introduction

The presence of four sequences in **Ch**'s gathering *x* made the issue of provenance central to the discussion of **Ch** by Chailley and Hourlier, and, to a lesser degree, by Everist. All three authors, having accepted the origin of the manuscript in Paris, as well as its original size and function as a collection of Notre-Dame polyphony similar in scope to **F**, then attempted to understand the purpose of a collection of sequences (unusual in similar collections) within the context they had constructed for the fragments. Chailley and Hourlier, used their identification of the *unicum* sequence *Per eundem tempus*, to locate the intended repository of the manuscript with the Benedictine Abbey of Marchiennes (see below). Mark Everist, while not discounting the possibility of Marchiennes patronage, considered *Per eundem tempus* as an example of the many non-Parisian sequences circulating in the cosmopolitan capital which could be employed by any scribes compiling music manuscripts in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, I reexamine the sequences of gathering *x* in an attempt to shed more light on the question of the fragment's provenance. Having already established that **Ch** probably represents a small collection of music, much of it by Philip the Chancellor, and possibly included with a collection of Gautier's *Miracles* made outside of the capital, the question of provenance remains relevant. I begin by considering in detail the sequence *Per eundem tempus* which Hourlier assigned to the translation feast of St Eusebia, and show that Hourlier misidentified the subject of the sequence. I then turn to the remaining three sequences, *Ad Martini titulum*, *Paule doctor gentium*, and *Maiestati sacrosancte*, consider their poetry and musical settings and discuss to what extent these can contribute to an understanding of provenance. Finally, I address

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<sup>1</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 148–49.

the issue of authorship before returning to the question of provenance and what information the detailed analysis of the **Ch** sequences can provide.

## 2.2 *Per eundem tempus*: A Case of Mistaken Identity

The fragmentary sequence *Per eundem tempus*, an *unicum* found on the concluding sequentiary folios of **Ch**, constitutes the primary proof for Chailley's and Hourlier's claims about the manuscript's provenance which they assigned to the monastery of Marchiennes near the Belgian border.<sup>2</sup> The evidence presented by Hourlier, whom Chailley credits with the scholarship on the sequences, consists exclusively of textual material related to the life of St Eusebia.<sup>3</sup> Eusebia (d. ca. 680) was one of four children born to Adalbald, duke of Douai, and his wife Rictrude. Unhappy with the marriage, Rictrude's family murdered Adalbald after which Rictrude opted for a religious vocation, accepting the stewardship of the abbey at Marchiennes. Perhaps reflecting her general regard for her daughter, Rictrude sent Eusebia to live with her paternal great-grandmother Gertrude at the satellite abbey of Hamage on the river Scarpe, to which Eusebia was elected abbess upon Gertrude's death. She was twelve years old at the time. Rictrude, fearing the consequences of her daughter's rise to power, recalled Eusebia and the Hamage nuns to Marchiennes where she believed her daughter would submit to maternal authority and remain under her supervision. However, guided by a sense of duty, Eusebia repeatedly returned to Hamage during the cover of night to perform the Offices, prompting a violent reprimand from Rictrude, delivered at the hand of Eusebia's only brother Mauront, who mercilessly beat her until she was near death. But Eusebia continued to return to Hamage and

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<sup>2</sup> Full transcriptions of the **Ch** sequences are available in Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> Chailley, "Fragments," 140 note 1.

eventually Rictrude relented, allowing her daughter and the Hamage community to return to their home where Eusebia served until her death at the age of twenty-three.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the scintillating details of Eusebia's life, those of her afterlife are more relevant here since the surviving text of *Per eundem tempus* specifically addresses the discovery of relics. According to Hourlier, who based his conclusions on the twelfth-century *Miracula sanctae Eusebie*, Eusebia's relics underwent two translations.<sup>5</sup> Upon her death the nuns buried Eusebia in a small chapel on the south side of the original Hamage church dedicated to St. Peter. However, her growing popularity with pilgrims seeking healing miracles demanded a larger space, and Eusebia's successor, abbess Gertrude, built a new church dedicated to the Virgin Mary into which the nuns relocated Eusebia's remains around the turn of the eighth century. From her new locale Eusebia continued to work miracles including one in particular that may have assisted Hourlier in linking the text of *Per eundem tempus* with the Hamage saint. In it, a group of sailors, unable to see while sailing along the river Scarpe, receive a guiding light, shining from the windows of Eusebia's tomb.

...[C]ertain sailors, returning home at night with a laden ship, rowed down the river which flowed by. The thickest fog of darkness had arisen. Neither the moon nor the stars were visible but, it seemed to them, the sky's darkness [was] on the ground, throughout the empty air, seizing the whole world. Suddenly around the night's fourth watch, through the midst of the foul gloom, from far off they see that a light of great splendor shone through the open windows of that holy basilica. Thus, just as the water which was hidden in front of their eyes became observable with their contemplations, from here they clearly observed untamed foliage, and then the reed-bed. They saw the continuation of light for a long time, until with a gentle gliding they arrived nearby.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 254.

<sup>5</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," 145.

<sup>6</sup> ...*quidam nauae cum onusta naue ad sua reuertentes nocturno tempore, fluuium qui praeterfluit remigando sulcabant. Inhorruerat vero tenebrarum densissima caligo: nec luna nec sideribus apparentibus, sed, ut sibi videbatur, a caelo terratenus per inane aeris quasi omnem mundum tenebris eisdem occupantibus: cum ecce subito circa quartam vigiliam noctis per medium eiusdem tetrae caliginis a longe intuentur per illius sanctae basilicae patentes fenestras magni splendoris lucem emicuisse: ita ut aqua quae prae oculis prius latebat, conspectibus eorum fieret perspicabilis, & hinc arundinetum inde comam siluestrem clarius conspicerent: quae lucis continuatio tamdiu ab eis visa est, donec leni allapsu vicinius adessent.* "Miracula s. Eusebia (BHL 2738)," *Acta Sanctorum Full-Text Database* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy): I.[6], accessed 17 June 2014, <http://acta.chadwyck.com>. Unless otherwise stated all translations are my own.

The significance of this passage stems, I believe, from its topics, which bear a striking resemblance to those of the first four strophes of the sequence: obscured sight, murky waters, and the visual presence of Eusebia (see Table 2.1). Strophes 1aa–1ba present a narrative reminiscent

<i>Per eundem tempus</i>	Translation
1aa. Per eundem tempus lustrī loco latens in palustrī oculis absconditur.	Over the period of five years a thing hidden in a marshy place is concealed from the eyes.
1ab. In profundis mersum undis neque lesum nec obsesum ave pisce carpitur.	One immersed in deep waves, neither injured by a fish nor besieged by a bird, is seized.
1ba. Licet imum tenens limi tamen limum nescit imi sanum sine sanie.	It is permitted for the deepest realm[to be] holding mud, yet the priest's wrapping knows not the depths, [staying] healthy, without corruption.
1bb. Inquirendum revelatur, et querenti reparatur aspectus Eusebie.	The examined is revealed and the vision of Eusebia is renewed by seeking.
2a. Ubi corpus sit sepultum ignoravit tempus multum. Diu frustra queritur.	Where the body might be buried is unknown for much time. For a long time it is searched for in vain.
2b. Tempus tamen abolere nequid istud quod iam vere eterno coniugitur.	Nevertheless time did not gradually decay that one because truly he is already connected to the eternal.
3a. Inquirendo sepulture eligitur vite pure Eligius pontifex.	By the examination of the grave Bishop Eligius is chosen for pure life.
3b. Hic inventum...	

Table 2.1: *Per eundem tempus* Text and Translation

of that experienced by the sailors. The waves and fish of strophe 1ab together with the marshes of strophe 1aa and the mud of strophe 1ba suggest a river-like topography. Strophe 1ab describes almost exactly the situation in which the sailors found themselves: unable to see through the gloom of the night the ship was held captive by the river and its environs. The wilderness of the opening verse might reflect their surroundings of “untamed foliage.” The most striking similarity however is the correspondence of two words and their context. In the midst of the miracle narrative the *Miracula* author employs the words *latebat* and *oculis*. Strophe 1aa of *Per eundem*

*tempus* uses the same words, though *latebat* occurs in the form of the present participle *latens* replacing a nominative noun as subject. In both cases, what was hidden from the eyes is revealed through the examination of a fluid environment: in the miracle, the light from Eusebia's church, in the poem, the *aspectus Eusebie*, or appearance/vision of Eusebia.

The form of *Per eundem tempus* typifies the late style, or second epoch, sequence poem.<sup>7</sup> Each surviving strophe divides into three verses with two 8-syllable paroxytonic verses followed by a single 7-syllable proparoxyonic verse (8p+8p+7pp). The rhyme scheme is only slightly less consistent. Aside from the second, each strophe contains an internal rhyme scheme of *aab* while the final rhyme of each odd strophe rhymes with its following even verse: ...*dde ffe etc.* The second strophe differs from this pattern only internally, so that the two 8p verses do not share an end rhyme but rather each verse contains an internal rhyme between syllables 3–4 and 7–8 (*profundis/undis; lesum/obsesum*). A similar emphasis on internal rhyme also occurs in strophe 1ba, however in this instance the third and fourth syllables of verses 1 and 2 (*imum/imum*) rhyme as do their final syllables (*imi/imi*).

The surviving 7+ strophes demonstrate an authorial interest in similar words and sounds, a poetic technique known generally as *annominatio*, beyond what is necessary for a consistent rhyme scheme. Certain strophes, verses or groups of verses emphasize specific consonants or vowels, such as the second verse of strophe 1aa (*loco latens in palustri*) that follows *lustris* of verse 1 and precedes *oculis* in verse 3, two other *L*-words. Strophe 1ba plays with *m/n* throughout while adding alliteration on *s* in the final phrase (*sanum sine sanie*). Strophe 2b, like

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<sup>7</sup> For detailed discussions of the various styles/epochs of sequences see Lori A. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997), and Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For a counterargument that the division of sequences into different epochs is anachronistic see Nancy van Deusen, "Polymelodic Sequences and a 'Second Epoch' of Sequence Compositions," in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences* (Paris: Champion, 1987), 213–25; and van Deusen, "Sequence Repertories: A Reappraisal," *Musica Disciplina* 48 (1994): 99–123.

the first strophe, surrounds the second phrase with its common *e* sound, the final word of that group (*Eligius*) matching almost perfectly the first word of the second phrase (*eligitur*). This playful placement of similar sounding words at similar places within different phrases occurs several times. The *sepulture* of strophe 3a is foreshadowed by *sepultum* also at the end of the first verse in strophe 2a. *Inquirendum*, which opens strophe 1bb, not only anticipates the opening *inquirendo* of strophe 3a, and the concluding *queritur* of strophe 2a, but also the *et querenti* at the beginning of verse 2.

It is impossible to know to what extent, if at all, the correspondences between the sailor miracle and *Per eundem tempus* influenced Hourlier's association of the sequence with Eusebia. He mentions her translation from the first to the second Hamage church (her first translation) only in passing, instead focusing on the "discovery" of her relics and their subsequent second translation from Hamage to Marchiennes. He notes, "The monastery [of Hamage], destroyed by the Normans in 850, was long abandoned, until the Abbot Amand of Marchiennes had the church restored, looked for relics, [and] made a new reliquary, which he kept at Marchiennes from 1133."<sup>8</sup> Despite the similarity of topics with Eusebia's sailor narrative, which occurs prior to the second translation, Hourlier's description of events more accurately reflects the hidden relics of the poem's opening strophes: the relics of a saint, hidden in an overgrown and marshy area, are found and restored to a place of honor. According to Hourlier's reading of the *Miracula sancte Eusebie*, following their discovery, Eusebia's relics were promptly removed to the larger abbey of Marchiennes. This translation allowed Hourlier to pinpoint the use of *Per eundem tempus* to that abbey. Feasts for Eusebia survive almost exclusively in the Flandrian region of northern France, specifically the monasteries of St. Amand, Anchin, and Marchiennes, which celebrated

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<sup>8</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale," 145.



her Mass and Office on 16 March. However, only the Marchiennes liturgy contained feasts for Eusebia's *elevatio* (28 October) and *translatio* (18 November).<sup>9</sup> Therefore, Eusebia's movements *post mortem*, especially her translation from Hamage to Marchiennes, led Hourlier to conclude that Marchiennes would be the most likely place to house and use a manuscript which included a piece addressing the discovery and translation of St Eusebia's relics.

There are, however, significant problems with Hourlier's conclusions. First, events in the *Miracula* do not correspond with the narrative he presents. Anna Lisa Taylor, in her chapter on the relationship between Marchiennes and Hamage, notes that the *Miracula* dates Eusebia's second translation to *before* the Norman invasion of 850.<sup>10</sup> What Chailley, citing Hourlier, describes as the "discovery of the relics, about 1133" actually corresponds to the construction of a new reliquary for the saint's remains.<sup>11</sup> This occurs both after the episode which recounts the reconstruction of the Hamage church, *and* the loan of Eusebia's relics to a nearby town, therefore making it unlikely that Eusebia's relics would have been discovered in the early twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> Second, the *Miracula* never describes the loss and/or discovery of Eusebia's relics, an essential element of Hourlier's argument, and a significant part of *Per eundem tempus*. The emphasis that the author of the *Miracula* places on the Norman invasion might suggest such events, yet they are conspicuous in their absence. Even the work of Abbot Amand to rebuild the church of Hamage, which Hourlier specifically links to the discovery of Eusebia's relics, focuses

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<sup>9</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale," 145–46.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor, "Mothers and Daughters," 251 note 70.

<sup>11</sup> "[L]a découverte des reliques, vers 1133." Chailley, "Fragments," 143. To be fair to Hourlier, his own account is not as specific. He writes, "Le monastère, dévasté par les Normands en 850, resta longtemps à l'abandon, jusqu'au jour où l'abbé Amand, de Marchiennes, fit restaurer l'église, rechercher les reliques, fabriquer une nouvelle châsse, qui fut désormais conservée à Marchiennes, à partir de 1133." Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale," 145. Taylor has shown that Marchiennes probably acquired Eusebia's relics sometime between 1046 and 1089, not long after Hamage became a dependency of the larger abbey in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Taylor, "Mothers and Daughters," 251–52. It seems unlikely that Hourlier understood this to be the date of the second translation.

<sup>12</sup> "*Miracula s. Eusebia* (BHL 2738)," II.

instead on three miracles specifically dealing with the construction of the building. In this reconstruction narrative Abbot Amand approaches a monk of Marchiennes to begin work on the Hamage church. The monk refuses on account of monetary concerns until he receives a vision of a woman encouraging him to the task. Once the monk arrives at Hamage he discovers twenty silver coins concealed in a crack of one of the monastery walls, solving the earlier financial problems. In the final miracle, uneven support beams are miraculously fixed after consultation with Abbot Amand. The overall description of these events emphasizes less the importance of Eusebia (in fact the author explicitly notes that the monks were unsure whether Eusebia or the Virgin Mary appeared in the vision) and more the role of Abbot Amand in the reconstruction and therefore patronage of Hamage, a significantly different role than that of the discoverer of the relics, as suggested by Hourlier.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Hourlier apparently ignored the final full extant strophe of *Per eundem tempus* in his identification of the poem with St Eusebia. In this strophe, the author introduces a second character to the narrative, a Bishop Eligius. Isolated in the context of the fragmentary poem, strophe 3a is vague. If the unspoiled remains in strophe 2b suggest that Eusebia's body has been found, does Bishop Eligius examine the new grave prepared for the saint after the discovery of her relics, or has Eligius discovered the relics himself? Either way, the two possible scenarios do not correspond with Hourlier's depiction of events. If Eligius contemplated a grave containing Eusebia's remains, then it had to happen before Abbot Amand put them in a new reliquary. And if Eligius discovered Eusebia's relics, then Abbot Amand certainly did not. The fragmentary opening of the next strophe, *Hic inventum...*, provides a possible clue. Without the rest of the text it is impossible to know with certainty what these two words mean, however "inventum," either as the noun "the discovery" or as the perfect passive

participle “having been found,” suggests the previous strophe still addresses the discovery of relics, as does the adverb *hic* meaning “here,” or “in this place.” The discovery of relics by Bishop Eligius strongly calls into question Hourlier’s identification of *Per eundem tempus* with St Eusebia. This is bolstered by the fact that the character of Bishop Eligius, the former goldsmith of the Merovingian kings and later Bishop of Noyon, appears nowhere in Eusebia’s various narratives. It is unlikely that he would, since he died twenty years *before* she did. Further investigation of the sequence as well as the characters of Eusebia and Eligius suggests a significantly different subject and therefore raise serious doubts concerning the manuscript’s assumed provenance.

### 2.3 The Case for St. Quentin

Eligius (588–660) began his professional career as a goldsmith.<sup>13</sup> Initially apprenticed in Limoges, he later moved to the kingdom of the Franks where he worked for the royal treasurer and became a confidant of King Clothar and later his children and grandchildren. Aside from producing high quality work for the king, he also “fabricated tombs for the relics of saints Germanus, Severin, Piaton, Quentin, Lucian, Genovefa, Columba, Maximian and Lolian, Julian and many more with gold and silver and gems. But above all, by order of King Dagobert, he covered blessed Martin of Tours’ sepulcher with wonderful work of gold and jewels and he urbanely composed the tomb of St Briccio and another where the body of St. Martin had formerly lain.”<sup>14</sup> This obvious interest in the holy dead reflects Eligius’s religious and pious nature long before he took holy orders. He not only founded several monasteries, but also funded the restoration of numerous churches, and purchased slaves for the sole purpose of offering them

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<sup>13</sup> The following biographical information borrows extensively from Dado of Rouen, “Life of St. Eligius of Noyon,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (New York: Garland, 2000), 137–67.

<sup>14</sup> Dado of Rouen, “Life of St. Eligius,” 150.

their freedom. A man admired for his modesty, Eligius's works became drastically more miraculous once he accepted the see of Noyon, after which he accomplished such tasks as healing the sick, casting out demons, and foretelling the future. He also had a penchant for locating lost relics.

This predilection of Eligius's provides the clues necessary for identifying the true subject of *Per eundem tempus*. In Book II, chapter 6 of Eligius's *Vita*, Dado writes of his friend,

Among other miracles of his virtue it was conceded to that most holy man from the Lord that the bodies of holy martyrs, which had until then been hidden from the people through many ages, were brought to light when he investigated and searched with the great ardor of his faith.... Among them first and foremost the holy martyr Quentin was sought with great urgency in the beginning of his episcopate. He who had been hidden in the past advanced openly in public.... [A]s soon as he was ordained, Eligius began to search the place energetically. The saint [Quentin] had undoubtedly come from the town of Vermandois and had been buried on the mountain where the martyr was once raised from the flood by Eusebia.... Persisting in the work begun, he went with his helpers to diverse churches where they hoped to find something. In one such place, which no one had suspected, he ordered digging in the back of the church. But when they had opened a trench nearly ten feet deep, their hopes vanished. But as the middle of the third night flowed by, Eligius grabbed the hoe and, throwing off his cloak, began with all his strength to dig at the holy ground with his hands by the light of candles and lamps. And soon at the bottom of the ditch, to the side, he began to scratch at the earth and uncovered the wrapping of the holy body. Then filled with great joy, he opened the tomb with the hoe he had in his hand and a fragrant odor with a great light spread from it...<sup>15</sup>

In this brief episode the two main characters of our poem appear together and suggest a narrative more reflective of the sequence under consideration than that cobbled together from the disparate events in Eusebia's *Miracula*. First, Dado explicitly states that Bishop Eligius searched for lost relics. Not only were these relics buried, they had lain hidden in their grave for "many ages." Second, in this narrative Eusebia, clearly a different character from the seventh-century saint, also discovered the relics, and after "raising them from the flood" buried them on a mountain where they were eventually lost until their discovery by Eligius.

The identification of *Per eundem tempus* with St Quentin is supported by his own various narratives. Unfortunately, the numerous *Inventiones* and *Miracule* generally focus on either the

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<sup>15</sup> Dado of Rouen, "Life of St. Eligius," 153–54.

first translation, by Eusebia, or the second, by Eligius. There is, thankfully, a thirteenth century sermon, probably for a fifth translation of the relics in 1257, which quickly summarizes the episodes involving the three saints.

With [Quentin's] soul having been carried up to the heavens and ineffably crowned, his holy body remained incorrupt, with God's protection, submerged in the waters of the Somme for fifty-five years. After this, the body, having been found by a certain noble woman, named Eusebia, is decently handed over to the grave, and there it is amazingly concealed for some 325 years. Then sought by Eligius, who was filled with zeal, it is famously discovered, and clearly revealed to the people, and is buried by that bishop elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

Not only does this brief episode summarize the narrative preserved in the poem, it also contributes the element of an uncorrupted body only hinted at in the earlier depiction of the same story from Eligius's *Vita*. What Dado described as "a fragrant odor," hardly an explicit depiction of an intact corpse, the author of the sermon calls "a holy body uncorrupted by God's protection." This corresponds to the sixth strophe of *Per eundem tempus*, which details a body un-decayed by time and linked to the divine.

The closest textual similarities with the sequence, however, occur in the eighth-century *Prima passio et inventio sancti Quintini* (BHL 6999–7000) which contains two chapters on the life of St Quentin and his body's first discovery by Eusebia. The chapter on Quentin's *inventio* is worth quoting at length because it not only contains several identical words with the poem, it also explains both the obscure reference to the *aspectus Eusebie* in strophe 1bb of the sequence.

Here begins the discovery of the martyr Saint Quentin. With his days completed, God wanted to show the plentiful mystery and the treasure concealed in this place to the people. So the Lord God roused a certain matron from the city of Rome, called Eusebia... This woman had been made blind at the age of nine, and when she was most willingly entreating the Lord, an angel of the Lord appeared to her in a night's vision, and he said to her: "Eusebia, your entreaty was clearly heard. Rise and go to Gaul. Ask for the place Augusta Veromandorum,<sup>17</sup> next to the river Somme, where it

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<sup>16</sup> *Cujus anima ad coelos evecta et ineffabiliter coronata, corpus quoque sanctum per annos quinquaginta quinque in fluctibus Somemae supplumbatum, Deo custodiente, mansit incorruptum. Postea tamen a quadam inventum nobili matrona, nomine Eusebia, sepulturae decenter traditur, ibique per trecentos viginti quinque circiter annos mirabiliter occultitur. Deinde ab Eligio, magno cum studio quaesitum, insigniter invenitur, ac evidenter populo declaratur; atque ab ipso praesule alibi tumulatur.* "Sermo in tumulatione sanctorum martyrum Quintini martyris sociorumque ejus (BHL 7020)," *Acta Sanctorum Full-Text Database* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy): [6], accessed 7 July 2014, <http://acta.chadwyck.com>.

<sup>17</sup> Augusta Veromandorum later becomes the town of Saint-Quintan.

crosses the public field which came from the citizens of Ambianensis and goes on to Lugdunum clavatum.<sup>18</sup> In this place seek and you will find under the water the corpse of St Quentin, my martyr. And when *the thing hidden, which I've shown* [to you], is revealed to the people through you, immediately you will receive the health of your eyes, and you will return to your cottage with all your things, a healthy body and sound mind.”

And when two or three of these visions had appeared to her...she endeavored to set out. She yoked her chariot, and all who were necessary to her on the journey she led with her: boys, girls and a plentiful body of helpers so that she might discover the body of the blessed man Quentin. She took away with her linen burial clothes. When she entered into Gaul...she quickly arrived at where she wanted to be, at the same place the angel of the Lord had shown her in a vision. ... Then that woman got down from her chariot, fixed her knees on the ground, inclined her head, and, at the same time struck her breast with her hands, she prayed. ...

Just as she finished her prayer, immediately the place where the holy body lay under the water was agitated, and, as if curling, *the waves* lapped onto the slope of the hill. Then the body of the venerable man began to float above the water, and his head leapt out in another movement. Swelling and bruising had not taken possession of the body, instead it was white as snow. Like the odor of roses and lilies, the Lord God blessed the smell of the whole field, like a precious perfume box. ... When they departed they arrived at a certain town called Augusta Veromandorum. They entrusted the body to the town because they were unable to travel because of its weight. ... [T]he forewarned woman interred the body in that place, and over his tomb built a chapel; and for the kindness *of the grave*, something like scales were removed from her *eyes* and she received light from them. She felt strength returned to her like she had been accustomed to in her youth. Immediately, a great number of sick people came to that place in that hour, and they recovered their former health. The river Somme with its vast distance was surrounded with marshy swamps on the right and left. [emphasis mine]<sup>19</sup>

As this chapter makes clear, the *aspectus Eusebie* which Hourlier interpreted either as her relics revealed, or perhaps as a light sent by her to stranded sailors, actually refers to the Roman Eusebia's sight, renewed by seeking and finding Quentin's sweet-smelling and snow-white body. Also, what appeared as a significant coincidence in certain word choices between the poem and the sailor miracle now seems accidental in comparison. Words such as *oculis*, *unde*, and *sepulture*, occur as well as the perhaps more telling *latens*, and *palustri*, two rather specific and less common words used to describe the same ideas: a marshy place and a hidden body.

A final piece of evidence demonstrates the correct identification of *Per eundem tempus* with St Quentin: a second sequence dedicated to the saint that mentions both Eusebia and Eligius. The sequence, *Martyri Quintino laudes*, appears in a missal from Noyon, the seat of

<sup>18</sup> Ambianensis is the Latin name for Amiens and Lugdunum clavatum is Laon.

<sup>19</sup> “*Prima passio et inventio s. Quintini* (BHL 7000),” *Acta Sanctorum Full-Text Database* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy): CA. [14]–[19], accessed 9 July 2014, <http://acta.chadwyck.com>.

Eligius's bishopric. Just a quick reading of the poem highlights the similarities and differences between the two sequences (see Table 2.2). The Noyon text deliberately recalls its model

<i>Martyri Quintino laudes</i>	Translation
1. Martyri Quintino laudes elevant servi sui,	Let his servants lift up praises to the martyr Quentin,
2a. maxime, qui propria sunt eius ecclesia victime paschalis perceptores.	especially those who in his own church are the recipients of the Paschal victim.
2b. Cuius elevatio sit horum protectio, istius qui festi sunt cultores.	Whose elevation might be their protection, those who are the worshippers of the feast.
3a. Profert Eusebia, quod celat invidia, caput martyris, in flumine, et corpus novo reparat lumine.	Eusebia reveals that which hatred conceals, the head of the martyr, in the river, and the body renews itself by a new light.
3b. Testis est lucerna stans sub aque laterna; huic Eligius tumulum novit temporum post curriculum.	The witness is an oil lamp, a lantern standing under the water; to this Eligius recognized the hill after the race of time.
4a. Credendum est Eligii plus devotioni, quam sit Maurini presumptioni.	More devotion must be believed of Eligius, than might be believed of Maurinus.
7. Scimus fabrum transtulisse sacrum corpus vere. Tu nobis, Christe, rex miserere.	We know that the artisan truly transported the sacred body. You, Christ, King, have mercy on us.

Table 2.2: *Martyri Quintino laudes* Text and Translation

sequence *Victime paschali laudes* through the use of its opening words within the first two strophes. The author also pays tribute to the original by maintaining the varying verse and strophe lengths. This stands in sharp contrast to the poetry of *Per eundem tempus* which maintains a rigid 8p+8p+7pp strophic form even when *Laudes crucis atollamus* (the melody used for *Per eundem tempus*) employs different verse lengths in corresponding strophes (see section

2.6.1 below). Even the form of *Martyri Quintino laudes* reflects a more traditional structure, with the opening exhortation (absent in *Per eundem tempus*) and closing explicit.<sup>20</sup> Finally, the poetry, so playful and complex in *Per eundem tempus*, here reads very simply. Despite the differences, the importance of *Martyri Quintino laudes* resides not in its stylistic similarities but in its basic narrative. Both describe the discovery of the saint's relics twice, first by a fourth-century Roman woman named Eusebia, then by the seventh-century Bishop Eligius.

*Analecta Hymnica* contains a total of five sequences dedicated to the saint. These either address the martyrdom of Quentin or his *inventio*, like *Martyri Quintino laudes*, with the former more frequent than the latter. Of the three *die natale* sequences—*Verbum pater eructavit* (AH 44, 245),<sup>21</sup> *Per unius casum grani* (AH 39, 253), and *Festus est nobis hodie* (AH 44, 244)—*Per unius casum grani* occurs most often with eleven sources ranging from Lyon to Saint Gall to Saint Amand, though centered in the north.<sup>22</sup> The two *inventio* sequences, *Martyri Quintino laudes* (AH 44, 245), and *Decem uno ferme lustris* (AH 39, 254) appear in single sources from different locales, Noyon and Beauvais respectively. Like *Martyri Quintino laudes*, *Decem uno ferme lustris* offers additional information for the understanding of *Per eundem tempus*.

The sequence appears in the appendix of an early sixteenth-century missal for the usage of Beauvais. Though an exceptionally late source, the similarities between *Decem uno ferme lustris* and *Per eundem tempus* are significant and informative (see Table 2.3). Both sequences employ the noun *lustrum* and adjective *paluster* as the rhyming words to conclude verses 1 and 2

<sup>20</sup> van Deusen, "Sequence Repertories," 100.

<sup>21</sup> This is shorthand for vol. 44, page 245 of the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume and Henry Marriot Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886–1922).

<sup>22</sup> The eleven communities are Paris, Saint Amand, Senlis, Saint Gall, Amiens, Lyon, Tournai, Cambrai, Beauvais, Coutance (which assigns the sequence to John and Paul) and Laon.



<i>Decem uno ferme lustris</i>	<i>Per eundem tempus</i>
1a. Decem uno ferme lustris iam servarat scrobs palustris Quintinum in Somena,	1aa. Per eundem tempus lustris loco latens in palustri oculis absconditur.
1b. dum invenit eum nobis in piscosae sinu scrobis quedam Romuligena.	1ab. In profundis mersum undis neque lesum nec obsesum ave pisce carpitur.
2a. Sicut fuit in hiulce terre sulco lignum dulce inventum ab Helena,	1ba. Licet imum tenens limi tamen limum nescit imi sanum sine sanie.
2b. lucis inops est omnino, donec lucem pro Quintino meretur Eusebia.	1bb. Inquirendum revelatur, et querenti reparatur aspectus Eusebie.
3a. Quem inventum ex acclini valle transfert ad vicini montis supercilia.	2a. Ubi corpus sit sepultum ignoravit tempus multum. Diu frustra queritur.
3b. Parte locat in insigni, quam ardentis vallant lychni iam in die tertia.	2b. Tempus tamen abolere nequid istud quod iam vere eterno coniugitur.
4a. Ibi eum trecentenis annis quinque bisque denis terra servat; postea	3a. Inquirendo sepulture eligitur vite pure Eligius pontifex.
4b. carnem sanctam nec trifauci rictu vorant pisces glauci nec informis tineas.	3b. Hic inventum...
5a. Habet certum terra pignus, quod sit martyr celo dignus, propter cuius merita,	
5b. dum levatur in obscure noctis umbra de tellure, nocti lux est insita.	
6a. Sacros dentes per Eligi sacram manum vult refigi mente Deus provida,	
6b. ut credatur in virtute, quod cruoris manant gutte de fauce iam arida.	
...	

Table 2.3: Comparison of the Openings of *Decem uno ferme lustris* and *Per eundem tempus*

of the first strophe: *Per eundem tempus lustris / loco latens in palustri* and *Decem uno ferme lustris / Iam servarat scrobs palustris*. The second strophe (1b) describes fish though in *Per eundem tempus* the body is not injured by a fish (*pisce*), and in *Decem uno ferme lustris* he is found in a ditch teeming with fish (*piscose*). The form of strophe 1ab in *Per eundem tempus*, with its “neither...nor” construction occurs similarly in strophe 4b of *Decem uno ferme lustris*. The simple bird and fish of the former become the more grotesque three-throated blue-grey fish and hideous moth in the latter, none of which has consumed the flesh of Quentin’s body. The similarities between the two poems are more general in the fourth strophe in which Eusebia earns the light (*lucis*) for finding Quentin in the latter, but in the former her vision (*aspectus*) is renewed. Finally, the fragment of strophe 3b (*Hic inventum...*) from *Per eundem tempus* seems to correspond to the first verse of strophe 3a (*Quem inventum ex acclini*) of *Decem uno ferme lustris* though they refer to Quentin’s discovery by Eligius and Eusebia respectively.

My identification of *Per eundem tempus* with St Quentin significantly affects the reevaluation of the manuscript and its provenance. The hypothesis that the creators of **Ch** intended the manuscript for the religious community at Marchiennes must be unequivocally withdrawn; and without the character of St Eusebia the other tenuous links to the abbey which Hourlier cites become irrelevant. For instance, the monophonic motet duplum *Eximia mater* in gathering y contains the two verses *mentes illumina nosque dextere / filias nomina* (“Illuminate [our] minds, and call us girls of [your] right hand”). These caused Hourlier to believe that the “prose” originated in a monastery of women.<sup>23</sup> Chailley, basing his conclusions on the work of Hourlier, writes, “*Eximia mater* (fol. 5v) contains a reference to a group of women (*nosque dextere filias nomina*), which focuses more accurately on the sisters still living in the *familia* of

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<sup>23</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, “Cantionale,” 146.

Marchiennes and whose presence is attested to, at the period of interest, by the *Miracula sancte Eusebie*.<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to determine when exactly Chailley considered the “period of interest” since he is not explicit; however, the *Miracula* describes a festive gathering associated with the construction of Eusebia’s new reliquary in 1133 (the date that Hourlier erroneously linked to Eusebia’s *inventio*), a date well within the golden age of new sequence composition. The episode depicts a celebration with both men and women from the village of Asconius, however, it only mentions the presence of Brothers from the Marchiennes community.

Also this feast...was done with innumerable multitudes of each sex assembling with excessive exultation and the most intimate devotion of hearts. It was done near the village of Abscon in the possession of the blessed Virgin Eusebia, by the residing Abbot of good memory, Amand of Marchiennes, with certain brothers clearly of the same Marchiennes church.<sup>25</sup>

Once again Hourlier either misinterpreted the evidence or manipulated it to fit his conclusions. The recent work of Anna Lisa Taylor on the abbeys of Marchiennes and Hamage suggests that, in fact, the nuns were expelled from Marchiennes and replaced by monks in the early eleventh century as part of the Flandrian reform movement.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, a community of religious women could not have been present to create this new piece at the time Hourlier and Chailley suggest.

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<sup>24</sup> “...*Eximia mater* (f° 5’) contient une allusion à un groupement féminin: *nosque dexteræ filias nomina*, ce qui oriente avec plus de précision encore vers les Sœurs vivant dans la *familia* de *Marchiennes* et dont la présence est attestée, à l’époque intéressée, par les *Miracula Sanctæ Eusebiæ*.” Chailley, “Fragments,” 141. In his summary inventory, Chailley notes that the opening of the piece resembles couplets from the liturgical drama *Three Marys of Origny* and that Origny is close to Marchiennes. Chailley, “Fragments,” 144. More recently, Gaël Saint-Cricq suggested that this reference to women may have some relation to the convent of Stary Sącz which contains a third version of this motet. “[L]e fait que la deuxième strophe *Elimina sordes* se réfère à ‘*nous, filles de la main droite*’ suggère une strophe spécialement ajoutée pour une congrégation de sœurs et peut-être une circonstance particulière pour ce motet, ce que la conservation de cette pièce au couvent de Stary Sącz semble étayer.” Gaël Saint-Cricq, “Formes types dans le motet du XIIIe siècle: étude d’un processus répétitif” (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2009), 82 note 120. The problem with Saint-Cricq’s argument is that the strophe which contains this reference appears only in **Ch**. Katarzyna Grochowska, whose dissertation examined in detail the Stary Sącz fragments makes no such assertion in her discussion of the motet. Grochowska, “Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles,” 384–88.

<sup>25</sup> *Haec autem festiva...facta est concurrente utriusque sexus innumera multitudine cum nimia exultatione et intima cordium devotione: hoc tamen factum est apud villam Asconium in beate Virginis Eusebiæ possessione, vivente bonae memoriae Amando Abbate Marchianensi, praesentibus inibi quibusdam Fratribus videlicet eiusdem Marchianensis ecclesiae.* “*Miracula s. Eusebia* (BHL 2738),” II.13.

<sup>26</sup> Taylor, “Mothers and Daughters,” 250.

This begs the question: is it possible to identify the manuscript with the basilica of St. Quentin, the home of Quentin's relics, instead of Marchiennes? This is a difficult question, one which must consider not only the topics and music of the remaining sequences, but also their arrangement. Before considering the intended repository for **Ch** I will examine the three remaining sequences, *Ad Martini titulum*, *Paule doctor gentium*, and *Maiestati sacrosancte*, and then consider the organizational method employed in gathering *x*'s collection of sequences as well as its implications for the collection as a whole.

#### 2.4 *Ad Martini titulum*

*Ad Martini titulum* (AH 8, 190) lacks the overt textual playfulness seen throughout the surviving strophes of *Per eundem tempus* and instead presents a straightforward biographical account of the bishop of Tours.<sup>27</sup> The body of the poem focuses on Martin's life until his election as bishop in 371. The narrative presented in this section is basic, describing events which occur in Sulpicius Severus's fifth-century *Vita sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris*.<sup>28</sup> Differences between the two, however, imply that the sequence was not based directly on Sulpicius's biography (see Table 2.4). For instance, in the episode describing the gift of Martin's cloak to the beggar Sulpicius uses the very specific term *chlamydem*, a Greek military cloak, while the sequence author employs *pallium*, meaning cover or coverlet, but also the term used for a Greek

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<sup>27</sup> There are three other extant sources for the sequence *Ad Martini titulum* all of which preserve the text alone. These include a fifteenth-century missal for the Abbey of St.-Martin-des-Champs (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 416), and two sixteenth-century missals, one for the Order of Cluny (*Missale secundum usum celebris monasterii Cluiacensis, totiusque ordinis, ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis: multo hactenus edita id genus missalia, et locupletius et emendatius ut conferenti facile patebit* (Paris: Jolandam Bonhomme, 1550)), and another for the Abbey of Marmoutier (*Missale s[e]c[un]d[u]m usum monasterii majoris monasterii Turon[ensis] ordi[ni]s s[an]cti B[e]n[e]dicti. Romane ecclesie im[m]ediate subjecti...* (Tours: Mathieu Latheron, 1508)).

<sup>28</sup> Philip Burton, ed., *Sulpicius Severus' Vita Martini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For a detailed discussion of the *Vita* see Yossi Maurey, *Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 74–81.

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	Translation
1. Ad Martini titulum in vocalem modululum prodeat devotio.	Let the devotion to the title of Martin come forth into a tuneful little measure.
2a. Fidei signaculum fulgeat ad oculum operis inditio.	Let the introduction of his work shine the seal of faith to the eye.
2b. Presul, gemma presulum, sanctitatis speculum, nostra sit instructio.	Let the bishop, jewel of bishops, mirror of sanctity, be our instruction.
3a. Natus ex gentilibus, miles ex militibus, de tribuno militum.	Born from heathens, soldier from soldiers, from a tribune of soldiers.
3b. Vite virtus inclyte monachum in milite exhibet emeritum.	The virtue of a celebrated life delivers a deserving monk in a soldier.
4a. Pallium cum gladio brume scindens medio Ambianis Dominum tectum videt pallio.	Tearing his cloak with his sword in the middle of winter in the town of Amiens he sees the Lord covered with the cloak.
4b. Pallii dimidio tectus in vicario laudat cathecuminum Christus ore proprio.	Having been covered in substitute by half of the cloak Christ praises the catechumen with his own mouth.
5a. Baptizatur, ordinatur, ad levite gradum vite meritis. Hilarius	He is baptized and ordained to the position of a deacon's life by his merits.
5b. hunc invitat, sed hoc vitat nam laboris quam honoris onus ei gratius.	Hilary invites him but he avoids it for the burden of labor is more agreeable to him than honor.
6a. Baptizandum cathecizat, sed preventum non baptizat, dum abest per triduum.	He instructs in religion one going to be baptized, but he does not baptize the one prevented while he is absent for three days.
6b. Turba plorat, sanctus orat, prece fusa mors confusa vite reddit mortuum.	The crowd cries, the holy one prays, death confused by a flowing prayer returns the dead one to life.
7a. Importune servus unus sibi fune fecit funus. Martinum turba flagitat. Martinus illum suscitatur.	Unnaturally, one slave killed himself with a rope. The crowd entreats Martin. Martin awakens that one.

Table 2.4: *Ad Martini titulum* Text and Translation

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	Translation
7b. Tantis signis vir insignis in pastorem ad clamorem cleri, plebi eligitur. Fugit; invitus rapitur.	With such great signs the eminent man is chosen as a pastor to the people to the applause of the clergy. He flees; unwilling he is captured.
8a. Quidam dictus est defensor, personarum extra mensor, forma vilem ex exilem hunc indignum astruit.	A certain man was called Defender, moreover a measurer of characters, he establishes this one as unworthy, mean and thin in appearance.
8b. Lector abest, causa more legit puer pro lectore et perversum hunc ex ore hunc indignum destruit.	The reader is away by a moral cause a boy reads for the reader and he destroys this evil one and this unworthy one from his mouth.
8c. Tu destructor defensoris, a flagello destructoris nos defendas et impendas gratie solatia.	May you, destroyer of the defender, by the whip of the destroyer defend us and expend the solace of grace.
8d. Tanti patris assecuti patronatum simus tuti, ut saluti restituti letemur in gloria.	Let us, having seen, follow the protector of so great a father so that restored to health we rejoice in glory.
Amen	Amen

Table 2.4: *Ad Martini titulum* Text and Translation, cont.

cloak worn by philosophers.<sup>29</sup> The final episode which describes Martin's election as bishop also demonstrates an interesting discrepancy. According to Sulpicius, the large crowd prevents the reader from performing his duty, and instead someone among the throng (*unus e circumstantibus*) reads the first psalm he finds, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and the avenger" (Psalm 8:3). In the sequence, this innocent reader transforms into a boy (*puer*) an easy adaptation to make over time, considering the psalm verse.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the difference is significant. The emphasis on Martin as holy man rather than military man might suggest that the author wanted to convey Martin as Christian philosopher. The noun *pallium* also designates a vestment worn by an archbishop. At this juncture I am unable to determine when this usage first appeared, however. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, "Pallium," in *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrew's edition of Freud's Latin dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), accessed 10 October 2014, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dpallium>.

For the most part, each episode the author describes is contained within a double versicle, or, in other words, within two parallel strophes. This straightforward division of the poem only breaks down between strophes 7a and 7b, in which the former presents a second resurrection story similar to the first but compressed from six verses into four, and the latter begins the narrative of Martin's election to Bishop (see Table 2.5). The rhyme scheme of these parallel

Strophes	Episode	Vita Chapter
3a–3b	Martin's background and introduction to his life as a soldier	Ch. 2
4a–4b	Sharing his cloak with the beggar	Ch. 3
5a–5b	Hilary of Poitiers baptizes and ordains Martin; attempts to coax Martin into a higher position within the clergy.	Ch. 5
6a–6b	First resurrection story	Ch. 7
7a	Second resurrection story	Ch. 8
7b–8b	A group of clergymen choose Martin as Bishop of Tours. Martin flees but is apprehended. Certain bishops, led by Defensor, consider Martin unworthy. A boy reads a passage of scripture that condemns those who oppose Martin.	Ch. 9

Table 2.5: Comparison of Severus's *Vita* and *Ad Martini titulum*

strophes reinforce such a division. Unlike all the other parallel strophes, strophes 7a and 7b do not share an end rhyme in the final verse: 7a concludes with the word *suscitat* while 7b ends with *rapitur*. The author makes up for this discrepancy by rhyming each concluding word with the final word of the immediately-preceding verse (*flagitat/suscitat* and *eligitur/rapitur*) creating a sort of closure within each individual strophe. Ironically, this technique also creates a link between 7a and 7b because they are the only two strophes which exhibit this characteristic.

Other strophes, however, also display poetic elements which either reinforce strophe pairing or play with the text. For instance, like the three strophes of the invocation, strophes 4a and 4b employ the same rhymes and rhyme scheme. Various forms of the noun *pallium* also connect one to the other. Strophe 4a begins with *pallium*, and concludes with *pallio*, while 4b begins with *pallii* and concludes with the strophes' only other *p*-word, *proprio*. This is not the poem's only example of various forms of the same or similar words appearing near each other or in tandem. Strophes 3a and 3b play repeatedly with the form of the noun for soldier (*miles*,

*milites*). The verb “to baptize” occurs in various forms in strophes 5a and 6a, while “reader” and “to read” work together in strophe 8b, and “defender” and “destroyer” appear together in 8c. Finally, another example of alliterative verse construction appears in strophe 7a with the playful phrase *sibi fune fecit funus*, not unlike *Per eundem tempus’ s sanum sine sanie*.

### 2.5 *Paule doctor gentium*

While a sequence dedicated to St Paul might prompt a similar biographical treatment of the protagonist as witnessed in *Ad Martini titulum, Paule doctor gentium* (AH 40, 263),<sup>30</sup> instead, presents a meditation on Paul’s character interspersed with quotations from his letters and concluding with the apocryphal account of his death (see Table 2.6). Perhaps more than anything, the emphasis of the sequence is on Paul as a crusader. The sword, his most common attribute by the High Middle Ages (see section 2.5.1 below), as well as other motifs of war appear throughout the poem. In strophe 2a the author describes Paul’s words as booty (*spolium*) and immediately strophe 2b transforms words (*verbi*) from spoils to a sword. The sword reappears at the end of the poem, in strophes 6b–7b, both as his weapon against the unbelievers in battle as well as the instrument of his martyrdom under Nero. Of course, the soldier of Christ goes hand-in-hand with the instructor in Christ: the two halves of the crusader. In strophe 1, the author describes Paul as a teacher and a vessel of grace. Later in strophe 5a he is similarly a preacher, imitator, and herald.

Though perhaps not as enthusiastically as the previous two sequences, there is still an element of word play apparent in the text of *Paule doctor gentium*. Strophe 1 employs some

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<sup>30</sup> There are four other extant sources of *Paule doctor gentium*. The earliest is the mid-fourteenth century noted missal for the Abbey of St.-Denis (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ms. 1346–1891), a fifteenth-century orationale for the Cistercian monastery at Altenkamp (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-521), and two sixteenth-century missals for Orléans (*Missale ad usum et consuetudinem ecclesie Aurelianensis cum multis officiis de novo adjectis denuo diligenter revisum* (Paris: [Wolfgang Hopyl Pierre Marchant, 1519]) and *Missale Aurelianensis ecclesie ac diocesis* (Orléans: François Gueiard, 1556)). On the St. Denis missal see Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).



<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>	Translation
1. Paule, doctor gentium, Christi vas egregium, vas insigne gratia,	Paul, teacher of the chosen people, eminent vessel of Christ, vessel with singular grace,
2a. tuum est preconium tui verbi spolium gentium ecclesia.	Your praise is the booty of your words in the church of the chosen people.
2b. Tu per verbi gladium resecas preputium, circumcidis vitia.	Through the sword of the word you trim the foreskin, you circumcise vices.
3a. Raptus celum tertium intras sanctuarium, stupent omnes ebrium cella de vinaria.	Dragged to the third heaven you enter the sanctuary; all are astounded, [each] drunk from the wine jars in the cellar.
3b. Mentis nec ingenium lingue nec eloquium explicat mysterium quod mens capit ebria.	Neither the natural capacity of the mind nor the eloquence of the tongue explains the mystery that the intoxicated mind grasps.
4a. Illic hauris de thesauris. Illic vides quod non fides sufficit exprimere.	There you drain from the treasures. There you see what the faith does not suffice to express.
4b. Opes Christi quas vidisti, Non refundis, sed recondis mystico caractere.	The powers of Christ which you saw, you do not pour back but conceal with a mystical character.
5a. Predicator veritatis, emulator caritatis, magnus prece gratie,	Preacher of truth, imitator of charity, great herald of grace,
5b. contra legem lege pugnas. Questionum solvis pugnans cessant cerimonie.	Against the law, you fight with the law. You destroy the battles of questions, the ceremonies cease.
6a. Tandem passo sub Nerone pugna firmat spem corone, neque caret mysterio doctrinae consors passio.	At last by having suffered under Nero the battle strengthens the hope of a crown and the shared suffering of teaching is not lacking in the mystery.
6b. Mucro sevit pro mucrone, dum pro verbi ratione decollaris cum gladio; mors congruit officio.	The sword rages about the sword while for the reckoning of the word you are beheaded with a sword; death coincides with duty.
7a. Ense verbi dimicasti. Ense ferri triumphasti. Ensem ense superasti, mortem patientia.	With the sword of the word you fought. With the sword of iron you triumphed. With the sword you overcame the sword, death, with patience.
7b. Testis fluit lactis unda quantum fuit vita munda, quam predulcis, quam fecunda, verbi sapientia.	A wave of milk flows, a witness, [how your] life was as pure as the very sweet and fertile wisdom of the word.
8. Pasce nos in gloria.	Feed us in glory.

Table 2.6: *Paule doctor gentium* Text and Translation

alliteration with its repetitive *g* sounds (*gentium, egregium, insigne gratia*). Strophes or strophe pairs play with multiple forms of the same word: strophes 2a and 2b use many forms of “you/your” (*tuum, tui, tu*); strophes 5b and 6a move back and forth between the two forms “you fight” and “the battles” (*pugnas, pugnas*), and 5b employs two forms of “the law” in direct succession (*legem lege*); finally, strophes 6b and 7a make seven references to a sword through three different words (*gladius, ensis, mucro*). Clearly, it is the sword that is the central symbol of the sequence, and it is this symbol that provides additional information for dating the creation of the sequence and by extension the manuscript.

### 2.5.1 St Paul and the Sword

The earliest association of Paul with the sword occurs in images of his execution. In these early images Paul appears with his executioner who brandishes a sword at the moment prior to execution. Occasionally he appears in conjunction with Peter with whom tradition linked his martyrdom, each suffering decapitation and crucifixion respectively (see Figure 2.1). Beginning in the tenth century, more gruesome images of Paul’s execution appear, based on the apocryphal *Passio sancti Pauli apostoli* ascribed to Linus, Peter’s successor in Rome.<sup>31</sup> From this *Passio* the tradition of milk spurting from Paul’s severed head, as well as Nero’s presence, both present in the sequence, originates. According to Luba Eleen, apocryphal legends such as this began to be read aloud during the Office in the ninth century. Not surprisingly images of scenes from these narratives also began to appear in the manuscripts containing them. Sequences similarly employed imagery from these liturgical narratives. The numerous sequences for the feast of Sts Peter and Paul on 29 June attest to this relationship and it is in the context of execution that the majority of the Pauline sequences also include the sword. Twenty of the thirty-two sequences for

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<sup>31</sup> Luba Eleen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 18–19.



Figure 2.1: Executions of Peter and Paul, London, British Library, MS Harley 2801, fol. 21r

Sts Peter and Paul mention their respective executions and in every case descriptions of Peter reference the cross and those of Paul the sword.<sup>32</sup> However, of the twenty-two sequences for

<sup>32</sup> The thirty-two sequences are: *Actiones gratiarum* (AH 55, 323), *Adest dies laetitiae* (AH 42, 282), *Agmina laeta* (AH 40, 270), *Alme rex Christe* (AH 7, 200), *Apostolica lux haec palma* (AH 10, 286), *Clari duces nostrae spei* (AH 8, 204), *Collaetetur fidelis contio* (AH 40, 271), *Cuncta caeli regem laudant* (AH 34, 256), *Dies ista dies laeta* (AH 8, 203), *Duae verae sunt olivae* (AH 1, 105 and 55, 322), *Gaude Roma Roma gaude* (AH 34, 254), *Gaudet chorus electorum* (AH 34, 255), *Gloriosos pugiles* (AH 55, 325), *Hac in die plebs fidelis* (AH 10, 287), *Hac in die recolatur* (AH 40, 272), *In sollemni memoria* (AH 40, 273), *Isti sunt duae olivae* (AH 40, 275), *Isti duae sunt olivae* (AH 44, 244), *Iubar mundo geminatur* (42, 282), *Iucundemur in hac die* (AH 40, 273), *Laude iucunda* (AH 7, 201 and 53, 339), *Petre summe Christi pastor* (AH 53, 336), *Principes veneremur* (AH 37, 243), *Pulchra praepollent in arva* (AH 7, 202 and 53, 341), *Rex aeternus rector mundi* (AH 10, 288), *Roma felix gratuletur* (AH 39, 251), *Roma nutrix Augustorum* (AH 37, 244), *Roma Petro gloriatur* (AH 55, 321), *Sanctorum devotio* (AH 10, 288), *Sanctus Petrus* (AH 7, 199 and 53, 340), *Senatores summi regis* (AH 40, 274), *Summa summi* (AH 8, 204).

Paul's Conversion and Commemoration feasts (excluding *Paule doctor gentium*, which is assigned to the latter) only six mention a sword, five again in connection with his execution.<sup>33</sup>

During the twelfth century, the Pauline attribute of book or scroll gradually changed into more militant imagery,<sup>34</sup> and by the middle of the thirteenth century images of Paul in Biblical historiated initials almost exclusively show the apostle with a sword (see Figure 2.2). Eleen notes that these representations of Paul with sword occur quite rarely until about 1240 after



Figure 2.2: Paul with Sword, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bib. e. 7, fol. 375v

<sup>33</sup> The twenty-two sequences are: *Adest nobis dies laeta* (AH 9, 238), *Alma mater ecclesia* (AH 34, 252), *Ave sidus venerandum* (AH 9, 233), *Concurrere huc populi* (AH 50, 276), *Corde voce pulsa caelos* (AH 55, 308), *Doctori gentium gentes* (AH 37, 237), *Doctori gentium pangat* (AH 55, 310), *In coelesti hierarchia* (AH 10, 285), *Iubilemus salvatori* (AH 55, 313), *Laetabundus decantet* (AH 9, 236), *Laetabundus Paulum lauden* (AH 42, 238), *Laetetur ecclesia* (AH 55, 310), *Laudes Christo* (AH 9, 237), *Melliflua dans organa* (AH 42, 280), *Nero plange Roma gaude* (AH 39, 246), *Omnes gentes plaudit* (AH 9, 234), *Paule doctor egregie* (AH 42, 281), *Paulus Sion architectus* (AH 55, 312), *Salvatoris manus fortis* (AH 9, 236), *Sancte Paule merita* (AH 42, 237), *Sator rerum* (AH 9, 235), *Veneremur regem regum* (AH 10, 284). The other uses of the sword in these sequences reference Saul's persecution of the Christians. The Conversion sequence *Sator rerum* (AH 9, 235) contains both the sword of Christian persecution and the sword of execution.

<sup>34</sup> Eleen, *Illustration*, 38.

which they become rather common.<sup>35</sup> The precise reasons for Paul's transformation from teacher/scholar as attested by the book and scroll to soldier around this time remain uncertain. According to one argument the papacy popularized the image during this period as a symbol of its combined secular and spiritual power.<sup>36</sup> Whether or not this correctly identifies the source of the change, the continued assault by orthodox Christians on heretics primarily in the form of crusades throughout the thirteenth century certainly helped propagate the image. William Durandus in his late thirteenth-century work *Rationale divinarum officiorum* indicates the importance of Paul as a military figure by noting that during the reading of a Pauline Epistle during the Mass the knights in attendance would stand.<sup>37</sup>

The image of Paul as a militant converter certainly derives in part from his own letters, especially Ephesians chapter 6 which describes the early Christians' struggle against world powers. Ephesians 6:17 reads, *et galeam salutis adsumite et gladium spiritus quod est verbum Dei* (and take up the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit that is the word of God). The last half of this verse appears in truncated form in *Paule doctor gentium*, strophe 2b. Here Paul wields the sword of the word (*verbi gladium*) against evil and the Old Law of the Jews. It is worth noting here explicitly that none of the fifty-four sequences mentioned above associate the sword with Paul in this context, perhaps another indication of the thirteenth-century origins of *Paule doctor gentium*. On the other hand, the image of Paul as preacher-crusader appears in biblical illuminations from the thirteenth century. For instance, an image from the Bible of St

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<sup>35</sup> The earliest example, according to Eleen, appears in the thirteenth-century manuscript New York, Morgan Library, MS M.791 (ca. 1220). Eleen, *Illustration*, 52–3.

<sup>36</sup> Eleen, *Illustration*, 39.

<sup>37</sup> Eleen, *Illustration*, 39.

Louis (1226–34) at Toledo for Hebrews 4:12 shows Paul holding a sword and open book before a group of Jews who are all holding up their left hands (see Figure 2.3).<sup>38</sup>



Figure 2.3: Paul as Crusader-Converter, Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, *Bible Moralisée*, Vol. III, fol. 152r

The unique emphasis on Paul as a militant figure of Christianity in *Paule doctor gentium* together with the mid thirteenth-century propagation of that image suggest to me a date of composition from around the same time. This date corresponds quite closely to Everist's conclusion that **Ch** probably originated around 1243 when the Dominican Missal, Paris, BnF, lat. 8884 was created, but more importantly, it also closely coincides with the end of Philip the Chancellor's life, a time when he was apparently quite concerned with heretical activities in northern and eastern France, and a situation in which the image of Paul as crusader would have served a useful purpose. Before returning to the question of the relationship between the **Ch** sequences and Philip the Chancellor I consider the musical settings of these three sequences and then turn to the complicated case of the final sequence in the collection, *Maiestati sacrosancte*.

<sup>38</sup> Eleen, *Illustration*, 70. Image also from Eleen, *Illustration*, figure 122.

## 2.6 Contrafacts

The three sequences considered so far, *Per eundem tempus*, *Ad Martini titulum*, and *Paule doctor gentium*, contrafact preexisting sequences, the first, *Laudes crucis atollamus* for the feast of the Cross, and the last two, the popular Magdalene sequence *Mane prima sabbati*. Contrafacture played a well-documented role in sequence composition during the twelfth and later centuries, and both *Laudes crucis* and *Mane prima* appear as melodies for numerous texts. These melodies were especially popular in Paris where, as Margot Fassler notes, there existed five contrafacts for *Mane prima* and twelve of *Laudes crucis* among St. Victor and Notre Dame sequence collections alone.<sup>39</sup> In this section I will consider the relationship between the respective texts and melodies of these sequences and consider certain peculiarities particular to the **Ch** contrafacts.

### 2.6.1 *Per eundem tempus* / *Laudes crucis atollamus*

Textually *Per eundem tempus* and *Laudes crucis atollamus* share few obvious resemblances (see Table 2.7). The swampy surrounds and the discovery of relics of *Per eundem tempus*'s surviving strophes correspond to poetry praising the Cross and chronicling several of its metaphors. As noted previously, the opening strophe of *Per eundem tempus* begins not with versicle 1 of its contrafact but with the double-length versicle 3 (see Example 2.1). This suggests several possibilities. First, since the text of *Per eundem tempus* begins immediately with the narrative of St Quentin rather than the common preparatory invocation, the **Ch** redaction lacks some unknown introductory text that would correspond to the opening three strophes of *Laudes crucis*. Nothing precise in the textual relationship between the two sequences contradicts this conclusion. However, as discussed above, the existence of a similarly constructed, though late,

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<sup>39</sup> Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 179.

*Laudes crucis atollamus**Per eundem tempus*

1. Laudes crucis atollamus  
nos qui crucis exultamus  
speciali gloria.

2a. Dulce melos tangat celos.  
Dulce lignum dulci dignum  
credimus melodia.

2b. Voce vita non discordet.  
Cum vox vitam non remordet  
dulcis est symphonia.

3aa. Servi crucis crucem laudent,  
qui per crucem sibi gaudent  
vite dari munera.

3ab. Dicant omnes et dicant singuli,  
ave salus totius seculi  
arbor salutifera.

3ba. O quam felix quam preclara  
fuit hec salutis ara  
rubens agni sanguine,

3bb. agni sine macula  
qui mundavit secula  
ab antiquo crimine.

4a. Hec est scala peccatorum  
per quam Christus, rex celorum,  
ad se traxit omnia;

4b. forma cuius hoc ostendit  
que terrarum comprehendit  
quatuor confinia.

5a. Non sunt nova sacramenta,  
nec recenter est inventa  
crucis hec religio.

5b. Ista dulces aquas fecit.  
Per hanc sylex aquas iecit  
Moysi officio.

...

1aa. Per eundem tempus lustris  
loco latens in palustri  
oculis absconditur.

1ab. In profundis mersum undis  
neque lesum nec obsesum  
ave pisce carpitur.

1ba. Licet imum tenens limi  
tamen limum nescit imi  
sanum sine sanie.

1bb. Inquirendum revelatur,  
et querenti reparatur  
aspectus Eusebie.

2a. Ubi corpus sit sepultum  
ignoravit tempus multum.  
Diu frustra queritur.

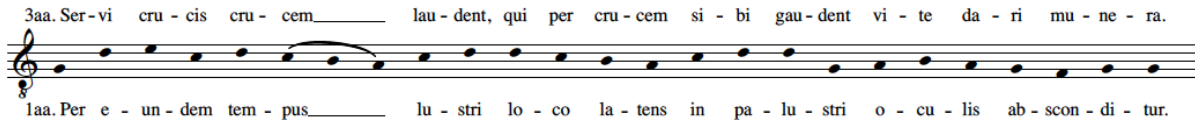
2b. Tempus tamen abolere  
nequid istud quod iam vere  
eterno coniugitur.

3a. Inquirendo sepulture  
eligitur vite pure  
Eligius pontifex.

3b. Hic inventum...

Table 2.7: Comparison of *Laudes crucis atollamus* and *Per eundem tempus*





Example 2.1: Strophe 1aa of *Per eundem tempus* (**Ch**, fol. 4r)  
and 3aa of *Laudes crucis atollamus* (**lat. 1112**, fol. 284r)

Quentin sequence, *Decem uno ferme lustris*, suggests that the version of the sequence as it appears in **Ch** is the original. Second, the author of *Per eundem tempus* perhaps chose to begin the sequence with the second double versicle deliberately omitting the recognizable opening melody as a narrative device referencing the missing head of St Quentin. While such a possibility may seem anachronistic, there is certainly evidence in the contrafacture of *Ad Martini titulum* and *Paule doctor* that creative arranging practices have been employed. Third, the composer intended his contrafact of *Laudes crucis* to begin with the beginning of the melody, but the redactor chose to begin the piece in the third versicle. Evidence for this argument might be found in the similarities of sound play and internal rhyme between corresponding second strophes as well as the repetition of words in corresponding third strophes. Finally, that the composer of the text intended the sequence to begin as it appears in **Ch**, but the choice of *Laudes crucis atollamus* as a melodic source was entirely arbitrary.<sup>40</sup>

While the differing verse lengths of corresponding strophes (as they occur with music) suggest the possibility of this final alternative, such modifications of the *Laudes crucis atollamus* melody are common. The verse lengths of *Laudes crucis* diverge wildly from strophe to strophe unlike the regular verse lengths of *Per eundem tempus* which suggests a later date for the latter. Compare strophes 1aa–1bb of *Per eundem tempus* to strophes 3aa–3bb of *Laudes crucis*. For

<sup>40</sup> While the arbitrary choice of a melody for contrafacture always remains a possibility, I find such an argument difficult to sustain without a thorough investigation into the multiple contrafacts of any given sequence melody. No such study of sequence contrafacts exists.

these four strophes *Laudes crucis* has one strophe of 8p+8p+7pp, then 10p+10p+7pp followed by 8p+8p+7pp and 7pp+7pp+7pp, and this despite the two sets of strophes sharing the same music. In comparison, every strophe of *Per eundem tempus* follows the 8p+8p+7pp form. Such differences require the setting of *Per eundem tempus* to add notes in strophe 1bb and both ornament some syllables and omit notes entirely in 1ab (see Example 2.2). Aside from these two

1112

3ab. Di - cant om - nes et di - cant sin - gu - li, a - ve sa - lus to - ti - us se - cu - li ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra.

1ab. In pro - fun - dis mer - sum un - dis ne - que le - sum nec\_\_\_ ob - se - sum a - ve pis - ce car - pi - tur.

1112

3bb. ag - ni si - ne ma - cu - la qui mun - da - vit sa - cu - la ab an - ti - quo cri - mi - ne.

1bb. In - qui - ren - dum re - ve - la - tur et que - ren - ti re - pa - ra - tur as - pe - ctus Eu - se - bi - e.

Example 2.2: Comparison of *Per eundem tempus* (Ch, fol. 4v) and *Laudes crucis* (lat. 1112, fol. 284r) 3ab/1ab and 3bb/1bb

examples the music for the remainder of the fragment corresponds exactly to the original melody. Determining if these variations occur commonly among contrafacts is difficult to assess without the benefit of detailed comparison with other *Laudes crucis* contrafacts or any large collections of single melody contrafacts.<sup>41</sup> However, Helen Deeming has discussed another *Laudes crucis* contrafact, *Recitemus per hec festa* for the Anglo-Saxon saint Kyneburga, which modifies versicle 3 exactly as it appears in *Per eundem tempus*. This English contrafact also employs a fluid approach to contrafacture evident in the settings of *Ad Martini titulum* and *Paule doctor gentium*.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> On the Parisian uses of *Laudes crucis atollamus* as a melody for contrafacture and melodic invention see Margot Fassler, “Who was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37, no. 2 (1984): 233–69, at 252–57; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 290–99.

<sup>42</sup> Helen Deeming, “Music, Memory and Mobility: Citation and Contrafactum in Thirteenth-Century Sequence Repertories,” in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, vol. 2, ed. Giuliano Di Bacco and Yolanda Plumley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 67–81, at 73–76.

### 2.6.2 *Ad Martini titulum* / *Paule doctor gentium* / *Mane prima sabbati*

The relationship between *Ad Martini titulum* and *Paule doctor gentium* to *Mane prima sabbati* provides both a more typical as well as a more unusual scenario of contrafacture.

Textually, *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* correspond more obviously to their contrafacted text than *Per eundem tempus* (see Table 2.8). Line lengths are consistent between strophes, and verse 6b.1 of *Ad Martini titulum* (*Turba plorat sanctus orat*) clearly references verse 5a.1 of *Mane prima* (*Que dum plorat et mens orat*) providing an expected textual correspondence between a newly composed text based on a preexisting one. Structural differences are minor. *Ad Martini titulum* adds two extra four-verse strophes at the end of the poem and lacks the closing mini-strophe. *Paule doctor gentium*, on the other hand, contains only three opening strophes of three

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>
1. Ad Martini titulum in vocalem modulum prodeat devotio.	1. Mane prima sabbati surgens Dei filius, nostra spes in gloria,	1. Paule, doctor gentium, Christi vas egregium, vas insigne gratia,
2a. Fidei signaculum fulgeat ad oculum operis inditio.	2a. victo rege sceleris rediit ab inferis cum summa victoria;	2a. tuum est preconium tui verbi spoliium gentium eccelsia.
2b. Presul, gemma presulum, sanctitatis speculum, nostra sit instructio.	2b. cuius resurrectio omni plena gaudio consolatur omnia.	2b. Tu per verbi gladium resecas preputium circumcidis vitia.
3a. Natus ex gentilibus, miles ex militibus, de tribuno militum.	3a. Resurgentis itaque Maria Magdalene facta est prenuntia	
3b. Vite virtus inclyte monachum in milite exhibet emeritum.	3b. ferens Christi fratribus eius morte tristibus expectata gaudia.	
4a. Pallium cum gladio brume scindens medio Ambianis Dominum tectum videt pallio.	4a. O beati oculi, quibus regem seculi morte iam deposita prima est intuita.	3a. Raptus celum tertium intrans sactuarium, stupent omnes ebrium cella de vinaria.
4b. Pallii dimidio tectus in vicario laudat cathecuminum Christus ore proprio.	4b. Hec est illa femina, cuius cuncta crimina ad Christi vestigia eius lavit gratia.	3b. Mentis nec ingenium lingue nec eloquium explicat mysterium quod mens capit ebria.

Table 2.8: Comparison of *Ad Martini*, *Paule doctor*, and *Mane prima*

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>
5a. Baptizatur, ordinatur, ad levite gradum vite meritis. Hilarius	5a. Que dum plorat et mens orat, facto clamat, quod cor amat Iesum super omnia.	4a. Illic hauris de thesauris. Illic vides quod non fides sufficit exprimere.
5b. hunc invitat, sed hoc vitat nam laboris quam honoris onus ei gratius.	5b. Non ignorat, quem adorat, quid precetur; sed deletur, quod mens timet conscia.	4b. Opes Christi quas vidisti. Non refundis, sed recondis mystico caractere.
6a. Baptizandum cathecizat, sed preventum non baptizat, dum abest per triduum.	6a. O Maria, mater pia, stella maris apellaris operum per merita,	5a. Predicator veritatis, emulator caritatis, magnus preco gratie,
6b. Turba plorat, sanctus orat, prece fusa mors confusa vite reddit mortuum.	6b. matri Christi coequata, dum fuisti sic vocata, sed honore subdita.	5b. contra legem lege pugnas. Questionum solvis pugnas, cessant cerimonie.
7a. Importune servus unus sibi fune fecit funus. Martinum turba flagitat. Martinus illum suscitatur.	7a. Illa enim imperatrix, ista beata peccatrix, leticie primordia fuderunt in ecclesia;	6a. Tandem passo sub Nerone pugna firmat spem corone, neque caret mysterio doctrine consors passio.
7b. Tantis signis vir insignis in pastorem ad clamorem cleri, plebi eligitur. Fugit; invitatus rapitur.	7b. illa enim fuit porta, per quam fuit lux exorta; hec resurgentis nuntia mundum replet letitia.	6b. Mucro sevit pro mucrone, dum pro verbi ratione decollaris cum gladio; mors congruit officio.
8a. Quidam dictus est defensor, personarum extra mensor, forma vilem et exilem hunc indignum astruit.	8a. O Maria Magdalena, audi vota laude plena, apud Christum chorum istum clementer concilia,	7a. Ense verbi dimicasti. Ense ferri triumphasti. Ensem ense superasti, mortem patientia.
8b. Lector abest, causa more legit puer pro lectore et perversum hunc ex ore hunc indignum destruit.	8b. ut fons summe pietatis, qui te lavit a peccatis servos suos atque tuos mundet data venia.	7b. Testis fluit lactis unda quantum fuit vita munda, quam predulcis, quam fecunda, verbi sapientia.
8c. Tu destructor defensoris, a flagello destructoris nos defendas et impendas gratie solatia.		
8d. Tanti patris assecuti patronatum simus tuti, ut saluti restituti letemur in gloria.		
	9. Hoc det eius gratia qui regnat per omnia.	8. Pasce nos in gloria.
Amen	Amen	

Table 2.8: Comparison of *Ad Martini*, *Paule doctor*, *Mane prima*, cont.

verses followed by two strophes of four verses, unlike *Mane prima* and *Ad Martini titulum*, which both begin with five strophes of three verses preceding the two strophes of four verses.

*Paule doctor gentium* also retains the short poetic epilogue but with only a single verse instead of *Mane prima*'s two.

The musical settings of the two **Ch** sequences also demonstrate a creative approach to the contrafacture of *Mane prima sabbati*. The most notable deviation occurs in versicle 3 (see Example 2.3). Both *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* begin with the first phrase of *Mane prima*'s versicle 3. Following this opening phrase, phrases 2 and 3 of *Ad Martini* employ the music of phrases 2 and 3 of double versicle 2, while phrases 2–4 of *Paule doctor gentium* use the music of the corresponding phrases in double versicle 4. A second interesting discrepancy between the **Ch** sequences and *Mane prima* occurs in the final two phrases of the last double versicle. Both the cathedral and Victorine versions of these concluding phrases are highly ornamented and descend to a *C* whereas in **Ch** the melody is stepwise and never descends below the *E* (see Example 2.4). Instead, the final phrase of this ornate version appears as the music of the final verse-strophe of *Paule doctor gentium* rather than the unrelated music of both the Victorine and cathedral versions (see Example 2.5). In the context of *Mane prima sabbati* these musical differences appear unusual. The deviation in versicle 3 might appear the result of a copying error, or a lacuna in the exemplar, while the differences in the final, double versicle could reflect a deliberate simplification through the employment of earlier material.<sup>43</sup> However, in the larger context of the tradition of *Mane prima* contrafacts, the differences present in *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* turn out to be less unusual than they appear.

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<sup>43</sup> The final phrase employed by *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* occurs as the final phrase in versicle 3 of *Mane prima*.

1. Ma - ne pri - ma sab - ba - ti sur - gens De - i fi - li - us nos - tra spes et glo - ri - a,  
 1. Ad Mar - ti - ni ti - tu - lum in vo - ca - lem mo - du - lum pro - de - at de - vo - ti - o.  
 1. Pau - le, doc - tor gen - ti - um, Chri - sti vas e - gre - gi - um, vas in - sig - ne gra - ti - a,

2a. vic - to re - ge sce - le - ris re - di - it ab in - fer - is cum sum - ma vic - tor - i - a;  
 2a. Fi - de - i sig - na - cu - lum ful - ge - at ad o - cu - lum o - per - is in - di - ti - o.  
 2a. tu - um est pre - co - ni - um tu - i ver - bi spo - li - um gen - ti - um ec - cle - si - a.

2b. cu - ius re - sur - rec - ti - o om - ni ple - na gau - di - o con - so - la - tur om - ni - a.  
 2b. Pre - sul, gem - ma pre - su - lum, sanc - ti - ta - tis spe - cu - lum, nos - tra sit in - struc - ti - o.  
 2b. Tu per ver - bi gla - di - um re - se - cas pre - pu - ti - um cir - cum - ci - dis vi - ti - a.

mi - les ex mi - li - ti - bus, de tri - bu - no mi - li - tum.  
 mo - na - chum in mi - li - te ex - hi - bit em - er - i - tum.

3a. Re - sur - gen - tis i - ta - que  
 3a. Na - tus ex gen - ti - li - bus,  
 3b. Vi - te vir - tus in - cly - te

Ma - ri - a Mag - da - len - e \_\_\_\_\_ fac - ta est pre - nun - ti - a

3b. fe - rens Chris - ti fra - tri - bus  
 3a. Rap - tus ce - lum ter - ti - um  
 3b. Men - tis nec in - gen - i - um

e - ius mor - te tri - sti - bus \_\_\_\_\_ ex - spec - ta - ta gau - di - a.

in - trans sanc - tu - a - ri - um, stu pent om - nes e - bri - um cel - la de - vi - na - ri - a.  
 lin - gue nec \_\_\_\_\_ e - lo - qui - um ex - pli - cat my - ste - ri - um quod mens ca - it e - bri - a.

4a. O be - a - ti o - cu - li, qui - bus \_\_\_\_\_ re - gem \_\_\_\_\_ se - cu - li mor - te iam de - po - si - ta pri - ma est in - tu - i - ta.  
 4a. Pal - li - um cum gla - di - o bru - me \_\_\_\_\_ scin - dens \_\_\_\_\_ me - di - o Am - bi - an - is Do - mi - num tec - tum vi - det pal - li - o.

Example 2.3: Comparison of Opening of *Mane prima* (lat. 1112, fol. 264v), *Ad Martini titulum* (Ch, fol. 1v), and *Paule doctor gentium* (Ch, fol. 3r)

14819

1112

8a. O Ma-ri-a Mag-da-le-na, au-di vo-ta lau-de ple-na, a-pud Chri-stum cho-rum is-tum cle-men-ter con-ci-li-a,  
 8a. Qui-dam dic-tus est de-fen-sor, per-so-na-rum ex-tra men-sor for-ma vi-lem et ex-i-lem hunc in-dig-num as-tru-it.  
 7a. En-se ver-bi di-mi-ca-sti en-se fer-ri tri-um-pha-sti. En-sem en-se su-pe-ra-sti mor-tem pa-ti-en-ti-a.

Example 2.4: Versicle 8/7 of *Mana prima sabbati* (lat. 1112, fol. 265r; lat. 14819, fol. 69r),  
*Ad Martini titulum* (Ch, fol. 2v), and *Paule doctor gentium* (Ch, fol. 4r)

14819

lat. 1112

8b. ut fons sum-me pi-e-ta-tis, qui te-la-vit a pec-ca-tis ser-vos su-os at-que tu-os mun-det da-ta ve-ni-a.  
 Ch  
 8. Pas-ce nos in glo-ri-a.

Example 2.5: Comparison of *Paule doctor gentium* Versicle 8 (Ch, fol. 4r),  
 and *Mane prima sabbati* Versicle 8 (lat. 1112, fol. 265r; lat. 14819, fol. 69r)

*Gaude prole Grecia* (AH 55, 113), a sequence for St Denis, is another contrafact of *Mane prima sabbati*. This sequence, written by Adam of St. Victor, was especially popular throughout Europe and appears in many sequence collections beginning in the late-twelfth century.<sup>44</sup> Like *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor*, *Gaude prole* demonstrates only a minimal relationship between its text and that of *Mane prima* (see Table 2.9). Structurally *Gaude prole* is significantly longer than the other three sequences with a second strophe set to versicle 1, four strophes set to versicle 4 and an additional two strophes before the concluding short strophe. The significance of *Gaude prole*, however, lies not in its textual characteristics but in its musical setting. There are three basic versions of this contrafact which reflect the different musical versions of the parent

<sup>44</sup> For brief analyses of *Gaude prole Grecia* see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 174–75 and Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris (500-1500)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 277–78. The text alone is edited and translated in Adam of Saint-Victor, *Sequences*, ed. and trans. Juliet Mousseau (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 190–97.

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>	<i>Gaude prole Grecia</i>
1. Ad Martini titulum in vocalem modulum prodeat devotio.	1. Mane prima sabbati surgens Dei filius, nostra spes in gloria,	1. Paule, doctor gentium, Christi vas egregium, vas insigne gratia,	1a. Gaude prole, Grecia glorietur Gallia patre Dionysio;  1b. exsultet uberius felici Parisius illustris martyrio.
2a. Fidei signaculum fulgeat ad oculum operis inditio.	2a. victo rege scecleris redit ab inferis cum summa victoria;	2a. tuum est preconium tui verbi spoliū gentium eccelsia.	2a. Speciali gaudio gaude, felix contio, martyrum presentia,
2b. Presul, gemma presulum, sanctitatis speculum, nostra sit instructio.	2b. cuius resurectio omni plena gaudio consolatur omnia.	2b. Tu per verbi gladium resecas preputium circumcidis vitia.	2b. quorum patrocinio tota gaudet regio, regni sit potentia.
3a. Natus ex gentilibus, miles ex militibus, de tribuno militum.	3a. Resurgentis itaque Maria Magdalene facta est prenuntia	3a. Iuxta patrem positi bellatores incliti digni sunt memoria;	3a. Iuxta patrem positi bellatores incliti digni sunt memoria;
3b. Vite virtus inclyte monachum in milite exhibet emeritum.	3b. ferens Christi fratribus eius morte tristibus expectata gaudia.	3b. sed illum precipue recolit assidue regalis ecclesia.	3b. sed illum precipue recolit assidue regalis ecclesia.
4a. Pallium cum gladio brume scindens medio Ambianis Dominum tectum videt pallio.	4a. O beati oculi, quibus regem seculi morte iam deposita prima est intuita.	3a. Raptus celum tertium intrans sactuarium, stupent omnes ebrium cella de vinaria.	4a. Hic a summo presule directus ad Galliam non gentis incredulise veretur insaniam.
4b. Pallii dimidio tectus in vicario laudat cathetaminum Christus ore proprio.	4b. Hec est illa femina, cuius cuncta crimina ad Christi vestigia eius lavit gratia.	3b. Mentis nec ingenium lingue nec eloquium explicat mysterium quod mens capit ebraria.	4b. Gallorum apostolus venerat Lutetiam, quam tenebat subdolos hostis velut propriam:  5a. hic errorum cumulus, hic omnis spurcicia, hic infelix populus gaudens idolatria;

Table 2.9: Comparison of *Ad Martini, Paule doctor, Mane prima and Gaude prole*



5a. Baptizatur, ordinatur, ad levite gradum vite meritis. Hilarius	5a. Que dum plorat et mens orat, facto clamat, quod cor amat Iesum super omnia.	4a. Illic hauris de thesauris. Illic vides quod non fides sufficit exprimere.	5b. adorabant idolum fallacis Mercurii, sed vicit diabolum fides Dionysii.
5b. hunc invitat, sed hoc vitat nam laboris quam honoris onus ei gratius.	5b. Non ignorat, quem adorat, quid preceatur, sed deletur, quod mens timet conscia.	4b. Opes Christi quas vidisti. Non refundis, sed recondis mystico caractere.	6b. Turba credit, error cedit, fides crescit et clarescit nomen tanti presulis.
6a. Baptizandum cathecizat, sed preventum non baptizat, dum abest per triduum.	6a. O Maria, mater pia, stella maris apelaris operum per merita,	5a. Predicator veritatis, emulador caritatis, magnus prece gratie,	7a. His auditis fit insanus immitis Domitianus mititique Sisinnium,
6b. Turba plorat, sanctus orat, prece fusa mors confusa vite reddit mortuum.	6b. matri Christi coequata, dum fuisti sic vocata, sed honore subdita.	5b. contra legem lege pugnas. Questionum solvis pugnas, cessant cerimonie.	7b. qui pastorem animarum fide, vita, signis clarum trahat ad supplicium.
7a. Importune servus unus sibi fune fecit funus. Martinum turba flagitat. Martinus illum suscitatur.	7a. Illa enim imperatrix, ista beata peccatrix, leticie primordia fuderunt in ecclesia;	6a. Tandem passo sub Nerone pugna firmat spem corone, neque caret mysterio doctrine consors passio.	8a. Infliguntur seni poene, flagra, carcer et catene; catastam, lectum ferreum et estum vincit igneum;
7b. Tantis signis vir insignis in pastorem ad clamorem cleri plebi eligitur. Fugit, invitatus rapitur.	7b. illa enim fuit porta, per quam fuit lux exorta; hec resurgentis nuntia mundum replet letitia.	6b. Mucro sevit pro mucrone, dum pro verbi ratione decollaris cum gladio; mors congruit officio.	8b. prece domat feras truces, sedat rogum, perfert cruces, post clavos et patibulum translatus ad ergastulum.
8a. Quidam dictus est defensor, personarum extra mensor, forma vilem et exilem hunc indignum astruit.	8a. O Maria Magdalena, audi vota laude plena, apud Christum chorum istum clementer concilia,	7a. Ense verbi dimicasti. Ense ferri triumphasti. Ensem ense superasti, mortem patientia.	9a. Seniore celebrante missam, turba circumstante, Christus adest comitante celesti frequentia;
8b. Lector abest, causa more legit puer pro lectore et perversum hunc ex ore hunc indignum destruit.	8b. ut fons summe pietatis, qui te lavit a peccatis servos suos atque tuos mundet data venia.	7b. Testis fluit lactis unda quantum fuit vita munda, quam preduleis, quam fecunda, verbi sapientia.	9b. specu clausum carcerali consolatur et vitali pane cibatur immortalis coronandum gloria.

Table 2.9: Comparison of *Ad Martini*, *Paule doctor*, *Mane prima* and *Gaude prole*, cont.

<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>	<i>Gaude prole Grecia</i>
8c. Tu destructor defensoris, a flagello destructoris nos defendas et impendas gratie solatia.			10a. Prodit martyr conflicturus, sub securi stat securus; ferit licitor sicque victor consummatur gladio.
8d. Tanti patris assecuti patronatum simus tuti, ut saluti restituti letemur in gloria.			10b. Se cadaver mox erexit, truncus truncum caput vexit, quo ferentem hoc direxit angelorum legio.
	9. Hoc det eius gratia qui regnat per omnia.	8. Pasce nos in gloria.	11. Tam preclara passio repleat nos gaudio.
Amen	Amen		

Table 2.9: Comparison of *Ad Martini*, *Paule doctor*, *Mane prima* and *Gaude prole*, cont.

sequence *Mane prima*. Unlike the Victorine setting of this text which strictly employs the melody as it appears in *Mane prima* (I will address the two exceptions momentarily), strophes 3a and 3b of the cathedral and St. Denis contrafacts utilize a mishmash of music from versicles 3 and 4, in a manner similar, though not identical, to *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* (see Example 2.6). In the case of *Gaude prole* both strophes begin with the first phrase of versicle 4 then conclude with the second and third phrase of versicle 3. The music then moves on to four statements of the complete versicle 4 in the cathedral and St. Victor versions of the piece.<sup>45</sup> Though the correspondence between *Gaude prole* and the **Ch** sequences in this versicle is not exact, the influence seems obvious and corroborates the relationship with the cathedral tradition over the Victorine tradition, evident in the smaller musical variants as well.

Example 2.6: Versicle 3a/4a of *Mane prima sabbati* (**lat. 1112**, fol. 265r) and *Gaude prole* (**lat. 1112**, fol. 283r)

A second important correlation between the cathedral and **Ch** contrafacts is the employment of the “unornamented” version of versicle 8 (versicle 7 in *Paule doctor*) for strophes 7a–7b (without the third phrase) and 10a–10b in *Gaude prole Grecia*.<sup>46</sup> While Fassler

<sup>45</sup> The St. Denis version omits strophes 5a/b and therefore versicle 4 occurs only twice.

<sup>46</sup> See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 277.

(using the numbering of melodic units in the edition of Misset/Aubry) does not draw a distinction between these two “versions” (they are both designated t. 118), the difference is significant since this is the only contrafact among the popular *Mane prima* contrafacts which never employs the elaborate final phrase that descends to C.<sup>47</sup> Why the contrafactor chose to employ this music instead of the expected versicle 6 as seen in the Victorine setting, and then to repeat the same music at the end is unclear. This melodic variant corresponds both to the St. Denis version of *Gaude prole* as well as its setting of *Mane prima sabbati*, the setting which dominated in the northern and eastern religious communities rather than in Paris. This alternative version of *Mane prima* also supplied the music for *Gaude prole*’s ninth versicle (assuming that the non-Parisian melodic versions of *Mane prima* predate *Gaude prole*) for both the cathedral and St. Victor,<sup>48</sup> but both versicles 8 and 9 at St. Denis correspond to its version of *Mane prima* (see Example 2.7).

lat. 1107  
8a. O Ma-ri-a Mag-da-le-ne, au-di vo-ta lau-de... ple-na a-pud Chris-tum cho-rum, is-tum cle-men-ter con-ci-li-a

lat. 1112  
9a. Se-ni-o-re ce-le-bran-te mis-sam, tur-ba cir-cum-stan-te, Chris-tus ad-est co-mi-tan-te... ce-le-sti... fre-quen-ti-a;

Example 2.7: Comparison of Versicle 8 of *Mane prima sabbati* (St. Denis and north: **lat. 1107**, fol. 351r) and *Gaude prole* (cathedral: **lat. 1112**, fol. 283r)

A final interesting coincidence is the concluding short-strophe of *Gaude prole*. Like *Mane prima*, the text comprises two 7pp verses. The second of these two verses, unrelated to the text of *Mane prima*, bears a striking resemblance to *Paule doctor*’s single-verse strophe: *Repleat nos gaudio*. Aside from this textual similarity and the musical correspondences just noted,

<sup>47</sup> Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 172–73. E. Misset and Pierre Aubry, ed., *Les proses d’Adam de Saint-Victor: texte et musique* (Paris: Welter, 1900).

<sup>48</sup> Though with the same ornate final phrase of the cathedral and Victorine versions of *Mane prima*.

however, there is very little evidence that the popular St Denis sequence was a specific model for *Paule doctor*. In fact, though the single concluding verse of *Paule doctor* seems a quirk of that sequence alone, a similar single-verse cauda, *Amen dicant omnia*, concludes the St. Denis (and northern/eastern) version of *Mane prima* and therefore may have been just as influential on the conclusion of *Paule doctor gentium*. The one piece of evidence that might suggest otherwise, however, is the musical setting of this mini-strophe (see Example 2.8). Although the music employed for *Paule doctor*'s mini-strophe does not correspond to any version of *Mane prima*'s final strophe, instead to the concluding phrase from versicle 8 of the cathedral and Victorine version of the sequence, amazingly, this same musical phrase, though in the slightly less ornate

lat. 1107  
St. Denis

lat. 1112  
cathedral

lat. 14819  
Victorine  
10. Tam pre - cla - ra pas - si - o re - ple - at nos gau - di - o.

Ch  
*Paule doctor*  
8. Pas - ce nos in glo - ri - a.

Example 2.8: Comparison of Final Strophes in *Gaude prole* (lat. 1107, fol. 382r; lat. 1112, fol. 283r; lat. 14819, fol. 135v) and *Paule doctor* (Ch, fol. 4v)

version, sets the final mini-strophe of *Gaude prole* (*repleat nos gaudio*) but only in the Victorine version of the sequence.<sup>49</sup>

The evidence provided by *Gaude prole* indicates that although it was not the model on which the contrafactor of *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* based his musical arrangement, it may have provided a template for the arrangement of the various musical materials provided by *Mane*

<sup>49</sup> The music in this phrase corresponds to the phrase concluding the preceding versicle (the same music that concludes versicle 8 of *Mane prima*) and therefore is not unusual in context.

*prima* and its contrafacts. First of all, unlike *Mane prima* and two of its Parisian contrafacts, *Ecce dies celebris* for Easter and *Simplex in essentia* for Pentecost, *Gaude prole Grecia* details and honors the life and martyrdom of a military saint. The poem describes St Denis's journey to Paris, his conversion of the heathens, and his eventual martyrdom through decollation. This obviously links the Parisian martyr to Paul as does the apocryphal belief perpetuated in *Gaude prole* that Denis was Dionysius the Aeropagite converted by St Paul and persecuted under the Roman emperor Domitian.<sup>50</sup> Second, *Gaude prole* manipulates the poetic structure adding strophes to the first, fourth (except at St. Denis), and eighth versicles. In the cathedral and at the abbey of St. Victor, all but the last of these added strophes repeat the versicle preceding it. Only the final strophes employ music from earlier in the sequence, specifically the music of strophes 7a–7b plus an additional third phrase. The St. Denis version, following *Mane prima*, employs the same music for strophes 9a–10b exactly as occurs in *Ad Martini titulum*'s final four strophes. Finally, the musical manipulation of versicles 3 and 4 in the cathedral and St. Denis contrafacts create a “hybrid” versicle in the third versicle, a hybridity found in both *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* in their third versicle, if in a slightly different form in both sequences.

Margot Fassler has argued that the poem *Gaude prole Grecia* may not have been created with *Mane prima sabbati* in mind. She notes that the “final strophes do not exactly fit the melody of ‘Mane prima sabbati’” and as a result alterations had to be made which differed between the cathedral and St. Victor.<sup>51</sup> I disagree. First of all, the last strophes of *Gaude prole* do indeed match the ending melody of *Mane prima*. The final strophes of both sequences comprise four verses of 8p+8p+8p+7pp followed by two verses of 7pp, therefore the text of the former fits perfectly with the melody of the latter. The only way that the text and music would not

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<sup>50</sup> Adam of Saint-Victor, *Sequences*, 235 note 401.

<sup>51</sup> Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 174.

correspond is if the text of *Gaude prole* were superimposed onto *Mane prima*, but in that case the music and text correspondence would break down beginning in strophe 3b because of the additional three-verse strophe in the latter sequence. The additional strophes throughout *Gaude prole* do not suggest an independent origin for the poem but rather indicate its reliance on *Mane prima* since the verses that correspond do so exactly. It seems unlikely that two poems created independently of one another would both have four strophes of 8p+8p+7pp followed by two strophes of 8p+8p+8p+8p and then two more strophes of 8p+8p+8p+7pp, not to mention a concluding mini-strophe of two 7pp verses.

In *Gaude prole* we observe creative contrafacture in progress, influenced by concurrent melodic versions of *Mane prima* in existence throughout Paris as well as the rest of France. Yet that melodic material was not sacrosanct. It could be pulled apart, recombined and manipulated to create new material. A similar process was undertaken in the creation of *Ad Martini* and *Paule doctor* influenced not only by *Mane prima* and its various versions but by *Gaude prole* as well. The recombined third versicle and the “simplified” eighth versicle harken to the latter while the four statements of the same music at the end of *Ad Martini* and the single-verse strophe concluding *Paule doctor* suggest a knowledge of the St. Denis (or northern/eastern) versions of *Gaude prole* and *Mane prima* respectively. Despite the apparent awareness of this alternative *Mane prima* tradition, the music uniquely associated with it is conspicuously absent from the two sequences. This points to a Parisian origin for the **Ch** melodies, and, more specifically, a Parisian origin separate from St. Denis.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> It is an interesting coincidence then that the fourteenth-century St. Denis missal (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1346–1891) is the earliest of only four other known sources of *Paule doctor gentium*.

## 2.7 *Maiestati sacrosancte*

The preceding three sequences which commemorate saints celebrated throughout France provide little evidence that links **Ch** to any specific locale, though, as just demonstrated, the processes of contrafacture employed specifically suggest the French capital as their place of origin. The remaining **Ch** sequence, *Maiestati sacrosancte* (AH 55, 365), whose last six and a half strophes begin gathering *x*, furnishes the only textual evidence for a provenance other than Paris. As a result, I will devote significant space to considering the sequence's function and origin. *Maiestati sacrosancte* differs from the other **Ch** sequences in several significant ways. First, the piece appears in numerous sources, mostly, according to AH, from the archdiocese of Cologne, but also as far afield as Venice and Krakow.<sup>53</sup> Second, the musical setting is an *unicum*, employing neither a contrafactured melody as do *Per eundem tempus*, *Ad Martini titulum*, and *Paule doctor gentium*, nor the melody associated with the text in the Rhenish sources where it most commonly appears.<sup>54</sup>

The text in its longest form comprises twenty paired strophes, the last two of which do not appear in the **Ch** setting (see Table 2.10). The poem consists of two halves, the first addressing the birth of Christ and the ensuing visit and gifts of the three Magi (8 strophes), and the second, the discovery and subsequent translations of the Magi's relics from Constantinople to Milan and Cologne (6 strophes). Throughout the text, the poet's primary concern rests with the number three. The three Magi present three gifts to the baby Jesus who himself represents a single facet of the three-in-one God. The explication of these two concepts, the triple nature of God and the gifts of the Magi, play out in three pairs of strophes, the first relating the three gifts

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<sup>53</sup> AH lists a total of twenty-six sources.

<sup>54</sup> On the polymelodic sequence see van Deusen, "Polymelodic sequences."



<i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i>	Translation
1a. <i>Maiestati sacrosancte militans cum triumphante iubilet ecclesia.</i>	Let the church, fighting with those triumphing, sing joyfully to the holy majesty.
1b. <i>Sic versetur laus in ore, ne fraudetur cor sapore, quo degustet dulcia.</i>	Thus let praise dwell in the mouth, lest the heart be defrauded with a sense of taste by which it tastes sweet things.
2a. <i>Novam parit virgo prolem, novum monstrat stella solem. Currunt ad presepeia</i>	The virgin gives birth to a new offspring. The star shows a new sun. Wise and not wandering kings
2b. <i>reges magi et non vagi, sed presagi, gaudent agi stelle luce previa.</i>	run to the mangers, but having presentiment they rejoice to be driven by the leading light of the star.
3a. <i>Trium regum trinum munus, Christus, homo Deus unus, trinus in substantia.</i>	A triple gift of three kings, Christ, man and one God, triple in substance.
3b. <i>Deus trinus in personis adoratur tribus donis unus in essentia.</i>	God, triple in character one in essence, is adored by three gifts.
4a. <i>Murram ferunt, tus et aurum, plus pensantes, quam thesaurum, typum, sub quo veritas.</i>	They bring myrrh, frankincense, and gold, more counterbalancing ones than treasure, a symbol under which is truth.
4b. <i>Tria dona tres figure: rex in auro, Deus ture, in murra mortalitas.</i>	Three gifts, three forms: king in gold, God in frankincense, in myrrh mortality.
5a. <i>Turris odor deitatem, auri splendor dignitatem regalis potentie.</i>	The smell of frankincense into deity, the splendor of gold into the dignity of regal power.
5b. <i>Murra caro verbo nupta, per quod manet incorrupta caro carens carie.</i>	Myrrh, married to a beloved word through which the uncorrupted flesh lacking rot remains.
6a. <i>Ab Helena crux inventa, hec eadem post intenta congregandis regibus.</i>	The cross having been found by Helena, this same woman afterwards is intent on king-gathering.
6b. <i>Reges olim peregrini ornant urbem Constantini allatis corporibus.</i>	With their bodies conveyed, formerly foreign kings travel to the city of Constantine.
7a. <i>Tandem inde sunt translati, commendati civitati, cui nomen Ambrosia.</i>	Thence at last those given in trust were transported to the city called Ambrosia.

Table 2.10: *Maiestati sacrosancte* Text and Translation

<i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i>	Translation
7b. Ter inventos, ter translatos Dei nutu sibi datos colit hos Colonia.	Cologne worships these of God three times found, three times moved having been given by His will.
8a. Ortus dedit Occidenti, quod tres reges ter inventi excolunt Colonia.	The East gave to the West because the three kings found three times honor Cologne.
8b. Nunquam locum mutaturi, nec, ut olim, reversuri sunt per viam aliam.	They are never going to change place and not even if in the future they are going to return through another way.
9a. Colant reges propter regem. Summi regis servent legem coloni Coloniae.	Let them honor the kings by means of the king. Let the inhabitants of Cologne guard the law of the highest king.
9b. Nos in fide sumus rivi. Hi sunt fontes primitivi, gentium primitie.	We are streams in faith. These first offerings of people are the early springs.
10a. Tu nos ab hac, Christe, valle duc ad vitam recto calle per horum suffragia,	You, Christ, lead us from this valley to life by the right path, through the judgment of these,
10b. ubi Patris, ubi tui et amoris sacri frui mereamur gloria.	whereby let us deserve to enjoy the glory of you, your father, and sacred love.

Table 2.10: *Maiestati sacrosancte* Text and Translation, cont.

to the threefold nature of God, and the second and third providing an allegorical interpretation of the gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The poem then transitions to focus on the number three as a way to emphasize the symbolic importance of Cologne as the final resting place of the Magi. According to the poem, the relics of the Magi moved three times, once by Helena (the mother of Emperor Constantine) to Constantinople, then to Milan, and finally to Cologne. The perfection of the number, referenced again and again throughout the poem, establishes Cologne as the perfect resting place for the ancient kings.

After the establishment of Cologne as the Magi's perfect and final home, *Maiestati sacrosancte* concludes with a typical explicit. However, there are two different versions. The first consists of only two strophes (9a–9b) and appears, to my knowledge, only in **Ch**. All other

versions of the sequence conclude with four strophes (9a–10b) which simply append two extra strophes to what appears in **Ch**. The difference between these two versions may or may not be significant. For instance, the absence of strophes 10a–10b in **Ch** could indicate, like the absence of an introductory invocation in *Per eundem tempus*, a hurried copyist or a faulty exemplar from which the sequence was copied. On the other hand, there is no specific textual reason for *Maiestati sacrosancte* to conclude with strophes 10a and 10b. Two clues suggest that a twenty-strophe poem was a conscious decision. First, the first strophe of the poem's narrative (2a) describes Christ as Mary's offspring (*prolem*). Strophe 9b may have been intended to mirror that trope of descendants through the metaphor of water. It states, "We are streams in faith. / These first offerings of people / are the early springs" (*Nos in fide sumus rivi / hi sunt fontes primitivi / gentium primitie*). If the author designed these two strophes to echo each other then the addition of two more explicit strophes provides a structural mirroring that emphasizes the textual correspondence. More specifically, this strophe seems to echo a common medieval belief that all Christians are descendants of the three Magi who themselves descend from the three sons of Noah. Therefore, though only in abstract terms, this strophe might be seen as part of the preceding narrative section of the text rather than the explicit, which may also account for the indicative mood of the first word of the preceding strophe, "they honor" (*colunt*),<sup>55</sup> which then also continues the narrative of strophe 8b: the relics will never leave Cologne (7b), the inhabitants of that city will honor them (9a) because we, like them, are the chosen inheritors of the Christian faith (9b). Second, the two extra strophes create a form which easily divides into two equal halves of ten strophes each. The subject of the poem clearly changes direction between

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<sup>55</sup> But not the second verb of the strophe which in all versions is in the subjunctive, see below.

strophe 5b and 6a; 5a concludes the ruminations on gift symbolism while 6a begins the discussion of relics with the introduction to Helena.

Of course, there is no reason that this evidence might not also argue for the later addition of strophes 10a and 10b. An editor, noticing these same issues may have added the two extra strophes to create a more symmetrical piece. Other evidence suggests that the piece may have originally only included eighteen strophes. For instance, two introductory strophes begin the sequence before the narrative of the Three Kings begins. Therefore, a conclusion with two explicit strophes already provides a certain symmetry. This argument is supported by the consistent use of the subjunctive throughout strophe 9a in **Ch**: *colant* (“Let them honor”) in 9a.1 followed by 9a.2’s *servent* (“Let them guard”), a consistency lacking in the other versions.<sup>56</sup> I am unaware of the subjunctive mood being used in any part of a sequence other than the invocation or explicit. Second, the poem as it appears in **Ch** contains eighteen strophes, a number divisible by three. I suggest that an author so obviously concerned with the number three might structure a piece in which the number three also determined the total number of strophes, especially a piece whose versicles equaled nine, or three times three, and whose second half began on versicle six. Finally, whether or not it implies one preceded the other or not, the version of *Maiestati sacrosancte* which appears in **Ch** employs music different from those later redactions which contain twenty strophes.

While the topic of the sequence is strictly non-Parisian, the poem also witnesses the playful language usage of the previous three sequences. It is no surprise that the significance of the number three manifests itself in the repeated use of that word and its forms. Strophes 3a and

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<sup>56</sup> The editors of *AH* note two other sources which employ the word *colant* rather than *colunt*. One of these, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-876, actually uses *colunt*. I have been unable to verify the second, a fifteenth-century Gradual from Borken.

3b include five versions of “three,” while it appears four times between strophes 7b and 8a. The second half of the poem also plays with the word “Cologne” pairing it with other similar sounding words, for instance, *colit hos Colonia* (7b.3), *excolunt Coloniam* (8a.3), and *coloni Colonie* (9a.3). There is even a playful/striking moment before the switch in topic from the Magi’s gifts to the translation of their relics that almost foreshadows the importance of the letter *c* through the alliterative verse *caro carens carie* (5b.3).

### 2.7.1 The Feast(s) of the Three Kings

The feast to which manuscripts generally assign the sequence *Maiestati sacrosancte*, the *Translatio trium regum* (23 July), corresponds to the arrival of the relics, transported by Rainald of Dassel, the Archbishop of Cologne, from Milan to Cologne in 1164. The *Vita Eustorgii* describes how the arrival of the relics in Cologne prompted quite the spectacle with men and women, religious and laypersons, following the relics through the city followed by the installation of the relics in the cathedral which occurred with musical accompaniment. “With [Rainald and the relics] nearing, the whole city ran along the way, as much the clergy as the people, both sexes and every age. With hymns and canticles, Rainald deposited the treasure, sent from heaven, in the church of St. Peter. That same Rainald established a feast, bequeathing to this feast ten marks every year.”<sup>57</sup> The proximity of this final statement, that Rainald established a feast, to the arrival of the relics in Cologne appears to suggest that the feast in question is the

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<sup>57</sup> *Quibus appropinquantibus tota civitas obviam ruit, tam clerus quam populus, uterque sexus, omnis etas; cum ymnis et canticis thesaurum sibi celitus missum in ecclesia sancti Petri deposuit. Instituit idem Renoldus agi festum, legans ad hoc 10 marchas singulis annis.* Aegidii Aurenaevallensis, “*Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*,” ed. Ioh. Heller in *Monumenta germaniae historica. Scriptores*, vol. 25 (Hannover: Hahnian, 1880), 108, accessed 11 November, 2015, [http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000865\\_00117.html?sortIndex=010%3A050%3A0025%3A010%3A00%3A00&sort=score&order=desc&context=gesta+episcoporum+leodiensium&pubYear={1880}&hl=false&fulltext=gesta+episcoporum+leodiensium](http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000865_00117.html?sortIndex=010%3A050%3A0025%3A010%3A00%3A00&sort=score&order=desc&context=gesta+episcoporum+leodiensium&pubYear={1880}&hl=false&fulltext=gesta+episcoporum+leodiensium).

*translatio* feast. In fact, a later glosser of this phrase notes specifically that by writing the phrase “*translationis eorundem.*”

Whether the author of the *Vita Eustorgii* understood this feast as the *translatio* is unclear. His later reference to the Archbishop Philip and the extravagant Three Kings shrine with gold and jewels, which did not exist, even in its most primitive form, before 1190, demonstrates the author’s significant temporal distance from the events between the arrival of the relics in 1164 and Rainald’s death in 1167. In fact, evidence shows that the actual feast to which Rainald bequeathed a yearly amount of ten marks was the feast of Epiphany.<sup>58</sup> In the *Relatio de tribus magis*, which dates at least from the early-thirteenth century and shares many similarities with the *Vita Eustorgii*, the author specifically states that the feast in question was Epiphany: “The above mentioned Rainald established a feast of Epiphany, bequeathing to it ten marks every year.”<sup>59</sup> The differences between these two examples is negligible with the exception of the specifically named feast of Epiphany. As seen again and again, it was Epiphany on which contemporaries venerated the Three Kings, not the *translatio*, at least between the arrival of the relics and the early-thirteenth century. This is attested to by the manuscript evidence. Though the *translatio* feast may have appeared in the late twelfth century as some scholars suggest,<sup>60</sup> the importance of the feast is difficult to gauge since very few manuscripts make any reference to it.

Only two (possibly three) thirteenth-century manuscripts, that I am aware of, contain a reference to the *Translatio trium regum* feast. Two date from the first half of the thirteenth century, and only one (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10075) is a liturgical book.

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<sup>58</sup> Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 239 note 3.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Marianne Éliassagaray, *La légende des rois mages* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965), 236.

<sup>60</sup> Hans Hofmann, *Die heiligen drei Könige – Darstellung und Verehrung* (Bonn: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1975), 108.

Georg Zilliken, in his extensive discussion of the Cologne liturgical calendar, lists the three manuscripts from this century which contain the feast,<sup>61</sup> however more recent scholars have dated two of these to either the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The three manuscripts in question are 1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss. qu. 234, a calendar with necrology for the church of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth century;<sup>62</sup> 2) Cologne, Historisches Archiv, GA 77, a necrology for the Cathedral, now dated to around 1310;<sup>63</sup> and 3) Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Bestellsignatur 210, RH 13, a calendar with necrology followed by statutes for the Cathedral chapter, dated 1244–46.<sup>64</sup>

In each of the thirteenth-century examples the evidence for the existence of the *translatio* feast appears on the calendar, which usually represents the earliest dated portion of the manuscript. For instance, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Best. 210, RH 13, contains the entry *Apollinaris episcopi. Translatio trium Regum* on X Kalends of August (23 July), which corresponds to the mid-thirteenth-century dating. The same manuscript on XVI Kalends of April (17 March) contains an obituary for a priest Reinerus, “from whom is given on the *translatione regum* three denari to the lord in the mass and two denari to the vicar...”<sup>65</sup> Though the obituary appears to demonstrate a mid-thirteenth century interest in the translation feast, this entry, as well

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<sup>61</sup> Georg Zilliken, “Der kölnener Festkalender. Seine Entwicklung und seine Verwendung zu Urkundendatierungen. Ein Beitrag zur Heortologie des Mittelalters,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 119 (1910): 13–157.

<sup>62</sup> Torsy dates the manuscript to 1300. Jacob Torsy, “Acht hundert Jahre Dreikönigenverehrung in Köln,” *Kölner Domblatt* (1964): 15–162, at 41. Von den Brincken, on the other hand, claims the calendar dates from the early thirteenth century. Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, “Die Totenbücher der stadtkölnischen Stifte, Klöster und Pfarreien,” *Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 42, no. 1 (1968): 137–75, at 172.

<sup>63</sup> Günter Gattermann, ed., *Hanschriftencensus Rheinland*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993), 925.

<sup>64</sup> The date of 1244–46 was apparently first proposed in the mid-nineteenth century and has yet to be challenged. Theodore Joseph Lacomblet, ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, vol. 2 (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), 1–22; Zilliken, “Der Kölner Festkalender,” 26; von den Brincken, “Die Totenbücher,” 150.

<sup>65</sup> *Reinerus sacerdos. de quo dantur in translatione regum cuilibet domino in missa III denarii et vicario II denarii...* Lacomblet, *Archiv*, 12.

as the other obituary notices on the calendar, actually dates from the late-thirteenth or early fourteenth century according to Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken.<sup>66</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Bor. q. 234, contains a similar entry for X Kalends August: *Apollinaris episcopi et martyris. translatio trium regum. in albis. III 1*. In this case, however, the *translatio* entry was apparently added only at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

Only Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10075 provides a liturgical context from which to potentially understand the appearance of the *Translatio trium regum* in the calendar. Though apparently a missal for the Düsseldorf suburb of Ratingen, the calendar reflects an early thirteenth-century use of the Cologne cathedral, including the 27 August cathedral dedication feast.<sup>68</sup> As with the previous examples, this calendar also includes obituary entries added between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and according to scholars who have studied the manuscript there appears no reason to consider the presence of the *translatio* feast as a later entry. Not surprisingly, the entry appears almost identical to those noted previously: *Apollinaris episc. et mart. Translatio trium regum*.<sup>69</sup> The calendar does, however, contain additions, apparently added by various hands. According to Arnold Dresen, these additions consist of feasts added to the German calendar after the manuscript was created, such as St Clara (12 August), canonized in 1255, and St Anne (26 July), not witnessed in other Cologne calendars until the

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<sup>66</sup> von den Brincken, "Die Totenbücher," 150. Though hardly definitive evidence, the statutes that follow the necrology also make no mention of the *translatio* feast while defining how much bread, wine and money various officiants receive for their participation on various feast days.

<sup>67</sup> Benno Hilliger, ed., *Die Urbare von S. Pantaleon in Köln* (Bonn: Behrendt, 1902), 48. Perhaps this accounts for Torsy's 1300 date for the manuscript. See note 62 above.

<sup>68</sup> Arnold Dresen dates the calendar (and accompanying missal which is in the same hand) to the last quarter of the twelfth century or the first quarter of the thirteenth century, though he considers the earlier dating more likely. Arnold Dresen, "Ein Ratinger Messbuchcodex aus dem 12.–13. Jahrhundert," *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch* 26 (1913–14): 1–34, at 7. Michael Buhlmann, on the other hand, believes the earliest portions of the manuscript date from the early-thirteenth century. Michael Buhlmann, "Quellen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Ratingens und seiner Stadtteile: XXII. Ratinger Messbuchcodex: 13. Jahrhundert, Anfang und später," *Die Quecke* 78 (2008): 45–55, at 45.

<sup>69</sup> Dresen, "Ein Ratinger Messbuchcodex," 26.



fourteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Might the *translatio* feast on this calendar also be a later addition, similar to the entry in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Bor. q. 234? I cannot say definitively. However, two important points are worth noting. Within the missal portion of **Clm 10075**, Dresen considers the liturgical material for the *Translatio trium regum* a later addition to the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century portion of the manuscript.<sup>71</sup> Second, among the collection of fifty-four sequences which conclude the manuscript (and which also date from the early-thirteenth century), there appears no sequence for the *Translatio trium regum* despite having sequences for other Cologne saints, such as the 11,000 Virgins and Gereon.<sup>72</sup>

At this stage, it is impossible for me to argue that the feast for *Translatio trium regum* did not exist before the mid-thirteenth century. The evidence, though slim, certainly suggests that there could have been one, even if the *only* evidence comes from a necrology, and a single ambiguous missal. However, I hope I have cast doubt on the significance of the feast before this time. Despite scholars assuming the feast existed since that glorious day in 1164 on which Rainald of Dassel brought the Magi relics into Cologne, it is only in 1307 that the *translatio* feast becomes an important feast day, and it is only after that date that *Maiestati sacrosancte* begins to appear in liturgical manuscripts from Cologne.

On 4 March 1307, the recently elected archbishop of Cologne, Heinrich II of Virneburg (1304–32), wrote a set of synodal statutes the first of which established the solemn (*solemniter observent*) feasts of the liturgical year and in some cases noted how solemnly they were to be celebrated “so that there is uniformity in the observance of the Divine Offices and holy feasts

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<sup>70</sup> Dresen, “Ein Ratinger Messbuchcodex,” 8. Zilliken, “Der Kölner Festkalender,” 86–87. Buhlmann does not address the issue of additions to the calendar itself except for St Dominic (5 August). Buhlmann, “Quellen,” 7.

<sup>71</sup> Dresen, “Ein Ratinger Messbuchcodex,” 13.

<sup>72</sup> Dresen, “Ein Ratinger Messbuchcodex,” 15–16.

which occur throughout the year.”<sup>73</sup> The statute goes on to list the feasts of each month. The typical universal feasts appear together with important Cologne feasts including, in February, the Cathedral feast, in July the martyr Pantaleon, in October Geroen and Victor, the 11,000 Virgins, and Severinus, and finally in November Cunibertus. Following the monthly list of feasts, Heinrich moves to the moveable feasts of Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, and then three feasts he wishes celebrated “like the days of the Apostles” (*sicut dies Apostolorum*). These include “the day of the Dedication of the Major Church of Cologne, also the day of the Blessed Cosma and Damianus” and “the day after the Blessed Mary Magdalene, on which the bodies of the blessed Three Kings came to Cologne.”<sup>74</sup> It is worth noting the difference in language between the three feasts. Despite these statutes affecting the entire archdiocese of Cologne, there is no question about the dedication day of the Cologne Cathedral as well as the feast of Cosma and Damianus. Only the translation feast requires the explicit dating of the day after the feast of Mary Magdalene. There are any number of reasons for this difference. Evidence exists which demonstrates that at least some in the twelfth century were confused about the day of the relics’ arrival in Cologne. The *Chronica regia coloniensis*, from the late-twelfth century describes the arrival of the Three Kings *in vigilia Beati Jacobi Apsotoli* (24 July).<sup>75</sup> However, continued confusion about the *translatio* date 100 years later seems odd for a feast that scholars believe was simply being elevated to a more solemn observance.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the feast really was as localized as

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<sup>73</sup> *Ut uniformitas in observantia Divinorum Officiorum, et festorum sanctorum, quae per anni circulum occurrunt... Statuta seu decreta provincialium et diocesanarum synodorum sanctae ecclesiae Coloniensis* (Cologne: Officina Haeredum, 1554), 66.

<sup>74</sup> *...crastinum B. Mariae Magdaleneae, quo corpora Trium Regum beatorum Cologniam pervenerunt, ac diem Dedicationis Maioris Ecclesiae Coloniensis, videlicet diem beatorum Cosmae et Daminai...* See *Statuta seu decreta*, 67.

<sup>75</sup> Hofmann, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, 108.

<sup>76</sup> Torsy, “Achtthundert Jahre,” 42.

the manuscript evidence suggests, and all churches, even those in Cologne itself, required a reminder of when the feast should occur.

Following Heinrich's statutes, the *translatio* feast begins to appear in liturgical manuscripts together with the sequence *Maiestati sacrosancte*, identical to the sequence in **Ch** with the exception of two added strophes at the end and a significantly different melody. The integration of the *translatio* feast into the religious celebrations of Cologne's religious communities may be seen in two missals from Cologne, both dated to around 1330. The first, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-876, for the monastery church of St. Cunibert contains no mention of the feast in the calendar or within the missal proper.<sup>77</sup> On the calendar the 23 July feast contains the name of the martyr Apollinaris alone. Likewise, the mass items in July move from the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July) to Apollinaris (23 July) to the feast of James (25 July). The *translatio* does appear, however, in the collection of noted sequences near the end of the manuscript. Typical of sequence collections, the pieces appear in liturgical order followed by general sequences for martyrs, virgins, church dedication and the BVM. The collection, however, concludes with *Maiestati sacrosancte*, quite obviously out of place. The sequence is unrubricated, though neither are the two preceding sequences *Verbum bonum et suave* and *Letabundus exultet fidelis* (and several other earlier sequences). On the far margin, however, a small cursive hand has written *Translatio Trium Regum*. This seems to suggest a late addition to the collection.

The second manuscript, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-837, demonstrates a more integrated *translatio* feast. In this manuscript the *translatio* appears on the calendar just as in the earlier examples from the thirteenth century, sharing the day with

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<sup>77</sup> Leo Eizenhöfer and Hermann Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften der hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 127–32.

Apollinaris: *Apollinaris mr. Translatio trium regum*. The sequence *Maiestati sacrosancte* also appears integrated into the collection of sequences at the end of the manuscript. It follows two sequences for Mary Magdalene (22 July) and precedes a sequence for Lawrence (10 August).<sup>78</sup> It is tempting to look at this manuscript (also associated with St. Cunibert) as a later stage of the *translatio* feast's integration into Cologne's liturgical year as decreed by Heinrich, but it is probably not that simple. Though St. Cunibert owned the manuscript by the early fifteenth century, nothing certain can be said about the manuscript's ownership before that point.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps, the Cunibert community did not celebrate the *translatio* feast despite Heinrich's decree? This would account for the lack of reference to the feast in **Hs-876** created approximately at the same time as **Hs-837**, which contains both a calendrical reference and a liturgically ordered sequence. This would also support the suggestion made above that the *Translatio trium regum* was celebrated only in certain communities. But what of *Maiestati sacrosancte* added at the end of **Hs-876**? Before returning to the sequence, I will quickly survey a few other manuscripts from this period and later which may shed light on the issues at hand.

Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-874, another missal from approximately 1330, belonged to the Cologne church of St. Severin before it was later acquired by St. Cunibert in the late fifteenth century. The missal is fragmentary, beginning with the Christmas introit *Puer natus est*, and makes no mention of the *translatio* feast. However, following the Christmas Mass and before the Mass for the Annunciation, there is a feast labeled *de tribus regibus*. Or, in more common parlance, Epiphany. We know *de tribus regibus* refers to Epiphany because the sequence employed for the feast is *Festa Christi omnis*, a common

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<sup>78</sup> Eizenhöfer and Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften*, 126–27.

<sup>79</sup> Eizenhöfer and Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften*, 123.

Epiphany sequence.<sup>80</sup> A Franciscan gradual for the Convent of St. Clara demonstrates another textual relationship between Epiphany and the Three Kings. Cologne, Dombibliothek, Codex 1150, though again lacking any reference to the *translatio* feast in the original manuscript dated to 1330–60, contains a later marginal annotation for the feast which directs the reader to the material for Epiphany. Nor does the collection of sequences contain any mention of the Three Kings. My final example from the mid-fourteenth century is a gradual-antiphoner for the church of St. Maria ad gradus, Cologne, Dombibliothek, Codex 226, dated 1353–58. Here again the original manuscript lacks reference to the *Translatio trium regum*, however, two much later annotations, as with **Codex 1150**, direct the reader to the Epiphany feast. Unlike **Codex 1150**, however, the original fourteenth century manuscript contains *Maiestati sacrosancte*, but not for the *translatio* feast. Instead the sequence appears after the Epiphany sequence *Festa Christi omnis*, and follows the rubrics *de tribus regibus*, as seen above, another designation for Epiphany.

What does this evidence suggest? First, even in the mid-fourteenth century, the *Translatio trium regum* lacked significant universal observance in the diocese of Cologne. Of course, these examples do not necessarily reflect the practices of the cathedral itself, many of whose sources from the thirteenth and early-fourteenth century no longer exist. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-2228, a 1366 Missal for the Cathedral, contains the *translatio* feast on its calendar but instead of sharing the feast with Apollinaris, as seen previously, the entire day is dedicated to the *translatio*, both of the Three Kings as well as their supposed traveling companions from Milan, Felix and Nabor: *Translatio trium regum et Felicis et Naboris*. Unfortunately, the missal contains no sequences so no extra information regarding

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<sup>80</sup> Eizenhöfer and Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften*, 136.

*Maiestati sacrosancte* is available.<sup>81</sup> The late-fifteenth-century missal/orationale for the Cistercian Abbey at Altencamp, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-521, presents the *translatio* feast in one of its final phases of integration. Fully integrated into the missal the *Translatio trium regum* rubrics list the date of the feast, the text *Maiestati sacrosancte*, a specific antiphon for the feast day, and finally points to the Epiphany liturgy.<sup>82</sup> Within the sequentiary, *Maiestati sacrosancte* immediately precedes the sequence for James (24 July).

Second, though *Maiestati sacrosancte* was typically employed as the *translatio* sequence, apparently some religious communities found it equally appropriate for Epiphany. This is hardly surprising considering both the political, social, and historical relationship between Epiphany and the Three Kings.<sup>83</sup> The text of the sequence itself in no way contradicts its assignment to Epiphany. The first half focuses on the Epiphany narrative. Only three verses in the second half of the poem address the translation, and even the translation may be understood as a means of glorifying Epiphany. Rainald of Dassel obviously understood it as such since it was to this feast that he established a yearly endowment. The Epiphany assignment problematizes the sequence's association with the city of Cologne. Perhaps Hourlier understood this when he dismissed a Cologne connection to the manuscript. In his discussion of the **Ch** sequences, he noted that *Maiestati sacrosancte* was assigned to Epiphany in a late fourteenth-century manuscript possibly

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<sup>81</sup> Eizenhöfer and Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften*, 142–44.

<sup>82</sup> At some time in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, an Office was created specifically for the *Translatio trium regum* separate from the Epiphany liturgy. The sixteenth-century *Münster Antiphoner* (Cologne: Hero Alopecius, 1537) contains one version of this Office. The antiphon mentioned here occurs in that Office. Another version appears as a paste in to the St. Maria ad gradus gradual-antiphoner, Köln, Dombibliothek, Codex 226. The Cologne Office begins as the Münster Office but then diverges completely.

<sup>83</sup> On the use of the Three Kings relics for political ends see Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 243–56, and John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 293–94.

from Liège.<sup>84</sup> Another clue, also noted by Hourlier, that distances the sequence from Cologne (and Germany in general) is that the music employed in **Ch** lacks any similarities with the Rhenish version. In fact, the Rhenish *Maiestati sacrosancte* is not unique. It shares its melody, as well as its opening and closing strophes, with a sequence for the Cologne saints Gereon and his companions.

### 2.7.2 *Maiestati sacrosancte* and St Gereon

The feast of Gereon and his companions (10 October) appears in Cologne calendars from the tenth century, according to Zilliken,<sup>85</sup> however veneration of the saint in the area began much earlier. Gereon and his companions were a Theban legion executed in Cologne and elsewhere at the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>86</sup> The eleventh-century manuscript St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 898 contains an early sequence, *Letetur ecclesia*, to Gereon and his companions (see Table 2.11). The opening invocation evokes the Christian Woman—church, Mary as mother and virgin, and Eve with her labor pains (*ecclesia, mater, virgo, puerpera*)—both as a reminder of the celestial audience as well as a transition to the torments of the martyred soldiers. The author gruesomely introduces Gereon and his companions by noting how their red blood adorns the liturgical observances (*Hec sanguine rosea / compsit sollemnia*) in which the congregation participates. Knowledge of the basic narrative is presupposed. For disobeying the orders of Maximian by not offering frankincense to the pagan gods the soldiers suffer martyrdom. Three cities benefit from the soldiers' death: Bonn shines by a factor of nine, Xanten dances,<sup>87</sup> and Cologne, guarded by Gereon, is holy.

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<sup>84</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale," 143. Hourlier references a catalog entry from the Munich antiquarian Ludwig Rosenthal. The entry (217) does not mention *Maiestati sacrosancte*. Presumably Hourlier saw the manuscript in question. Ludwig Rosenthal, *Bibliotheca liturgica*, vol. 1 (Munich: the author, s.d.), 24.

<sup>85</sup> Zilliken, "Der Kölner Festkalender," 104–5.

<sup>86</sup> David Hugh Farmer, "Gereon (Geron) and Companions," *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 7 December 2015, <http://www.oxfordreference.com>.

<sup>87</sup> The type of dancing (*tripudiat* is the verb) may have some connection to the number three.

<i>Letetur ecclesia</i>	Translation
Letetur ecclesia iubilans Catholica,	Let the rejoicing catholic church be glad,
prole mater inclita, sed fidei dote virgo pudica.	A glorious mother with offspring, but a chaste virgin with the gift of faith.
Quos ut puerpera parturit hic per tormenta,	Just as a woman in labor brings forth those here through torments,
in celi regia conspicatur cives leta.	observes the joyful citizens from the palace of heaven.
Nam legio martyrum Thebeorum sacra	For a holy legion of Theban martyrs
Hec sanguine rosea compsit sollempnia.	adorned this solemn observance with red blood.
Cumque Maximiani iussa trucidis spernerent fortiter pro Christo impia	And when, for Christ, they strongly spurned the savage Maximian's wicked orders
et diis nollent ferre tura, corporum subeunt dira supplicia.	and did not want to bring frankincense to the gods, they endure dire suffering of their bodies.
Hinc Verona novenis splendet mirifica,	Henceforth wonderful Bonn shines by nine times,
Tripudiat Victore victrix et Troia.	and Xanten, a victor, dances with Victor.
Hos inter plurima Gereon cum turba dux presidet te fovens, sancta Colonia.	Favoring you, holy Cologne, the leader Gereon with a crowd guards over those among many.
Huius sociorumque meritis freta laudum Deo debita refer preconia,	Supported by the merits of him and his companions, render praises, owed, of praises to God,
cui vox omnigena  dulci melodia martyrum pro hac victoria personet in alta nunc. Amen. Alleluia	to whom let a voice of every kind  with the sweet melody of martyrs resound now on high for this victory. Amen. Alleluia

Table 2.11: *Letetur ecclesia* Text and Translation

A new second epoch style sequence in honor of St Gereon emerges sometime in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century employing the same opening strophe as the Three Kings sequence (see Table 2.12). Like its predecessor, the sequence exemplifies its milieu. The poem



Gereon		Three Kings	
1a. <i>Maiestati sacrosancte militans cum triumphante iubilet ecclesia</i>	Let the church, fighting with ones triumphing sing joyfully to the most holy majesty	1a. <i>Maiestati sacrosancte militans cum triumphante iubilet ecclesia.</i>	Let the church, fighting with those triumphing, sing joyfully to the holy majesty.
1b. <i>de triumpho Thebeorum et salute peccatorum per horum suffragia.</i>	about the triumph of Thebans and the health of sinners through their intercession.	1b. <i>Sic versetur laus in ore, ne fraudetur core sapore, quo degustet dulcicia.</i>	Thus let praise dwell in the mouth, lest the heart is defrauded with a sense of taste by which it tastes sweet things.
2a. <i>Hi sunt viri testamenti, qui ruinam detrimenti reparant angelici,</i>	They are men of the testament who renew the fall of the angelic defeat,	2a. <i>Novam parit virgo prolem, novum monstrat stella solem. Currunt ad presepeia</i>	The virgin gives birth to a new offspring. The star shows a new sun. Wise and not wandering kings
2b. <i>virii fortes veri David, quibus hostes expugnavit: carnem, mundum, demonem.</i>	strong, true men of David, by whom he conquered the enemies: flesh, mankind, the devil.	2b. <i>reges magi et non vagi, sed presagi, gaudent agi stelle luce previa.</i>	run to the mangers, but having presentiment they rejoice to be driven by the leading light of the star.
3a. <i>Cives domus Pharaonis civitatem visionis visitant et presulem,</i>	The citizens of the house of Pharaoh, visit a city of a vision and its bishop	3a. <i>Trium regum trinum munus, Christus, homo Deus unus, trinus in substantia.</i>	A triple gift of three kings, Christ, man and one God, triple in substance.
3b. <i>a quo sacri catechismi sacramentis et baptismi imbuuntur gratia.</i>	by whom they are instructed in the grace of baptism and the sacraments of holy catechism.	3b. <i>Deus trinus in personis adoratur tribus donis unus in essentia.</i>	God, triple in character one in essence, is adored by three gifts.
4a. <i>Rome fide confirmati castra movent, comitati Romanorum aquilas.</i>	The military camp moves to Rome with the faith of those confirmed, having accompanied the Roman legion.	4a. <i>Murram ferunt, tus et aurum, plus pensantes, quam thesaurum, typum, sub quo veritas.</i>	They bring myrrh, frankincense, and gold, more counterbalancing ones than treasure, a symbol under which is truth.
4b. <i>Dis profanis immolari iubet Caesar et vocari Thebeorum agmina.</i>	Ceasar orders the Theban army to be called and sacrifice to the secular gods.	4b. <i>Tria dona tres figure: rex in auro, Deus ture, in murra mortalitas.</i>	Three gifts, three forms: king in gold, God in frankincense, in myrrh mortality.

Table 2.12: *Maiestati sacrosancte* (Gereon and Three Kings) Compared

Gereon		Three Kings	
5a. Sed Thebei, viri Dei, que sunt Dei, reddunt ei, Cesari, que Cesaris.	But the Thebans, men of God, give to God, what is his, what is of Caesar, to Caesar.	5a. Turis odor deitatem, auri splendor dignitatem regalis potentie.	The smell of frankincense into deity, the splendor of gold into the dignity of regal power.
5b. Bis viritim decimati summe libant maiestati decimarum decimam.	Those having made a tithe twice individually offered a tithe of tenth parts to the highest majesty.	5b. Murra caro verbo nupta, per quod manet incorrupta caro carens carie.	Myrrh, married to a beloved word through which the uncorrupted flesh lacking rot remains.
6a. Demum cunctis immolatis in odorem suavitatis differuntur aliqui,	Finally with all offered into the odor of sweetness some are dispersed	6a. Ab Helena crux inventa, hec eadem post intenta congregandis regibus.	The cross having been found by Helena, this same woman afterwards is intent on king-gathering.
6b. qui in partes distributi distributi sunt saluti plurium fidelium.	who divided into parts are distributed for the health of the many faithful.	6b. Reges olim peregrini ornam urbem Constantini allatis corporibus.	With their bodies conveyed, formerly foreign kings travel to the city of Constantine.
7a. In Verona, Agrippina et in Troia loca trina consecrant martyrio;	They consecrate three places Bonn, Cologne, Xanten with martyrdom;	7a. Tandem inde sunt translati, commendati civitati, cui nomen Ambrosia.	Thence at last those given in trust were transported to the city called Ambrosia.
7b. holocaustum partiale, nulla tamen sine sale federis oblatio.	a partial burnt offering but no offering of a contract is without salt.	7b. Ter inventos, ter translatos Dei nutu sibi datos colit hos Colonia.	Cologne worships these of God three times found, three times moved having been given by His will.
8a. Cum trecentis et bis nonis signat comes Gereonis Abrahe victoriam;	With 318 Gereon's companion seals a victory for Abraham;	8a. Ortus dedit Occidenti, quod tres reges ter inventi excolunt Coloniarn.	The East gave to the West because the three kings found three times honor Cologne.
8b. bis quindenis et ter centum duplex Victor testamentum et crucis mysterium;	with 330, Victor is a double testament and mystery of the cross;	8b. Nunquam locum mutaturi, nec, ut olim, reversuri sunt per viam aliam.	They are never going to change place and not even if in the future they are going to return through another way.

Table 2.12: *Maiestati sacrosancte* (Gereon and Three Kings) Compared, cont.

Gereon		Three Kings	
9a. pius Cassius cum septenis septiformi dono plenius dona sancti Pneumatis.	pious Cassius with a full seven times to a sevenfold gift are gifts of the holy spirit.	9a. Colunt reges propter regem. Summi regis servent legem coloni Colonie.	Let them honor the kings by means of the king. Let the inhabitants of Cologne guard the law of the highest king.
9b. Iesu bone, cuius dona nostra bona, qui corona es tuorum militum.	Good Jesus, whose gifts are our good, you are the crown of your soldiers.	9b. Nos in fide sumus rivi. Hi sunt fontes primitivi, gentium primitie.	We are streams in faith. These first offerings of people are the early springs.
10a. Hac patrona legione nos in bonis, summe bone, loca potioribus,	Highest good, place us in the better good with this patroness to the legion,	10a. Tu nos ab hac, Christe, valle duc ad vitam recto calle per horum suffragia,	You, Christ, lead us from this valley to life by the right path, through their intercession,
10b. ubi Patris, ubi tui et amoris sacri frui mereamur gloria.	whereby let us deserve to enjoy the glory of you, your father, and sacred love.	10b. ubi Patris, ubi tui et amoris sacri frui mereamur gloria.	whereby let us deserve to enjoy the glory of you, your father, and sacred love.

Table 2.12: *Maiestati sacrosancte* (Gereon and Three Kings) Compared, cont.

comprises twenty strophes each with three verses of the typical 8p+8p+7pp meter. Many strophes are paired (though there are significant exceptions) to create a complete poetic idea within the double versicle. Though expanded extensively to meet the demands of a significantly lengthier poem, the basic narrative material for the poem remains the same: Theban soldiers who follow the teachings of Christ, led by three different captains (Cassius, Victor, and Gereon), are dispersed to three different German cities (Bonn, Xanten, and Cologne), where they are all martyred. The poet responds to this martyrdom in triplicate by grouping the last six strophes in threes, one each for the three heroes followed by an explicit three strophes long.

The poem, like its predecessor but in far more explicit terms, celebrates soldiers of Christ. In this context, the opening exhortation to a fighting and triumphing church to sing out to the most holy majesty works because it is singing about the triumph of the Thebans, soldiers who died fighting for Christ. More significant in this first strophe, however, is the borrowing of language from the earlier Gereon sequence. The *letetur ecclesia iubilans* (1.2) of the earlier sequence becomes *iubilet ecclesia militans cum triumphante* (1.3–2), an important adaptation, I believe. There are also examples of internal borrowing within the poem itself. Already noted was the use of *triumpho* in 2.1 which correlates to *triumphante* of 1.2. Verse 10.2 employs *summe maiestati* instead of *maiestati sacrosancte* of 1.1 while the *militans* of 1.2 appears as *militum* in 18.3. Hardly a prodigious number of examples, nevertheless, the internal correspondences together with the first strophe reference to the earlier Gereon sequence suggests, to me, that the Three Kings sequence *Maiestati sacrosancte* was derived from an original Gereon sequence with the same opening strophe.

To speak of one sequence's derivation from another—of origins—may be both futile and ultimately insignificant. On the other hand, the earliest example of the Gereon sequence, as far as

I am aware, comes from Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10075, the early-thirteenth-century Ratingen Missal discussed above, which contained an entry for the *Translatio trium regum* on its Cologne-cathedral calendar but lacked a sequence. If in fact the *translatio* entry dates to the early-thirteenth century, then apparently the feast was not important enough to warrant a sequence, unlike Gereon's feast. This suggests that the Three Kings' sequence post-dates the Gereon sequence.

Also, the relationship between the three sequences (two for Gereon and one for the Three Kings) seems significant. Gereon was a Cologne saint, just as the Three Kings became Cologne saints. The Gereon sequences focus on the number three (three cities, three companions) and words associated with the number three (*novenis, tripudiat, trecentis bis nonis*). In the early Gereon sequence the soldiers refuse to offer *frankincense* to the gods, one of the three symbolic gifts of the Magi. The internal repetition of words, noted above, in Gereon's *Maiestati sacrosancte* speaks to a coherence lacking in the Three Kings sequence which begins with a reference to Christian soldiers, moves to pleasures of the mouth and ears then on to the birth and veneration of Christ by the Magi, followed by their *post mortem* journey to Cologne. In other words, the Three Kings sequence appears like a patchwork. Perhaps a vestige of this patchwork and the relationship between sequences appears in the penultimate strophe of the Three Kings sequence. The concluding verse employs the prepositional phrase, "through their intercession" (*per horum suffragia*) as a transition to the final strophe which matches the final strophe of Gereon's second sequence. If a later arranger—the same arranger who set the Three Kings sequence to the music of Gereon's later sequence—wanted to add two final strophes to an original eighteen strophe poem that already employed the first strophe of a popular Gereon sequence, he could not reuse Gereon's penultimate strophe because of its direct mention of an

army (*legione*) in the first verse. So instead, he pointed the listeners/performers back to the second strophe of Gereon's sequence, the final verse of which employs the same prepositional phrase, *per horum suffragia*.

### 2.7.3 The Music of *Maiestati sacrosancte*

Three different melodies exist for the text of *Maiestati sacrosancte*. The most common melody occurs in the Rhenish sources, and is the same melody employed for the Gereon sequence of the same name. This dramatically unornamented setting stands in marked contrast to the fragment in **Ch**, in which nearly every textual verse receives one or more neumatic flourishes with two, perhaps significant, exceptions. Double versicle 8 sets the text of strophes 8a and 8b strictly syllabically. Without the beginning of the setting, it is impossible to say whether or not this is exceptional, but within the context of the existing music, the strict syllabism stands out. Recall that these are the final strophes before the explicit, the text of which emphasizes the significance of Cologne as the rightful possessor of the Three Kings' relics: they were given by the East to the West because the Three Kings honor Cologne (8a), and, therefore, they will never leave (8b). With a strictly syllabic setting there is no chance of the delights of the ear, manifested in neumatic ornamentation, obscuring the importance of the text.

The strictly syllabic setting of 8a and 8b contrasts significantly with the final double versicle (see Example 2.9). Here the sedate solemnity of the previous double versicle breaks free by employing four- and five-note neumes, perhaps as a jubilant exclamation in celebration both of the Kings but also of the honor they bestow on Cologne and her inhabitants. Strophe 9a begins, "Let them honor the kings by means of the king" (*Colant reges propter regem*). This verse precedes the only other phrase of strict syllabism. The following verse, whose setting differs significantly from its parallel verse in strophe 9b, sets the text "Let them [the inhabitants

of Cologne] guard the law of the highest king” (*summi regis servent legem*). Paired with the setting of strophes 8a/b, the syllabism of this verse seems significant. This is not just the general law of Christ which the inhabitants of Cologne should guard. It is the law that defines the ownership of the Three Kings to Cologne. This evocation of *summi regis* corresponds to the sequence’s highest register, exploring the upper fourth of the g octave in the ninth double versicle in contrast to the plagal melody of strophes 8a–8b.

8a. Or-tus de-dit Oc-ci-den-ti, quod tres re-ges ter in-ven-ti ex-co-lunt Co-lo-ni-am.

8b. Nun-quam lo-cum mu-ta-tu-ri, nec, ut o-lim, re-ver-su-ri sunt per vi-am a-li-am.

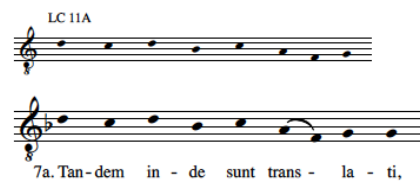
9a. Co-lant re-ges prop-ter re-gem. Sum-mi re-gis ser-vent le-gem co-lo-ni Co-lo-ni-e.

Example 2.9: *Maiestati sacrosancte* Strophes 8a–9b (**Ch**, fol. 1r)

Not only the ornamented style of the sequence—especially the final double versicle which recalls the more ornamental ending of *Mane prima sabbati* in the Victorine and Cathedral traditions in Paris—but also the mode of *Maiestati sacrosancte* differs among redactions. The Gallican *G* cadence prevalent throughout the **Ch** redaction may reflect a simple preference for the *g*-mode in sequence compositions or may be one of several indicators which argue for a melodic reworking of the sequence *Laudes crucis atollamus*.<sup>88</sup> The relationship between the **Ch** melody and that for *Laudes crucis* was noted initially by Hourlier who pointed out the almost exact quotation in double versicle 7 of versicle 11’s first phrase from *Laudes crucis atollamus*

<sup>88</sup> Margot Fassler has shown that the monks of St. Victor adapted the melody of *Laudes crucis atollamus* to create a distinctly Victorine melodic tradition for the sequences at the Parisian Abbey. For a detailed analysis and description of this practice see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 292–310.

(see Example 2.10).<sup>89</sup> In her discussion of the Victorine practice of arranging *Laudes crucis*, Margot Fassler argues that direct quotation was used “to make exegetical points.”<sup>90</sup> If such was the intent with the melody of *Maiestati sacrosancte*, the meaning is obscure. Strophes 7a–7b describe the move of the relics to Milan and then to Cologne while strophes 11a–11b of *Laudes crucis* alternately describe the wood of the true cross and the power of the cross/Christianity to heal the sick. The precise text quoted by the incipit addresses the cross in the vocative, “O cross, wood” (*O crux lignum*), therefore both texts reference relics, and specifically relics found by the Empress Helena and eventually transported from Constantinople to the West. Perhaps such a quotation enhances the significance of the Three Kings relics through association with the true cross.



Example 2.10: Strophe 7.1 of *Maiestati sacrosancte* Compared to Strophe 11.1 of *Laudes crucis*

Aside from this direct quotation, comparison of the *Laudes crucis* melody with that of *Maiestati sacrosancte* from **Ch** suggest the possibility that the piece may be a reworking of the early twelfth-century sequence. As Fassler notes (citing Richard Hoppin), *Laudes crucis* exhibits characteristics of successive variation, specifically the reworking of opening melodic units,<sup>91</sup> usually set to four syllables of text in later musical material. Even a cursory glance through the text of *Maiestati sacrosancte* evinces the rigorous division of each 8p verse into two smaller

<sup>89</sup> Hourlier and Chailley, “Cantionale,” 10.

<sup>90</sup> Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 310.

<sup>91</sup> I am using the term “unit” differently from Fassler. For Fassler, a unit is the melodic material corresponding to one verse of a hemistrophe, in which a hemistrophe equals one half of a double versicle.



units of four syllables each and comparing the text to the melodic units they accompany supports the characterization of these short motives as independent. Without the opening music for *Maiestati sacrosancte*, it remains impossible to say if such a process of successive composition occurs throughout the sequence as Fassler demonstrates for the earlier *Laudes crucis*. However, it is possible to compare the existing music in **Ch** with that of the earlier sequence (see Example 2.11). Such a comparison yields some convincing and some less convincing similarities. For instance, the melody of double versicle 9 corresponds, to my ear, rather well with that for double versicle 7 of *Laudes crucis*. Similarly, compelling cases exist for the final phrase of double versicles 6, 7 and 8, though just as easily one might argue that these are simply common cadential patterns.

I conclude this analysis with a cautionary note first voiced by Nancy van Deusen.<sup>92</sup> All members of *any* group of sequences may exhibit musical connections to each other. This does not mean there was a deliberate, coordinated effort to rework one primary sequence into all of the others in that group, especially considering the simplicity of the musical language employed in the sequences. Even accepting Fassler's evidence for the sequence tradition of the Augustinian canons at St. Victor, in the case of *Maiestati sacrosancte* there is no textual evidence that the sequence originated with Victorine interests in mind. The text of *Maiestati sacrosancte* demonstrates no interest in biblical exegesis beyond the symbolic description of the Magi's gifts, which though discussed by Augustine<sup>93</sup> hardly demonstrates the complex exegetical tradition of Augustinian sequence texts as described by Fassler.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, as already discussed, the *Mane prima sabbati* melody employed for *Ad Martini titulum* and *Paule doctor gentium* more

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<sup>92</sup> See van Deusen, "Sequence repertories," 115.

<sup>93</sup> Hugo Kehrer, *Die 'heiligen drei Könige' in der Legende und in der deutschen bildenden Kunst bis Albrecht Dürer* (Strassburg: Heinz, 1904), 33.

<sup>94</sup> On twelfth-century Augustinian biblical exegesis see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 187–240.

LC 3F

LC 5C, 7C, 10C, 11D

LC 10A

LC 10B, 11B

-ni or - nant\_ ur - bem Con - stan - ti - ni al - la - tis cor - po - ri - bus.

LC 11A

LC 6B

LC 1C, 2C, 3C, 4C

7a. Tan - dem in - de sunt trans - la - ti, com - men - da - ti ci - vi - ta - ti, cui no - men Am - bro - si - a.

7b. Ter in - ven - tos ter trans - la - tos De - i nu - tu si - bi da - tos co - lit hos Co - lo - ni - a.

LC 12D

LC 1B

LC 5B

LC 2B

LC 7A

LC 1C, 2C, 3C, 4C

8a. Or - tus de - dit Oc - ci - den - ti, quod tres re - ges ter in - ven - ti ex - co - lunt Co - lo - ni - am.

8b. Nun - quam lo - cum ma - ta - tu - ri, nec ut o - lim, re - ver - su - ri sunt per vi - am a - li - am.

LC 7A

LC 7B

LC 7C

9a. Co - lant re - ges prop - ter\_ re - gem. Sum - mi re - gis ser - vent le - gem co - lo - ni Co - lo - ni - e.

9b. Nos in fi - dem sum - mus\_ ri - vi. Hi sunt fon - tes pri - mi - ti - vi, gen - ti - um pri - mi - ti - e.

A - - - men\_

Example 2.11: *Laudes crucis* as Source Material for *Maiestati sacrosancte* (Ch, fols. 1r–1v)

closely reflects the cathedral version than the Victorine providing additional evidence that if musical manipulation of *Laudes crucis atollamus* took place, it was a practice removed from the Victorine tradition and may simply reflect a familiar musical vocabulary.

There is one final piece of evidence linking *Maiestati sacrosancte* to *Laudes crucis atollamus*. In the sixteenth-century St. Gall troper of Joachim Cuontz (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 546), the Three Kings sequence occurs with the melody of *Laudes crucis*. However, the *Maiestati sacrosancte* contrafact is not a simple re-texting of the *Laudes crucis* melody. Certain alterations, such as the addition of ornamental figures and occasional changes of pitch, may simply reflect a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century sensibility to ornamentation and modal coherence/correction. On the other hand, the original melody has been altered in significant ways to accommodate the new text, which like *Per eundem tempus* discussed above, differs significantly from the *Laudes crucis atollamus* text in its rigid adherence to the 8p+8p+7pp strophe form. The contrafactor altered the melody of *Laudes crucis* in two ways to accommodate the new text. First, as with *Per eundem tempus*, he added or subtracted pitches or split neumes to fit the regular 8-syllable verses. This can be seen in versicles 3ab and 3bb, as in *Per eundem tempus*, as well as in double versicle 7. Second, he removed entire phrases of music from the original melody to accommodate the shorter strophe lengths. Both double versicle 6 and 9 (which employ the *Laudes crucis* melodies from double versicles 10 and 11) excise the third phrase of the original melody. This last example demonstrates the final difference between the two sequences: the melody of *Maiestati sacrosancte* does not adhere to the melodic structure of the original. The first half of the piece corresponds exactly to the first several versicles of *Laudes crucis*, but with the beginning of strophe 6a (what would correspond to double versicle 5 of *Laudes crucis*) the music of double versicle 9 appears, followed by double versicles 6 and 7

before concluding with double versicles 10 and 11, though only the first two phrases of 11 are employed and the third phrase is borrowed to correspond with the concluding phrases of each of the other versicles from the second half of the sequence.<sup>95</sup>

As far as I have been able to ascertain, **St. Gall 546** is the only source which employs the music of *Laudes crucis* for the Three Kings sequence.<sup>96</sup> Certainly, Cologne and those diocese within the jurisdiction of its Archdiocese employed a different melody, and the editors of *AH* fail to mention the melody of *Laudes crucis* in their description of sources.<sup>97</sup> Without more evidence, two possibilities for these different melodies present themselves. First, *Maiestati sacrosancte* demonstrates the migration of sequence texts without melodies. Sequences frequently occur in liturgical collections (especially missals) simply as texts, and the movement of sequences as texts may account for certain texts employing multiple melodies. *Laudes crucis atollamus* was such a popular melody that its popularity and a (vaguely) corresponding textual form may have been enough to warrant its use. The similarity in their subject matter may have played a role as well. Second, there existed, at the time of the *Laudes crucis* setting, some awareness of the relationship between the two pieces as demonstrated by the **Ch** setting. Though I find this latter argument highly unlikely, it cannot be entirely ruled out.

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<sup>95</sup> Helen Deeming notes a similar rearrangement of *Laudes crucis*'s musical phrases in an English sequence, *Inter flores electorum* for St Alban. Deeming, "Music, Memory and Mobility," 71–73.

<sup>96</sup> In their initial descriptions of this sequence, Hourlier and Chailley relate different information regarding *Maiestati sacrosancte*'s relationship with *Laudes crucis atollamus*. In his longer discussion of the Three Kings sequence Hourlier notes the difference between the melody in **Ch** and those of **St. Gall 546** and other north German sources, "Notre manuscrit nous apporte un nouveau témoin de la prose des Trois Rois, mais la mélodie diffère et du Prosaire de Joannes Cuontz et des manuscrits rhénans." Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale," 143. Chailley appears to have muddled this information and attributes the melody of *Laudes crucis* to all the other versions, "D'autre sources, d'origine rhénane, utilisent la mélodie du *Laudes crucis atollamus*. *Ch* emploie une mélodie indépendante, avec quelques réminiscences." Chailley, "Fragments," 143.

<sup>97</sup> They also neglect to note **St. Gall 546** as a source.

## 2.8 A Sequentiary?

As with many other aspects of **Ch**, the collection of sequences in gathering *x* exhibits an unusual characteristic: it apparently lacks the ubiquitous feature of liturgical ordering, the typical format of sequentiaries and one intimately bound up with a manuscript's provenance.

Unfortunately, finding a suitable liturgical framework for the four sequences, in the order **Ch** presents them, is fraught with complications, not least of which is the rarity of the pieces themselves. With the exception of *Maiestati sacrosancte*, the remaining sequences each appear in fewer than five other sources (no other source transmits *Per eundem tempus*), all of which post-date **Ch** by at least fifty years. Setting aside the issue of temporal distance for the moment, the surviving sources do provide evidence for the sequences' corresponding feasts: *Maiestati sacrosancte* (*Translatio trium regum*: 23 July); *Ad Martini titulum* (*Translatio sancti Martini*: 4 July);<sup>98</sup> *Paule doctor gentium* (*Commemoracione sancti Pauli*: 30 June). From this partial list the problem with liturgical ordering is obvious. Even if *Maiestati sacrosancte* was originally intended to celebrate Epiphany rather than the *Translatio* as witnessed in some manuscripts, the sequences for St Martin and St Paul are still out of order. There exists a Feast of Martin's Subvention on 12 May which would provide the correct liturgical ordering, however this feast was celebrated exclusively at Tours, a city which did not venerate St Quentin.<sup>99</sup>

The question of veneration is at the heart of the issue of liturgical ordering and provenance. While St Martin and St Paul were celebrated throughout the Christian world with

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<sup>98</sup> While this feast is most commonly known as the Translation, the feast also celebrates Martin's ordination as Bishop. This more appropriately reflects the topic of *Ad Martini titulum*, which ends with the episode of his public election and its divine defense. See Maurey, *Medieval Music*, 102–109.

<sup>99</sup> On St Martin and his feasts at Tours, see Maurey, *Medieval Music*, 43–45 and 86–124. Maurey makes no mention of *Ad Martini titulum* at any point in his monograph.

elaborate feasts,<sup>100</sup> such celebrations for St Quentin and the Three Kings were much more localized. For instance, despite the popularity of St Quentin throughout France, there are no sequences for St Quentin in the earliest collections of late sequences from Paris.<sup>101</sup> Rather, the earliest surviving source of a St Quentin sequence, other than **Ch**, is in a collection for Reims, Assisi, Biblioteca de sacro convento, MS 695, where it appears among both Parisian and other northern French sequences.<sup>102</sup> This sequence, *Per unius casum grani*, as well as other St Quentin sequences, occurs mostly in other northern French sources. On the other hand, no other French source transmits *Maiestati sacrosancte*; its several dozen sources mostly belong to Cologne and its archdiocese. This situation is compounded by the fact that, of the two other sequences, only *Paule doctor gentium* appears in a source from outside of France, a mid-fifteenth-century *Orationale* for the Cistercian monastery at Altenkamp (also in the diocese of Cologne).

If the sequences of gathering *x* represent neither a liturgically ordered collection nor a group of sequences linked to a specific locale (empire even) and its cults, what purpose does it serve? Before addressing that question I would like to briefly consider the organizational principle at work among these four pieces. Aside from liturgical order another common method of ordering collections of pieces in manuscripts beginning in the thirteenth century is by alphabet. Such a system is employed in several of the motet collections in **W2**—a characteristic which Mark Everist has labelled as transitional.<sup>103</sup> It is also observable in a collection of trouvère song from later in the century.<sup>104</sup> Though the paucity of material in gathering *x* makes

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<sup>100</sup> A glance through the sequence collections in Margot Fassler's *Gothic Song* shows that while feasts for St Paul, especially his conversion (25 Jan.) and the joint feast with St Peter (29 June), appear with sequences in many of the collections, the Commemoration (30 June) only appears in Parisian sources.

<sup>101</sup> For the sequences in these collections see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 391–411.

<sup>102</sup> On **Assisi 695** and its sequence collections see Emilie Shinnick, "The Manuscript Assisi, Biblioteca Del Sacro Convento, Ms. 695: A Codicological and Repertorial Study" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1997).

<sup>103</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 98.

<sup>104</sup> The Cangé chansonnier (Paris, BnF, fr. 846) is ordered alphabetically, by the first letter of each poem.

confirmation difficult, it appears that alphabetical order has been employed in either one of two ways in **Ch**: the titles of the sequences or their subjects have been ordered alphabetically. If the first letter of each piece is employed to create an alphabetical list, the system breaks down. However, if instead the first noun is used the ordering is perfect: *Maiestati sacrosancte, Ad Martini titulum, Paule doctor gentium, Per eundem tempus*. Alternatively, the subjects of each sequence also appear to be in alphabetical order: the three **Magi** of the nativity story, St **Martin**, St **Paul**, and St **Quentin**. Though I think this method of organization by subject is entirely possible—from a practical standpoint, remembering the name of a saint might prove easier than the title of a piece dedicated to him/her—I am slightly less convinced because the first sequence *Maiestati sacrosancte* focuses on the identity of the Magi not as wise men but as kings. While the word *magi* appears in the text, it only occurs once and as a modifier of the noun *reges*. The significance of the Magi’s identities as kings is emphasized by the occurrence of some form of “king” or “regal” nine times throughout the sequence.<sup>105</sup> If, therefore, the Magi were better understood at this time as the *tres reges* (hence their feasts, *de tribus regibus* (Epiphany) and *translatio trium regum*) this alphabetic ordering by subject would not work.

To return to my earlier question but in a slightly more nuanced form: what purpose does an alphabetical collection of sequences serve? There are several possibilities. Perhaps the easiest explanation is that it simply collates a group of sequences available to the copyist at the time, an explanation originally proposed by Mark Everist in relation to the **Ch** sequences.<sup>106</sup> **Assisi 695** demonstrates a similar though extreme approach to this idea of gathering sequences together as a sort of collection rather than as a functional group of pieces. In this case, the scribe attempted to collect as many sequences together as he could find, which resulted in three groups of sequences

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<sup>105</sup> Though in two instances it is referring to qualities of Christ.

<sup>106</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 148.

from several different exemplars. Although the collection as a whole is not in liturgical order, each section within the larger collection is.<sup>107</sup> A second possibility is that gathering *x*, like gatherings *y* and *z*, is a collection of sequences by a single author: sequences not intended for liturgical performance as such but creative forays into a current poetic/musical genre gathered together as representative examples.

### 2.9 A Single-Author Sequence Collection?

The fact that so few sequences can encompass such a wide range of influence and interest raises the possibility that all four poems were created by the same hand. There is not a single topical feature which unifies the four texts. Two address the translation of relics (*Per eundem tempus* and *Maiestati sacrosancte*) and three describe military saints (*Ad Martini titulum*, *Paule doctor gentium*, and *Per eundem tempus*), though St Martin's description as a soldier is played down to emphasize his religious character. And what do these French, military saints have in common with the Three Kings? Perhaps more significantly, why would a French poet create a sequence specifically honoring Cologne and her relics?

While the sequences differ in many ways, they do have a certain poetic characteristic in common: the author(s)'s almost obsessive interest in wordplay. This is profoundly evident in *Per eundem tempus* and occurs throughout the remaining three sequences as well. Alliteration and assonance permeate the rhythmic texture. Some exceptional examples include *caro carens carie*, *sibi fune fecit funus*, and *mentis nec ingenium* in *Maiestati*, *Ad Martini*, and *Paule doctor* respectively. There is an equal interest in *annominatio*, employing words with similar sounds, stems or both. The words may occur in close succession as with the above *caro carens carie*, but they may also appear a verse apart as in the final full strophe of *Per eundem tempus* (*eligitur vite*

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<sup>107</sup> Shinnick, "The Manuscript Assisi," 256–57.



*pure* / *Eligi*us pontifex), or several verses apart as in strophe 3a of *Paule doctor gentium* (*Raptus celum tertium ... cella de vinaria*). This also manifests itself in the verse rhymes where a two-syllable word occurs as the final two syllables of the word with which it rhymes, for instance *lustr*i/*palustr*i in *Per eundem tempus*, *invitat/vitat* in *Ad Martini*, and *aurum/thesaurum* in *Maiestati sacrosancte*. There is also an evident interest in using different forms of the same word, repeating the same word, as well as employing different words for the same object. The most explicit example of all three of these characteristics in close proximity occurs in strophes 6b and 7a of *Paule doctor gentium*. In these two strophes the author employs three different words for the noun “sword”: *Mucro* *sevit pro mucrone*, / *dum pro verbi ratione / decollaris cum gladio*; / *mors congruit officio*. // *Ense* *verbi dimicasti*. / *Ense ferri triumphasti*. / *Ensem ense superasti*, / *mortem patientia*. Here we also see the repetition of the genitive noun *verbi* and two different forms of the noun *ense* and *mors*. The final characteristic which might be indicative of an authorial style is the division of many verses into hemistiches governed by rhyme both with the following verse as well as within the verse itself. Strophes 1ab and 1ba of *Per eundem tempus* demonstrate both these types of hemistich divisions by rhyme. In strophe 1ab the first two verses the rhyme occurs within the verses: *In profundis (/) mersum undis / neque lesum (/) nec obsesum*. In strophe 1ba, on the other hand, the rhymes occur between verses: *Licet imum (/) tenens limi / tamen limum (/) nescit imi*.

While none of these characteristics might seem particularly unusual they are not as prevalent throughout the late sequence repertory as one might imagine. One author associated with **Ch** whose style reflects this playfulness is Gautier de Coinci. That **Ch** may have been bound with a version of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* makes authorship by the Soissons poet

worth considering.<sup>108</sup> One significant hurdle in comparing the **Ch** sequences to Gautier's oeuvre is the absence of any Latin-texted works attributable to the poet; the entirety of his recognizable output comprises works in Old French. Nevertheless, one of the most noticeable characteristics of his style is the playful (almost obsessive) use of *annominatio*. For instance, one of the most creative sections in the Ildefonsus miracle plays with a word for hypocrisy, *pappelart*:<sup>109</sup> *En Dieu n'a point de renardi / N'ainc Diex n'ama pappelardie. / Tex fait devant le pappelart / Qui par derriere pappe lart. / Honie soit pappelardie! / Ja por rienz que pappelars die / Ne m'i appapelardirai / Mais fi des pappelars dirai!* (vv. 1377–84).<sup>110</sup> Similarly, seven of the omitted lines from **3.J.139** exploit the similarities between the verb *noier* and *Noyon*: *Que toz Artois en est noiez; / Tout ont noié jusqu'a Noion. / Se toz en Oyse nes noion, / Touz ert, ce cuit, ainz quatre mois / Noions noiez et Noiemois. / Noions les toz, noions! noions! / Ainz que noiez en soit Noions.* (vv. 1544–50).<sup>111</sup>

This same style appears in many of his *chanson* texts as well. As Tony Hunt has noted, the first song of each *chanson* group in the *Miracles* mirrors the other through the use of *annominatio*.<sup>112</sup> The first song of Book II, *Pour la pucele en chantant me deport* (R. 1930)<sup>113</sup> employs the stem *-port(-)* throughout its first strophe: *Pour la pucele en chantant me deport / Qui tous depors et toute joie aporte. / Mout se deporte en deportant deport / En li porter honneur qui se deporte. / Ne puet venir n'ariver a droit port / Qui ne la sert et honeur ne li porte, / Car c'est*

<sup>108</sup> That fragment **3.J.139** was part of a “complete” version of the *Miracles* seems likely given that the Ildefonsus miracles never appears alone as far as I am aware (see sections 1.13 and 1.14 above).

<sup>109</sup> On Gautier's use of this word and its various forms see Olivier Collet, *Glossaire et index critiques des oeuvres d'attribution certaine de Gautier de Coinci* (Geneva: Droz, 2000), 360–61.

<sup>110</sup> Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles*, 2: 58.

<sup>111</sup> Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles*, 2: 64.

<sup>112</sup> Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, 103.

<sup>113</sup> The melody of *Pour la pucele en chantant me deport* in the Gautier manuscripts **M** and **N** is the same as the melody of *Destroiz d'amours et pensis sans deport* (R. 1932) and certain versions of Pierre de Molins's *Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir* (R. 1492), but has a unique melody in its other extant sources. See Hans Spanke, ed., *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

*li pons et la plance et la porte / De paradys, ou tout sont li deport.* (vv. 1–8).<sup>114</sup> The first *chanson*, meanwhile, plays with *chant*, also present in the first verse of *Pour la pucele: Amors, qui seit bien enchanter; / As plusors fait tel chant chanter / Dont les ames deschantent. / Je ne veil mais chanter tel chant, / Mais por celi novel chant chant / De cui li angle chantent.* (vv. 1–7).<sup>115</sup>

Certainly none of the sequences in **Ch** employ a style of annominatio comparable to this almost overwhelming play on words. Yet not every *chanson* by Gautier exhibits this extreme style. In fact, the majority of the *chansons* in the *Miracles*, though employing annominatio, reflect a style more in line with that seen in the **Ch** sequences.<sup>116</sup> Unfortunately, only a single *chanson* (possibly not intended for inclusion with the *Miracles*)<sup>117</sup> demonstrates any sort of interest on the part of Gautier in sequences. The *chanson Hui enfantez* contrafacts the Christmas sequence *Letabundus* in a very deliberate fashion (see Table 2.13).<sup>118</sup> The most obvious relationship between the two texts is the reuse of the final verse of each strophe from the Latin sequence in the French *chanson*. There are also examples of word “borrowing,” such as *Isaïe* for *Isaias* in 5a and *ne* for *neque* in 3b. More generally, there are examples of sound imitation. For instance, the first verse of strophe 3a in both pieces are formed in a similar manner. The *si-u* of the first two words in the sequences become *les(-)o* in the *chanson* and syllables five and six *ra(-)i* in both. On the other hand, Gautier’s employment of annominatio surpasses any word play present in the sequence. Already in the first two strophes we see the *enfantez* of the first verse turned into *enfanta* in the second strophe which immediately transforms into *enfant a* in the

<sup>114</sup> Quoted in Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, 103.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, 84.

<sup>116</sup> For a discussion of the textual characteristics of most of the *Miracles’ chansons* see Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, 79–121.

<sup>117</sup> Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, 82 note 13.

<sup>118</sup> *Hui enfantez* appears in six *Miracles* manuscripts (**BDHMev**), the first three with music, and the last three without.

<i>Letabundus</i>	<i>Hui enfantez</i>
1a. Letabundus exsultet fidelis chorus, alleluia.	1a. Hui enfantez fu li Filz Dieu, chantez chantez alleluia.
1b. Regem regum intacte profudit thorus, res miranda.	1b. Virge enfanta cele qui Dieu a enfant a, res miranda.
2a. Angelus consilii natus est de Virgine, sol de stella.	2a. Quant de s'ancele issi Diex, de sa dame issi li cielx sol de stella.
2b. Sol occasum nesciens, stella semper rutilans, semper clara.	2b. Cist solaus luist sanz sejour l'estoile est et nuit et jor semper clara.
3a. Sicut sidus radium profert Virgo Filium, pari forma.	3a. L'estoi le son rai mist fors, le Fiz Deu li Virges cors pari forma.
3b. Neque sidus radio, neque Mater Filio fit corrupta.	3b. Ne l'estoile au rai geter ne la Virge a l'enfanter fit corrupta.
4a. Cedrus alta Libani conformatur hyssopo valle nostra.	4a. Li Fiz Deu, li pius, li doz, en croiz morut por nos toz valle nostra.
4b. Verbum mens Altissimi, corporari passum est, carne sumpta,	4b. Por nos de mort delivrer se vint vie a mort doner carne sumpta.
5a. Isaias cecinit. Synagoga meminit, numquam tamen desinit esse ceca.	5a. Isaïe quant n'en croit Judée trop petit voit par sa durtee sanz fin doit esse ceca.
5b. Si non suis vatibus, credat vel gentilibus Sibyllinis versibus hec predicta.	5b. Ses prophetes anciens quant n'en croit, croie en païens, lise en vers sibiliens hec predicta.
6a. Infelix propera, crede vel vetera cur damnaberis gens misera?	6a. Juïs qui n'entendez a Dieu qui n'entandez, Antecrist qu'entendez gens misera.
6b. Quem docet littera natum considera ipsum genuit puerpera.	6b. Cil d'enfer nos gart toz qu'alaita ça desoz de ton lait sade et doz puerpera.

Table 2.13: *Letabundus* and Gautier's *Contrafact Hui Enfante* Compared

following verse. In a similar fashion, the poem concludes in a style reminiscent of the *unda/munda/fecunda* of *Paule doctor*'s strophe 7b: *Juīs qui n'entendez / A Dieu qui n'entandez / Antecrist qu'antendez / Gens misera.*

This analysis of Gautier's *Letabundus* contrafact provides conflicting evidence for the poet's authorship of the **Ch** sequences. From the perspective of word play, specifically the use of annominatio, *Hui enfantez* resembles the **Ch** sequences: it is present but not overwhelming as in certain sections of the Ildefonsus miracle and certain other *chansons*. However, as Ardis Butterfield noted in her discussion of Gautier's poetic style, this use of annominatio is not uncommon among Latin poets.<sup>119</sup> This together with the strong relationship between the original poem and Gautier's French contrafact, an uncommon trait among the **Ch** sequences, make an attribution to Gautier questionable.

Another possibility worth considering is attributing the authorship of these sequences to Philip the Chancellor. Peter Dronke and David Traill have enumerated approximately ten characteristics present throughout Philip's poetry, several of which appear in the **Ch** sequences.<sup>120</sup> These include six which I have categorized as technical aspects of the poetry: "virtuoso rhyming," rhyming with annominatio, the use of apostrophe, imperative and interrogative constructions, very short lines (frequently with rhyming and opposition), and favorite words and expressions. The four remaining characteristics reflect the topics Philip addresses in the poetry itself and include dark and violent imagery, classical and biblical illusions frequently employed as a warning, lecturing mankind, and moralizing. Most of these

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<sup>119</sup> Ardis Butterfield, "Introduction: Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame: Texts and Manuscripts*," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 1–18, at 16. While I do not doubt Butterfield's assessment, the few comparisons made here as well as the significance it plays in defining Philip the Chancellor's output indicates that the practice was not as ubiquitous as her characterization suggests.

<sup>120</sup> See Peter Dronke, "The Lyric Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi Medievali* Ser. 3, 28, no. 2 (1987): 563–92; Traill, "A Cluster of Poems,"; and Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F10**."

characteristics are evident in *Ceciderunt in preclaris*, a sequence for St Francis of Assisi attributed to Philip (see Table 2.14).<sup>121</sup> Not only does the poem employ those poetic characteristics noted in the **Ch** sequences, it also includes many of the absent topical characteristics as well. There are biblical allusions to Jeremiah and Christ. The ropes of the friars minor are employed to both describe the binding of Christ but also the trussing of thieves and sinners. The final few strophes before the explicit teach the listener the benefits of ropes and rags associated with the friars: they are equivalent to Christ and therefore should be adored and respected. A comparison with *Ceciderunt in preclaris* appears to argue against Philip as author of the **Ch** sequences. Stylistically similar, the **Ch** sequences lack all of the topical characteristics so prevalent in Philip's work. Nevertheless, certain similarities are significant. As with *Ceciderunt in preclaris* the sequences respond to Philip's interests at the end of his life, specifically fighting heresy through the imagery of militant saints (Martin, Paul, and Quentin). I have shown above how the image of Paul as crusader emerged at approximately this same time, and it seems unlikely that *Maiestati sacrosancte* was written earlier. Even the opening of the Three Kings sequence references a fighting and triumphing church, a militant member of which Philip undoubtedly saw himself as he travelled around northern and eastern France burning heretics and preaching in the mid-1230s. It is possible that during this time he encountered clergy or aristocrats who believed the Three Kings should reside in Flanders rather than Cologne, and this prompted the strong message of Cologne's ownership.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Text and translation from Shinnick, "The Manuscript Assisi," 610–12.

<sup>122</sup> Hofmann notes that in a letter from 6 July 1164 Pope Alexander III asked the Archbishop of Reims to attack and capture Rainald and his followers as they transported the relics of the Three Magi from Milan to Cologne, since their intended route was to take them through Flanders to Germany. It seems likely that this route would have taken them through Châlons, a major city along the ancient Roman road. Ultimately, however, Rainald was warned and he returned to Cologne via a different route. Hofmann, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, 102–103. If this was the case, it perhaps makes sense of the unusual strophe 8b which references a "return through another way."

<i>Ceciderunt in preclaris</i>	Translation
1. Ceciderunt in preclaris mihi funes in preclaris fratribus minoribus.	The ropes have fallen away from me in the company of the brilliant and very dear Friars Minor.
2a. Pretiosi vere funes, quibus cincti sunt immunes a mundanis sordibus.	The ropes are truly precious, by which are girded those free from the sordid things of the world.
2b. Funes isti funes Christi, quibus cincti sunt distincti peccatorum funibus.	These ropes are ropes of Christ, girded by which they are untied from the ropes of sins.
3a. Metiaris sive metas, spicas metens, signans metas, opus est funiculo.	Whether you measure or whether you reap, harvesting ears of grain, marking your land, there is need of a little rope.
3b. Fune capis terram viventium, fune messis eterne bravium portas in manipulo.	With rope you hold the land of the living, and with rope you carry in a bundle the prize of an eternal harvest.
4a. O Francisce, Christi miles, decorasti funes viles cingulo militie.	O Francis, soldier of Christ, you have graced the poor ropes with the belt of military honor.
4b. Tu per hunc funiculum, militare cingulum, cinctus stola glorie.	You, through this slender rope serving as a military belt, are encircled by a stole of glory.
5a. Tu pusilli pastor gregis, tu vexilli summi regis proferens insignia.	You, shepherd of a small flock, you, bearing before you the insignia of the banner of the highest king.
5b. Vita vitam imitatus; morte mortem emulatus; exprimis vestigia.	In your life you always imitate His life; in your death you emulate His death; you imprint the traces.
6a. Fossus manus, pedes, latus prior Christus est signatus passionis stigmatate.	Pierced in hands, feet and side, Christ before you was marked with the stigmata of suffering.
6b. Morti cuius conformatus in eodem consignatus reperiris schemate.	Christ to whom death conformed, marked with Him in the same pattern you are discovered.
7a. O felices cicatrices, quibus Christi depinxisti vulnus sine vulnere.	O blessed wounds by which you have portrayed, unwounded, the wound of Christ.
7b. Neque sude ferrea, nec confossus lancea sano lives latere.	Having made confession neither by an iron stake nor by a spear, you show bruises with side unharmed.

Table 2.14: *Ceciderunt in preclaris* Text and Translation

<i>Ceciderunt in preclaris</i>	Translation
8a. Tui funes sub figura designantur in iunctura pannorum funiculis.	Your ropes are represented in form by the joining together of the rags by ropes.
8b. Ieremias fecibus est extractus funibus iunctis cum panniculis.	Jeremiah was drawn out from the dregs by ropes joined with rags.
9a. Funes verba preceptorum panni facta sunt sanctorum feces mundi vitia.	The ropes are the words of teachings; the rags are the deeds of the saints; the dregs, the defects of the world.
9b. Sociantur blanda duris que succurrant exituris de cuple miseria.	What is agreeable is joined with what is hard so that the agreeable may assist those who would depart from the wretchedness of their guilt.
10a. Fune fures suspendendi, hostes fune vincendi, hostis, fur, demonia,	With a rope are thieves to be strung up; with ropes are our enemies to be bound; adversary, thief, evil spirits:
10b. Fures, quia nos denudant, hostes, quia sic insudant ad mortis exitia.	Thieves, because they strip us bare, enemies because they strain and sweat in this way toward the destruction of death.
11a. Funes textunt lectos suaves, funes sistunt portu naves, funes trahunt sursum graves lapides in troclea.	Ropes weave sweet couches; ropes hold ships in port; ropes drag heavy stones from below upon a pulley.
11b. Pax eterna, lectus suavis, Christus portus, homo navis moles carnis mola gravis sursum vite laurea.	Eternal peace is the sweet couch; Christ is the harbor, man, the ship: the difficulties of the flesh are the millstone lifted from below which leads to the laurel wreath of life.
12a. Virgis cesus et nudatus fune Christus est ligatus, pannis infans reclinatus ornavit presepia.	Christ, beaten with rods and stripped, was bound with rope: he who as an infant was laid down in rags has adorned the manger.
12b. Funes non sunt abhorrendi, panni non sunt contemnendi sed gratanter amplectendi commutandi gloria.	Ropes should not be abhorred; rags should not be scorned; but they should be embraced gratefully, soon to be exchanged for glory.
13a. Roga Christum, O Francisce, et sic funes pannis misce, ut qui pannis sunt induti fune cincti te secuti assequamur premia.	Implore Christ, O Francis, and in this way mingle ropes with rags so that those clothed with rages those girded with rope, having followed you, may attain their reward.
13b. Pannum rudem saccum scissum in splendoris mutet byssum, Sathan missum in abyssum fune liget, det promissum, induat letitia.	So that Christ may transform the rude cloth, the torn sackcloth into fine lustrous linen; so that He may bind Satan, sent off into the abyss, with a rope; so that He may bestow the promise; so that He may lead them into rejoicing.

Table 2.14: *Ceciderunt in preclaris* Text and Translation, cont.



But aside from these tenuous claims there is more specific textual evidence linking Philip to the text of *Maiestati sacrosancte*. The alliterative phrase noted above, *caro carens carie*, appears almost exactly in the motet *Agmina milicie* (532) / *Agmina* [M65/O40]. Verse 39 of the motet reads, *caro caret carie*. This motet, attributed to Philip in several medieval sources, clearly demonstrates a concrete link to the Chancellor and therefore argues for Philip's authorship of the sequence collection as a whole.<sup>123</sup>

### 2.10 Conclusion: Provenance

The original question of provenance rested soundly on understanding the **Ch** sequences as a fragment of a sequentiary, and the identification of one of those sequences, *Per eundem tempus*, with the very localized veneration of St Eusebia. I have demonstrated that both of these assertions are incorrect; *Per eundem tempus* clearly references St Quentin, while the alphabetical ordering of the sequences, as well as their lack of rubrics, indicates the unlikelihood that they were intended to function as a liturgical collection for a specific locale. Yet this more accurate understanding of the **Ch** sequence gathering does not elucidate the question of the manuscript's provenance.

Textually, *Per eundem tempus* and *Maiestati sacrosancte* still point to locales north and east of Paris. Despite St Quentin's ubiquitous veneration, only a single Parisian source, **Assisi 695**, contains a sequence for the martyr, *Per unius casum grani*, and current scholarship maintains that this source was intended for Reims.<sup>124</sup> The correspondence between *Per eundem tempus* and the late *Decem uno ferme lustris* from Beauvais also hints at a provenance close to

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<sup>123</sup> See Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 58. On the possibility that *Agmina milicie* was part of the initial construction of **Ch** see Chapter One note 43.

<sup>124</sup> Schinnick, "The Manuscript Assisi," 75. *Per unius casum grani* occurs in the third collection of sequences, the collection least associated with Paris. The fact that St Quentin's feast was not sufficiently elevated to require a sequence in Paris may account for why this sequence was excised from Adam of St. Victor's oeuvre.

the relics themselves in Saint Quentin and Beauvais, but the late date of the latter makes such a comparison problematic. *Maiestati sacrosancte*, on the other hand, appears to suggest the archdiocese of Cologne, through its specific reference to that city and its inhabitants, though evidence indicates that the sequence served in other locales (such as Liège) for Epiphany and therefore need not be limited to the German city. But the question remains, to what extent must a collection of sequences reflect the liturgical environment to which it belongs if the sequences themselves were not intended for liturgical performance? The arrangement of sequences as they occur in **Ch** appears to bolster Everist's argument about the fragment's Parisian origin and provenance in which he states, "an alternative way of viewing the evidence might be to assume that the *exemplar* for *Per eundem tempus* found its way into the pool of material that served as the repository upon which Parisian scribes and entrepreneurs depended."<sup>125</sup>

The music of the sequences certainly links the collection more to Paris than elsewhere. The melody employed for *Maiestati sacrosancte* differs significantly from the Rhenish version, and though not Victorine, may reflect a French tendency to manipulate the musical material of *Laudes crucis atollamus* as a method of creating new melodies for a sequence.<sup>126</sup> *Ad Martini titulum* and *Paule doctor gentium*, on the other hand, specifically reference the Parisian version of *Mane prima sabbati* over the northeastern versions. But a Parisian origin of the music does not immediately imply that the provenance and origin of **Ch** must also be Parisian. The fact that the **Ch** sequences do not reflect a liturgically ordered sequentiary indicates that specific melodic preferences by region would not necessarily be required. Such is the case, for instance, in **Assisi 695**, whose version of *Mane prima sabbati* incorporates one element of the Reims version of the sequence (versicle 6) but employs the Victorine version of versicle 8. **Assisi 695** is a problematic

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<sup>125</sup> Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 148.

<sup>126</sup> A similar tradition was also at work in England. See Deeming, "Music, Memory and Mobility," 73–77.

example, however. Despite the manuscript's liturgical ordering (among the three individual sequence collections) and rubrication, apparently the collection was not intended as a repository of liturgical material for Reims, but instead as a large, representative collection of sequences. On the other hand, a late-twelfth-century Reims missal (Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 227) from the abbey of St. Remi also employs the Parisian melody (slightly altered) for *Mane prima sabbati*, which indicates that even outside of the capital, institutions within the same city could employ different melodies for the same sequence even if the practice was unusual.

Ultimately, the analysis of the **Ch** sequences has not produced any more clarity on the issue of provenance. While Paris appears to be the origins for the settings of at least two of the sequences, the Parisian origins of most of **Ch**'s repertory is already accepted. If anything, the Parisian characteristics of the music support the possibility that the sequences originated with a Parisian author (such as Philip the Chancellor) as did the conductus and motets of the other gatherings. This, however, does not immediately imply the manuscript must have been made in Paris or that the collection was intended for a Parisian patron or institution. The question of ownership still hinges on the fragment's origin which is intimately linked to the Gautier fragment **3.J.139**. If we accept that Gautier composed a contrafact to the conductus *Beata viscera* by Philip the Chancellor then the music of Philip must have reached Soissons and its surrounds at least by the early 1220s if not earlier.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, the presence of Philip's music, or music from the French capital in general, in a manuscript from outside of Paris in the 1240s, or slightly later, hardly seems problematic, especially given the Chancellor's movements in Châlons and to the north at the end of his life. Would not a collection of orthodox texts and music from/by one of the

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<sup>127</sup> According to Masami Okubo, *Entendez tuit* was already part of the second iteration of Gautier's *Miracles*, which included the 116-verse version of the Ildefonsus miracle. The longer version of Ildefonsus was written between 1222 and 1224 therefore the contrafact must have been written before that time. Okubo, "La formation," 442.

most powerful and influential clergymen in France be the perfect gift to reinforce the correct behavior of a people beset with heretical ideas?

## Chapter Three: Organization in Ch The Macro, the Micro, and the Question of Strophic Form

### 3.1 Introduction

The comparison of **Ch** with large collections of Notre-Dame polyphony such as **F** and **W2** has made the question of organization and genre in the Châlons fragments a primary point of interest. The compilers of both **F** and **W2** arranged the contents according to genre and number of voices (as well as alphabetically, in the case of **W2**'s motet collections), probably based on smaller collections as described by Anonymous IV:

It should be known that many methods and a large number of types of volumes, as we have said, occur in such matters. There is a certain volume containing *quadrupla* such as “Viderunt” and “Sederunt,” which Perotin the Great composed... And there is another volume of fine great *tripula* such as “Alleluia Dies Sanctificatus,” etc... The third volume is of triple *conducti* that have *caudae* like “Salvatoris hodie” and “Relegentur ab area” and similar ones, in which are contained the final sections [*puncta*] of the *organum* at the end of the verses and in some not... And there is another volume of double *conducti* that have *caudae* like the ancient “Ave Maria” in *duplum* and “Pater Noster commiserans” or “Hac in die reg[e] nato,” in which are contained the names of several *conducti*, and similar things. And there is a fifth volume of quadruple, triple and duple [*conducti*] without *caudae*, which used to be much used by minor singers, and similar things. And there is a sixth volume of *organum* in *duplum* like “Iudea et Ierusalem” and “Constantes,” which indeed never occurs in *tripulum*... And several other volumes are found according to the different arrangements of the composition and melody, like single *conducti lagi* and several other similar things, and all these things are made clear more fully in their own books or volumes.<sup>1</sup>

Even though I have shown that it is unlikely **Ch** originated in Paris as a large musical collection similar in type to **F**, the fragment's unusual arrangement of genres, defying a seemingly ubiquitous Parisian tradition of organization, is worthy of consideration.

The common point of departure for analyses of **Ch**'s organization is the generic ambiguity suggested by the unusual motet formats (monophonic and score) contained in the polyphonic gatherings *y* and *z*. The score formatting led Mark Everist to suggest a performance practice in which Notre-Dame singers would realize motets homorhythmically, breaking up the

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation* (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1985), 73–74.

tenor to create a conductus texture. This despite the clear generic distinction between the two genres, based on musical material and poetry. He writes,

The intention and audible result of the procedure found in Châlons-sur-Marne [**Ch**] may have been to create something that sounded like a conductus. The three parts would have moved homorhythmically and would have declaimed the same text. Some intervention would have been required to split up the notes of the tenor. However, there are other ways in which the Châlons pieces are not like conductus. The texts are not strophic, but more importantly, their clausula origins mean that the texts are characterised by the unequal line-lengths and irregular rhyme-patterns typical of the motet. The resulting poems are very different to the strophic lyrics with regular rhyme and line-length that are found in the repertory of conductus or *cantio*.<sup>2</sup>

And later,

In general terms, motets are derived from chant and use poetry that avoids strophic repetition. Conducti, composed without reference to chant, are characterised by their use of strophic texts. Strophic poetry is therefore rare in chant-derived polyphony of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

In **Ch**, Everist finds an unusual merging of two distinct genres into a composite: a sort of motet-conductus. While it is not my intent in this chapter to challenge the performance of motets as conductus (I address the issue of score format in Chapter Four [see section 4.5.2 below]), here, after a discussion of **Ch**'s organization in relation to other collections of Philip's music, I will consider another important characteristic of the fragment's contents, the appearance of preponderantly strophic forms, and in so doing reconsider current views that strictly distinguish the poetic forms employed in the motet and conductus. At the end of the chapter I return to the question of genre.

### 3.2 Organization in Ch

The **Ch** fragments present an unusual organizational method in several ways. As already discussed in Chapter Two (see section 2.8 above), the sequences of gathering *x* defy the traditional organizational principles of sequence collections (liturgical ordering), instead employing an alphabetical arrangement, a characteristic more common in French song

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<sup>2</sup> Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 40.

<sup>3</sup> Everist, *French Motets*, 41.

collections, but also utilized in several of the motet fascicles in **W2**.<sup>4</sup> Gatherings *y* and *z* utilize a scheme that is significantly opaquer. As Table 1.7 indicates, none of the traditional organizational methods employed in the large collections of Notre-Dame polyphony (liturgical ordering, genre, number of voices) strictly apply. The single bifolio of gathering *y* consists of five pieces (some fragmentary, others complete) one of which is a two-voice conductus, another a three-voice motet, and finishing with three monophonic motetus parts. Of these five the last four are typically classified as motets: the first three appearing in various other manuscripts with accompanying tenors.<sup>5</sup> However, they are not in liturgical order; the two Easter motets, *Nostrum est impletum* (216) and *Homo quam sit pura* (231) are separated by the Epiphany motet [*Et illumina*] *eximia mater* (101). This leaves the possibility that gathering *y* transitions from conductus to motets, or from two-voice pieces (assuming that the three monophonic motets would have been understood as two-part motets) to three-voice pieces. This arrangement, however, is complicated by gathering *z*. While the majority of the gathering comprises three-voice pieces, as do fols. 6r and 6v in gathering *y*, gathering *z* begins with the monophonic conductus *Dogmatum falsas species*. This precedes two motets on the same tenor (*M37 Veritatem*) divided by a single conductus. The final four pieces are also conductus, the last three of which comprise a single conductus in their only other extant source, **F**.

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<sup>4</sup> Eglal Doss-Quinby notes, “Most trouvère songbooks begin with ascribed compositions, grouped by author, usually in descending order of social or aristocratic rank, and continue with unattributed *chansons*, listed alphabetically by text incipit, and then *jeux-partis*, which the scribes also left anonymous. A few manuscripts (specifically, *I* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308] and *a* [Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. 1490]) classify the songs by genre and form rather than by author, and some (such as *C* [Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389] and *O* [Paris, Bnf, fr. 846]) give the songs alphabetically by text incipit, without attribution.” Eglal Doss-Quinby, “The Douce 308 Chansonier within the Corpus of Trouvère Songbooks,” in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale: Autour du Tournoi de Chauvency (Ms. Oxford Bodleian Douce 308)*, ed. Mireille Chazan and Nancy Freeman Regalado (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 435–50, at 446.

<sup>5</sup> The fragmentary nature of *Homo quam sit pura* on fol. 5v makes it impossible to determine if this motet originally had a tenor in **Ch**, though the evidence suggested by the preceding examples argues against it.

There are two possible implications of this musical organization. If the original **Ch** manuscript was a large collection of Notre-Dame polyphony as Hourlier and Chailley originally asserted—and subsequent scholars have accepted outright—then gatherings *y* and *z* must represent final unplanned gatherings where musical material was added as it became available without any regard for genre, number of voices, or liturgical arrangement. The quire number “*xxix*” on the final folio of gathering *z* together with the discontinuity evident between the pieces and the rulings also support such an argument. On the other hand, if **Ch** contains the remnants of a collection of pieces attributed to Philip the Chancellor, as I have suggested, then ordering according to the principles of genre, number of voices, and liturgical ordering would not necessarily apply. Early chansonniers typically arranged pieces by author with little regard for genre, and even though this practice began to shift towards organization by genre around the end of the century,<sup>6</sup> a quick glance through the late-thirteenth-century collection of Philip’s works in **LoB** still indicates a certain disregard for generic organization.<sup>7</sup>

Comparison with other collections of Philip’s works indicates that the principles involved in **Ch**’s organization focus on textual relationships more significantly than musical or liturgical criteria. One obvious organizational method is the placement of similar titles adjacent to one another. The tenth fascicle of **F** (**F10**), which David Traill has argued comprises a collection of Philip’s works, contains four groups of two corresponding conductus: two settings of *Dum medium silentium*, two of *Qui seminat*, two of *Homo cur*, and *Vanitas vanitatem* next to *Veritas*

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<sup>6</sup> As regards the organization by genre in trouvère manuscripts, Doss-Quinby states, “Thus, we may safely continue to assert not only that the organization of the lyrics found in Douce 308 [i.e., by genre] is, in many ways, distinctive, as has been long recognized, but also conclude that this feature is indicative of a gradual shift in the structure of trouvère songbooks in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries.” Doss-Quinby, “The Douce 308 Chansonnier,” 449.

<sup>7</sup> While the majority of pieces are monophonic conductus, the second piece, *O Maria virginiei*, is for two parts, and among the monophonic conductus there are two two-voice motets, *Laqueus conteritur* (95) / *Laques* [M7] and *Agmina melicie celestis* (532) / *Agmina* [M65].



*veritatem*.<sup>8</sup> This represents a minute percentage among a collection of eighty-three pieces, but the same practice is evident in some of the smaller collections as well. The seven pieces preserved in the Dominican Missal **Sab** begin with three texts with the initial vocative *homo*.<sup>9</sup> Two of these, *Homo vide que pro te patior* and *Homo considera*, also occur together in **Praha** following the opening eight prosulas, though in reverse order.<sup>10</sup> This direct textual relationship is evident in gathering *z* between the conductus *O Maria virginei* and the motet *O Maria maris stella* (448). At the internal level, a similar relationship occurs between the first two pieces of the gathering, the monophonic conductus *Dogmatum falsas species* and motet *In veritati comperi* (451), in which the latter employs part of the former's refrain as part of its text.

Similar to specific textual relationships, many of these collections place similar types of texts together. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-2777 (**Hs-2777**), for instance, begins with two conductus which are written as dialogs, the first between the soul and the body, the second between Diogenes and Aristippus.<sup>11</sup> Later in the collection, the two refrain songs are placed next to one another.<sup>12</sup> **Sab** also places its two dialog conductus together immediately following the three poems which begin on the word *homo*.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, **LoB** places five Latin rondeau poems adjacent to one another.<sup>14</sup> Not only do these poems share the same poetic form,

<sup>8</sup> Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F10**," 222–24.

<sup>9</sup> The three pieces are the two conductus *Homo vide que pro te patior* and *Homo considera*, and the motet duplum *Homo quam sit pura* (231). See Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen," 5.

<sup>10</sup> These two conductus also occur in close proximity in **F10** (only two pieces occur between them) and therefore may have frequently occurred together in collections. In **LoB** they are separated by the conductus *O mens cogita* which occurs immediately following *Homo considera* in **F10**.

<sup>11</sup> *Homo natus ad laborem* and *Aristippe, quamvis sero*.

<sup>12</sup> *O labilis soris humane status* and *Beata viscera*.

<sup>13</sup> *Crux te volo conqueri* is a dialog between the Virgin Mary and the Cross; *Si quis cordis et oculi* involves a conflict between the heart and the eye which the heart eventually resolves.

<sup>14</sup> *Festa dies agitur*, *Sol est in meridie*, *Luto carens et latere*, *Tempus est gratie*, and *Veni sancte spiritus spes omnium*. For scholars who have called the authorship of these pieces into question see Helen Deeming, "Preserving and Recycling: Functional Multiplicity and Shifting Priorities in the Compilation and Continued Use of London, British Library, Egerton 274," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 141–62, at 143 note 7.

the first four of the five specifically address the topic of time with the first three depicting morning, mid-day, and evening. According to Helen Deeming, **LoB** also collects together a number of texts which are contrafacts or pieces on which vernacular contrafacts are based.<sup>15</sup> Many of these occur between pieces six and seventeen.<sup>16</sup> On a more general level, **Hs-2777** groups many of its texts according to strophic type. The collection begins with a number of lais consisting of double versicles of varying lengths. Strophic poems make up the bulk of the middle section mostly consisting of 8pp verse lengths. Strophic pieces also play an important role in **Ch**. While the fragments lack the consistent placement of similar strophic types next to one another, the collection includes a number of pieces with strophes absent in most if not all other extant sources (see section 3.3 below).

Perhaps the most consistent characteristic of these collections, including **Ch**, is the alternation between texts which criticize worldly qualities or people and those which offer a means to salvation or examples for emulation.<sup>17</sup> One such example occurs in the small, five-piece collection of Philip's works in Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 226 (**Ms. 266**).<sup>18</sup> The first four pieces move through a critique of the clergy (*Quid ultra tibi* and *Dic Christi veritas*), worldly wealth (*Bonum est confidere*), and fickle women (*Qui servare pubere*). It concludes with the motet *Serena virginum* (69) / *Manere* [M5]. In this text, Mary is offered as intercessor, a remedy for the world's corruption. This same sort of alternation occurs repeatedly in **Hs-2777**, **Praha**, and **LoB**. Gatherings y and z demonstrate similar juxtapositions between

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<sup>15</sup> Deeming, "Preserving and Recycling," 150.

<sup>16</sup> Pamela Whitcomb, "The Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274: A Study of Its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000), 48–50.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of a similar relationship between two adjacent French motets in **Mo** see Jennifer Saltzstein, "Rape and Repentance in Two Medieval Motets," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 3 (2017): 583–616.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of this collection see Gregorio Bevilacqua, "Conductus or Motet? A New Source and a Question of Genre," *Musica Disciplina* 58 (2013): 9–27.

criticism and salvation. The final strophe of *Regis decus et regine* focuses on the current, decrepit state of the church. The remedy of the Eucharist, Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, and the Virgin as intermediary are then offered in the following four pieces.<sup>19</sup> In exactly the same way, gathering *z* begins with a conductus and motet which harshly criticize the clergy, *Dogmatum falsas species* and *In veritate comperi*. These are then followed by three homages to the Virgin.

The final group of conductus in gathering *z* appear to break this cycle but again there is a textual link between the final three pieces and the preceding conductus, *Gedeonis area*. In the latter Philip employs typological language to reference the Virgin Mary, then moves on to castigate the Jews for not believing the new Law of Christ. One of the images Philip employs is the water producing rock from the Book of Numbers (*liquitur petra liquore*). In this instance, the metaphor substitutes the rock for Mary and the water for God's gift of Christ to the people whom the Jews refuse to accept. The liquid bearing rock appears again in *De rupta rupecula* and *Terra Bachi Francia*, but in this instance the broken rock—specifically the defeated city of La Rochelle—spills the wine of France for the enjoyment of the French conquerors led by Louis VIII (see section 1.12 below). A possible link between the Jews and the English occurs in *Terra Bachi Francia* where the two countries are distinguished by their alcohol preferences. France is the land of the wine-filled rock, while England, with its watery beer, is the land of Moses. Whether concerning the English or the Jews these poems offer a critique of society to which the honorable actions of Louis VIII are offered as exemplars.

A final characteristic of these collections, and one that deserves more study, is the correspondence between the chosen texts and the overarching concerns of the complete manuscript. Helen Deeming has argued, for instance, that **LoB** demonstrates a scribal interest in

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<sup>19</sup> Though, because of the lacuna, there may have been a piece, or pieces, between *Homo quam sit pura* and *O quam sancta quam benigna*.

interrelatedness of song and hence the manuscript's consistent interest in texts which employ preexisting music.<sup>20</sup> The fourteen texts which David Traill has assigned to Philip in the **Carmina Burana** address almost exclusively an individual's behavior.<sup>21</sup> Texts 22–27 are more general instructions for individuals, while 29–31 call attention to the actions of older men who act like youths, and finally 33–36 focus on the actions of bishops. The collection of seven pieces in the Dominican collection **Sab**, on the other hand, almost all present a form of speech: five of the eight texts address man directly while two others are dialogs. Perhaps this emphasis on direct speech reflects the Dominicans' role as preachers and the ability of these texts to speak directly to the listener or enact an educational interaction. The collection of Philip's pieces in **Ch** also appears to emphasize an interest in the behavior of the clergy and especially the Virgin Mary (with the possible exception of the final three conductus). If in fact, the existing pieces accurately reflect the collection as a whole, this topical interest perfectly reflects a manuscript which also may have contained Gautier's *Miracles de Notre Dame* or at least an excerpt from it. Perhaps these textual choices do not simply reflect common topics but create a sort of manual of correct religious behavior/belief appropriate for a French community renown for heretical beliefs. While this relationship is still circumstantial, the characteristics of **Ch**'s organization both in its topics and in its arrangement of those topics indicate a connection to a manuscript emphasizing the Virgin Mary as well as the smaller collections of Philip's pieces in general.

### 3.3 The Strophic Forms of Ch

Another of **Ch**'s outstanding characteristics is the presence of additional strophes of poetry for pieces that exist in shorter forms elsewhere. Of the thirteen pieces in gatherings y and z, six have an additional strophe or strophes (the five conductus *Regis decus et regine*,

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<sup>20</sup> Deeming, "Preserving and Recycling," 150–52.

<sup>21</sup> Traill, "A Cluster of Poems."

*Dogmatum falsas species*, *Gedeonis area*, *De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum* and the motet duplum *Eximia mater*) and another two (the motet duplum *Homo quam sit pura* and the conductus *Terra Bachi Francia*) may have had additional strophes. Unfortunately, because of the fragmentary nature of the manuscript the ending of neither of these pieces survives, and the supposition is based on the presence of additional strophes for *Homo quam sit pura* in the Dominican missal **Sab** and an additional strophe following both *De rupta rupecula* and *Pictavorum idolum* which, together with *Terra Bachi Francia*, combine to make a single conductus in **F**. Of these eight pieces, only *Homo quam sit pura* and *Gedeonis area* appear in other sources with their additional texts: *Homo quam sit pura* in the Dominican missal just noted, and *Gedeonis area* in **Praha**.

The additional strophes in **Ch** affect the poetry in several ways. Perhaps the simplest consequence is a reemphasis on or supplementation to the other strophes. This occurs in the two conductus on the battle for La Rochelle and *Dogmatum falsas species*. *Dogmatum falsas* is perhaps the most interesting case since its only other source, **F**, contains only the opening strophe and refrain while **Ch** includes no fewer than nine additional strophes. Each strophe of the text, a diatribe against the clergy, uses metaphorical language to castigate clerical corruption and heresy. Repeatedly they are called foxes or wolves. The plagues of locusts and frogs are referenced as well as thieves, pillagers and heretics. Many of the strophes could stand alone, as does the first in **F**, but the aggregation of the complementary strophes reemphasizes the contemptible state of the ecclesiastical institution in disregarding heretical practices (see section 1.12.1 above). The second strophe of both *De rupta rupecula* and *Pictavorum idolum* also complement those preceding. In the former, the implied water-bearing rock of the first strophe appears directly and Louis VIII's sword becomes the staff of Moses offering wine instead of

water. In the latter, the consequences of the political treachery in the first strophe are felt in the second with the disbelief of the citizenry, Louis's occupation and the fear from neighboring counties (see section 1.12 above).<sup>22</sup>

Alternatively, several of the additional strophes provide an antithetical position to the preceding strophe(s). The first three strophes of *Regis decus et regine* affirm, through the use of color and clothing metaphors and reference to the tabernacle, the positive qualities of the church and its rulers: restraint, patience, prudence, chastity, and justice. Strophe four subverts these qualities. While they are the qualities that should persist, the reality is filth, hedonism and disgrace. *Gedeonis area* also diverges in tone, but only midway through the second strophe. Symbolic language for the Virgin's pregnancy permeates the first strophe and continues through the first four verses of the second. Only with verse 5 does the joyous celebration of Mary turn abruptly to a criticism of the Jews. Not only are they deceitful and untrustworthy, their disbelief causes distress to the Christian truth.

Finally, the additional strophes for the monophonic motets provide complementary texts. The opening strophe of *Eximia mater* addresses the Virgin as a powerful and courtly personage. She is regal, grants favors, is the path to the heavenly court, and leads a conquering army. In strophe 2, she becomes the wise teacher, writing, enlightening and instructing her faithful disciples.<sup>23</sup> The second and third strophes of *Homo quam sit pura* also provide a broader context for the initial strophe. The motet opens with a vivid first-person account of Christ's crucifixion as evidence of His love for mankind. The senses of touch, taste and sight evoke the physical torments endured during the Passion. This short episode expands in strophe 2 to encompass

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<sup>22</sup> Gordon A. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, vol. 2 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), XXIX note 18.

<sup>23</sup> For the text and translation of *Eximia mater* see Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 5:1043–44.

Jesus's entire life. Here, the actions and sufferings of His earthly existence serve as a counterpart to the hard-heartedness of mankind. Strophe 3 returns to Christ's love for humanity. Only in general terms does He suffer. His punishments are agony but the ultimate stretching-out of his arms is a zealous embrace of those for whom He sacrificed Himself (see section 4.3.1 below).

The extra strophes in **Ch** provide no special insight either to the manuscript fragments or to Philip's poetry generally or specifically in this context. Nevertheless, they suggest an interest on the part of the scribe in strophic poetry in general. Perhaps this indicates another connection to the vernacular song tradition, though a cursory glance through **F**'s tenth fascicle bears witness to a similar strophic tradition. For my purposes, the "strophic-ness" of gatherings *y* and *z* provides the impetus for the reconsideration of poetic form in Notre-Dame poetry in general and specifically as it relates to the motet. In the next few sections I will consider the idea of strophic poetry, and I will use that investigation to argue for a pseudo-strophic motet sharing certain characteristics with examples like *Homo quam sit pura* and *Eximia mater*.

### 3.4 Strophic Poetry

What is a strophe? In modern musical parlance a strophe equates to a stanza of poetry whose structure, including number of lines, meter—or in the case of rhythmic poetry, number of syllables and accent—and sequence of rhymes, repeats with each iteration of the music.<sup>24</sup> The *Oxford Companion to Music* makes this correspondence clear by defining "strophic" specifically in terms of repeating structure: "In poetry, a stanzaic form in which each verse (strophe) follows the same structure, metre, and rhyme scheme. In music the term is used by extension to describe any form founded on a repeated pattern: AAAA, etc. It is most commonly found in songs..."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Stanza, n.," *OED Online*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 1 September 2017, <http://www.oed.com>.

<sup>25</sup> G. M. Tucker and Jane Bellingham, "Strophic," *The Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford Reference Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 1 September 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com>.

More simply, *Grove Music Online* defines “strophic” as “a term applied to songs in which all stanzas of the text are sung to the same music, in contrast to those that are through-composed and have new music for each stanza.”<sup>26</sup> While the latter definition sounds more general, the definition of “stanza” as it appears in the *OED* precisely clarifies a stanza as a repetitive form: “A group of lines of verse (usually not less than four), arranged according to a definite scheme which regulates the number of lines, the metre, and (in rhymed poetry) the sequence of rhymes; normally forming a division of a song or poem consisting of a series of such groups constructed according to the same scheme.”<sup>27</sup> This definition corresponds remarkably well to the musical origins of the word in Greek drama.

The word “strophe” (στροφή) in Greek means “turning.” In ancient Greece the term described the opening of the sung, choric ode at which point the chorus moved, or turned, from right to left. An antistrophe of the same musical and metrical structure followed the strophe and was accompanied by the re-turning of the chorus from left to right.<sup>28</sup> The Greeks developed various types of strophic forms including, for example, the Sapphic and elegiac, which Latin writers of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages later emulated.<sup>29</sup> Macrobius, in his *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, appears to correlate the forms of the choric ode with hymns when he notes that, “in the hymns to the gods...the verses of the strophe might represent the forward motion of the celestial sphere and the antistrophe the reverse motion of the planetary

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<sup>26</sup> Michael Tilmouth. “Strophic,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 1 September 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

<sup>27</sup> “Stanza, n.,” *OED Online*.

<sup>28</sup> “Strophe, n.,” *OED Online*. T. Krier, “Strophe,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1360–61. The antistrophe was followed by the epode of different musical and metrical structure creating an overall form of AAB. During the epode the chorus stood still.

<sup>29</sup> On the use of Greek forms in Latin poetry see Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, ed. Jan Ziolkowski, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 58–129.



spheres; these two motions produced nature's first hymn in honor of the Supreme God."<sup>30</sup> Yet Latin authors did not adopt the term strophe, or its Latin equivalent, *stropha*, to denote a poetic structural unit,<sup>31</sup> partly because the structural unit of interest for medieval poets was at the lower level of the line, or verse, and its corresponding meter.<sup>32</sup>

Elementary treatises on metrical poetry, such as Bede's *De arte metrica*, introduced the various meters, sometimes in order of significance,<sup>33</sup> followed by authoritative examples. Among the popular meters, only a few combined to create a poetic unit larger than the verse. Of the nine meters discussed by Bede, the three compounded verses were the Sapphic meter, and the hexameter plus pentameter.<sup>34</sup> The joining of a hexameter and pentameter, a popular and ancient form known as the elegiac, was occasionally expanded in the Middle Ages to include extra hexameters with single pentameter.<sup>35</sup> The Sapphic "strophe," a very consistent form, included three verses in dactylic pentameter followed by a single Adonic, or the last two feet of a dactylic hexameter.<sup>36</sup> From a musicological perspective, the most famous of the Sapphics is the hymn from which the solmization syllables arose:

Ut queant laxis resonare fibris  
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum,  
Solve polluti labii reatum,  
Sancte Johannes.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 195.

<sup>31</sup> The term *stropha* is used in Latin for the noun "trickery" or "artifice." "Stropha," in *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*, ed. E. A. Andrews. Rev. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (New York: American Book Company, 1907), 1767.

<sup>32</sup> This accounts for titles such as Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*.

<sup>33</sup> Bede begins with dactylic hexameter because it "is more beautiful and loftier than all the rest." Bede, *Libri II De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, trans. Calvin B. Kendall (Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991), 97.

<sup>34</sup> Bede describes the trochaic tetrameter, or septenarius, as the combination of two lines, *versiculi*. However, in this case the diminutive *versiculi* are the two halves of the verse, not the verse itself, for which he uses the term *versus* as in his description of the Sapphic strophe. Bede, *Libri II*, 146, 158.

<sup>35</sup> Norberg, *An Introduction*, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Bede, *Liber II*, 146–47.

<sup>37</sup> So that they may be able to tell forth with loud voices the wonders of thy deeds, set free from sin the polluted lips of thy servants, O holy John. Text and translation from David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 171.

The first strophe of *Ut queant laxis* demonstrates another important formal characteristic of metrical poetry: enjambment, or the continuation of an idea or sentence through more than one verse. Bede notes that in elegiac verse the “sense”<sup>38</sup> of the pentameter may never continue into the following couplet. Either the hexameter and the pentameter comprising the couplet each contain a complete thought or the couplet may be enjambed so together they contain a complete idea.<sup>39</sup> Enjambment may also occur between verses of the same meter, according to Bede. In a chapter titled “What the best form of a poem might be” (*Quae sit optima carminis forma*), Bede explains that in hexameters enjambment is “very pleasing” (*gratissima*) between two to five lines.<sup>40</sup> While Bede limits his discussion of enjambment to the dactylic hexameter, Dag Norberg notes that poems in various metrical verses commonly occurred in verse groupings throughout the Middle Ages. For instance, the iambic tetrameter,<sup>41</sup> the meter of St Ambrose’s hymns, often occur in pairs within the larger, four-verse musical structure, which also frequently encompasses a single idea.<sup>42</sup> Other meters which frequently “enjamb” as strophes include the septenarius, Phalacean, Adonic, Terentianean, Pherecratean, and Alaic meters.<sup>43</sup>

The meticulous description of meters together with their structural characteristics is almost completely absent from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century treatises on metrical poetry.<sup>44</sup> Instead, the treatises of Matthew of Vendôme (*Ars versificatoria*), Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*Poetria nova*), and John of Garland (*Parisiiana poetria*) focus primarily on correct language usage,

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<sup>38</sup> Bede uses the noun *sensus*. Bede, *Liber II*, 98.

<sup>39</sup> Bede, *Liber II*, 98–101.

<sup>40</sup> Bede, *Liber II*, 102–3.

<sup>41</sup> Musicologists use the label tetrameter because there are four feet in a verse. Norberg uses dimeter presumably following the treatises. Norberg, *An Introduction*, 63. John of Garland uses the phrase *iabicum dimetrum*. Traugott Lawler, ed. and trans., *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 199.

<sup>42</sup> See, for instance, Ambrose’s *Aeterne rerum conditor*. Of the nine strophes, 2–4, 7, and 8, divide into two-plus-two verses and all strophes, perhaps with the exception of strophe 1, is complete in its “sense.” Text and translation in Richard H. Hoppin, ed., *Anthology of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 5–6.

<sup>43</sup> Norberg, *An Introduction*, 65–76.

<sup>44</sup> For a thorough discussion of these texts and their place in the education system of the Middle Ages see Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Poetry and Prose* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

rhetorical devices, appropriate subject matter, ordering, and inventiveness, topics applicable to all of the language arts. For instance, in the prologue to his *Poetria nova*, Geoffrey of Vinsauf divides his treatise into four parts, whose

first concern is the path that the ordering of material should follow. Its second care: with what scales to establish a delicate balance if meaning is to be given the weight appropriate to it. The third task is to see that the body of words is not boorishly crude but urbane. The final concern is to ensure that a well-modulated voice enters the ears and feeds the hearing, a voice seasoned with the two spices of facial expression and gesture.<sup>45</sup>

In a similar, yet more fanciful description, Matthew of Vendôme provides insight into his *Ars versificatoria* through his definition of verse as

metrical discourse advancing in cadenced periods with the restraint that meter demands and made charming by a graceful marriage of words and by flowers of thought. It contains in itself nothing deficient and nothing redundant. For it is not the accumulation of words, the counting of feet, and knowledge of meter that constitute verse but the elegant combination of words, the vivid presentation of relevant qualities, and the carefully noted epithets of each single thing.<sup>46</sup>

Matthew's emphasis, language, overrides the structural characteristics of versification, "the counting of feet and knowledge of meter," so prominent in works like Bede's *De arte metrica*. Elegance of language is paramount; the arrangement of that language into groups of lines based on meter or Greek strophic forms insignificant. The exception is John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria* which concludes its final chapter with examples of "quantitative meters used in hymns,"<sup>47</sup> the "nineteen types of Horace's odes,"<sup>48</sup> and a list of every type of metrical foot.<sup>49</sup>

John is also the only one of these three authors who includes a section on rhythmic poetry, and it is in the new rhythmic poetry treatises, from the eleventh century onward, that structure and form continue to play a fundamental role.<sup>50</sup> Rhythmic poetry was not new in the

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<sup>45</sup> Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, trans. Margaret F. Nims (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967), 18.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew of Vendôme, *The Art of Versification*, trans. Aubrey E. Galyon (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1980), 27.

<sup>47</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 195.

<sup>48</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 201.

<sup>49</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 219.

<sup>50</sup> Modern editions of these treatises are still only available in collections from over a half-century ago. See Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIIe et du XIIIe siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen*

eleventh century. Bede includes a short section on the subject in his *De arte metrica* in which he notes that “rhythmic verse is a harmonious arrangement of words which is scanned, not by a quantitative system, but by the number of syllables judged in accordance with the way they sound to the ear, as the verses of common poets.”<sup>51</sup> He draws a distinction between metrical and rhythmic verse by noting that “metrical verse is a quantitative system with a rhythmical beat, while rhythmic verse has a rhythmical beat without a quantitative system” while indicating that the “common poets” of rhythmic poetry create their poetry in imitation of metrical verse.<sup>52</sup> The significant changes between Bede’s treatise and those appearing in and after the eleventh century is the emphasis on verse endings, initially, and then rhyme.

Alberic of Monte Cassino’s *De rithmis*, the earliest surviving treatise focusing exclusively on rhythmic poetry (no later than the eleventh century), treats the subject in a manner quite similar to Bede’s discussion of metrical poetry: each type is laid out systematically, first with a description of its characteristics followed by one or more examples.<sup>53</sup> For Alberic, like Bede, rhythmic poems are defined in relation to metric poetry, either they take account of the number of syllables and ignore issues of quantity, or they account for both, that is “they are equally rhythmic and metric poems.”<sup>54</sup> He describes each of his nine poetic types according to

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*âge* (Paris: Champion, 1962), and Giovanni Mari, ed., *I Trattati medievali di ritmica latina* (Milan: Hoepli, 1899). For an overview of the treatises on rhythmic poetry as it relates to music from late antiquity to the High Middle Ages see Margot Fassler, “Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises ‘De rithmis,’” *Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (1987): 164–90, at 166–70; Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), 28–53; and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, “Latin Poetry and Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 225–40.

<sup>51</sup> Bede, *Liber II*, 161.

<sup>52</sup> Bede likens the Ambrosian hymns to iambic meter—though as I have already indicated Ambrose’s hymns are metrical—and another “hymn on Judgement Day” to trochaic meter. Bede, *Liber II*, 161–3. Norberg argues that in actuality rhythmic poetry not only imitates but replicates exactly the accents of quantitative verse. Norberg, *An Introduction*, 85.

<sup>53</sup> Hugh H. Davis, “The ‘De rithmis’ of Alberic of Monte Cassino: A Critical Edition,” *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966): 198–227. See also Fassler, “Accent, Meter, and Rhythm,” 170–72.

<sup>54</sup> *Rithmi pariter sunt et metra*. Davis, “The ‘De rithmis,’” 208.

three basic principles: the number of syllables in a verse, the number of verses in a strophe,<sup>55</sup> and the type of accent on the penultimate syllable of a verse. Margot Fassler has stated that the first three examples Alberic provides represent his first, or non-quantitative, form of rhythmic poetry while the remaining represent the latter, rhythmic-metric type. While certainly the first two examples make no explicit reference to accent, as do the remaining seven, their descriptions imply as much.<sup>56</sup> The first poetic type Alberic calls the *rithmus phaleuticus*. Like Bede, Alberic appears to begin with the most authoritative form. According to Norberg, Phalaecean verse was quite popular in antiquity but lost favor in the Middle Ages.<sup>57</sup> Its eleven-syllable verses, however, lived on in the popular Sapphic verse (recall *Ut queant laxis*), and it is this strophic form which Alberic enumerates: *Rithmus phaleuticus...constat ex tribus endecasillabis et uno pentasillabo*.<sup>58</sup> While Alberic makes no mention of end-verse accent, the paroxytone would have been understood from the metrical form which employed a long quantity on the penultimate syllable of every verse. Similarly, Alberic describes the *rithmus exasillabus quaternarius*, his second example, as a four-verse strophe with six-syllable verses in which there are three articulations (*articulis*) per verse. He clarifies the verse form further by noting that each articulation should be contained either in a single two-syllable word or two monosyllabic words. This formation again implies a final paroxytone and the example provided demonstrates just that.<sup>59</sup>

The remaining examples continue this same format indicating the type of accent on the penultimate syllable, the number of verses per strophe, and the verse length. These, like the

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<sup>55</sup> For Alberic, the term *rithmus* refers to poems constructed of very specific types of strophes, so a *rithmus* is defined as a strophic form.

<sup>56</sup> It is not clear to me why Fassler considered the third example as non-accentual since the description clearly mentions the shortening of the penultimate syllable. Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 171. See Davis, "The 'De rithmis,'" 209 and 218.

<sup>57</sup> Norberg, *An Introduction*, 71.

<sup>58</sup> Davis, "The 'De rithmis,'" 208.

<sup>59</sup> Davis, "The 'De rithmis,'" 208–9.

*rithmus exasillabus quaternarius*, consist of strophes with equivalent verses. They range from the five-syllabled *pentasillabus rithmus* to the fifteen-syllabled *decapentacus rithmus*, the larger of which Alberic divides into smaller subdivisions. Norberg has argued that subdivisions of rhythmic verses were an imitation of the original metrical forms, and Alberic's divisions, together with his definition of certain poetry as both rhythmic and metric, support this categorization.<sup>60</sup> Alberic divides the *decapentacus* into two halves of 8p and 7pp, the same form as the trochaic septenarius, a form also described by Bede.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the *endecasillabus rithmus*, divides into 4p+7pp which Noberg also ascribes to the trochaic septenarius but without the first four syllables.<sup>62</sup> Finally, the *diadecasillabus rithmus* divides either into two equal divisions of 6pp like one form of the Asclepiad, or into the iambic trimeter of 5p and 7pp. The number of verses per strophe vary for each type of rhythmic poem, but generally remain within the two to five verses prescribed by Bede as the proper number for tasteful enjambment. In most cases a specific poetic type corresponds to a specific number of verses. The only exceptions are the *diadecasillabus* which may have between three and five verses per strophe, and the *decasillabus* which contains either four or five verses dependent on the paroxytonic or proparoxytonic verse ending.<sup>63</sup> The only deviation is the *pentasillabus rithmus* which consists of eleven verses.<sup>64</sup> From this it is evident that Alberic's obvious interest is form determined by number and division of syllables, strength or weakness of the penultimate syllable, and the number of verses per strophe.

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<sup>60</sup> Norberg, *An Introduction*, 89–113.

<sup>61</sup> Alberic also acknowledges that there are some poems in fifteen syllables that contain a first half in 8pp rather than 8p. Davis, "The 'De rithmis,'" 210–11.

<sup>62</sup> The *rithmus phaleuticus* with which the treatise begins also divides the eleven-syllable verse, but into two phrases of 5p and 6p. This is the same division as the Sapphic strophe. See Norberg, *An Introduction*, 89–91.

<sup>63</sup> Davis, "The 'De rithmis,'" 211–12.

<sup>64</sup> Davis, "The 'De rithmis'" 213.

This concern changed remarkably little over the next two centuries. The twelfth-century *De rhythmico dictamine* begins its exposition on rhythmic poetry by stressing how a student should become familiar with three points: 1) how many syllables should make up a verse (*distinctio*); 2) how many verses should comprise a strophe (*clausula*); and 3) where rhyme (*consonantia*) ought to occur.<sup>65</sup> Instead of naming each poem type by the number of syllables, as did Alberic, the author indicates that a poem may comprise verses of between four and sixteen syllables, and a strophe between two and five verses, harkening back to the number of acceptable verses for tasteful enjambment. Following this brief introduction, the remainder of the treatise addresses rhythmic poetry in relation to rhyme, which by implication relates to strophic structure. A strophe may consist of a single rhyme, or several rhymes. The rhymes may occur just at the end of the verse or, also, internally between verses. The rhymed verses may follow directly after one another or be separated; they may correspond with rhymes in the same position in subsequent strophes. What the majority of these strophes have in common, as they did in Alberic's treatise, is uniformity of verse length within the strophe. So, while the poems/strophes in *De rhythmico dictamine* are categorized primarily according to how rhymes are employed, they still correspond to Alberic's syllable-counted types.

The significant difference is the possible employment of what *De rhythmico dictamine* calls the *cauda*. Like the final verse of Alberic's *rithmus phaleuticus*, the *cauda* is a short concluding verse, of between three and seven syllables, which never rhymes with the preceding verses, but may rhyme with the corresponding verse in the following strophe. The *cauda* provides the earliest evidence, from a theoretical perspective, that poets in the twelfth century thought of strophes in terms of varying verse lengths. Regularity is key: though variation occurs,

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<sup>65</sup> The complete treatise appears in Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 11–16. See also Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 175–78.

it occurs at the end of every strophe. The twelfth-century treatise *Regulae de rithmis* calls these poems *caudatus rithmus*, and they are a regular feature of many *rithmus* types.<sup>66</sup> However, the *Regulae* also provides several unobtrusive examples of other varied strophic types. The discussions of the *diptongi* (two-rhyme strophes) and *tritongi*<sup>67</sup> (three-rhyme strophes) both include two examples of strophes with varying verse lengths. The *diptongus* with five verses includes one strophe in alternating rhymes corresponding to alternating verses of 8p and 4p (*Celse claviger coelestis / Petre sancte / sunt condignae tuis festis / laudes tantae / ut ascedat omnis pestis*), as well as another strophe with verse lengths of 7pp, 4p, and 8p (*Ave coeli regia / Christi virgo regia / nobis metra / da faceta / quae canamus mente laeta*).<sup>68</sup> The five-verse *tritongi* also comprise various verse types and a short *cauda*. The first contains verses of 5p and 7pp (*Cita moderna / clara lucerna / pulchra satis milia / salve multa milia / dante Deo*), while the second alternates between 8pp, 7p, and 6p (*Lux orta est gratissima / per quam fit lucens mundus / et stella fulgidissima / per quam fit fecundus / omnis homo*).<sup>69</sup>

By the thirteenth-century *Parisiana poetria* by John of Garland, strophes with varying verse lengths are the norm. John's treatment of rhythmic poetry differs significantly from earlier treatments since his emphasis concerns neither rhyme nor syllable count as the primary marker of the rhythmic poem, but the type of accent at the end of each verse, defined by terminology from metrical poetry: "Rhymed poems may be likened to quantitative meters: they are either quasi-iambic or quasi-spondaic."<sup>70</sup> In other words, rhythmic poems are similar to metrical poems because they employ metrical patterns, but since these occur only at the end of a verse they are

<sup>66</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 28–34.

<sup>67</sup> *De rhythmico dictamine* and other treatises uses *triptongi*.

<sup>68</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 31.

<sup>69</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 31.

<sup>70</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 161.



not identical. A verse that concludes with iambic (equivalent to a proparoxytone) or spondaic (equivalent to a paroxytone) accent is combined either simply, with other verses of corresponding length and accent, or compositely, with verses of differing length and accent. Where earlier treatises account for strophes with one, two, or three different rhymes, John describes strophes of two, three, or four feet, though an iambic line may only contain seven or eight syllables. The simple rhythmic poems are of little interest to John; the composite poems comprise the majority of his types. Yet, in terms of strophic type, John's strophes appear conservative (or perhaps oriented more metrically) than those in the *Regulae de rithmis*. In the examples John presents, varying verse lengths occur either in alternation (between two different verse lengths only), or at the end of the strophe as a type of *cauda*.<sup>71</sup> This latter type of *rithmi*, in its composite form, John specifically labels as "strophic": "A distrophe has a harmonic variation [i.e., different verse accent] in the second line of a couplet, a tristrophe in the third line of a three-line stanza, a tetrastrophe in the fourth line, a pentastrophe in the fifth. Composite rhymed poems do not exceed this limit, except that the harmonic variation itself may extend to several lines."<sup>72</sup> This accounts for the most sophisticated strophic form he provides, the third strophe from the conductus *Regi regum omnium* with alternating couplets of 8p and 7pp. He describes this strophe as a *rithmus* with twin variations, or tails, but considers the form an extension of an 8p+8p+7pp strophic form.<sup>73</sup>

A single short section points to more sophisticated strophic constructions which John acknowledges but largely ignores. Titled "On the Verses of Rhythmic Poems" (*De membris*

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<sup>71</sup> Since the final verse occasionally contains more syllables than those preceding, it does not follow the typical format of a *cauda* witnessed in other rhythmic poetry treatises. John reserves the term *cauda* for the simple strophes with an alternate rhyme either in alternation or in the typical final verse. Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 181–85.

<sup>72</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 171.

<sup>73</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 185.

*rithmorum*), the chapter defines poems with different kinds of lines (*speciebus diversis*) as discolic, triscolic, tetrascolic, pentascolic, and polyscolic, “for *polis* in Greek means ‘plurality’ and *colon* ‘member.’ Rhymed poems of this sort, then, have members or lines of different kinds, as is sometimes the case in the sequences sung by the Church.”<sup>74</sup> Traugott Lawler, in his notes on this section, argues that because John has limited the types of spondaic and iambic verses to four (dispondaic, trispondaic, tetraspondaic, and iambic),<sup>75</sup> it would be impossible to construct a strophe from five or more different verse types, and therefore these verse types must refer to differences in rhyme not length.<sup>76</sup> While Lawler may be correct, I would challenge his assumption on a couple of points. First, though technically John only names four types of verse, there are several instances in which he refers to verses that are smaller and larger than those he names. Before he describes the dispondaic verse he notes that there are poems that can have verses of single, rhyming words (making up a single foot)—though they are not “made purely of rhyming words”—for which he provides the example: *Deo / meo / raro / paro / titulum // astra, / castra / regit, / egit / seculum*.<sup>77</sup> He also provides an example of a ten-syllable iambic taken from the *planctus* known as the *Lament of Oedipus*.<sup>78</sup> Second, the term “colon” comes from grammar and rhetoric, and was used in metrical poetry as a unit of measure. In *De arte metrica*, Bede notes that “a phrase which is two and a half feet long is said to be a ‘comma;’ a phrase which is only two feet long is called a ‘colon;’ but these names are employed without regard to

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<sup>74</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 171.

<sup>75</sup> These four verse types actually correspond to five different line lengths. The dispondaic, trispondaic, and tetraspondaic verses correspond to 4p, 6p, and 8p respectively. The iambic verse, Garland notes, may have either seven or eight syllables (7pp or 8pp). Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 162–63.

<sup>76</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 269.

<sup>77</sup> Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 161–62.

<sup>78</sup> A different strophe from the *Lament of Oedipus* appears in the *De rhythmico dictamine* as an example of how a proparoxytonic accent should correspond to a three-syllable rhyme. This same strophe also appears in the *Rifacimento di Maestro Sion*, to illustrate the division of a ten-syllable verse into two parts, the first ending with a spondee and the second with a dactyl (or what Garland would call an iamb). Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 13 and 18.

distinctions by professors of rhetoric, who call the whole sentence a ‘period,’ and its parts ‘colons’ and ‘commas.’” He goes on to say that “the Latin word for ‘colon’ is *membrum*,” the same definition provided by John.<sup>79</sup> Bede’s definition indicates that while people disagreed on the details, the colon was a unit of measure, i.e., referred to verse length. This more accurately reflects John’s association of polyscolic poems with certain “sequences sung by the Church,” which in the first epoch of sequence composition employed texts with irregular verse lengths.<sup>80</sup> It also accounts for John’s lack of examples in the section. John’s interest is pattern and regularity among poems with similar or contrasting verse endings. Strophes with irregular verse lengths would not reduce to his systematic categorization of rhythmic poem types.

Despite the popularity of John’s treatise, the twelfth-century *De rhythmico dictamine* continued to serve as a template for later treatises on rhythmic poetry, and the late-thirteenth-century *Recension of Master Sion*,<sup>81</sup> while following the basic format of the earlier treatise, presents the material both with an expanded vocabulary and with the interpolation of John’s emphasis on metrical verse types, but with dactyls rather than iambs.<sup>82</sup> The verses, still between

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<sup>79</sup> Bede, *Libri II*, 113.

<sup>80</sup> Lawler also associates John’s statement about sequences with texts from the first epoch. However, his claim that these texts incorporated multiple rhymes is contradicted by the fact that, in Lawler’s own words, “if rhymed at all, mostly employing mere assonance or one-syllable rhyme.” Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, 269.

<sup>81</sup> Two other treatises bridge the divide between the early and late thirteenth century. Eberhard the German’s *Laborintus* resembles John’s *Parisiana Poetria* in overall scope though not in form. Written in metrical poetry, the text deals with grammar and style only concluding with a short section on rhythmic poetry. After a short introduction, this section simply provides examples of simple and composite poems in spondees and iambs. See Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 370–77. The second treatise, the *Redaction of the Arsenal*, in form and content continues the tradition established by the *De rhythmico dictamine* in which rhyme is the primary method of categorization and accent appears only peripherally. Nevertheless, *Arsenal* does include a short section in which poems are described as simple or composite in relation to their spondaic or iambic verse endings. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 23–27.

<sup>82</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 17–22. While the dactyl may more accurately correspond to the modern proparoxytonic accent, both may stem from the *De rhythmico* tradition. Already in Alberic’s eleventh-century treatise the syllable of interest was the penult. Alberic notes that the penult either has an accent or the accent is shortened. Davis, “The ‘De rithmis.’” This same emphasis on the penult continues into the *De rhythmico dictamine* tradition, but in this instance the penult is described as either acute (strong) or grave (weak). This easily transfers to the two-syllable feet of spondee and iamb. What *De Rhythmico* adds to this description, however, is the number of rhyming syllables. The acute accent corresponds to two rhyming syllables (*diva / furtiva*) and the grave accent to three rhyming syllables (*senio / venio*). This emphasizes the final three syllables of the verse rather than just the final two and makes the appropriation of the three-syllable dactyl easily understandable.

four and sixteen syllables in length, end with either spondees (equivalent to a paroxytone) or dactyls (equivalent to a proparoxytone), and those above ten syllables are split into hemistichs both of which usually conclude with the same metrical foot.<sup>83</sup> Unlike the *Regulae de rithmis*, the only earlier treatise based on *De rhythmica dictamine* to provide examples of verse lengths other than four and sixteen syllables,<sup>84</sup> the hemistichs in verses larger than twelve syllables rhyme.<sup>85</sup> This insistence on rhyming the middle of long lines appears to indicate that by the end of the thirteenth century, rhythmic poems generally consisted of shorter verses (at least under thirteen syllables).<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps these shorter or divided lines also partially account for the expansion of *De rhythmico dictamine*'s strophe types to include the poly-rhymes Lawler argues are John's scolic genus. Expanding on the earlier types once again, *Master Sion* divides *rhythmorum* into categories based on the number of rhymes. He addresses the typical types, *monoptongus*, *diptongus*, and *triptongus*, then adds an additional two, the *quadriptongus*, and the *pentatongus*.<sup>87</sup> However, even more interesting is the author's almost parenthetical addition of the *poliptongus* at the end of the treatise. It follows the introduction of a new type of poetic form. Typically, treatises based on the *De rhythmico dictamine* include four types of poems defined by the method words in one verse or verses relate to another either in the same or a different strophe, usually with respect to the rhymes. These include the *transformati*, *orbiculati*, *serpentini*, and

<sup>83</sup> Verses of ten, eleven, and thirteen syllables can or do differ between halves. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 18–9.

<sup>84</sup> The *Regulae de rithmis* only contains examples for verse lengths between twelve and sixteen syllables, and the author states that the strophes should be no longer than two verses. Mari, ed. *I Trattati*, 28.

<sup>85</sup> The exception is the fourteen-syllable example, but Mari places an ellipsis at the end of the first verse so the example may have verses missing. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 19. The sixteen-syllable verses in *De rhythmico dictamine*, however, also rhyme at the syllable-eight hemistich.

<sup>86</sup> This may also be the case earlier in the century. The *Redaction of the Arsenal* provides only a single verse for its sixteen-syllable example *Rex advenit* which may have been understood as two verses of eight syllables. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 23.

<sup>87</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 19–20.

*equicomi*. *Master Sion* adds to these four the *intercalares*, or interrupted poem, in which the prevailing rhyme is interrupted by another:

Felix ille misere dicitur	10pp
leticiam cuiusve sequitur;	10pp
letus finis iam tibi dabitur,	10pp
si vis flere	4p
mala vere:	4p
si defles igitur	6pp
vere promittitur:	6pp
letus finis iam tibi dabitur. <sup>88</sup>	10pp

Despite the fact that this *rithmus* only employs two rhymes, it spawns *Master Sion*'s discussion of the *poliptongus*, or *rithmus* with multiple rhymes. He writes, "Note that in *rithmi* with many rhymes, verses with the same rhyme are not always equal in the number of syllables as seen in the preceding *rithmi*: *Felix ille*, etc. Also, *poliptongi* are more charming when different rhymes have different accents, whether or not they have caudas."<sup>89</sup> This description evokes a poetic form markedly akin to the motet: multiple rhymes with various accentual verse endings paired with verses of unequal length. However, poems of this sort are not new to the theoretical literature. Recall that similar forms occur in the twelfth-century *Regulae de rithmis* among its examples of *diptongi* and *tritongi*. *Felix ille*'s significance resides in its length. In the form presented, *Felix ille*'s length exceeds any of the *Regulae*'s example strophes. Therefore, it is worth considering whether or not *Felix ille* represents a strophe at all.

As early as *De rhythmico dictamine*, writers on rhythmic poetry had adopted the grammatical/rhetorical unit of the sentence ("period" or *clausula*) as the defining proportion of the strophe. This may have derived from metrical poetry since Bede accounts for the term in his

<sup>88</sup> Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 22.

<sup>89</sup> *Et nota quod in rithmis poliptonis distinctiones similes in consonantia non semper sunt pares in numero sillabarum, ut patet in predictis rithmis: Felix ille, etc. Item poliptongi, in quibus diverse consonantie sunt diversorum accentuum, venustiores sunt; sive sint caudati ut: Cum revolvo, etc.; sive non caudati ut: Regi nato, etc.* Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 22.

discussion of poetic phrases where he notes that “the Latin word for ... ‘period’ is *clausula* or *circuitus*.”<sup>90</sup> A *clausula* in poetry was achieved through enjambment and, as noted above, enjambment was acceptable across two to five verses. This definition appeared throughout the *De rhythmico* tradition. Sandwiched between definitions of verse length and types of rhyme, *De rhythmico* noted that “a *clausula* ought to consist of no less than two verses, and no more than five.”<sup>91</sup> The *Redaction of the Arsenal* replicated this definition almost exactly,<sup>92</sup> while the earlier *Regulae de rithmis* discarded the word “*clausula*” altogether and simply defined the number of verses a *rithmus* could have: “no *rithmus* should have more than five verses or fewer than two.”<sup>93</sup> It is no surprise that the *Recension of Master Sion* adopted the same definition as these three earlier treatises. In fact, of all the treatises, *Master Sion* replicated *De rhythmico dictamine*’s definition most closely but with an important addition: “A *clausula* consists of no fewer than two verses and no more than five *in monotongi*.”<sup>94</sup> The addition of *monotongi* to the definition of the *clausula* allowed for the strophic form of *Felix ille*, a *diptongus*,<sup>95</sup> to far exceed the maximum five verses permitted in earlier treatises. *Master Sion*, almost one hundred years after its creation, provided a theoretical response to a poetic style characteristic of the motet. Whether or not this new approach to strophic form resulted directly from the popularity of the motet is difficult to

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<sup>90</sup> Bede, *Libri II*, 113.

<sup>91</sup> *Clausula debet constare ex duabus distinctionibus ad minus, ex quinque ad plus*. Ironically, the example provided for the five-verse strophe lacks a verse of the original poem. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 12.

<sup>92</sup> *Clausula debet constare ad minus ex duabus distinctionibus, ut potest videri in predicto exemplo: Rex advenit etc., et ex quinque ad plus, ut in hoc apparet exemplo: Dives eram et dilectus...* Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 23–24.

<sup>93</sup> *...plures dstincciones quinque vel pauciores duabus aliquis rithmus habere non potest*. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 28.

<sup>94</sup> *Clausula constant ex duabus distinctionibus ad minus et ex quinque ad plus in monotongis*. Emphasis mine. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 17.

<sup>95</sup> Though *Felix ille* contains only two rhymes, the defining feature of the *diptongus*, it falls under none of the three types which *Master Sion* enumerates, borrowed almost verbatim from *De rhythmico dictamine*. In the first, rhyming verses are grouped by two. In the second, the middle and the end of paired verses rhyme. And in the third, all verses share the same rhyme, but a cauda with a different rhyme is appended to the end. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 20.

say, nevertheless it provides a clue that motet texts were not so far removed from the texts of conductus and sequences, the genres to which music scholars so often link these treatises.<sup>96</sup>

But of what use is the division of motet texts into strophes? As noted at the beginning of this section, as regards musical settings the term “strophic” specifically indicates additional text sung to repeated music. This exact replication of music to new text occurs in only a few early motets, two of which appear in **Ch**: *Homo quam sit pura* (231) and *Eximia mater* (101).<sup>97</sup> Yet, in many cases, motets that are not strictly strophic like *Eximia mater* and *Homo quam sit pura* include the strophic element of a repeating tenor, either with exact repetition or repetition in a modified rhythmic form. It is tempting to think that motet creators understood their pieces in strophic terms. Anonymous IV’s famous description of Perotin states that he made “many better *clausulae* or *puncta*.”<sup>98</sup> These are the same words Bede employed to define a sentence.<sup>99</sup> Whether or not there is a direct correlation, analyzing **Ch**’s remaining four motets as strophic in relation to their tenor repetitions, a form I will call “pseudo-strophic,”<sup>100</sup> provides insight into the motets themselves, and helps determine the chronological development of the motet in relation to the discant clausula, a topic I will take up in Chapter Four.

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<sup>96</sup> Margot Fassler notes that “the substantial group of treatises on rhythmic poetry developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the purpose of teaching the art of writing conductus or song texts, sequences, and similar types of poetry.” Fassler, “Accent, Meter, and Rhythm,” 166.

<sup>97</sup> Because there is a *lacuna* before the end of *Homo quam sit pura*, it is impossible to say with any certainty if the extra strophes, which appear in **Sab**, would also have been present in **Ch**.

<sup>98</sup> Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, 39.

<sup>99</sup> Bede, *Libri II*, 113.

<sup>100</sup> The term “strophic variations” has been applied to a similar, later phenomenon. More precisely “strophic variations” is defined as “a form of Italian vocal chamber music of the first half of the seventeenth century in which the vocal melody of the first strophe is varied in subsequent strophes while the bass is repeated unchanged or with only slight modifications, generally of rhythm.” Nevertheless, “the term ‘strophic variations’ is occasionally used too of music of other periods, for example isorhythmic motets of the fourteenth century, constructed according to principles similar to those outlined above.” Nigel Fortune, “Strophic variations,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 1 September, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

### 3.5 “Pseudo-strophic” Motets

The relationship between tenor repetitions and syntactic divisions of motet texts has not gone unnoticed in research on the early motet. Susan Kidwell, in her dissertation “The Integration of Music and Text in the Early Latin Motet,” considered thirty-nine two-voice Latin motets with clausulae and noted the ways in which “poet-composers” either coordinated their text with the tenor repetitions or deliberately avoided such a relationship.<sup>101</sup> Of the thirty-nine motets, Kidwell cited only five examples where tenor repetitions coincided with a syntactical (i.e., sentence) or sectional (i.e., topical) divisions of the text.<sup>102</sup> The number grows only to ten if divisions at the level of the poetic verse are included.<sup>103</sup> Kidwell concludes that “few poet-composers seem to have integrated their motet texts in such a way as to capitalize on [tenor repetition]. If anything, they seem to have adopted the opposite approach and used syntactic continuity of the added text to compensate for a lack of musical continuity in duplum phrasing.”<sup>104</sup>

Yet, analysis of the remaining **Ch** motets argues that syntactical or sectional (what I am calling pseudo-strophic) divisions may occur more often than Kidwell’s analysis suggests. The **Ch** motets to be considered in the next two chapters are not included among Kidwell’s group of motets and differ in several ways.<sup>105</sup> First, two motets, *O Maria maris stella* (448) / [*Veritatem*]

<sup>101</sup> Susan Kidwell, “The Integration of Music and Text in the Early Latin Motet” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1993), 328–45.

<sup>102</sup> These include the motets *Manere vivere* (70) / *Manere* [M5], *Gaudeat devotio fidelium* (215) / *Nostrum* [M14], *Exilium parat transgressio* (244) / *In azimis sincerita* [M15], *Clamans in deserto* (379) / *Johanne* [M29], and *Mens fidem seminat* (495) / *In odorem* [M45]. Though Kidwell does not include *Veni salva nos* (360) / *Amoris* [M27] among this group she notes that repetition within the tenor cursus creates another example of syntactical division related to tenor repetition, if not in this case at the repeat of the tenor cursus. Kidwell, “The Integration of Music,” 333–37.

<sup>103</sup> These include the motets *Locus hic terribilis* (110) / *Te* [M12], *Dat superis inferis gaudia* (116) / *Hec dies* [M13], *Doce nos hac die* (344) / *Docebit* [M26], *Ex semine abrahe* (483) / *Ex semine* [M38], *Mundo gratum veneremur* (698) / *Ad nu* [O18].

<sup>104</sup> Kidwell, “The Integration of Music,” 332.

<sup>105</sup> Only one of the motets in **Ch**, *Eximia mater* (101) / *Et illuminare* [M9], is part of Kidwell’s study. The two-voice motets chosen by Kidwell have the following characteristics in common: 1) they appear in the ninth fascicle of **F**



[M37] and *In veritate comperi* (451) / [*Veritatem*] [M37] lack a corresponding clausula. Second, the motet *Nostrum est impletum* (216) / [*Nostrum*] [M14] is a conductus-motet in the early sources and its clausula version is also for three voices rather than two. Finally, while the motet *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) / [*Et gaudebit*] [M24] has a corresponding two-voice clausula, the version in **F** is a double motet and the two versions in **W2** are considered later contrafacts (see Appendix B). Despite these differences, all four motets might qualify as early, since they are associated with texts by Philip the Chancellor as I noted in Chapter One (see section 1.11 above), and they all provide evidence of pseudo-strophic divisions.

Before turning to a thorough analysis of the two motets *O Maria maris stella* (448) / [*Veritatem*] [M37] and *In veritate comperi* (451) / [*Veritatem*] [M37] and the *Veritatem* motet family in general, I will look briefly at *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) / [*Et gaudebit*] [M24] as an introduction to the pseudo-strophic form found in early Latin motets. From this motet I have identified two basic techniques. In the first, the author employs some change of tone or subject matter between the texts of the first and second cursus, i.e., tenor statements (Kidwell's sectional division). While in most cases the texts of each cursus include several separate sentences (the technical definition of the strophe from the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth treatises) they clearly reflect the type of strophe illustrated by *Master Sion*. Second, large sections of motetus music correspond between cursus creating a form very close to the modern conception of a strophic motet.<sup>106</sup> Though this could be seen as a simple musical phenomenon—

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and/or the eighth fascicle of **W2**; 2) they have associated clausulae or discant segments in **W1**, **W2**, and/or **F**; and 3) the motetus texts “elaborate or ‘trope’” the tenor texts. Kidwell, “The Integration of Music,” 12–13.

<sup>106</sup> Kidwell also draws attention to melodic repetition in the motetus voice. She notes a few examples where melodic repetition corresponds to textual and tenor divisions, for instance, *Manere vivere* and *Letetur iustus* (505) / *Et sperabit* [M49]. The last example is not included among the syntactical / sectional (i.e., strophic) divisions because the tenor repetition begins only with a new word not a new sentence or section. Kidwell, “The Integration of Music,” 337–69.

a repetition in the tenor corresponds to the repetition of phrase length in the duplum/motetus—the results suggest something much more deliberate.

### 3.5.1 *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) / [*Et gaudebit*] [M24]

The motet *O quam sancta quam benigna* (**Ch**, fols. 6r–6v) appears in nine different manuscripts of which **Ch** presents the only conductus-motet version (see Appendix B).<sup>107</sup> The motet fragment occurs on the second, and final, folio of gathering *y*, and unlike the other motets in this gathering contains three parts in score rather than a single monophonic voice. The fragment preserves the final two-thirds of the first cursus and the beginning of the second cursus, from *aula redemptoris* to *fons es ad[mirabilis]*. Not only is the version in **Ch** the only monotextual version in three parts, but it also contains a unique triplum. Of the eight other versions<sup>108</sup> there are four two-voice motets,<sup>109</sup> two Latin double motets,<sup>110</sup> one bilingual double motet,<sup>111</sup> and a single bilingual triple motet.<sup>112</sup> Despite the obvious popularity of *O quam sancta*, the motet appears in neither of the two large collections of motets in **F** and **W2**. Instead, these two manuscripts account for the four extant contrafact<sup>113</sup> texts that exist for the *O quam sancta* melody, three in Latin, *Velut stelle firmamenti* (315), *Virgo virginum regina* (321), and *Memor tui*

<sup>107</sup> For a discussion of the *Et gaudebit* motet complex see Rebecca A. Baltzer, “The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet,” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15–27.

<sup>108</sup> The motet is also cited in theoretical treatises by Lambertus, in relation to the placement of *suspiratio*, and Anonymous VII, on the modal designation of motetus parts. Both quotations are found with translations in Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, vol. 1 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), 354–55.

<sup>109</sup> London, British Library, Add. 30091 (**LoC**); Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3518 (**ArsB 3518**); Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas 9 (**Hu**); Paris, BnF, fr. 2193. The motet is also included in the table of contents of Besançon, BM, ms I, 716.

<sup>110</sup> With the triplum *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* (316). Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (**Ba**); Madrid, BN, ms 20486 (**Ma**).

<sup>111</sup> With the triplum *El mois d’avril* (318). Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H. 196 (**Mo**).

<sup>112</sup> With the triplum *El mois d’avril* (318), and the quadruplum *O Maria mater pia* (317a). Paris, BnF, n.a.fr. 13521 (**Cl**).

<sup>113</sup> In this context I use the word “contrafact” in a generic sense without the intent of suggesting priority. A contrafact is simply one of any number of texts to the same melody.

*creatoris* (320), and one in a hybrid of Occitan, French, and Latin, *Al cor ai une alegrance* (319).<sup>114</sup> Only the first, *Velut stelle firmamenti*, appears in **F** with the triplum *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* (316), and the rest are found in **W2**, with the hybrid text as the motetus of a double motet with French triplum.<sup>115</sup>

With only a single exception, all the motetus texts which are set to the music of *O quam sancta quam benigna* divide neatly at the beginning of the second tenor cursus creating a second strophe. *O quam sancta*, arguably the earliest of the five texts set to this melody,<sup>116</sup> epitomizes this division (see Table 3.1).<sup>117</sup> While the first half of the poem contents itself with listing various appellations of the Virgin and beseeching her attention,<sup>118</sup> the second half moves dramatically away from her adoration to focus on the evil of the sinner and even the submission of Mary to her Son. The differences between sections are striking. Mary, as addressee, dominates the first half with beauty and positivity. She is holy, kind, worthy, modest, sweet, a joy, noble, and venerable. She is a woman of significant pedigree, associated with Noah and Jacob, and of

<sup>114</sup> A similar incipit also appears next to a clausula in the *Saint Victor* manuscript, Paris, BnF, lat. 15139 (**StV**).

<sup>115</sup> *El mois d'avril* (318).

<sup>116</sup> Heinrich Husmann may have been the first to suggest the priority of *O quam sancta*. For Husmann, the primacy of the text stemmed from the troping of the tenor (*et gaudebit*) in the final two verses of the motetus (*O genetrix, gaude in filio! / Gaudens ego gaudeo in Domino*). Heinrich Husmann, "Bamberger Handschrift," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949), col. 1204. Since the discovery of **Ch**, more recent scholars have agreed with Husmann; however, their evidence is based on the conductus-motet format, a format typically believed to be one of the earliest motet forms, as well as the motet's wide dissemination. See Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellung: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, vol. 1, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn and Hans Oesch (Bern: Francke, 1973), 497–573, at 524; Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre-Dame Bilingual Motets—A Study in the History of Music c. 1215–1245," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 3 (1968): 54–268, at 101–2; Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre Dame Latin Double Motets ca. 1215–1250," *Musica Disciplina* 25 (1971): 35–92, at 43; Baltzer, "Polyphonic Progeny," 20.

<sup>117</sup> Translation adapted from Baltzer, "Polyphonic Progeny," 20.

<sup>118</sup> A comparison of the last four verses of the first half with the musical setting makes the division of the text at the second cursus almost questionable. In fact, at first glance there appears to be a textual error. The salutation *Ave* which begins verse 10 makes little sense with the direct object phrase "the prayers of your supplicants" (*preces supplicantium*). If switched with the following verse 12 (beginning *audi*), the two phrases make more sense: "Hear...the prayers of your supplicants / Hail, virgin, noble rod of Jesse." This reversal appears in **Mo** and is employed by Baltzer in her translation of the text. Baltzer, "Polyphonic Progeny," 20. This would make the division of the strophes appear to occur between verses 11 and 12, the first concluding with a typical explicit as seen among sequences, and the second strophe beginning with a salutation. Nevertheless, I have to question this reversal since **Mo** is the only extant version which employs this reversal. Six of the motet versions use *ave...audi* while the two Spanish manuscripts (**Hu** and **Ma**) employ a duplication, *audi...audi*.

	<i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> (317)	Translation
	O quam sancta, quam benigna fulget mater Salvatoris, laude plena virgo digna, archa Noe, Iacob scala, vasculum pudoris,	O how holy, how kind shines the mother of the savior, a worthy virgin full of praise, ark of Noah, ladder of Jacob, vessel of modesty,
5	aula Redemptoris, totius fons dulcoris, angelorum gaudium, lactans Dei filium, regem omnium.	palace of the Redeemer, font of all sweetness, joy of the angels, nursing the Son of God, the King of all.
10	Ave, salus gentium, preces supplicantium! Audi, virgo, Yesse virga nobilis, super omnes venerabilis!	Hail, salvation of the people, our prayers of supplication! Hear, virgin, rod of the noble Jesse, venerable above all!
	Spes unica, succurre miseris!	Singular hope, give aid to the wretched!
15	Inebrians animas fons es admirabilis, que tuos numquam mori deseris. O anima, ex sordibus vilis hanc Mariam virginem expostula, ut sit pro te sedula	You are an admirable font, filling souls, who never deserts your people to die. O soul, in your vile filth call on this virgin Mary so that she might persuade her Son to be well-disposed
20	exorare filium propitium, una spes fidelium. O genitrix, gaude in filio! Gaudens ego gaudeo in Domino.	to you, she who is the one hope of the faithful. O mother, rejoice in your son. Rejoicing, I rejoice in the Lord.

Table 3.1: *O quam sancta quam benigna* Text and Translation

course Jesse. She is also the mother of God. The turn in the second half moves the poem away from Mary's goodness to the wretchedness of man. The Virgin is now an intermediary for salvation. The soul, dirty, wretched and destined for death, and whom the author specifically addresses, requires the Virgin as intercessor. But ultimately it is Mary's son who receives the final respect and adulations of the poet. His final command is that she rejoice in her Son as he will rejoice in the Lord.

This strophic division of *O quam sancta quam benigna* manifests itself paleographically as well as textually. In four of the nine sources (**Mo**, **LoC**, **Ba**, and **Cl**) the first word of the second strophe, *spes*, begins with a *littera notabilior*, or enlarged letter. Only **Ba** includes an additional capital letter for the *O* of *O anima* at the beginning of verse 17, but this capital is

virtually unique among the manuscript versions of the motet.<sup>119</sup> **Ma** makes the division even more explicit. The scribe begins strophe 2 at the beginning of a line and leaves a blank space for a (missing) pen-flourished initial. Finally, **Hu** only includes the first strophe. In his catalog of motets, van der Werf labels **Hu**'s version of *O quam sancta* as “incomplete.”<sup>120</sup> Though it is true that no other extant version occurs with only a single strophe, the strophic character of the text, especially in its division according to tone and emphasis, makes a single-strophe version of the motet not only plausible, but also perfectly acceptable. In this case, the truncated text indicates just another altered aspect of the motet, also evident in **Hu**'s adapted form of the tenor.<sup>121</sup>

All four contrafact texts also respond to the division between cursus, either with a textual or paleographical strophic division. The structure and tone of **W2**'s *Virgo virginum regina* (321) mimics *O quam sancta* almost exactly (see Table 3.2). The motet begins as a paean to the Virgin with repeated references to flora. A supplication at the end of the first strophe transitions into a second strophe on *O maris stella* dominated by demands for action lest terrible consequences befall the faithful, again with specific references to Mary the mother. While *Virgo virginum* may or may not set off the beginning of its second strophe—the initial *O* of strophe 2 is surrounded by a punctus on each side of the letter—the other **W2** motet, *Memor tui creatoris* (320) employs a *littera notabilior* on the word *sed* to set off its second strophe. This division, in a reversal of *O quam sancta*, separates a focus on the negative aspects of a sinful life with the goodness of Christ.

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<sup>119</sup> It also appears in **fr. 2193**, but in this version nearly every verse begins with a *littera notabilior*.

<sup>120</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausula, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: the author, 1989), 49.

<sup>121</sup> As with several of the tenors in **Hu** the cantus firmus is unnamed and guide words from the motetus are placed underneath the tenor at strategic points. Perhaps this looseness of tenor attribution made alteration of the tenor's form and pitches more acceptable. There are examples of pitch duplication, the addition of different pitches, as well as the complete alteration of pitches to create smaller intervals between the tenor and motetus. See Higiní Anglès, ed., *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas (música a veus dels segles XIII–XIV)* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 1931), 2: 95r–95v.

<i>Virgo virginum regina</i> (321)			<i>Memor tui creatoris</i> (320)			
	Virgo virginum regina,	8p	a	Memor tui creatoris;	8p	a
	virga virens generosa,	8p	b	eius vivas in timore.	8p	b
	florens flore	4p	c	Intus te formes et foris,	8p	a
	sine spina,	4p	a			
5	germinans germen rore	7p	c	deleas pio culpas lacrimarum liquore,	14p	b
	celi deliciosa,	7p	b			
	rosa, que non rosa,	6p	b	5 fervens amore,	5p	b
	que resis preciosa	7p	b	ut gratie de rore	7p	b
	archa firma federis,	7pp	d	mens fidelis floreat,	7pp	c
10	legis glosa veteris,	7pp	d	et ex fide prodeat	7pp	c
	nove medium,	5pp	e	fructus operis.	5pp	d
	gaudium tu superis	7pp	d	10 Veteris te pudeat	7pp	c
	spemque reis reperis.	7pp	d	vite, nova placeat.	7pp	c
	Miseris opem propina,	8p	a	Labilem rotam erroris	8p	a
15	domina,	3pp	a	providus,	3pp	e
	sedula;	3pp	f	caveas	3pp	f
	iuva per secula!	6pp	f	15 sequi, ne pereas.	6pp	f
	O maris stella, per hec maria	10p/p	g	Sed in spe firma semper nitere	10pp	g
	nos dirige! Per omnia	8pp	g	ad patriam pergere,	7pp	g
20	rege pericula!	6pp	f	quia iugiter gaudeas	8pp	f
	Ad te clamamus voce puerula	10pp	f	et pondere languoris	7p	a
				20 careas.	3pp	f
	quos emula	4pp	f	Possideas	4pp	f
	carnis trahit via,	6p	g	opes lucis vere.	6p	g
	mundi recte glutina.	7pp	a	Regem summi decoris	7p	a
25	Sed propera,	4pp	h	aspicias.	4pp	h
	felix o puerpera;	7pp	h	25 Ad quem ut pervenias,	7pp	h
	qui regnat in ethera,	7pp	h	luchrum tibi facias,	7pp	h
	confedera	4pp	h	proficias;	4pp	h
	nobis propter opera	7pp	h	sedulus, custodias,	7pp	h
30	grandifera	4pp	h	solis vias	4p	h
	tua sit opera,	6pp	h	30 virtuti pervias,	6pp	h
	ne nos fremens fera	6p	h	et sic, homo, fias	6p	h
	ferat <sup>b</sup> ruina.	5p	a	... <sup>a</sup> honoris.	(5p)	a

<sup>a</sup>Word missing in MS

<sup>b</sup>MS reads ferit

Table 3.2: *Virgo virginum regina* and *Memor tui creatoris*

There are several striking textual similarities between *Memor tui creatoris* and *Virgo virginum regina*. The reference to the Creator in the opening verse of the former evokes, after the burning, fear, sins and tears, the verdant garden of paradise in language reminiscent of *Virgo virginum*. Mary's "flourishing...bud of heaven sprouting forth with dew" (vv.3–5) may be seen

in the “faithful mind [that] may flourish from the dew of grace” (vv.6–7).<sup>122</sup> The resulting “fruits of your works” (v.9) are similar to the Virgin’s “works producing great profits” (vv. 29–30). The old and new law of *Virgo virginum* (vv.10–11) appear as the old and new life (vv.10–11) of *Memor tui creatoris*, and finally “the paths of virtue” (vv.29–30) of the latter contrast with the former’s “paths of the flesh” (v.22). This textual relationship is strengthened by the poems’ respective verse lengths and rhyme schemes. Though hardly unquestionable evidence of a direct relationship between the two, these similarities stand out because of an almost complete dearth of explicit textual similarities between these two motets, *O quam sancta* (despite its Marian connection to *Virgo virginum*), and the final Latin contrafact, *Velut stelle firmamenti* (315).

*Velut stelle firmamenti* differs from the other Latin contrafacts of *O quam sancta* because its only extant version appears as the motetus of a double motet with a sixth-mode triplum, *Ypocrite pseudopontifices*. Both *Velut stelle firmamenti* and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* are attributed to Philip the Chancellor.<sup>123</sup> The motetus poem *Velut stelle firmamenti* makes no obvious distinction between the two halves, based on tenor cursus, a division that has been made so clear in *O quam sancta*, *Virgo virginum regina*, and *Memor tui creatoris*. The entire poem describes the positive qualities of good clergy, and rather than divide into contrasting sections, the motet’s triplum, a condemnation of hypocritical clergy, might well be understood as the motetus’s antithesis. The motetus poem appears to deliberately obscure the tenor repetition, placing the point of division in the middle of a list enumerating the actions of good prelates. The final two verses of the first cursus flow seamlessly into the first three verses of second: “They separate the pure grain from the chaff. / They reject earthly affairs for the heavenly. / (cursus 2) They spread light with the key of learning. / They expiate sins and free the condemned / with the

<sup>122</sup> The following translations of *Memor tui creatoris* are from Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 118.

<sup>123</sup> See Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 165–66.

key of power.”<sup>124</sup> Yet there is a textual break, and the scribe of **F** marked the beginning of the second “strophe” with a *littera notabilior*, just as in the numerous examples of *O quam sancta*, and in *Memor tui creatoris* in **W2**. Similarly, the triplum, *Ypocrite pseudopontifices*, breaks (without a change in subject matter) between the first and second cursus, but the **F** scribe again marks the division specifically with a capital letter, and the scribe of **Ma** omits the second “strophe” entirely.

Like *Velut stelle firmamenti, Al cor ai une alegrance* (319), an unicum in **W2**, is the motetus of a double motet. The poem, on the hardships of love, exhibits hybrid characteristics; the language is neither strictly Old French nor Occitan, employing elements of both, but also incorporating snippets of Latin. Elizabeth Aubrey suggests that the text may have been written by a French speaker intent on imitating Occitan but without solid knowledge of the language itself.<sup>125</sup> Despite this quirk, and Aubrey’s disinclination to call the text a contrafact,<sup>126</sup> the poem obviously relates to the other motet texts in this complex in its form. Like *Velut stelle firmamenti*, the poem lacks two distinct halves which contrast each other, however, the Old French triplum provides contrast in its light, pastoral descriptions of love. Unfortunately, as with *Virgo virginum*, the distinction between first and second cursus goes unmarked in the manuscript.

In sum, of the five texts set to the motetus music in this complex, all but the hybrid French/Occitan/Latin text mark the division between the two tenor cursus as a textual division, either by a change of tone, paleographic marking, or both. This strophic division is affirmed by the music of the two cursus. The second tenor cursus of *O quam sancta quam benigna* replicates the opening tenor statement exactly, down to the final three pitches which break the 2 si | 3 li |

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<sup>124</sup> Translation from Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 165.

<sup>125</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, “The Dialectic Between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century,” *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 1–53, at 25.

<sup>126</sup> Aubrey, “The Dialectic,” 25.



tenor pattern to conclude with 3 si |.<sup>127</sup> While most manuscripts write out both cursus, two manuscripts (**ArsB 3518** and **CI**) acknowledge the exact, “strophic” replication of the tenor by only writing out the first cursus. Of course, **Hu** also provides only a single cursus of the tenor, but as noted above the manuscript only contains a single strophe of the motetus making a second tenor cursus unnecessary.

More significantly, large sections of the motetus also repeat from one cursus to the next. While repetition of corresponding motetus sections might be hypothesized for a piece in which the tenor repeats exactly in each cursus, evidence suggests that these correspondences are not purely coincidental. Example 3.1 provides a comparison of the two motetus strophes above a single tenor cursus. A quick perusal indicates that the correlative sections between the two strophes occur primarily at the beginning and end of the tenor cursus (the important segments are boxed in the example). Three short sections surround a more extended passage of thirteen perfections, and both strophes conclude with eleven perfections of very similar material. If the music simply resulted from commonly employed intervals then one would expect to see these correspondences throughout, but the complete dearth of similar music between perfections 41/101 and 58/118 suggests something more deliberate. The repeating motetus melodies paired with the obvious textual divisions indicate a clear awareness of the strophic character of *O quam sancta* and its various contrafacts.

### 3.5.2 *O Maria maris stella* (448) / [*Veritatem*] [M37]

The motet *O Maria maris stella* (**Ch**, fols. 14r–15v) is the last of the three conductus-motets in **Ch**, the second of two in Gathering z. Like the *O quam sancta* complex it was exceptionally popular, the motet not only occurs in three different forms but was also cited

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<sup>127</sup> For an explanation of this shorthand see Chapter One footnote 46.

numerous times by various theorists throughout the thirteenth century (see Appendix B). As a conductus-motet *O Maria maris stella* survives in two additional sources, F and W2. The only contrafact, the sacred French text *Glorieuse Dieu amie* (450), also appears in W2 as a conductus-

The image displays three systems of a musical score for the Strophe Comparison of "O quam sancta quam benigna". Each system includes three parts: Cursus II (top), Cursus I (middle), and Tenor (bottom). The lyrics are in Latin and are aligned with the musical notation. The first system covers measures 71-86, the second system covers measures 87-90, and the third system covers measures 91-96. The lyrics are as follows:

**System 1 (Measures 71-86):**

Cursus II: 14. Spes u-ni-ca, suc-cur-re mi-se-ris! 15. In-e-bri-ans a-ni-mas fons es ad-mi-ra-bi- 16. Ir-ra-di-ant 17. cla-ve sci-en-ti-e. 18. Cul-pas pi-ant, 19. re-os sol-vunt cla-ve po-ten-ti- 18. O-ma-ris ste-la, pro hec ma-ri-a 19. nos di-ri-ge! Per om-ni-a 20. re-ge pro-pi-cu- 16. Sed in spe fir-ma sem-per ni-te-re 17. ad pa-tri-am per-ge-re, 18. qui-a 18. iu-gi-ter ga- 15. car, par lonc j'ai, 16. que tant ai 17. de-sir-rat; 18. vi-ai-re m'est, 19. que si-e

Cursus I: 1. O quam san-cta, quam be-ni-gna 2. ful-get ma-ter Sal-va-to-ris, 3. lau-de ple-na vir-go 1. Ve-lut stel-le fir-ma-men-ti 2. ful-gent fa-cta pre-la-to-rum. 3. Ba-ses sa-cri fun-da- 1. Vir-go vir-gi-num re-gi-na, 2. vir-ga vi-rens ge-ne-ro-sa, 3. flo-rens flo-re, 4. si-ne 1. Me-mor tu-i cre-a-to-ris; 2. ei-us vi-vas in-ti-mor-re. 3. In-tus te for-mes et 1. Al-cor ai une a-le-gran-ce 2. d'un fier dol et ob-scu-ra-de; 3. per hoc s'ai al cuer pe-

Tenor: Et gau-de-

**System 2 (Measures 87-90):**

Cursus II: 16. que tu-os num quam mo-ri de-se-ris. 17. O a-ni-ma, ex sor-di-bus vi- 16. Ad pre-mi-a 21. non ne-ctunt 22. re-ti-a, 23. nec o-cu-los 24. ad cu-los 25. fle- 17. la! 21. Ad te cla-ma-mus vo-ce pu-ru-la 22. quos e-mu-la 23. car-nis tra-hit vi- 17. de-as 19. et pon-de-re lan-guo-ris 20. ca-re-as. 21. Pos-si-de-as 22. o-pes lu-cis ve- 17. rous, 20. et de tant est le dol plus pes-an-cos 21. que froit jo-vent no-vi-on-ques cou-

Cursus I: di-gna, 4. ar-cha No-e, Ia-cob sca-la, va-scu lum pu-do-ris, 5. au-la Red-em-pto-ris, 6. to- 4. fons vir-tu-tum, vi-a-mo-rum, 5. de-cor or-na-men-ti. 6. Nu-bes mel-stil-lan-tes 7. sunt; 5. ger-mi-nans ger-men ro-re 6. ce-li de-li-ci-o-sa, 7. ro-sa, que non ro-sa, 8. que fo-ris, 4. de-le-as pro-cul-pas la-cri-ma-rum li-qu-o-re, 5. fer-vens a-mo-re, 6. ut san-ce, 4. dont joi cointe er rin no-mi-na-tim. e-lu-mi-na-de: 5. S'a-mor m'a dou-na-de 6. ce-

Tenor:

**System 3 (Measures 91-96):**

Cursus II: 18. hanc Ma-ri-am vir-gi-nem ex-po-stu-la, 19. ut sit pro-te-se-du-la 26. A-gni mi-tis e-li-gunt 27. ve-sti-gi-a, 28. ad a-me-na-di-ri-gunt 24. mun-di re-cte glu-ti-na. 25. Sed pro-per-a, 26. fe-lix o-pu-er-per-a; 23. Re-gem sum-mi de-co-ris 24. as-pi-ci-as. 25. Ad quem ut per-ve-ni-as, 22. mais non a tant de pe-san-ce de-ses-poir, 23. que jo-fa-ce-ra-me-ner.

Cursus I: ti-us fons dul-co-ris, 7. an-ge-lo-rum gau-di-um, 8. la-ctans De-i fi-li-um, ven-ti fe-cun-dan-tes 8. ter-ram, a-grum, vi-ne-am, 9. ex-tur-pan-tes 10. ti-ne am re-sis pre-ci-o-sa 9. ar-cha fir-ma fe-de-ris, 10. le-gis glo-sa ve-te-ris, gra-ci-e de-ro-re 7. mens fi-de-lis flo-re-at, 9. et ex-fi-de pro-de-at, le-qu'ai tant a-ma-de, 7. mais son biau-jo-vent est frait, 8. donc le dol est tant sal vai,

Tenor:

Example 3.1: *O quam sancta quam benigna* Strophe Comparison

105

cursus II

20. ex - o - ra - re fi - li - um 21. pro - pi - ti - um, 22. u - na spes fi - de - li - um.  
 29. gre - gem vi - te pa - scu - a 30. cum glo - ri - a. 31. Lam - pa - de non va - cu - a,  
 27. qui reg - nat in e - the - ra, 28. con - fe - de - ra 29. no - bis prop - ter o - pe - a  
 26. lu - chrum ti - bi fa - ci - as, 27. pro - fi - ci - as; 28. se - du - lus, cu - sto - di - as,  
 45 24. Nel de - sir n'a tant po - der, 25. que leur ba - ler 26. fa - ce me - stre, en non cha - lour,

cursus I

9. re - gem o - mni - um. 10. A - ve, sa - lus gen - ti - um, 11. pre - ces sup - pli - can - ti -  
 11. spi - nas, lo - li - um, 12. in - se - ren - tes li - li - um 13. cor - di - bus fi - de - li -  
 11. no - ve me - di - um, 12. gau - di - um tu su - pe - ris 13. spem - que re - is re - pe -  
 9. fru - ctus o - pe - ris, 10. Ve - te - ris te pu - de - at 11. vi - te no - va pla - ce -  
 9. que non je vi tant greu; 10. el jois est tant bons et gais 11. que ne - guns jois non val

Tenor

de - o in do

117

cursus II

23. O ge - ni - trix, gau - de in fi - li - o! 24. Gau - dens e - go gau - de - o in Do - mi - no.  
 32. ad re - gi - as 33. nos du - cunt nu - pti - as. 34. nos pro - pi - a 35. sub - le - vent suf - fra - gi - a.  
 30. gran - di - fe - ra 31. tu - a sit o - pe - ra, 32. ne nos fre - mens fe - ra 33. fe - rat ru - i - na.  
 29. so - li vi - as 30. vir - tu - ti per - vi - as, 31. et sic, ho - mo, fi - as 32. ho - no - ris.  
 57 27. ne lor de - sir fait lor joir mes va - loir 28. en dol en - grain per la de - ses - pan - ce.

cursus I

um! 12. Au - di, vir - go, Yes - se vir - ga no - bi - lis, 13. su - per o - mnes ve - ne - ra - bi - lis!  
 um. 14. Gra - na pu - ra se - pa rant a pa - le - a. 15. Per su - per - nis sper nunt ter - re - a.  
 ris. 14. Mi - se - ris o - pem pro - pi - na, 15. do - mi - na, 16. se - du - la; 17. iu - va per se - cu - la!  
 at. 12. La - bi - lem ro - tam er - ro - ris 13. pro - vi - dus 14. ca - ve - as 15. se - qui, ne pe - re - as.  
 mes. 12. Per hoc sui en tel ba - len - cel 13. que des deus 14. non sai choi - sir le plus po - de - ros;

Tenor

bit

Example 3.1: *O quam sancta quam benigna* Strophe Comparison, cont.

motet. Five sources transmit the work as a two-voice motet,<sup>128</sup> while the addition of the triplum *O Maria virgo davidica* (449) creates a Latin double motet in an additional five sources.<sup>129</sup> Finally, **Hu** contains a second “double” motet for four voices in which two voices are set to *O Maria maris stella* as a conductus-motet and a fourth to the text *O Maria Dei cella* (449a).

Like *O quam sancta quam benigna*, the text of *O Maria maris stella* is a typical supplication to the Virgin (see Table 3.3). Most of the poem lauds her various roles as mother

<sup>128</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3517 (**ArsB 3517**); Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 135 (**ArsA**); Cambrai, BM, A 410 (**Camb**); Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, folio 169 (**Erf**); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72 (**Lyell**).

<sup>129</sup> Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-3471, **Cl**, **Mo**, **Ba**, and **Hu**.

<i>O Maria maris stella</i>		Translation		
	O Maria maris stella,	8p	a	O Mary, star of the sea,
	plena gratie,	5pp	*	full of grace,
	mater simul et puella,	8p	a	both mother and girl,
	vas munditie,	5pp	*	vessel of purity,
5	templum nostri redemptoris,	8p	b	temple of our redeemer,
	sol iustitie,	5pp	*	sun of justice,
	porta celi spes reorum,	8p	c	gate of heaven, hope of sinners,
	thronus glorie,	5pp	*	throne of glory,
	sublevatrix miserorum,	8p	c	supporter of the wretched,
10	vena venie,	5pp	*	vein of kindness,
	audi servos te rogantes,	8p	d	hear your servants begging,
	mater gratie,	5pp	*	mother of grace,
	ut peccata sint ablata	4p+4p	e+e	so that our sins might be swept away
	per te hodie.	5pp	*	through you, today.
15	Qui te puro laudant corde	8p	f	Those with a pure heart praise you
	in veritate.	5p	g	in truth.

Table 3.3: *O Maria maris stella* Text and Translation

of God and intermediary in salvation, while the conclusion, in typical explicit fashion, begs for her intervention in the absolution of human sin. From a textual perspective, the poem seems a cohesive unit, but poetically there is evidence of strophic divisions in the text. I should acknowledge from the outset, however, that these divisions are not by periods in the manner I have discussed above since the poem, almost in its entirety, consists of little more than a list of the Virgin's qualities. Each musical phrase comprises two poetic verses of 8p+5pp. While every 5pp verse employs the same *-ie* rhyme throughout the poem, the 8p verses define a simple form in two strophes with aab ccd rhyme scheme. Verses 11 and 12, the final two verses of strophe 2, not only bring this section of the poem to a close by reference to the second verse (*plena gratie*) with *mater gratie*, but they also herald the beginning of a new poetic strophe with the word *audi*, the first verb of the poem. Verse 13 begins the cauda-like ending strophe by breaking up the 8p line into two halves of 4p with the same rhyme.<sup>130</sup> Together with verse 14 these lines provide the climax to the previous twelve verses of supplication: “[hear us] so our sins might be wiped clean

<sup>130</sup> The division of an eight-syllable verse into two equal smaller verses is quite common.

through you today.” The poem concludes with a final reminder of the worthiness of the supplicants before finally concluding with a trope on the tenor text, the only portion of the poem in which the textual accent defies the musical ictus and breaks the poetic pattern by ending on a paroxytonic stress rather than a proparoxytonic one.

The three additional texts of this motet complex, the Latin tripla and the French contrafact, reinforce this strophic division (see Table 3.4). Also a paeon to the Virgin, the dependence of the *unicum O Maria Dei cella* (449a) on *O Maria maris stella* is evident in its exact replication of the motetus’s rhymes. The poem further emphasizes its direct relationship to the motetus by employing the same words at specific points in the text. Aside from the opening salutation, the texts also correspond at the beginning of verses 7 and 11, and almost throughout the entirety of verses 13 and 14, only differing on the fourth word.<sup>131</sup> The French contrafact, *Glorieuse Dieu amie* (449), similarly hails the Virgin Mary but with less strict adherence to the Latin motetus. While *O Maria maris stella* and *O Maria Dei cella* petition the Virgin on behalf of all mankind, *Glorieuse Dieu amie* communicates a personal plea for salvation from a single individual. This slight difference in style also translates to the poetic structure. The continuous repetition of the *-ie* rhymes in the even verses of *O Maria maris stella* occur instead in the odd-numbered verses of the contrafact, but the rhyme remains the same even though the accent shifts.<sup>132</sup> The resulting rhyme scheme lacks the clear poetic division into strophes apparent in *O*

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<sup>131</sup> Tischler corrects the verse to correspond exactly with *O Maria maris stella*. Hans Tischler, ed., *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 275.

<sup>132</sup> This must certainly reflect awareness on the author’s part of accent types at the ends of verses. The French feminine ending would correspond more consistently with the paroxytone of the odd-numbered verses in *O Maria maris stella* whereas the masculine ending more closely replicated the proparoxytone.

	<i>O Maria maris stella</i> (448)	<i>O Maria Dei cella</i> (449a)	<i>Glorieuse deu amie</i> (450)
	O Maria maris stella, plena gratie, mater simul et puella, vas munditie, 5 templum nostri redemptoris, sol iustitie,	O Maria, Dei cella, splendor glorie, Moysi novi fiscella, thronus Urie, tu es mater Creatoris, fons clementie.	Glorieuse Dieu amie, dame de pite, mere au glorieus Messie, nostre sauveite, qui nos raint de mort a vie par sa poete.
5	8p 5pp 8p 5pp 8p 5pp	8p 5pp 8p 5pp 8p 5pp	7+ 5 7+ 5 7+ 5
	porta celi spes reorum, thronus glorie, sublevatrix miserorum, vena venie, audi servos te rogantes, mater gratie,	Porta vita, stirps iustorum, vas prudentie, sustentatrix orphanorum, sinus Messie, audi tibi iubilantes, lux ecclesie,	Dame, tres douce Marie, dame d'oneste, rose, qui ne fu flestrie, en yver n'este je me sui par ma folie tous deserite.
10	8p 5pp 8p 5pp 8p 5pp	8p 5pp 8p 5pp 8p 5pp	7+ 5 7+ 5 7+ 5
	ut peccata sint ablata per te hodie. Qui te puro laudant corde in veritate.	ut peccata sint collata per te hodie. Munda, munda nos a sorde in caritate!	Grainitez moi, par vostre aie, que je soie erite. L.a, ou vostre fis est vie et voie et verite.
15	4p+4p 5pp 8p 5p	4p+4p 5pp 8p 5p	7+ 5 7+ 5

Table 3.4: Comparison of *O Maria maris stella*, *O Maria Dei cella*, and *Glorieuse deu amie*

*Maria maris stella*; however, clear textual divisions, less apparent in the repetitive litanies of *O Maria maris stella* and *O Maria Dei cella*, compensate for this difference.

Before turning to the final text, the sixth-mode triplum *O Maria virgo Davitica* (449), it will be helpful to look in detail at *O Maria maris stella*'s musical characteristics and their relationship to the "strophic" motetus text.<sup>133</sup> To understand the form of the motet, one must first consider its tenor. The modern attribution of *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor to the gradual for the Assumption, *Propter veritatem* [M37], depends on the tenor appearing with organum and discant for that feast (or some Marian feast) in the central sources of the *Magnus liber organi*.<sup>134</sup> The cantus firmus in the *Magnus liber* is similar to, but differs significantly from the chant as it appears in the Parisian chant books.<sup>135</sup> First of all, the two differ in mode: the chant employs plagal tetrardus while the cantus firmus is in authentic tritus. Despite this, the first eight notes move identically so that the latter is a simple transposition of the former down a major second. After this, however, the cantus firmus deviates significantly. The chant melody concludes with only an additional four pitches unrelated to the version of the *Magnus liber organi*, while the cantus firmus concludes with the melisma of either *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, the gradual for the Common of Single Bishop Confessors, or *Misit Dominus*, the gradual for the first Sunday after Epiphany (see Example 3.2).<sup>136</sup> This problematic relationship between the tenor and the *Veritatem* chant may account for the differences in tenor designation witnessed in the motet's

<sup>133</sup> For a full transcription of this motet see Appendix E.

<sup>134</sup> On the early attribution of this tenor to the gradual *Propter veritatem* see Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, vol. 4 (Paris: l'Oiseau-lyre, 1939), 178, who accepted Ludwig's conclusions, Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1/1: 106, 108, and vol. 2, *Vollständiges musikalisches Anfangs-Verzeichnis*, ed. Luther A. Dittmer (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), 59.

<sup>135</sup> **W1**, fols. 23v (19v) and 41r (35r); **F**, fol. 128r; **W2**, fol. 84r.

<sup>136</sup> Gennrich explicitly makes the connection between *Propter veritatem* and *Misit dominus* in his *Bibliographie*, where he notes that the tenor melody for the *Veritatem* motet complex originates with this gradual. Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten* (Darmstadt: the author, 1957), 42. On the relationship between *Propter veritatem* and *Ecce sacerdos magnus* see Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the 'Magnus liber organi,'" trans. Gilbert Reaney, *Musical Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1963): 311–30, at 327.

lat. 1112, f. 213r  
Ec - ce sa - cer - dos mag - nus qui

lat. 1112, f. 25r  
Mi - sit Do - mi - nus

lat. 1112, f. 215r  
Prop - ter ve - ri - ta - tem

W1, W2, F (veritatem-2x)  
Prop - ter ve - ri - ta - tem

Example 3.2: Comparison of *Ecce Sacerdos*, *Misit Dominus*, and *Propter veritatem* Chant with *Propter veritatem* Cantus Firmus from the *Magnus liber*

various sources. **Ch**'s score notation makes any tenor designation problematic; however, the words *In veritate* (noticeably not *Veritatem*) appear under the blank staves following the conclusion of the motet (see Figure 3.1). This is the only example in **Ch** of a possible tenor designation. The empty staves above the repeated text are reminiscent of the space employed for tenors in **F**,<sup>137</sup> yet *In veritate comperi* lacks a similar space and textual designation for its tenor so making such a claim is problematic.<sup>138</sup> If the repeated *In veritate* was intended as a tenor

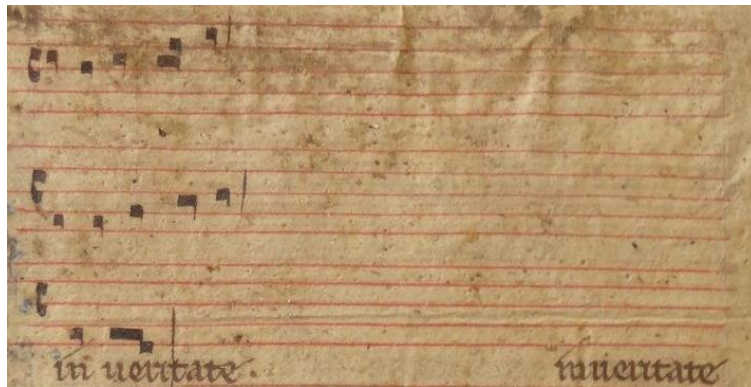


Figure 3.1: *O Maria maris stella* Tenor Designation?

<sup>137</sup> For instance, see the tenor placement following *O Maria maris stella*, **F**, fol. 398r.

<sup>138</sup> It is worth noting in this context, though it is no less problematic, that the empty staves at the bottom of fols. 6r–6v beneath *O quam sancta quam benigna* are reminiscent of the tenor staves in manuscripts such as **Mo** and **Ba**.



designation, the same designation coincides with two other sources.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, four sources name the tenor *Veritatem*, in accordance with the Assumption gradual.<sup>140</sup> Of the remaining sources, three leave the tenor unnamed,<sup>141</sup> while a single source designates the tenor *Misit Dominus*.<sup>142</sup>

A comparison of *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor with the *Magnus liber*'s cantus firmus (there is no clausula for comparison) demonstrates that the latter conforms to notes 2–16 and 18 of the motet tenor (see Example 3.3). The simplest explanation for the differences between the

Example 3.3: *O Maria maris stella* Tenor and Chant Comparison

cantus firmus and the first eighteen notes of the motet tenor would be the manipulation of the chant for the accommodation of the motet text: two pitches are added for the purpose of producing six groups of three pitches (in the pattern 3 li |). Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to

<sup>139</sup> **ArsA** and **Cl**.

<sup>140</sup> **F**, **W2**, **ArsB 3517**, and **Mo**.

<sup>141</sup> **Cambrai**, **Lyell**, and **Hu**.

<sup>142</sup> **Ba**.

note the greater concordance between the opening eighteen pitches of the motet tenor with *Misit Dominus* in which the only difference is the penultimate pitch. Of course, *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor is significantly longer than eighteen pitches. In fact the tenor, though frequently treated as a single tenor cursus, comprises three cursus, the last of which lacks the middle section (six notes). Not only the missing middle section of the last cursus, but the movement of the first note of the second cursus to the second *f* of the first cursus disguises the nature of the tenor repetitions. But there can be no doubt that these *are* tenor repetitions. To compensate for the removal of the first pitch, a third *G* was added before the final *F*, and it is this altered cursus that is employed in the final shortened version. Despite this somewhat convoluted tenor arrangement, the music is simplicity itself. The tenor comprises a repeating 3 li | pattern which, grouped in twos, supports three duplum phrases per cursus (except for the final shortened cursus). In the second and third tenor cursus, which correspond more exactly than the first and second, the repetition of the tenor correlates to exact repetition of the duplum (and triplum in the conductus-motet) as well.

Unsurprisingly, the three tenor cursus correspond to the three strophic divisions of *O Maria maris stella*'s text, and the musical setting emphasizes the motetus's poetic structure. First, even more so than in *O quam sancta quam benigna*, the strophic repetition manifests itself in the exact replication of the duplum and triplum melodies, as I just noted. But melodic correspondences also appear to a modified extent between cursus 1 and 2. Because the tenor is shifted by a single pitch in the second cursus, the melodies cannot correspond exactly, yet, despite this complication, there is a noticeable similarity between related melodic sections (see Example 3.4). Second, despite the apparent continuous litany of appellations to the Virgin, made even more seamless by the disjointed repetition of the tenor,<sup>143</sup> the text divides neatly into three

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<sup>143</sup> It is worth considering whether or not the unusual tenor repetition for the second cursus was deliberately employed to fuse the two strophes together into a single unit.

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'O Maria maris stella', divided into three strophes. Each strophe is set for three different cursus (I, II, and III), each with its own melodic line. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the corresponding musical lines. The score includes bar numbers and lyrics for each line.

**Strophe 1 (Measures 13-14):**

- cursus III:** 13 ut pec - ca - ta sint ab - la - ta 14. per te ho - di - e.
- cursus II:** 7. por - ta ce - li spes re - o - rum, 8. thro - nus glo - ri - e, 9. sub - le - va - trix mi - ser - o - rum,
- cursus I:** 1. O Ma - ri - a ma - ris stel - la, 2. ple - na gra - ti - e, 3. ma - ter si - mul et pu - el - a,

**Strophe 2 (Measures 15-16):**

- cursus III:** 15 Qui te pu - ro lau - dant cor - de 16. in ve - ri - ta - te.
- cursus II:** 10. ve - na ve - ni - e 11. au - di ser - vos te ro - gan - tes, 12. ma - ter gra - ti - e,
- cursus I:** 4. vas mun - di - ti - e, 5. tem - plum no - stri re - demp - tor - is, 6. sol iu - sti - ti - e,

**Strophe 3 (Measures 17-18):**

- cursus III:** 17. Qui te pu - ro lau - dant cor - de 18. in ve - ri - ta - te.
- cursus II:** 10. ve - na ve - ni - e 11. au - di ser - vos te ro - gan - tes, 12. ma - ter gra - ti - e,
- cursus I:** 4. vas mun - di - ti - e, 5. tem - plum no - stri re - demp - tor - is, 6. sol iu - sti - ti - e,

Example 3.4: *O Maria maris stella* Strophe Comparison

strophes based on rhyme scheme. This aab rhyme scheme is especially audible in the first two strophes since the rhyming words—*stella*, *puella*, and *redemptoris*, for example in the first strophe—are the only bits of text sung without a supporting tenor pitch. This may account for the clear correlation between tenor repetitions and textual periods in the French contrafact, *Glorieuse Dieu amie*: with an inverted rhyme scheme (cf. Table 3.4), the poetry relies on complete textual clauses to delimit its form.

Textual periods also help articulate strophes in the sixth-mode triplum *O Maria virgo Davitica* (see Example 3.5). Yet another collection of Marian attributes, the text deviates from the others in this motet complex through its focus on Mary's military prowess: flower and

1. O Ma - ri - a vir - go Da - vi - ti - ca, 2. vir - gi - num flos, vi - te spes un - ni - ca, 3. vi - a ve - ni - e 4. lux gra - ti - e, 5. ma - ter  
 1. O Ma - ri - a ma - ris stel - la, 2. ple - na gra - ti - e, 3. ma - ter si - mul et pu - el - la,  
 13 cle - men - ti - e, 6. so - la iu - bes in ar - ce ce - li - ca, 7. o - be - di - unt ti - bi mi - li - ci - e.  
 4. vas mun - di - ti - e, 5. tem - plum no - stri re - demp - tor - is, 6. sol iu - sti - ti -  
 23 8. So - la se - des in thro - no glo - ri - e, 9. gra - ti - a ple - na ful - gens, de - i - ca. 10. Stel - le stu - pent de tu - a fa - ci - e, 11. sol, lu - na de tu - a  
 - e, 7. por - ta ce - li spes re - o - rum, 8. thro - nus glo - ri - e, 9. sub - le - va - trix mi - ser - o - rum,  
 37 po - ten - ti - a, 12. que lu - mi - na - ri - a 13. in me - ri - di - e 14. tu - a fa - ci - e 15. vin - cis om - ni - a. 16. Pre - ce pi - a mi - ti - ga fi - li -  
 10. ve - na ve - ni - e 11. au - di ser - vos te ro - gan - tes, 12. ma - ter gra - ti - e, 13. ut pec - ca - ta  
 51 um, 17. mi - ro mo - do cu - ius es fi - li - a, 18. ne iu - di - ce - mur in con - tra - ri - um, 19. sed det e - ter - na vi - te pre - mi - a.  
 sint ab - la - ta, 14. per te ho - di - e. 15. Qui te pu - ro lau - dant cor - de 16. in ve - ri - ta - te.

Example 3.5: Strophic Orientation of *O Maria virgo Davitica* (449)

mother, she commands armies and conquers all with her visage. The emphasis on radiance in the second strophe (beginning on Perfection 23) differentiates it from the first, with its description of the celestial bodies bending to the power of her shining face. The final strophe turns to the traditional explicit supplication to Mary as intermediary. Musically, the phrases are significantly more disjunct than those in the motetus and unlike the other tripla written for this motet (both those with text, and, in conductus-motets, without text) there is no correspondence between tenor

repetitions. Nevertheless, the textual periods correspond to each of those repetitions, bridging the gap between the end of one motetus strophe and the beginning of the next. In the case of the first juncture, the triplum text even foreshadows the motetus by referencing the “throne of glory.”

The obvious popularity of *O Maria maris stella*, evident in its numerous extant sources as well as the obvious borrowings and other relationships between the various texts, made this motet complex an ideal source for theoretical paradigms. The earliest citation, from the *Discantus positio vulgaris* (c.1230), employed *O Maria maris stella* to illustrate first-mode motets with longs in the tenor.<sup>144</sup> Later theorists (explicitly following Franco) similarly cited the motetus as an example of Franco’s second type of mode one: long plus breve.<sup>145</sup> Yet, Franco himself illustrated this first-mode pattern with the motetus *In Bethleem Herodis* (98), limiting his use of the popular Marian motet to the discussion of mode 6 rests and the triplum *O Maria virgo Davitica*. In his example, Franco obliquely references *O Maria maris stella* through the implication that the rests in sixth-mode tripla are influenced by those of the first mode if the two occur simultaneously.<sup>146</sup> Lambertus similarly confined his discussion to the popular triplum and its representation of the sixth mode noting, “The seventh<sup>147</sup> [mode] will be composed from seven pitches and also of *recta* breves. Let it therefore be placed here: *O Maria virgo Davitica*.”<sup>148</sup> A

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<sup>144</sup> See Christian Thomas Leitmeir, “Types and Transmission of Musical Examples in Franco’s *Ars cantus mensurabilis*,” in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2005), 29–44, and James McKinnon, ed., *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History: Vol. 2, The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1998), 222.

<sup>145</sup> For instance, the Anonymous *Gaudent Brevitate Moderni* (Saint-Dié, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 42) states, *Quinque sunt modi secundum magistrum Franconem, quorum primus constat ex una longa et altera brevi, vel ex omnibus longis, ut hic patet: O Maria maris stella.* (There are five modes according to Master Franco of which the first consists of a long and a breve or all longs, as is demonstrated in *O Maria maris stella*.) Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. and trans. Jean-Philippe Navarre (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997), 120.

<sup>146</sup> *Quintus autem modus, quando in discantu aliquo cum primo accipitur, pausationibus primi regulatur, et longam ante pausationem facit notam, ut hic: O Maria virgo davidica.* Franco, *Ars*, 42.

<sup>147</sup> Lambertus, unlike other theorists, described nine rhythmic modes rather than the typical five or six.

<sup>148</sup> Christian Meyer, ed., *The ‘Ars musica’ Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*, trans. Karen Desmond (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 111.

final example of theoretical citation of the motet occurred in the late thirteenth-century *Ars motetorum compilata breviter* of Petrus de Picardus. Another follower of Franco, Picardus limited himself to the motetus, but not only did he employ the piece to illustrate the alternation of longs and breves, he clarified the division of the breve with the final verse: “And there should not be less than two [semibreves], of which the first is designated a minor and the second a major semibreve and these two parts comprise one tempus or recta breve, as here: *In veritate*.”<sup>149</sup>

While mid- and late-century theorists borrowed the motetus and triplum to serve as models for theoretical explications of the rhythmic modes, composers, in turn, borrowed *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor for the creation of new motets. Most significantly, for the purposes of this dissertation, the motet *In veritate comperi* (451) / [*Veritatem*] [M37]. In the next section I will consider the impact of *O Maria maris stella* on the construction of *In veritate comperi* and its own pseudo-strophic. Following *In veritate comperi* I will look briefly at the remaining *Veritatem* motets and finally reevaluate the developmental relationship between the motet complex and the *Veritatem* organum and clausulae of the *Magnus liber organi*.

### 3.5.3 *In veritate comperi* (451) / [*Veritatem*] [M37]

*In veritate comperi* (Ch, fols. 7v–10v), like *O Maria maris stella*, was extremely popular and survives in eight different forms, again without a related clausula (see Appendix B). The earliest versions appear as conductus-motets in three sources with unique tripla.<sup>150</sup> Two sources transmit a two-voice motet,<sup>151</sup> three a Latin double motet,<sup>152</sup> and a single source contains a

<sup>149</sup> *Nec minus quam due, quarum prima minor, secunda vero maior semibrevis dicitur, hec duas partes valet unius temporis vel recte brevis, ut hic: In veritate.* Petrus Picardus, *Ars motetorum compilata breviter*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 18–19. This version of the motetus's final verse occurs in only three manuscripts, **ArsA**, **Cambrai**, and **Ba**.

<sup>150</sup> **Ch**, **F**, and Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1 (**CTr**).

<sup>151</sup> **W2**, and **Hu**.

<sup>152</sup> **Mo**, **Ba**, and **LoB**.

bilingual motet.<sup>153</sup> In **Ch** *In veritate comperi* is the first of two conductus-motets in gathering z. As with *O Maria maris stella*, the other conductus-motet in the gathering, the tenor appears beneath the upper voice parts laid out in score. Unlike *O Maria maris stella*, however, the final system of the piece concludes without any attempt to name the tenor. This may stem from the tenor's designation appearing as the opening words of the motetus. However, like the various sources of *O Maria maris stella*, the tenor designation across sources also varies widely. While **F** lacks a tenor (there is a lacuna in the source at this point), **W2** and **Ba** label theirs *In veritate*, **Cl** and **Mo** employ *Veritatem*, **LoB** uses *In seculum*, while **Hu** and **CTr** omit the tenor designation entirely. In most instances where both motets appear in the same source, the tenor designations differ (see Table 3.5). This seems a deliberate recognition of the fact that the music of the tenors of *O Maria maris stella* and *In veritate comperi* are not built independently from the same chant melisma. Rather, *In veritate comperi* employs the entire tenor of *O Maria maris stella* as its cursus, and therefore must postdate that popular Marian motet.

	<i>O Maria maris stella</i>	<i>In veritate comperi</i>
<b>Ch</b>	In veritate	none
<b>F</b>	Veritatem	missing
<b>W2</b>	Veritatem	In veritate
<b>Mo</b>	Veritatem	Veritatem
<b>Ba</b>	Misit dominus	In veritate
<b>Cl</b>	In veritate	Veritatem
<b>Hu</b>	none, Tenor	none

Table 3.5: Comparison of Tenor Designations

The text of *In veritate comperi* comes, with some certainty, from the pen of Philip the Chancellor. The piece is one of only six motets with medieval attributions to Philip, and interestingly the attribution stems from **LoB**, whose tenor reads *In seculum*.<sup>154</sup> The text offers a

<sup>153</sup> **Cl**.

<sup>154</sup> Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 72.

vehement, self-righteous condemnation of the clergy (see Table 3.6).<sup>155</sup> The author has uncovered their vile nature and he castigates their envy, pride, blindness, greed, hypocrisy,

	<i>In veritate comperi</i> (451)	Translation
	In veritate comperi quod sceleri cleri student unitas. Livor regnat; veritas 5 datur funeri. Herodes Luciferi sunt prelati iam elati gloria.	In truth I discovered that all of the clergy desire wickedness. Envy reigns; truth is given for burial. The prelates are the heirs of Lucifer now proud with fame.
10	Membra domat alia capitis insania. Ceci ducesque cecorum, excecati terrenorum ydolatria, 15 querunt omnes propria. Manus patent, sed iam latent crucis beneficia. Luge, Syon filia!	The madness of the head masters the other organs. The blind and the leaders of the blind, having been blinded by idolatry of earthly things, all seek their own things. Their hands are empty, but the profits of the cross are already concealed. Weep, daughter of Zion!
20	Fructus urit messium ignis in caudis vulpium. Tristes per ypocritas. Simulata sanctitas, ut Thamar in bivio 25 turpi marcens ocio, totum orbem inficit. Nec deficit, sed proficit, data liberati.	The fire in the foxes' tails consumes the fruits of the harvet. You miserable, thorough hypocrites! Like Tamar at the crossroads, stooping to shameful indolence, contrived holiness infects the whole world. Nor does it weaken, but flourishes when given the liberty.
30	Castitatem polluit; caritatem respuit, studens parcitati. Sedet in insidiis hominum pre filiis, 35 pauperem ut rapiat et, linguarum gladiis, iustum ut interficiat. Non est qui bonum faciat istorum	It desecrates chastity; and, eager for frugality, it spits out charity. It sits in ambush for the sons of man, so that it may waylay the poor and murder the just with the swords of its tongues. No one among them whose conscience is a den of thieves
40	quorum consciencia spelunca latronum. Hanc vide, videns omnia, Deus ultionum.	can do any good. O God of vengeance, seeing all, look down upon this pretense.

Table 3.6: *In veritate comperi* Text and Translation

<sup>155</sup> Text and translation from Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 72.



idleness, wantonness, and dishonesty in the florid, metaphorical language typical of the Chancellor. I have already shown that in *Velut stelle firmamenti*, the Chancellor's contrafact of *O quam sancta quam benigna*, Philip spurns a strophic division that would align with a repeating tenor cursus. A similar argument might be made here as well. As a vehement diatribe against the clergy, the poem could easily be understood as one long strophe. Nevertheless, Thomas Payne divides the poem into two strophes at verse 19.<sup>156</sup> The beginning of Payne's second strophe corresponds to a second trope of the Assumption gradual on the word *filia* (the first occurs in the poem's initial verse).<sup>157</sup> In addition, Payne's second strophe corresponds with a "quotation" from the refrain of the monophonic conductus *Dogmatum falsas species*, also by Philip, which immediately precedes *In veritate comperi* in Ch.<sup>158</sup> While only a single verse of the refrain appears verbatim in the motet, clearly verses 19–21 of the latter reimagine the final three lines of the former (or vice versa): "O Zion, cease not to weep. The fire in the foxes' tails is burning your crops" (cf. Table 1.9).<sup>159</sup>

Yet the justification for this structural division before the refrain, despite corresponding tropes, is problematic. First, the refrain in *Dogmatum falsas species* occurs at the end of each strophe, not at the beginning. Second, the quotation refers to the *results* of the clergy's wickedness: Christians should lament because, as Samson destroyed the crops of those who spurned him, so too do corrupt ecclesiastics ruin the bounty of the church. From an organizational perspective this topic makes more sense as a conclusion to the straightforward depictions of clerical greed in verses 1–19 rather than as an introduction to the evils of contrived

<sup>156</sup> His verse 16. Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 71.

<sup>157</sup> Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 71.

<sup>158</sup> Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition," 249–54. Whether *In veritate comperi* quotes *Dogmatum falsas species* or vice versa is unclear. While Traill argues that *Dogmatum falsas species* dates from 1236, he makes no claims about the motet's date of origin.

<sup>159</sup> *Syon, flere non cesses / Ignis in caudis vulpium / Tuas cumbussit messes*. Translation adapted from Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 6: LXXIII.

holiness in the second half. Second, a division after the refrain allows for the second half to begin as it ends, with a direct address to the clergy (“You miserable, thorough hypocrites”), and divides the music into two equal halves each with sixty-six tenor notes (eighty-eight perfections).<sup>160</sup>

The duple division of the text corresponds with no major division in the music (it occurs in the middle of the second tenor cursus). As noted above the tenor coincides not with the *veritatem* melisma of the *Magnus liber*, but with the tenor of *O Maria maris stella*. Specifically, *In veritate comperi* comprises two and two-thirds repetitions of *O Maria maris stella*’s complete tenor, concluding before the final statement of the truncated third cursus (see Table 3.7; cf. Example 3.3).<sup>161</sup> The unusual nature of the tenor’s origin may contribute not only to the numerous tenor designations noted above but also to the several incorrect or altered versions of the tenor presented in the sources. Only four of the eight surviving notations of the motet tenor are correct. These include the version in **Ch**, which is in score, **Cl**, **Mo**, and **CTr**. Of the remaining four, **Hu** and **Ba** effect a few alterations: **Hu** changes the fourth pitch of the second internal cursus (i.e., the second cursus of *O Maria maris stella*) to match the pitch of the first cursus (from *F* to *a*), while **Ba** employs a double long rather than two perfect longs of the same pitch perhaps in an attempt to make all internal cursus agree.<sup>162</sup> Finally, **W2** and **LoB** are the most unusual. **LoB** presents only two cursus of the tenor, each after the different voice parts, *In salvatoris nomine* and *In veritate comperi*. Is it possible that the scribe understood these two voice parts as distinct pieces, or was unfamiliar with the double motet and therefore not only

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<sup>160</sup> I should note that this division into two parts is nowhere corroborated by sources. Even **LoB** which indicates different strophes in the triplum *In salvatoris nomine* through the use of two filigreed letters makes no such distinctions for *In veritate comperi*.

<sup>161</sup> For a full transcription of *In veritate comperi* see Appendix E.

<sup>162</sup> The place this practice breaks down is at the ends of each internal cursus where the first has two *G*s but the second and third have three.

divided the voice parts but marked an incorrect tenor designation?<sup>163</sup> Most inexplicable is the

	I	i	In veritate comperi quod sceleri cleri studet unitas. Livor regnat; veritas 5 datur funeri.	
		ii	Heredes Luciferi sunt prelati iam elati gloria. 10 Membra domat alia capitis insania.	
			iii Ceci duces/que cecorum, excecati terrenorum ydolatria, 15 querunt omnes propria.	
	II	i	Manus patent, et iam latent crucis beneficia. Luge, Syon filia. 20 Fructus urit messium ignis in caudis vulpium.	
Tenor note 67 (midpoint)		ii	Tristes perypocritas. Simulata sanctitas, ut Thamar in bivio 25 turpi marcens ocio, totum orbem inficit.	
			iii Nec / deficit nec proficit, data libertati. 30 Castitatem poluit; caritatem respuit, (.)	punctus in <b>F</b> and <b>Ch</b>
	III	i	studens parcitati. Sedet in insidiis hominum pre filiis 35 pauperem ut rapiat et linguarum gladiis, iustum ut interficiat.	
			ii Non / est qui bonum faciat iustorum 40 quorum conscientia spelunca latronum. Hance vide, videns omnia, deus ultionum.	

Table 3.7: *In veritate comperi* Cursus Divisions

<sup>163</sup> Helen Deeming has argued that the incomplete tenors, here as well as with the other tenors of **LoB**, served as prompts “somewhere between and incipit...and a fully notated part.” From this perspective she argues that the scribe was a “literate and discerning musician, rather than a mechanical scribe misunderstanding his exemplars.” If such is

tenor configuration in **W2**, where it is subjected to a bizarre truncation. Cursus i (the first cursus of *O Maria maris stella*) appears intact followed by the first three notes of cursus ii and the last six notes of both cursus ii and iii.<sup>164</sup> This configuration then repeats three times. What these altered tenors suggest is, at the very least, an awareness of the internal divisions of *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor, and it is in these divisions that we witness the connection with the two-part text division of *In veritate comperi*. A "second" strophe begins with the second statement of cursus ii. This is not the only textual division, however, that corresponds with internal cursus. In fact, I will argue that here as well, there appears to be a deliberate correlation between text and the repeated tenor cursus of *O Maria maris stella*.

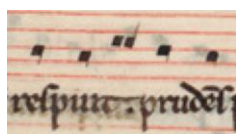
As noted above, there are two and two-thirds statements of *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor employed for *In veritate comperi*. The first provides a microcosm of the entire motet: the text divides clearly between cursus i and ii (between verses 5 and 6), but, perhaps because the third cursus is truncated (both in *O Maria maris stella* and *In veritate comperi*), the latter two cursus are textually elided. Elision acknowledges the problematic identity of shortened cursus iii, yet the text still suggests an awareness of the change from cursus ii to iii since both changes occur on or immediately following a conjunction (*-que* in verse 12, and *nec* in verse 27), an obvious method of linking two different items. Cursus III, like the internal cursus iii of cursus I and II, appears to continue without break from the end of cursus II. The first verse, *studens parcitati* (verse 32), completes, with the previous verse, the sentence, "[Contrived holiness] spits out charity, eager for frugality." Of the five sources that indicate textual divisions through punctuation, all mark the division between *studens parcitati* and the following *sedet in insidiis*

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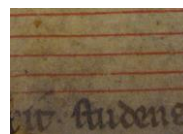
the case, then the scribe has deliberately chosen to not employ the *Veritatem* designation for the tenor. Helen Deeming, "Preserving and Recycling," 146–48.

<sup>164</sup> In the following (compare Table 3.7), I will be using lowercase roman numerals to indicate the tenor cursus of *O Maria maris stella*, and capital numerals for the tenor cursus of *In veritate comperi*.

with a punctus.<sup>165</sup> However, both **F** and **Ch** also place a punctus between *studens parcitati* and the preceding verse *caritatem respuit* (see Figure 3.2).<sup>166</sup> From a textual perspective this punctuation is problematic since the sense of the text appears to link it with the preceding verse, the most likely reason other sources omit it. Yet, it clearly acknowledges a moment of division, a division which corresponds to *In veritate comperi*'s repeating tenor cursus. Cursus ii of cursus III also elides with the previous cursus, but here, as with the elided cursus ii and iii of cursus I and II, the division also closely follows a textual division. This evidence indicates that the relationship between the text and the music not only takes into account the larger tenor cursus of *In veritate comperi* but also responds to the tenor cursus of *O Maria maris stella*.



**F**, f. 398v



**Ch**, f. 9v

Figure 3.2: Punctuation between Cursus II and III

The relationship between internal cursus is also reflected in the music of the motetus and triplum,<sup>167</sup> though not to the extent witnessed in *O Maria maris stella*. A comparison of the three cursus of *In veritate comperi* demonstrates that certain corresponding musical sections are set to the same music. While short examples appear throughout cursus i, ii, and iii, the most extended parallel occurs at the beginning of cursus ii where not only all three cursus of the motetus but all three cursus of the triplum coincide between tenor perfections 25–31 (see Example 3.6).<sup>168</sup> The extent of these repetitions, in relation to the previous and later short events, draws attention to these moments in the motet. But the question arises as to why such a prominent repetition occurs

<sup>165</sup> **F**, **Ch**, **Mo**, **CTr**, **LoB**.

<sup>166</sup> The scribe of **F** wrote the word *prudens* instead of *studens*.

<sup>167</sup> The argument I make here includes the differing tripla of **Ch** and **F**. The triplum of **CTr** does not survive at the places in question.

<sup>168</sup> If considering the motetus alone, the correspondences continue through tenor perfection 35.

The image displays a musical score for the beginning of Cursus ii in the motet 'In veritate comperi'. The score is organized into three systems of staves. The first system includes Tr-Cursus II (F) and Tr-Cursus I (F). The second system includes Tr-Cursus III (Ch), Tr-Cursus II (Ch), and Tr-Cursus I (Ch). The third system includes Cursus III, Cursus II, Cursus I, and Tenor. The lyrics are written below the Cursus I and Tenor staves. The lyrics are: 'est qui bo - num fa - ci - at 39. i - sto - rum' (Cursus III), '22. Tri - stes per y - po - cri - tas 23. si - mu - la - ta san - cti - tas,' (Cursus II), and '6. He - ro - des Lu - ci - fe - ri 7. sunt pre - la - - ti 8. iam e - la -' (Cursus I). The Tenor part consists of a single line of music with a long note value.

Example 3.6: *In veritate comperi* Beginning of Cursus ii (Perfections 25–32)

within Cursus II rather than at the beginning. The explanation is both structural and textual. As I have shown, not only does this moment mark the exact midpoint of the motet in terms of tenor pitches, it also corresponds to a division of the text into two equal halves. Following the concluding refrain from *Dogmatum falsas species*, cursus ii begins Philip’s heated exhortation: “You miserable, thorough hypocrites.” What stronger method could the composer employ than to reutilize an extended section of music over a tenor whose original text lauded Mary as “the gate of heaven, [and] hope of sinners”?

Neither the Latin nor the French triplum texts respond to the tenor repetitions in any meaningful way. *In Salvatoris nomine* (452), though ostensibly addressed to the Virgin, presents

an homage to Christ. Despite the poetic form mimicking *In veritate comperi* in terms of verse length and accent,<sup>169</sup> the phrase structure differs enough to disguise any relationship with the repeating tenor cursus.<sup>170</sup> No tenor cursus corresponds to the beginning of a sentence. The closest example occurs with the third iteration of cursus ii (the final statement of the short tenor) where the phrase *O lilium*, the beginning of the explicit, begins on the previous breve, in the same way *In veritate comperi* begins this cursus. The French *Ce fu en tres douz tens de mai* (452a), a voyeuristic pastoral in which a nightingale sings to the lady in the voice of a lover, imitates the verse length and rhyme sequence of *In veritate comperi* more exactly than *In Salvatoris nomine*. Nevertheless, a connection exists between the two triplum texts, since the later also obscures the tenor repetitions (or disregards them) except for the concluding cursus III.ii which, like *In Salvatoris nomine*, begins with direct address to a lady, here to the shepherdess rather than to the “lily, defender of sinners.” That scribes understood this moment in *In Salvatoris nomine* is emphasized by the capitalization or flourishing of the exclamatory *O lilium* in several manuscripts. While **Cl**, in which both French and Latin texts appear together, lacks any paleographic cue, both **Mo** and **Ba** begin this final strophe with an enlarged letter. The artist of **LoB** provided pen-flourishing for this as well as the earlier, mid-strophe exclamation *O quale misterium*.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Payne states that “both poems have the same number of lines, syllable count, [and] rhyme sequence[.]” In Payne’s division of the poem his first claim is correct, but this division neither consistently divides the poem by rhyme nor by musical phrase. As for the last point, if I understand Payne correctly, the order of rhymes should correspond, but this correspondence already breaks down between verses 7–10. Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 175–76. If, however, he is referring to the rhyme accents at the ends of verses, as he asserts in his dissertation, then this also varies. Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,” 2:338–39.

<sup>170</sup> Payne states that both poems “have the same...phrase structure,” noting that they are easily interchangeable. While both poems certainly have structural breaks at the same points in the text, the type of break (comma or period) differs significantly. Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 176.

<sup>171</sup> In **Ba** the phrase reads *O quantum misterium*.

Payne has argued, based both on the text itself and its surviving sources, that Philip the Chancellor did not write *In Salvatoris nomine*.<sup>172</sup> The text, according to Payne, lacks the “caliber” of the motetus text as well as any reference that links the two texts together.<sup>173</sup> Different authors could certainly account for the minimal interest in tenor repetitions evident in *In Salvatoris nomine* as well as in *Ce fu en tres douz tens de mai*. The four sources preserving the two text, **Mo**, **LoB**, **Ba**, and **Cl**, are all late, far removed from *In veritate comperi*’s origins. Uniquely, **LoB** presents *In veritate comperi* and *In Salvatoris nomine* as separate two-voice motets, perhaps because the scribe understood the latter as a distinct motet on the same tenor.<sup>174</sup> But what was that tenor? A single cursus appears over the text, *In seculum*, a single cursus which derives directly from the motet *O Maria maris stella*. As it turns out, *In veritate comperi* is not the only *Veritatem* motet to employ this tenor.

#### 3.5.4 The *Veritatem* [M37] Motet Complex: Exceptions that Prove the Rule

The tenor relationship between *O Maria maris stella*, *In veritate comperi* and the *Veritatem* melisma is complex, generally unacknowledged,<sup>175</sup> and worth investigating further. *O Maria maris stella* plays a significant role since its tenor, not the *Veritatem* melisma, is what appears in the several additional motets assigned to the Assumption gradual. Of the twelve *Veritatem* motet groups, four, like *In veritate comperi*, employ the tenor of *O Maria maris stella* either as the complete tenor or with additional appended music (see Table 3.8). All four are double motets, three of which are French and one Latin, and they all appear in **Mo** (two are also

<sup>172</sup> See Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,” 2:335–42.

<sup>173</sup> Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,” 2:339.

<sup>174</sup> Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,” 2:338. Alternatively, Helen Deeming has suggested that this separation into two motets each with its own tenor was an attempt to fit the three-voice piece into the given manuscript rulings. Deeming, “Preserving and Recycling,” 146.

<sup>175</sup> Payne notes in his editorial comments that his reconstruction of the **F** *In veritate comperi* employed the tenor of the “previous work” because it had “the same T[enor] and rhythmic pattern, albeit with only one instead of two and three-quarters statements[.]” Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 73.



found in **Ba**).<sup>176</sup> Each of these motets, despite the *Veritatem* tenor designations (**Ba** designates *In veritate* for the Latin double motet), derive either from *O Maria maris stella*, which seems the most likely based on their female topics, or from *In veritate comperi*, rather than the *Magnus liber* cantus firmus on *Veritatem*. Of the remaining eight motet groups, two probably also derived from the *O Maria maris stella* tenor since their tenors comprise combinations of the internal cursus as they appear in *O Maria maris stella*.<sup>177</sup>

The remaining six motet groups may or may not take the *Magnus liber Veritatem* cantus firmus as the source of their tenors. Two employ repetitions of *O Maria maris stella*'s cursus i.<sup>178</sup> I choose to distinguish this version from the *Veritatem* melisma because of the repeated *F*s at the opening and the repeated *G*s at the end of the tenor. The first, *J'ai donc tout mon cuer* (463) / *Au cuer ai le mal* (464) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. F) addresses the topic of unrequited love in both voices, a secular counterpart to the mercies begged of the celestial queen. The second, *Tu capud ecclesia* / *Tu es Petrus* / [*Veritatem*] is a Latin double motet on St Peter (Table 3.8 col. L). While the tenor basically employs six statements of *O Maria*'s cursus i (the second statement is more accurately cursus ii) the choice of St Peter as the topic of the motetus only makes sense as a response to *In veritate comperi*. The phrase *in veritate comperi* originates in Acts 10:34–5 in which St Peter, after receiving a vision, accepts that God judges people based on their actions despite their cultural background: *aperiens autem Petrus os dixit in veritate conperi quoniam non*

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<sup>176</sup> *Navrés sui au cuer* (459) / *Navrés sui pres* (460) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. D); *Je ne puis* (461) / *Amors me tienent* (462) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. E); *Je sui jonete* (465) / *He dieux je n'ai* (466) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. G); *Benigna celi* (473) / *Beata es Maria* (474) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. J).

<sup>177</sup> *Mesdisant par leur* (471) / *Biau cors* (472) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. I); *Virginis Maria* / *Salve Gemma* / *Pes super virginis Marie et salve gemma* (Table 3.8 col. K).

<sup>178</sup> From this point forward I will continue to employ lowercase roman numerals to reference the individual cursus of *O Maria maris stella*.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Title	<i>A la cheminee</i> (453) / <i>Mout sont</i> (454); <i>A la cheminee</i> (453) / <i>Chanconete</i> (455); <i>A la cheminee</i> (453) / <i>Chanconete</i> (455) / <i>Ainc voir d'amors</i> (456)	<i>A vous pens belle</i> (457)	<i>Quant se siet bele</i> (458)	<i>Navrés sui au cuer</i> (459) / <i>Navrés sui pres</i> (460)	<i>Je ne puis</i> (461) / <i>Amors me tienent</i> (462)	<i>J'ai done tout mon cuer</i> (463) / <i>Au cuer ai le mal</i> (464)
Ms(s)	W2, Ba, Mo	N, R	N, StV	Mo, Ba	Mo	Mo
Tenor	Tenor: (W2, Mo) <i>Par verite vieil esprover que vin francois passent roinas et loiz vins auerrois</i> ; (Ba) <i>Veritatem</i> *MLO* <i>Propter veritatem</i> * W2, Mo: three Gs at the end; fully-texted French * Ba: two Gs at the end; <i>veritatem</i> over <i>propter</i> music	Tenor: (N) <i>Propter veritatem</i> ; (R) empty staff *MLO <i>Propter veritatem</i> * extra penultimate G	Tenor: (N, StV) <i>Propter veritatem</i> * N: first 17 notes of MLO <i>propter veritatem</i> then empty staff * StV: music of <i>Propter veritatem</i> + <i>veritatem</i> * two versions imply different tenor rhythm	Tenor: (Mo, Ba) <i>Veritatem</i> *Cursus I <sup>†</sup> + first 15 notes of cursus i	Tenor: <i>Veritatem</i> *Cursus I + middle 6 notes of cursus iii	Tenor: <i>Veritatem</i> *Cursus i (2x) * final GGF altered to FGF
Rhythmic Mode	Mode 2, 3 Tenor: duplex longs	Mode 2 Tenor : Mode 2 and 6	Mode 2 Tenor: Mode 2	Mode 2, 3 Tenor: Mode 5 and 3	Mode 1 Tenor: Mode 1 and 5	Mode 1 Tenor: 3 li
Text	Topic: 453: sensual pleasure 454: praise for the people of Ghent 455: beautiful woman 456: serving love Tenor: French wine better than all others	Text is single refrain: <i>A vous pens belle</i> (vdB 207)	Topic: 459: happy love; violence metaphor 460: happy love; violence metaphor	Topic: 459: happy love; violence metaphor 460: happy love; violence metaphor	Topic: 461: unrequited love 462: beautiful lady	Topic: 463: unrequited love; beautiful lady 464: unrequited love; violence metaphor
Refrain(s)	No refrains	Text is single refrain: <i>A vous pens belle</i> (vdB 207)	Four refrains: 459: <i>Aimi doz dieus</i> (vdB 46); <i>car du tout sui vestres</i> (Genn 1412) <sup>e</sup> 460: <i>Navrés sui pres du cuer</i> (vdB 1350)	Two refrains: 461: <i>car ne puis endurer</i> (vdB 307) 462: <i>Si n'em puis mon cuer</i> (vdB 1731)	One refrain 464: <i>j'aim la brunete</i> (Genn 1555)	

<sup>a</sup>MLO = *Magnus liber organi*<sup>b</sup>Indicates *O Maria maris stella*'s complete tenor<sup>c</sup>From Gennrich, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis* (1964)Table 3.8: *Veritatem* Motets

	G	H	I	J	K	L
Title	<i>Je sui jonete</i> (465) / <i>He dieus je n'ai</i> (466)	<i>Li jalous par tout</i> (467) / <i>Tuit cil qui sunt</i> (468); <i>Post partum</i> (469) / <i>Ave regina</i> (470)	<i>Mesdisant par leur</i> (471) / <i>Biau cors</i> (472)	<i>Benigna celi</i> (473) / <i>Beata es Maria</i> (474)	<i>Virginis Maria</i> / <i>Salve Gemma</i>	<i>Tu capud ecclesia</i> / <i>Tu es Petrus</i>
Ms(s)	Mo	Mo	Mo	Mo, Ba	Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68	Durham, University Library Bamburgh Collection, Select 13
Tenor	Tenor: <i>Veritatem</i> *Cursus I	Tenor: <i>Veritatem</i> 467-8: FG + cursus i (2x) 469-70: opening two motives reversed * final cursus possibly cursus ii (extra G)	Tenor: <i>Veritatem</i> *cursus i + first 12 notes of cursus ii	Tenor: (Mo) <i>Verita</i> ; (Ba) <i>In veritate</i> *Cursus I *Ba uses a single pitch of double length for repeated pitches in 3 li pattern	Tenor: cursus i + cursus ii + 1st 6 and last 3 notes of cursus i	Tenor: cursus i (6x) * 2nd cursus possibly cursus ii (extra G) * fifth and six cursus = <i>Veritatem</i> melisma
Rhythmic mode	Mode 1	Mode 1 Tenor: Mode 1	Mode 1 Tenor: 3 li	Mode 3	Alternate Mode 3 Tenor: 3 li	Alternate Mode 3 Tenor: 3 si (2x); Alternate Mode 3 (4x)
Text	465: <i>mal mariee</i> 466: <i>mal mariee</i>	467: jealous people; dancing 468: only people in love, not the jealous, should be allowed to dance 469: Virgin Mary 470: Virgin Mary (text mentions Assumption as <i>hodie</i> )	471: love not destroyed by slander 472: beautiful lady; unrequited love; violence metaphor	473: Virgin Mary 474: Virgin Mary	Virgin Mary	St. Peter * "in veritate conperit" from Acts 10:34 about Peter
Refrains	One refrain 466: mon mari si face amie (Genn 1304)	One refrain (2x) 468: Tuit cil qui sunt ennamourat (vdB 1822)	Two refrains 471: ancois menrons boine vie (vdB 57) 472: douce dame deboinere (vdB 604)			

Table 3.8: *Veritatem* Motets, cont.

*est personarum acceptor Deus sed in omni gente qui timet eum et operator iustitiam acceptus est illi* (And Peter opening his mouth said, “In truth I understand that God is not a receiver of persons, but in every people he who fears Him and is serving justice is accepted by him.”). In the context of Philip’s motet, a motet about St Peter on a Marian tenor makes more sense, especially if the creator understood the tenor not as *Veritatem* but *In veritate*, as it appears in several manuscripts of *In veritate comperi*, and is emphasized by the fact that both motetus and triplum of the Petrine motet conclude with those very words.<sup>179</sup>

Similarly, motets 453–56<sup>180</sup> (the earliest of the additional *Veritatem* motets, with a version in **W2**; Table 3.8, col. A) employ the cantus firmus of the *Magnus liber veritatem*, yet both the fully texted tenor and motet 453 (which appears in each version of the motet group) appear to respond directly to the clerical castigation that appears throughout *In veritate comperi*. The tenor begins with a French equivalent of *in veritate* and then goes on to praise French wines above all others: *Par verité vueil esprover que vin françois passent roinnas et touz vins aucerrois* (In truth, I want to confirm that French wines surpass Rhenish wines and all wines from Auxerre).<sup>181</sup> Edward Roesner called this text “a parody of the opening of the plainchant gradual *Propter veritatem*, the source of the tenor melody.”<sup>182</sup> While it is true that the tenor melody does, in fact, employ the entire melody of the *Propter veritatem* cantus firmus from the *Magnus liber organi*, I am not as persuaded that the French text parodies *propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua* (on account of truth, gentleness, and justice your

<sup>179</sup> Recall that *O Maria maris stella* also ended with the two words *In veritate*.

<sup>180</sup> *A la cheminee* (453) / *Mout sont vaillant* (454) / *Par verité*; *A la cheminee* (453) / *Chanconnete va t’en tost* (455) / *Veritatem*; *A la cheminee* (453) / *Chanconnete va t’en tost* (455) / *Ainc voir d’amors* (456) / *Par verité*.

<sup>181</sup> Text and translation adapted from Robyn Elizabeth Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets in the Montpellier Manuscript: Textual Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 98.

<sup>182</sup> Edward Roesner, review of *The Earliest Motets (To circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, by Hans Tischler, *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 362–75, at 370.

right hand guides you marvelously)<sup>183</sup> when Philip's *In veritate comperi* (with tenor designation *In veritate* in **W2**) begins "In truth I have discovered that the entire clergy is given over to wickedness." Reemphasizing aspects of sensual pleasure, the motetus voice that all three versions of the motet family share states: *A la chemineë el froit mois de genvier, voil la char salee, les chapons gras mangier, dame bien paree, chanter et renvoisier—c'est ce qui m'agree; bon vin a remuer, cler feu sans fumeë, les dés et le tablier sans tencier* (By the fireside, in the cold month of January, I want salted meat, fat capons for dinner, a finely-dressed lady, singing and merry-making—that is what gives me pleasure; much good wine, a clear fire without smoke, the dice, and the gaming table, and no quarreling).<sup>184</sup> Even motet 456, which appears only in **Mo**, begins by referencing *in veritate: Ainc voir d'amors ne joi* (Never in truth have I enjoyed love).<sup>185</sup>

Despite what I believe is a clear reference to *In veritate comperi* in these four motets, they, as well as three other motet groups, employ not just the *Veritatem* melisma from the *Magnus liber* but some form of the longer *Propter veritatem* chant. Motets 453–58<sup>186</sup> employ all four pitches of the *Propter veritatem* melody, while motets 467–70<sup>187</sup> employ a truncated version. The French two-voice motets *A vous pens* (457) and *Quant se siet bele* (458) both identify their tenor as *Propter veritatem* (Table 3.8 cols. B and C); in fact, they are the only motets of this complex to do so. Both occur in peripheral motet sources and in neither case are their tenors unproblematic. *A vous pens* appears only in trouvère chansonniers *Noailles* (Paris, BnF, fr. 12615, **N**) and *Roi* (Paris, BnF, fr. 844, **R**). A short motet, it comprises a single phrase

<sup>183</sup> Unless, of course, your right hand guides you to the best wine.

<sup>184</sup> Text and translation from Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*, 97.

<sup>185</sup> Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*, 97.

<sup>186</sup> For motets 453–56 see footnote 181 above. *A vous pens bele* (457) / *Propter veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. B); *Quant se siet bele* (458) / *Propter veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. C).

<sup>187</sup> *Li jalous par tout* (467) / *Tuit cil qui sunt* (468) / *Veritatem*; *Post partum* (469) / *Ave regina* (470) / *Veritatem*. These two motets share the same music (Table 3.8 col. H).

which Sylvia Huot calls “a rephrasing, in the language of the vernacular lyric, of the gradual from which the tenor derives.”<sup>188</sup> While I am not compelled by the description of this text as “a rephrasing” it clearly draws a connection to the tenor through its reference to a “true heart.”<sup>189</sup> The tenor, which only appears in **N**,<sup>190</sup> begins in mode 2 like the motetus but quickly changes to mode 6. The quick rhythm in the tenor probably indicates a later origin for the motet. Similarly, the motet *Quant se siet bele* employs a mode 2 tenor. This motet also appears in **N**, but only with the first seventeen pitches of the tenor. The only complete version occurs in **StV**, without text, where the repetition of the cursus begins not with *Propter* but with the music of *Veritatem*.

This leaves the two double motets *Li jalous par tout* (467) / *Tuit cil qui sunt* (468) / *Veritatem* and *Post partum* (469) / *Ave regina* (470) / *Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. H), which share the same music and appear exclusively in **Mo**.<sup>191</sup> The French/Occitan motet has garnered a fair amount of attention based on motet 468’s refrain and rondeau form.<sup>192</sup> Sylvia Huot’s allegorical interpretation reads the queen and the dancing topics of the poem in relation to the refrain’s textual origins in the *Court de Paradis*. In this context Mary sings the refrain as a carol in Heaven.<sup>193</sup> Of course, the motet hardly needs the explicit reference in the *Court de Paradis* to evoke a Marian connection. Even without the obvious connection to the feast of the Assumption, the prevalence of Marian motets associated with the *Veritatem* tenor, or at least the widespread

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<sup>188</sup> *A vous pens bele douce amie de cuer vrai* (I think of you, beautiful sweet friend, with a true heart). Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 99.

<sup>189</sup> Earlier scholars categorized this motet as a “refrain cento” based on the fact that the text comprises a single refrain (vdB 207). Everist challenged this categorization based on its brevity and lack of multiple refrains. Mark Everist, *French Motets*, 114. For specific refrain numbers see Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe*, Bibliothèque française et romane, Series D, Vol. 3 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), and Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Langen: the author, 1957).

<sup>190</sup> The **R** version of the motet has an empty staff for the tenor.

<sup>191</sup> The first two tenor phrases are reversed between the double motets.

<sup>192</sup> Everist, however, draws a distinction between this double motet and the rondeau-motet genre. Everist, *French Motets*, 106.

<sup>193</sup> On Huot’s interpretation of this double motet see Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 103–6.

popularity of *O Maria maris stella*, would have served that same function. In fact, it seems likely that if the refrain originated in the motet, this connection would have inspired its use in the religious poem. While the tenor undoubtedly references the *Propter veritatem* cantus firmus, the quotation is not as precise as seen in either *A vous pens belle* or *Quant se siet bele*.

*A vous pens belle* and *Quant se siet bele*, both of whose tenors are labelled as *Propter veritatem*, employ all four pitches of the *Propter veritatem* cantus firmus (FFGF) at the beginning of their tenors (Table 3.8 cols. B and C). An interesting characteristic of the four *Propter veritatem* pitches when placed with the following *Veritatem* cantus firmus is that the first three pitches occur twice in the same pattern (FFG FFG). This division creates a pattern in which the second group begins cursus i of *O Maria maris stella*. *A vous pens belle*, unlike *Quant se siet bele*, appears to adopt this cursus rather than the *Veritatem* cantus firmus employing two penultimate *G*s rather than the single *G* from the cantus firmus.<sup>194</sup> Similarly, *Li jalous par tout / Tuit cil qui sunt* (Table 3.8 col. H) employs elements of the full *Propter veritatem* cantus firmus but also the extra concluding *G*s of *O Maria maris stella*'s cursus i and ii. Rather than employing all four pitches of *Propter* both tenor cursus of the motet begin with *FGF* before moving to the *Veritatem* melisma. This lack of initial *F* may be negligible, as is the extra *G* at the end of *A vous pens bele*. However, the first cursus also ends like *A vous pens belle* with an extra penultimate *G*. What is striking is that the second cursus, unlike the first, concludes with three penultimate *G*s, just like the second cursus of *O Maria maris stella*. I find the extra *G* especially interesting given the fact that the cursus could have concluded just as easily with only two *G*s as in the previous cursus. In fact, the end of the refrain's first statement concludes almost identically to its

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<sup>194</sup> Frobenius argues for the priority of this motet over its clausula in *StV* based on "tenor manipulations," and the presence of a refrain. Wolf Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44, no. 1 (1987): 1–39, at 19.

repetition at the end of the first cursus, making the unnecessary alteration of the tenor at the end of the motet stand out more prominently (see Example 3.7). Despite the implications of *O Maria maris stella*'s influence on the tenor of this motet, there is little doubt that the motet and its contrafact were associated with the Assumption liturgy. This is blatantly apparent in the Latin *Post partum virgo / Ave regina glorie* (Table 3.8 col. H) in which the motetus text explicitly references that feast with the verse *qui te assumpsit hodie* ([He] who took you up today).

Example 3.7: *Tuit cil qui sunt* (468) Refrain with Tenor Comparison

In sum, of the twelve *Veritatem* motet groups only six employ some form of the *Magnus liber organi* version of *Propter veritatem* or *Veritatem* cantus firmus from the Assumption gradual, and of those only three lack any connection to the tenor form as it appears in *O Maria maris stella*. While this does not imply that *O Maria maris stella* directly influenced these motets, it does suggest that at least the majority post-date the Marian motet. The sources of the motets equally support this later date: with the exception of *A la cheminee / Mout sont vaillant / Par verité*, which appears in **W2**, all the motets occur in manuscripts which date from the second half of the thirteenth century or later. Perhaps a later date also accounts for the general absence of the sort of pseudo-strophic poetry evident in both *O Maria maris stella* and *In veritate comperi*.

Of the twenty-six other motet texts in the M37 complex only four directly respond to the repetition of the tenor. In the double motet *Je ne puis / Amors me tient / Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. E), the tenor repetitions begin on the final syllable of the motetus's first two strophes, the



textual divisions of which are emphasized by the repeating abac rhyme scheme. The triplum, on the other hand, elides the first two tenor cursus but begins the third cursus directly on an exclamation.<sup>195</sup> Similarly, the triplum of *Mesdisant par leur envie / Biau cors / Veritatem* (Table 3.8 col. I) also elides the poetry above the two tenor cursus, but the motetus divides exactly, beginning the refrain, *Douce dame deboinere* (vdB 604), directly on the second cursus.<sup>196</sup> Finally, the motetus of *Tu capud ecclesie / Tu es Petrus / [Veritatem]* (Table 3.8 col. L) divides into strophes directly on the third cursus repetition, also the point at which the tenor changes from fifth to alternate third mode.<sup>197</sup>

The absence of pseudo-strophic form in the majority of the M37 motets makes its presence in *O Maria maris stella* and *In veritate comperi* remarkably striking. The difference might reflect changes in style over time or simply poetic preference. Whatever the case, there can be no denying the clear demarcation into pseudo-strophic form evident in the two **Ch** motets. Before returning to the question of genre with which I will conclude this chapter, let me complete my discussion of the *Veritatem* motet complex by reconsidering the origins of the *Veritatem* melisma itself.

### 3.5.5 Excursus: The *Veritatem* Melisma

I find the modern uncritical acceptance of *Propter veritatem* as the parent chant for this host of interrelated pieces (both motets and clausulae) problematic for reasons partially noted above, not the least of which is the question that seems to have bothered virtually no one since the debate over a motet tenor's origins in the first half of the twentieth century: how did a

<sup>195</sup> Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*, 179–80. Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. 2 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1978), 141–42.

<sup>196</sup> Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*, 229–30. Tischler, *The Montpellier Codex*, 2: 190.

<sup>197</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, ed., *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 14 (Monaco: l'Oiseau-lyre, 1979), 161–62.

seemingly short, almost inconsequential neumatic passage on *Veritatem* from the chant books become a florid passage of twice the original length in the *Magnus liber organi*?

In an investigation of the Montpellier motet tenors, Pierre Aubry initially identified the *Veritatem* tenor as originating in the Assumption gradual *Propter veritatem*.<sup>198</sup> The following year, Gabriel Beyssac, a Solesmes monk, challenged Aubry's designation noting that the tenor had virtually nothing in common with the *Veritatem* chant.<sup>199</sup> Subsequently, Aubry retracted his liturgical assignment of the tenor.<sup>200</sup> According to Yvonne Rokseth, who briefly summarized this short exchange, it was Ludwig's discovery of the "Leonin" *Veritatem* discant in the F *Magnus liber* that cemented the tenor's assignment to the Assumption gradual.<sup>201</sup> Ludwig's brief defense against Beyssac demonstrated his own conviction that the presence of the melismatic *Veritatem* melody in the collections of *Propter veritatem-Audi filia* organum (in **W1**, **F**, and **W2**) sealed its origins in that gradual despite the melody differing from all plainchant versions of that gradual that he knew.<sup>202</sup> Only Rokseth's monumental monograph on the Montpellier manuscript provided possible explanations for the difference between the *Magnus liber* version and that in the chant books: after rejecting the idea that the melismatic version was suppressed by the Vatican, she suggested that it may have been a regional creation, preferred only in France, despite appearing neither in the older manuscripts nor in any contemporary manuscripts which she had seen.<sup>203</sup>

Still today, Ludwig's authority remains intact. Yet, at least once, the convenient explanation appeared problematic. Friedrich Gennrich, in his *Bibliographie*, accepted the Tenor's

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<sup>198</sup> Pierre Aubry, "Recherches sur les tenors latins dans les motets du XIIIe siècle (fin)," *La tribune de Saint-Gervais* 3, no. 8 (1907): 169–79, at 172.

<sup>199</sup> Gabriel M. Beyssac, "Motets et Tenors," *Rassegna Gregoriana* 7 (1908): cols. 9–26, at cols. 10–11.

<sup>200</sup> Pierre Aubry, *Cent Motets du XIIIe siècle*, vol. 3 (Paris: Rouart-Lerolle, 1908), 65.

<sup>201</sup> Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4: 178.

<sup>202</sup> Ludwig notes that M7, M37 and M76 employ similar tritus melodies, and that the tenor *Veritatem* is melodically the same as M76's *Misit Dominus*. Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 2: 59.

<sup>203</sup> Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4:178.

assignment to the Assumption gradual but noted the melody's *origin* in a different gradual: *Misit Dominus* from the first Sunday after Epiphany [M76].<sup>204</sup> The differences between the chant as it appears in Parisian graduals and the tenor of the *Magnus liber* organum as well as motets are significant enough, as Beyssac originally pointed out, that they deserve further scrutiny (see Example 3.3 above). First of all, they are in different modes. In this respect Rokseth may have been correct in noting a regional preference. The difference, however, is not with the motet/cantus firmus version but with the original chant respond which occurs a whole step higher on *G* rather than the more commonly known *F*. It is difficult to judge how widespread this preference for *tetrardus authenticus* was or when the change between versions took place. A mid-to-late thirteenth-century missal from Rouen (Paris, BnF, lat. 904, fol. 218r) employs the *f*-mode respond while a similarly dated Orléans missal (Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3164, fol. 171r) appears to have been corrected down from *tetrardus* to *tritus*. Whatever the reason, the difference is insignificant.

More importantly, the melody itself differs: whereas all chant sources present a short, neumatic phrase of eight pitches (whether beginning on *F* or *G*) for *veritatem*, the cantus firmus of the *Magnus liber* is a long, winding melisma of twice that length that corresponds almost exactly, as Gennrich pointed out, to the melody of *Misit Dominus* from the gradual for the first Sunday after Epiphany, as well as the melody of *Ecce sacerdos* from the gradual for a Confessor Bishop. These two graduals belong to a larger collection of fifth-mode graduals which employ a melodic pattern Willi Apel designated as  $F_b$  (see Example 3.8, line 1).<sup>205</sup> This pattern divides into

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<sup>204</sup> Gennrich, *Bibliographie*, 42.

<sup>205</sup> Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 346–47. On fifth-mode graduals see also David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 80–81, and James W. McKinnon. “Gradual (i).” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed 17 July 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. Examples taken from the *Liber Usualis* (LU) and *Graduale Triplex* (GT). *The Liber usualis*, ed. the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai and New York: Desclee, 1961); *Graduale triplex*, ed. the Benedictines of Solesmes (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1979).

two parts: the first a series of repeated *F*s, the second a neumatic meandering around that same pitch. The first half of the pattern receives the most variation among the eight graduals that make

Apel Fb

LU669  
Chri - stus fac - tus est pro no - - - - - bis

GT269  
Quis si - - - - - cut Do - - - - - mi - nus

LU489  
Ti - me - - - - bunt gen - - - - - tes

GT131  
Pa - ci - fi - ce lo - que - ban - tur mi - - - - - hi

GT127  
Dis - cer - ne cau - sam me - am Do - - - - - mi - ne

LU422  
Ex - i - it ser - mo in - ter fra - - - - - tres

lat. 1112,  
f. 213r  
Ec - ce sa - cer - dos mag - - - - - nus qui

lat. 1112,  
f. 25r  
Mi - sit - - - - - Do - - - - - mi - nus

O Maria cursus i

W1, F, W2-veritatem  
Prop - ter ve - ri - ta - - - - - tem

lat. 1112,  
f. 215r  
Prop - ter ve - ri - ta - - - - - tem

Example 3.8: Comparison of  $F_b$  Graduals

up the  $F_b$  group.<sup>206</sup> The number of repeated pitches varies, as does the number of neighbor-note  $G$ s. Four graduals begin on  $D$  rather than  $F$ , and one, *Misit Dominus*, lacks most of the opening material. On the other hand, the second half of the pattern is more consistent between graduals. An  $a$ - $F$ - $G$  motive lacking in Apel's formula exists in all but one of the graduals, while two neighbor-tone  $F$ s also missing in the  $F_b$  pattern occur only in *Ecce sacerdos* and *Misit Dominus*. Despite the similarities between the opening of *Propter veritatem* and the  $F_b$  graduals, Apel does not classify its opening phrase as  $F_b$ . A comparison with Apel's formula demonstrates why that is the case: while the opening seven pitches fit the pattern quite well, the second, perhaps defining half of the melody is completely absent.

For decades scholars accounted for such similarities among graduals by arguing that performers created them by cobbling together short melodic fragments in a process known as centonization.<sup>207</sup> More recently, James McKinnon suggested that these similarities resulted, rather, from the practice of borrowing a popular melody for a new need.<sup>208</sup> Could the *Veritatem* melisma in the *Magnus liber organi* have resulted from such a process? I believe this to be the case, but from a different context. While the opening four notes of the *Veritatem* melody correspond to the same melodic fragment in each of the  $F_b$  graduals, it seems unlikely that all of them could have served as the source. In fact, though all are very similar, only *Ecce sacerdos* and *Misit Dominus*, as noted earlier, share the exact melodic material with the *Veritatem* melisma of the *Magnus liber* except at the extreme edges where both have an extra opening  $F$  and the latter has an additional concluding  $F$ . To a less significant degree then, these graduals also fail to

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<sup>206</sup> To clarify, the " $F_b$  group" is a collection of my own devising. It does not correspond to any of the groups of fifth-mode graduals which Apel devised but comprises graduals from several of his nine groups. See Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 346–47.

<sup>207</sup> For instance, see Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 127–28.

<sup>208</sup> See McKinnon, "Gradual (i)."

correspond exactly with the *Veritatem* melisma. These minor differences do not rule out the borrowing of melodic material from one of these chants for *Veritatem*, however. Nevertheless, I would discount this for several reasons. First, as James McKinnon notes, borrowing appears to have been related to popularity, and there is no reason to consider either of these chants especially popular in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. *Misit Dominus* served as the gradual for the first Sunday after Epiphany, and *Ecce sacerdos* for Confessor Bishops and St Sylvester, neither of special significance. Of the two graduals, only *Ecce sacerdos* spawned any organum, and this in *organum purum* and for the first six pitches alone.<sup>209</sup> Second, there is no physical evidence other than the *Magnus liber* that this melody functioned as part of the Assumption/Marian liturgy. It was true for Rokseth in the 1930s and it is still true today. And while it is possible that use of this melisma in this context was limited to an oral tradition in a limited context for the creation of polyphony, there is evidence, and this is my final point, that the version as it appears in the contemporary Parisian chant books also received polyphonic treatment.

Before looking at these settings, however, I would like to consider the characteristics of the *Veritatem* cantus firmus as it appears in the five settings from the *Magnus liber*. Of the five versions, two occur in **W1** (the second, b, among the Mass chants, and the first, a, appended to the Office chants), two in **F** (the second, II,<sup>210</sup> a repeat of the respond with different music), and the last in **W2**. The **W1b** and **W2** versions are identical. The notes of *verita-* are presented in a single cursus of 3 li | with the duplum moving in parallel phrases. **FII** similarly occurs in 3 li | but

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<sup>209</sup> **Ba** contains the only motet set to either of these chants, *Je ne quier / Deus trop mal / Misit*. The texts, both from the perspective of a woman, lament the absence of her lover. In this context, the gradual text (“The Lord sent His word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction”) offers a sacred counterpoint. It is worth noting, however, that **Ba** also labels the tenor of *O Maria maris stella* as *Misit dominus* and the first tenor cursus of both motets are the same except for the use of duplex longs for repeated pitches in the Latin motet.

<sup>210</sup> I have chosen to designate the second version of *Veritatem* as it appears in **F** as **II** rather than **b** to avoid any confusion with, or relationship to, the fifth-mode gradual group **F<sub>b</sub>**.

with two cursus and overlapping duplum phrases. Despite these differences the discant of **FII** begins with the same duplum melody of **W1b/W2** suggesting more than a passing relationship between the two versions. **FI** also employs two cursus but with the tenor pattern 3 li | 2 si |. The duplum again consists mostly of overlapping phrases generally longer than those in **FII** and one lasting seventeen perfections. Of these four, the **W1b/W2** version suggests the earliest style with a single cursus and parallel phrases, yet all four settings employ a patterned tenor, associated with the later Perotinian style of discant. Only **W1a** occurs in the decidedly earlier style of *organum purum* rather than discant. However, Edward Roesner has shown that rather than being an early polyphonic version of this gradual **W1a** shows all the hallmarks of having been arranged from the Parisian version for the community at St. Andrews, the discant on *Veritatem* changed to a *purum* setting.<sup>211</sup> This evidence suggests that not a single version of the *Veritatem* melisma in the *Magnus liber* exists in an early style.

This brings me back to the polyphonic chant settings. The two surviving organal settings of the *Veritatem* chant appear as an isolated clausula in **F** (fol. 183r), and a late, three-voice setting in the *Las Huelgas* manuscript (fol. 31r). Other than the number of voices, the characteristics of the two versions differ slightly. The **Hu** version begins with the opening word *Propter* absent in the **F** clausula, and while both conclude with a copula, **Hu**'s extends over an additional *F* while **F** adds an extra *G–F* absent from the chant. The **F** clausula offers an alternative presentation of the *Veritatem* material that is worth considering in relation to the related material in the *Magnus liber organi*. First of all, the tenor arrangement appears to be in an earlier style than those in the *Magnus liber*. Even with the addition of two pitches, which make

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<sup>211</sup> Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 365–99, at 372; Roesner, "Who 'Made' the *Magnus Liber*?" *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 227–66, at 251.

the two cantus firmi align for an additional two notes, the nine tenor pitches on *verita-* do not divide into a 3 li | pattern, or a pattern of any kind. Instead, all but three pitches are separated by strokes of division. These strokes correspond exactly with similar marks in the duplum creating exceptionally short parallel phrases, hardly an elegantly constructed discant in the “better” style of Perotin.<sup>212</sup>

Second, unlike the *Magnus liber* version of the *Propter veritatem-Audi filia* gradual in **F**, the clausula does not occur among other clausulae for the Assumption. **F** contains six separate clausulae collections. The second and sixth are supplements in non-liturgical order and neither contains clausulae for this gradual. The remaining four occur in liturgical order, and of these only Series 1 and Series 4 have M37 clausulae. The clausulae from Series 4 all originate in the gradual verse *Audi filia* and are all in a late style: the two *filia* clausulae have mode 2 tenors while *et inclina* and *concupivit rex* have patterned tenors, the former 3 li | 2 si | and the latter 3 li |. Unlike Series 1, Series 4 contains many short, stylistically earlier clausulae. Also unlike Series 1, the M37 clausulae (including *veritatem*) appear among the chants of the Common following the M54 *Alleluia-Veni electa* and before the M58 gradual *Locus iste-Deus cui* for the dedication of a church. While the question of liturgical placement of the M37 gradual is fraught (its placement in the various versions of the *Magnus liber* differs), it is interesting that the compiler of **F** chose to put the presumably early versions of this chant among the Common rather than with the specifically Marian Assumption clausulae as in Series 1. I argue that this is a deliberate attempt to separate the *Veritatem* chant as it appears in the clausula from the *Veritatem* cantus firmus that

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<sup>212</sup> Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, 39.



appears in the *Magnus liber organi*. In this collection at least, the more modern, sophisticated discant specifically relates to the Virgin, the other, older chant-based clausula to any virgin.<sup>213</sup>

This brings me back to the question of the origins of the *Veritatem* cantus firmus. If a stylistically earlier version of a *Veritatem* discant existed, corresponding to the contemporary Parisian chant versions of the gradual, at what point did a new, more melismatic version usurp the original and why? I would like to suggest that it was borrowed from an exceptionally popular Marian motet. I have already shown that two other chant graduals, *Ecce sacerdos* and *Misit Dominus*, contain musical material almost identical to *O Maria maris stella*'s tenor. Either could support a Marian devotional text. The former speaks of a "great priest who pleased the Lord"<sup>214</sup> while the latter specifically references Christ through its Epiphany text: *Misit Dominus verbum suum et sanavit eos et eripuit eos de interitu eorum* (The Lord sent His word, and He healed them, and delivered them from their destruction). Especially this latter text, sung on the first Sunday after Epiphany, would easily support a Marian text devoted to the Virgin's role as intermediary to her son, the Word.

A Marian text set to a non-Marian tenor is not unusual. The tenor *Et gaudebit*, from the *Alleluia* for ascension, supports the Marian motetus *O quam sancta quam benigna*, discussed above. Here as well, the full gradual text compliments a Mary-as-mother/intercessor text: *Alleluia. Non vos relinquam orphanos vado et venio ad vos et gaudebit* (Alleluia. I will not leave you orphans behind in a shallow place; I will come and she will rejoice). Rebecca Baltzer has noted a number of early Marian motets set to non-Marian tenors from the first half of the liturgical year. According to Baltzer, these motets were intended to emphasize the importance of

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<sup>213</sup> The complication with this argument, of course, is the placement of *Propter veritatem-Audi filia* in **W2** which also appears in the Common paired with M54. It seems possible that the owners of that manuscript did not use the gradual *Propter veritatem* for any part of the Assumption liturgy.

<sup>214</sup> This text is especially apt as regards the English motet on Saint Peter discussed above.

Mary to the Parisian public during that part of the year in which she was most absent.<sup>215</sup> *O Maria maris stella / Misit Dominus* would certainly fit this trend.<sup>216</sup>

One objection to this hypothesis might note the troping in the text of *O Maria maris stella*. Two words, *audi*, the first word of verse 11, and the final word, *veritate*, apparently derive directly from the *Propter veritatem* gradual and its verse, *Audi filia*, adapted from Psalms 44, verses 5 and 11. The first of these, *audi*, hardly proves the Assumption gradual's priority. Few other words would work in this context, and *audi* occurs not only in other motet texts not set to this gradual but also quite commonly in other musical texts.<sup>217</sup> More convincing is the final phrase *in veritate*. Not only does the word appear to reference the very melisma on which it is based, but also additional attention is drawn to the phrase because the pervading accentuation of the motet is disrupted with the paroxytonic accent on the final word. Yet it is possible that there existed a direct connection between Mary and the phrase *in veritate*.

Especially in the mendicant orders there is evidence of this connection by the early 1240s. Moneta of Cremona, a Dominican writing in 1241, noted that the Cathars, who believed that human flesh was evil, did not consider Mary female "in truth" (*nec sextum habebat foemineum, nec foemina era in veritate*).<sup>218</sup> In a letter to the Pope from 1247, another Dominican, also concerned with orthodoxy, observes the belief of the Middle Eastern Christians that *Maria est mater Dei in veritate* (Mary is the mother of God in truth).<sup>219</sup> The mid-thirteenth-century

<sup>215</sup> Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 112–28.

<sup>216</sup> It is worth noting that of the motets cited by Baltzer, only three are associated with Philip the Chancellor. *Stupeat natura* (232) / *Latus* [M14] and *Serena virginum* (69) / *Manere* [M5] are both contrafacts of pieces attributed to the Chancellor and therefore may also be by Philip. Payne discounted *Et illumina eximia mater* (101) / *Et illumina* [M9] as a text by the Chancellor (see above).

<sup>217</sup> For example, the *Analecta Hymnica* lists forty-nine texts that begin with the imperative *audi*.

<sup>218</sup> Quoted in Peter Biller, "Cathars and Material Women," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1997), 61–107, at 86.

<sup>219</sup> Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 21, ed. Augustin Theiner (Bar-le-Duc: Guérin, 1870), 348b.

*Speculum beatae mariae virginis* by Conrad of Saxony opens the sixth chapter of his meditation on the *Ave Maria* with a consideration of truth as it applies to Mary's grace of gifts. Employing Ecclesiasticus 24:25, Conrad notes that the Holy Spirit granted the grace of truth to Mary *in truth*:

Hail, Mary, full of grace. ... Let Mary say securely: *In me is all the grace of life and truth*. The grace of life and truth consists in the aforementioned seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Through the aforementioned seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the grace of life and truth was in Mary. The grace of truth appointed Mary **in truth** above herself and below herself, within herself and outwith herself. The grace of truth, I state, appointed Mary **in truth** above herself through the gift of wisdom; below herself through the gift of counsel; within herself through the gift of understanding; outwith herself through the gift of knowledge.<sup>220</sup> [my emphasis]

Though written in the late 1260s,<sup>221</sup> the seeds of Conrad's theory date from at least three decades earlier and are evident in the writings on Mary by the Dominican and French Prior Provincial, Hugh of St. Cher.<sup>222</sup> Hugh, also using Ecclesiasticus 24 (a text traditionally associated with the Passion liturgy), places Mary's grace between that of St Stephan and Christ. He writes,

Therefore [Mary] is full of grace, but with more than Stephan, about whom it is said: Stephan is full of grace and fortitude, etc (Acts 6:8). And with less than Christ, about whom [it is said]: full of grace and truth (John 1:14). Therefore, the Virgin Mary stands in the middle. Whence it says: In me is all grace of the way and truth (Ecclesiasticus 24: 25). This she shares with Christ. In me is all the hope of life and virtue [Ecclesiasticus 24:25]. This she shares with Stephan.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> *Dicat ergo Maria, dicat secure: In me omnis gratia vitae et veritatis. Gratia certe vitae et veritatis consistit in praedictis septem donis Spiritus sancti. Per praedicta enim septem dona fuit gratia vitae et veritatis in Maria. Gratia veritas ordinavit Marian in meritate supra se et infra se, intra se et extra se. Gratia, inquam, veritatis ordinavit Mariam in veritate supra se per donum sapientiae; infra se, per donum consilii; intra se, per donum intellectus; extra se, per donum scientiae. Gratia utique veritatis ordinavit animam Mariae in veritate.* Conradus de Saxonia, *Speculum beatae Mariae virginis* (Quaracchi (Florence): College of St Bonaventure, 1904), 75. Translation my own and adapted from Stephen Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany: The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 288.

<sup>221</sup> Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau*, 285.

<sup>222</sup> Hugh's discussion on the Gospel of Luke forms an important groundwork for the *De laudibus beate Marie virginis* by Richard of St. Laurent from the early 1240s. Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau*, 279.

<sup>223</sup> *Et ideo gratia plena, sed magis quam Stephanus, de quo dicitur Act. 6 Stephanus plenus gratia, et fortitudine, etc. Et minus quam Christus, de quo Joann. 1. Plenum gratiae, et veritatis. Stat igitur in medio Virgo Maria. Unde dicit Eccl. 24. In me gratia omnis viae, et veritatis. Hoc cum Christo communicat. In me omnis spes vitae, et virtutis. Hoc cum Stephano.* Hugo of Saint Cher, *Tomus sextus: In Evangelia secundum Matthaem, Lucam, Marcum, et Joannem* (Venice: Nicolaum Pezzana, 1754), 132rb.

Hugh demonstrates the transformation of qualities associated with Christ to the person of Mary. The relevant verse from Ecclesiasticus 24, a chapter on the personification of Wisdom, might have been familiar as a Matins responsory verse for the second Sunday after Easter. In this context Christ is the subject: the vine bringing forth fruit and pleasant odors in the responsory is full of the grace of hope, virtue and truth. Hugh transfers these qualities to Mary, perhaps spurred by the previous biblical verse (“I am the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope” [Ecclesiasticus 24:24]), and thereby emphasizes her place *in veritate*.

Though none of these examples proves that the phrase *in veritate* was associated with Mary prior to the motet’s creation sometime before c.1230, they suggest a particular interest on the part of the minors and preachers in Mary’s truth, a truth which could have originated early in the orders and prompted a motet not only advocating her intercessory powers but providing an orthodox view of the Virgin’s characteristics.<sup>224</sup> Such a popular motet, describing Mary’s saintly qualities and intercessory capabilities would have proven an ideal candidate for incorporation into an evolving and developing musical tradition of organum and discant at the cathedral. The *in veritate* of the motetus text, then, would have provided the impetus for the tenor’s inclusion in the Assumption liturgy,<sup>225</sup> and the subsequent displacement of the similar (and probably original) yet mediocre neumatic Leoninian clausula. This late adoption of the *O Maria maris stella* cantus firmus to the Assumption liturgy might account for the lack of motets on existing clausulae in the M37 complex as well as the problematic tenor associations. Perhaps most compelling, as stated above, is the obvious reuse, with the exception of the few *Propter veritatem* motets, of *O Maria maris stella*’s complete tenor.

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<sup>224</sup> This emphasis on orthodoxy additionally supports the suggestion that **Ch** contains anti-heretical material.

<sup>225</sup> On the various assignments of this gradual in the Notre Dame sources see Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Les organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.* (Monaco: l’Oiseau-lyre, 2009), 368.

### 3.6 Conclusion: Genre, Again

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, the compilers of **Ch** eschewed contemporary conceptions of polyphonic genres in organizing gatherings *y* and *z*, a distinct departure from large Parisian collections of Notre-Dame polyphony, and, perhaps, another indication of the collection's original, diminutive size. My intent in this chapter has been to consider the relationships between the pieces not strictly in terms of musical characteristics (pre-existing melody versus newly composed music) so commonly used in defining the polyphonic genres that comprise these gatherings, but instead to consider the poetic characteristics they share, first in terms of content, and finally in terms of form. In so doing, I hope to have demonstrated a tendency in several early motets generally neglected in the literature: a compositional interest in a strophic poetry intimately tied to repetitions of the tenor.

Labeling these motets as “pseudo-strophic” is not intended to apply a modern structural constraint upon a complex form but to challenge the commonly held belief that motet texts have “no regular poetic structure”<sup>226</sup> which results from a prose-like approach to the texting of a pre-existent discant clausula, another characteristic used to distinguish the genres of conductus and motet, as Mark Everist has repeatedly emphasized. This feature is not a purely modern construct; it derives from statements like the one in the *Discantus positio vulgaris* (the earliest witness to *O Maria maris stella*) that “a conductus is multiple consonant voices over a single *metrum*” (*conductus autem est super unum metrum multiplex consonans cantus*), while the “motet is multiple consonant voices with different *prosis* and different notes over the fixed note of a *cantus firmus*, either measured or beyond measure” (*mothetus vero est super determinatas notas firmi cantus messuratas, sive ultra mensuram diversus in notis, diversus in prosis multiplex consonans*

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<sup>226</sup> Bevilacqua, “Conductus or Motet?” 17.

*cantus*).<sup>227</sup> Though the author of the *Discantus position vulgaris* is clearly drawing a distinction between the textual types of the two genres (*prosa* is used to describe the text setting of the two types of organa as well), I am not convinced that the author intended a distinction between poetry and prose, as Gregorio Bevilacqua asserts.<sup>228</sup> The author is incorrect in any case: conductus do not set metrical poetry, and motets employ poetic texts. Perhaps regularity was the key. The irregular line-length of motet verses—a characteristic not consistently observed (consider *O Maria maris stella*)—resemble (if only generally) the free, artistic prose of the responsories, alleluias, and graduals over which they were set, while a number of conductus set texts of equal verse lengths (a common characteristic of metrical poetry),<sup>229</sup> though certainly not exclusively, as witnessed in the **Ch** conductus *O Maria virginiei* (see section 4.6.5 below).<sup>230</sup>

The hybridity of texts also translates to a hybridity of forms between the two genres, and for several scholars **Ch** provides visible evidence of the malleability of genre practiced in the thirteenth century. Mark Everist writes, “The generic status of the motets in the Châlons fragments lies somewhere between a conductus and motet proper. Such generic ambiguity characterises the entire contents of the manuscript. The collection of fragments is difficult to interpret because a tiny proportion only of what was once originally a large manuscript remains. Nevertheless, what survives of the collection is characterised by an extraordinary eclecticism.”<sup>231</sup>

As I noted at the beginning of the chapter, this eclecticism occurs in two forms: first, the

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<sup>227</sup> Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935). In *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*, accessed 16 November 2017, <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/DISPOVU>.

Translations adapted from Laura Weber, “Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia’s *Tractatus de musica*” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2009), 402.

<sup>228</sup> Bevilacqua, in his discussion of generic distinctions noted by contemporary theorists cites no additional examples that corroborate this division. Later theorists appear less interested in division by text type than by use of pre-existing music. Bevilacqua, “Conductus or Motet?” 21–23.

<sup>229</sup> Norberg argues that imitation of the various metrical poetic types gave rise to the popular rhythmic verse lengths. Norberg, *An Introduction*, 81–129.

<sup>230</sup> A survey of those conductus beginning with the letter *a* demonstrates the almost equal distribution of texts with equal verse lengths (or alternations that amount to equality) and unequal verse lengths.

<sup>231</sup> Everist, *French Motets*, 40.

presentation of three motetus voices without tenor in gathering *y*; second, the layout of the three conductus-motets in score, the first in gathering *y* and the remaining two in gathering *z*.

Motetus voices *sans* tenor are not unusual, and occur in the earliest notated examples of the repertory. Of the major Notre-Dame sources, **W1** contains six conductus-motets without their accompanying tenors, to which **Ma** adds a handful of additional examples as well as a number of monophonic versions. As many as twenty-five other sources contain monophonic motetus parts, in both French and Latin, and in the case of the latter, often in smaller collections.<sup>232</sup> Whether these examples with “reduced parts” signify a meaningful generic alteration in the minds of the scribes and/or readers is still unclear to me. Even more problematic, in my mind, is the belief that these “altered” forms represent a form of experimentation.<sup>233</sup> While the total number of surviving examples is not negligible, monophonic motets occur in such small numbers across so many sources that to find a common theme of thirteenth-century genre experimentation seems fanciful. In those centers where one might expect to find experimentation (such as the north with its vibrant *chanson* culture, and Paris) tenorless and monophonic motets are conspicuously absent. The largest collection, **Ma**, with its numerous blank staves and incomplete parts appears to reflect transmission issues rather than a deliberate generic manipulation.<sup>234</sup>

It seems more likely that in these collections it was the texts themselves, rather the musical genres they represented, that mattered the most to scribes and compilers. Within the French corpus, monophonic motetus voices appear among other *chansons* arranged by author (as

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<sup>232</sup> Based on van der Werf, *Directory*.

<sup>233</sup> Bevilacqua, “Conductus or Motet?” 25.

<sup>234</sup> Mary Wolinski has argued that the problematic tenors in the *chansonniers* **N** and **R** were the result of the scribes’ background in the *chanson* tradition, hence lacking the knowledge of correct motet performance practice and the pieces themselves. Mary E. Wolinski, “Tenors Lost and Found: The Reconstruction of Motets in Two Medieval *Chansonniers*,” in *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1996), 461–82, at 479.

in trouvère mss **M**, **N**, and **T**), by poetic genre (trouvère ms **I**),<sup>235</sup> and to fill empty space (trouvère ms **a**).<sup>236</sup> The Latin monophonic motet repertory, like its French counterpart, appear in only a smattering of examples scattered throughout numerous manuscripts. Two characteristics stand out among these collections. First, of the fifteen manuscripts that contain monophonic motets only two, **Stutt** and **F**, clearly place their monophonic pieces among other conductus,<sup>237</sup> and one, **ArsB 3517**, appears to consider its monophonic motet a sequence since the piece concludes with an “amen,” and is followed by another sequence. The remaining sources, therefore, either include their monophonic motets among other “complete” motets, or they are presented in such a way as to make the question of genre either irrelevant or uncertain.<sup>238</sup> Second, a large number of the monophonic motets are ascribed to Philip the Chancellor. Of the thirty examples I am aware of (including prosulas in **W2** and **F**), sixteen are securely attributed to the Parisian chancellor, while another four are tentatively ascribed to him, for a total of sixty-six percent. Of these, eight occur in collections which appear to gather together works by the Chancellor alone (**Ch**, **LoB**, **E-Ms. 266**, and **Tort**).<sup>239</sup> The preponderance of monophonic motets attributed to Philip the Chancellor together with the large number of non-Parisian sources containing these pieces suggests to me the answer may lie with the transmission of early motets outside their center of production, Paris.

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<sup>235</sup> As a text-only manuscript, it could be argued that tenor designation would be unnecessary. On this manuscript's organization and its relationship to other trouvère chansonniers see Doss-Quinby, “The Douce 308 Chansonier,” 435–50.

<sup>236</sup> Yet many chansonniers also contain sections devoted specifically to motets (with tenors), such as **N**, **R**, and **I**.

<sup>237</sup> **F**'s inclusion of *Associa tecum* in the monophonic conductus repertoire is still questionable. It appears at the very end of the fascicle followed by the two conductus prosulae *Vesti nuptiali* and *Minor natus filius*. On *Associa tecum* see Thomas B. Payne, “‘*Associa tecum in patria*’: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 2 (1986): 233–54.

<sup>238</sup> For instance, **Tort** contains five pieces on the flyleaves on the third of its original manuscripts. Two, two-voice conductus appear on fols. 81r–v, and three monophonic motets on fols. 140r–v. In this context one could argue either for division by number of voices (2v vs. 1v conductus) or by genre (conductus vs. motet).

<sup>239</sup> In all but the last of these the monophonic versions occur side-by-side with “complete” motets.



Transmission issues may also account for the final unusual characteristic of the **Ch** motets: the employment of score form, in which all parts are vertically aligned and the motetus text appears beneath the bottom, or tenor, line. The presentation of motets in score form, or a modified version of it, occurs in several manuscripts. **F** contains several motets in which the tenor appears beneath the upper voice(s) (rather than after it), but these motets employ sustained-note tenors in the style of organum, and the text appears between the motetus and tenor parts. **Ma** presents the opening prosulas (*De Stephani roseo, Adesse festina*), which also employ sustained-tone tenors, in score notation with text underneath the tenor line, but in the two extant pieces the tenor pitches are absent. Only the small collection of London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (2) (**LoA**) and the **Worc** Fragment XVIII present motets with discant tenors in the same fashion as **Ch**. Yet, focused on **Ch** as a collection of “extraordinary eclecticism” in which motets in unusual forms appear scattered among conductus, Everist asserts (as noted above) that

[t]he intention and audible result of the procedure found in [**Ch**] may have been to create something that sounded like a conductus. The three parts [tenor, motetus, triplum] would have moved homorhythmically and would have declaimed the same text. Some intervention would have been required to split up the notes of the tenor. ... The three [score] motets in [**Ch**] were interspersed among a group of conducti by a scribe who apparently drew no distinction between a conductus and a motet rewritten to sound like a conductus.<sup>240</sup>

While the conductus-motets without tenor in **W1** and **W2** suggest a closer relationship with conductus than their monophonic cousins, the paucity of examples (a total of seven) hardly demonstrates conclusive generic ambiguity. Nor do examples in **Ma** necessarily support this categorization. Therefore, the suggestion that the intermingling of motet and conductus in **Ch** indicates a new motet-conductus hybrid has little basis in the evidence. Though I suppose that any scenario for the performance of these pieces is possible, it seems more likely that score

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<sup>240</sup> Everist, *French Motets*, 40.

format provided a useful method for indicating correct musical alignment in the performance of motets (just as it does in organum), a system that would have proven useful for communities in which motets may have been unfamiliar.

In the next chapter I will return to this question of score format as it relates specifically to the texts set. Chapter Four, in general, looks more closely at the relationship between the genres of motet and their texts in an attempt to readdress the question of origins. Using work begun by Lawrence Earp, as well as pseudo-strophic form introduced in this chapter, I reconsider the development of the motet through the lens of **Ch**'s motets. Focusing on texts, I show that verse lengths, together with repeating "strophes," provide enough evidence to argue for the preeminence of the motet over a pre-existing clausula. I then use the evidence provided by the motets to reevaluate rhythm as it relates to the performance of conductus.

## Chapter Four: Rhythmic Text, Rhythmic Music

### 4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three I demonstrated that twelfth- and thirteenth-century rhythmic poetry treatises provide a foundation for understanding certain motets with repeating tenor cursus as “pseudo-strophic.” Through an examination of the various types of strophes discussed in the treatises, I showed that while recent music scholars have tended to focus their discussions of *rithmi* to the twelfth-century genres of sequence and conductus, evidence suggests that the poetic forms apply equally well to the motet, with its irregular verse lengths. That at least some authors knew the motet as a poetic form and considered it as part and parcel with other forms of rhythmic poetry is evident from John of Garland’s *Parisiana poetria*, which includes a modified version of *Ne sedeas* (248) / *Et tenuerunt* [M17] as an example of an iambic *rithmus* (i.e., a poem with proparoxytonic verse accents) in which every “word” rhymes.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter my focus moves from the larger structure of the strophe to the individual line or verse. I consider what information verse types can provide on the topic of musical rhythm and whether or not the relationship between verse type and rhythmic pattern can inform our understanding of the development of the motet. As observed in Chapter Three (see section 3.4 above), perhaps the two most remarked upon characteristics of a poem’s individual verses were the number of syllables and rhyme: “A rhythmic poem is the harmonious [i.e., rhyming] equality

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<sup>1</sup> ...*species rithmi quando singule dictiones faciunt consonanciam, ut hic: Deo/meo/raro/paro/titulum : astra,/castra/regit,/egit/seculum. Huiusmodi rithmus in iambicis magis cadit egregie, ut: Ne sedeas/ad aleas,/sed transeas/ad laureas, etc.* John modifies the motet text by excising the first word of verses 2 and 4 so each verse comprises a proparoxytonic four syllables, and by changing verse 4 from *per paleas* to *Ad laureas*. Lawler, ed., *Parisiana Poetria*, 184. This is not the only example of poetic alterations evident in the treatises. The oft-cited *Dives eram et dilectus*, employed to demonstrate that strophes should include no more than five verses, lacks two of its original verses. See Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 12. These examples suggest a proscriptive, rather than descriptive, nature of the rhythmic treatises.

of syllables included under a certain number.”<sup>2</sup> According to the theorists a verse should include between four and sixteen syllables, though this varied between theorists—Alberic of Monte Cassino’s smallest verse length was five syllables,<sup>3</sup> while John of Garland included two- and three-syllable verses<sup>4</sup>—in addition, each verse was defined either by the place of the accent or the type of accent on the penultimate syllable (grave or acute).<sup>5</sup> The later *Parisiana poetria* by John of Garland and the *Recension of Master Sion* adapted this simple form of verse type definition to reflect terminology associated with the feet of metrical poetry, with spondees and iambs employed by the former and spondees and dactyls by the latter.<sup>6</sup> Modern scholarship has translated these labels of accent and feet type even further, employing the terms paroxytonic for an accent on the penultimate syllable (Alberic’s acute) and proparoxytonic for an accent on the antepenultimate syllable (Alberic’s grave accent on the penultimate).<sup>7</sup> Whatever the nomenclature, the important point is the emphasis on verse ends (not word accents within the verse), together with the number of syllables, in determining verse identity. It is on this principle that most of the work in this chapter is based.

My research has at its foundation the work of Lawrence Earp, whose papers on the organum prosula and early mode 1 motet reconsider, once again, the primacy of music over text in the development of the motet by asking whether rhythm is inherent in poetic verses and therefore calling into question whether the creation of motets (and organum prosulas) is

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<sup>2</sup> *Rithmus est consonans paritas sillabarum sub certo numero comprehensarum*. From *De rhythmico dictamine* in Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> The *pentasillabus*, or 5p verse type. He notes, as well, that the *endecasillabus* (11pp verse) comprises 4p+7pp. Davis, “The ‘De Rithmis,’” 213.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> Alberic of Monte Cassino writes in terms of avoiding or placing the accent on the penultimate syllable. Davis, “The ‘De Rithmis.’” The *De rhythmico dictamine* tradition, on the other hand, describes the *acuto accentu* and *gravi accentu*. Mari, ed., *I Trattati*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Page employs the spondee-dactyl divisions for defining the entirety of a verse length (see below). Such a methodology is absent from the treatises considered here, which focus their attention strictly to the ends of verses. Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 46–48.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Norberg, *An Introduction*, which was instrumental in establishing this terminology.

dependent on preexisting *sine littera* music. What stands out about Earp's analytic approach is his emphasis on verse lengths, determined by end rhyme and accent, and their straightforward relationship to a regularly repeating tenor pattern (i.e., the tenor type usually associated with the discant style of Perotinus) in defining the rhythmic identity of an early motet. However, while these characteristics define several of the motets in **Ch**, they are not ubiquitous.

The complexities of several of **Ch**'s motets, namely *In veritate comperi* / [*Veritatem*] and *O quam sancta quam benigna* / [*Et gaudebit*], help to expand upon Earp's introductory examination of early mode 1 motets as text, rather than music, based compositions. After discussing verse lengths, their related rhythmic patterns, and those **Ch** motets whose verse-tenor relationships are easily explained, I draw upon the "pseudo-strophic" aspect of many motets with repeating tenor cursus, developed in Chapter Three (see section 3.5 above), to help come to terms with the unusual verse rhythms employed in certain complex **Ch** motets. I further supplement these analyses with the notational evidence of the manuscript, a notation precisely interested in expressing the correct rhythmic interpretation of the text. Finally, I venture into the fraught and long-debated field of conductus rhythm. Employing a similar methodology employed for the motet, I consider to what extent the rhythmic identity of specific verse lengths applies to the seven **Ch** conductus and how the notation of the manuscript aids in clarifying that relationship.

#### 4.2 Origins: Clausula or Motet?

Chapter Three's discussion of pseudo-strophic form in certain motets draws our attention to the importance of poetry in relation to its musical setting. Yet, the relationship between the two has, from its origins, been contentious.<sup>8</sup> For over a century, scholars have studied this

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<sup>8</sup> For previous discussions of this debate see, among many others, Wolf Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," 1–13; Norman E. Smith, "The Earliest Motets: Music and Words," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114,

relationship and questioned the initial assertion put forth by the philologist Wilhelm Meyer that the motet originated with the texting of a section of discant.<sup>9</sup> As early as 1905, in his *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Hugo Riemann was already challenging the priority of clausula over motet. “It is probably better to assume,” he writes, “that the motet did not originate through the addition of texts to organum, but rather was an independent genre of these first-fruits of polyphony over extended chant melodies.”<sup>10</sup> Yet, Meyer’s hypothesis took strong hold, primarily, it seems, because of its endorsement by Friedrich Ludwig. Wolf Frobenius put it best when he stated that “Through Ludwig’s authority...the hypothesis of the formation of the motet through the Latin texting of Notre-Dame clausulas becomes dogma...”<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, over the past century certain scholars have gradually whittled away at Ludwig’s pervading dogma. In 1939 Yvonne Rokseth proposed that the collection of forty clausulae in the St. Victor manuscript, Paris, BnF, lat. 15139 (**StV**), were derived from their French motets rather than the reverse. The justification for Rokseth’s reversal of perspective depended on several elements unique to **StV**, including the late date of the manuscript, the appearance of French motet incipits next to each of the clausulae, and the presence of refrains in several of the French motets cited.<sup>12</sup> From a developmental perspective, however, Rokseth’s hypothesis did not challenge the theory of the initial origins of the motet. Maintaining a distinction between the melismas of **StV** and the “clausulae of Notre-Dame,” she acknowledged

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no. 2 (1989): 141–63, at 141–46; Hendrik van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty in Motets of the Early Thirteenth Century* (Tuscon, AZ: the author, 1999), 41–43.

<sup>9</sup> Wilhelm Meyer, “Der Ursprung des Motetts: vorläufige Bemerkungen,” in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905), 303–41, at 311–12 (the essay in question was first published in 1898).

<sup>10</sup> *Näher liegt wohl, anzunehmen, dass die Motette nicht durch Hinzufügung von Texten zu den Tonsätzen des Organum entstand, sondern vielmehr eine selbständige Gattung dieser Erstlinge der Mehrstimmigkeit über gedehnten Choralmelodien ist.* Quoted in Frobenius, “Zum genetischen Verhältnis,” 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Durch Ludwigs Autorität...wird die These von der Entstehung der Motette durch die lateinische Textierung von Notre-Dame-Klauseln zum Dogma...* Frobenius, “Zum genetischen Verhältnis,” 9.

<sup>12</sup> Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4:70–71 note 3.

that the two versions of the *Et gaudebit* clausulae, the only **StV** clausula with a concordance in an earlier Notre-Dame source, could represent two different *stages* of development. The implication, however, that all the **StV** clausulae might participate in this chronology—moving from clausula to Latin motet, Latin motet to French motet, French motet to **StV** clausula, or something like this—was not acceptable to Rokseth. For her, these clausulae were an attempt to enliven a stagnant liturgical repertory by simplifying (de-ornamenting) secular pieces.<sup>13</sup>

Fifteen years later, in 1954, William Waite proposed twenty additional clausulae, this time from **F**, which he also believed derived from motet sources. Of these clausulae, four have no surviving motets, while eight have a surviving French motet, seven both French and Latin motets, and one a Latin motet. Unlike Rokseth, who understood the development from motet to clausula as a simplification, Waite saw that relationship in the complexity of the modal notation of the clausulae, which “one can only transcribe...by the most arbitrary distortion of the laws of modal ligatures.”<sup>14</sup> This complexity resulted from the scribe, who again was seen to be improving the existing repertory, misunderstanding the implications of *cum littera* notation or not having the technical capabilities to transcribe it properly into *sine littera* notation.<sup>15</sup> Evidence of scribal incompetence also appeared in the textung of the clausula tenors. Waite noted that the liturgical syllables of the tenor were often incorrectly written or aligned in these twenty clausulae and that the appropriate syllable breaks were often lacking, an unusual occurrence, he believed, in the vast majority of clausulae, which were not derived from motets.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4:71.

<sup>14</sup> William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 100.

<sup>15</sup> Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony*, 101.

<sup>16</sup> Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony*, 101.

The 1960s through the 1980s witnessed the gradual reassertion of Ludwig's authority over Waite's. After Hans Tischler's initial support and expansion of Waite's hypothesis,<sup>17</sup> scholars such as Ernest Sanders, Gordon Anderson, Rudolf Flotzinger, and Rebecca Baltzer all criticized Waite's categorization of certain clausulae as notationally unusual, each arguing in different ways that the pieces in question presented no serious problems in transcription.<sup>18</sup> Finally, in 1987 Wolf Frobenius returned to the question of origins but from an entirely different perspective, that of the refrain, a characteristic of many French motets.<sup>19</sup> Frobenius noted that nineteenth-century philologists of Meyer's generation established a clear connection between French motets and the use of refrains, and that medieval romances often used the word "motet" to mean "refrain."<sup>20</sup> This was enough, Frobenius believed, not only to argue for the primacy of motets with refrains over clausulae, but also to claim the genetic origins of the motet in French-texted pieces over those in Latin. However, Frobenius included the refrain among *ten* other criteria that argued for the priority of the motet (both French and Latin) over the clausula, including tenor manipulation, divisions determined by text, transmission, and notation to name just a few.<sup>21</sup>

Scholarship over the last few decades has again worked to assert Meyer's and Ludwig's hegemony over Frobenius's challenge, but with growing open-mindedness. Both Norman Smith and Thomas Payne, while largely accepting the priority of the clausula, acknowledged the

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<sup>17</sup> Hans Tischler, "Classicism and Romanticism in Thirteenth-Century Music," *Revue belge de Musicologie* 16, no. 1 (1962): 3-12, at 6.

<sup>18</sup> Gordon A. Anderson, "Clausulae or Transcribed-Motets in the Florence Manuscript?" *Acta Musicologica* 42, nos. 3-4 (1970): 109-28; Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Boston University, 1974); Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969); Sanders, "The Medieval Motet."

<sup>19</sup> Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis."

<sup>20</sup> Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," 1.

<sup>21</sup> Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," 13.



possibility of a few exceptions among Latin motets.<sup>22</sup> With regards to the French motet, Mark Everist and Jennifer Saltzstein have attempted to demonstrate the origins of refrains not outside of the motet but in the clausula itself, again undermining Frobenius's work.<sup>23</sup> However, more and more scholars have begun to accept the priority of the motet in certain cases. Scholars now rarely question the priority of motets over the St. Victor clausulae.<sup>24</sup> Catherine Bradley, through detailed analysis, has demonstrated the priority of refrain-quoting French motets in certain instances, returning us full circle.<sup>25</sup>

Though minimal, some recent attention has been paid to the Latin motet. In 1999, Hendrik van der Werf proposed twenty-two pieces, both Latin and French, that originated as motets.<sup>26</sup> Van der Werf's interest lay not simply with establishing the motet as non-derivative but also in demonstrating that the early motet epitomized Art in an absolute sense, a genre whose sole purpose was beauty, not function. Nevertheless, his argument in many cases relied on evidence already put forth by Frobenius—tenor manipulation, unusual notation,<sup>27</sup> a refrain—but he also placed an extraordinary amount of stress on the poetic texts, focusing on the relationship between the text (including text accent and rhyme), pitch durations, tenor, and overall structure. Beginning in 2012, in two unpublished papers, Lawrence Earp demonstrated a similar, textual

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<sup>22</sup> Smith, "The Earliest Motets," 146; Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 2:407.

<sup>23</sup> Everist, *The French Motet*; Jennifer Saltzstein, "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority and Origins," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 245–79.

<sup>24</sup> See Catherine A. Bradley, "Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript," *Early Music History* 23 (2013): 1–70; Fred Büttner, *Das Klauselrepertoire der Handschrift Saint-Victor (Paris, BN, lat. 15139): eine Studie zur mehrstimmigen Komposition im 13. Jahrhundert* (Lecce: Milella, 2011); Franz Kördle, "Von der Klausel zur Motette und zurück? Überlegungen zum Repertoire der Handschrift *Saint-Victor*," *Musiktheorie* 25, no. 2 (2010): 117–28.

<sup>25</sup> Bradley, "Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets," 36–37.

<sup>26</sup> Van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty*.

<sup>27</sup> Van der Werf differs significantly from earlier and current scholars whose discussion of problematic notation focuses on the inability of scribes to accurately transcribe ornamental motets into modal notation. Instead, his thesis argues that motets were not originally modal and that ligatures actually indicated text accent patterns. Van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty*, 53–57.




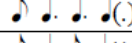

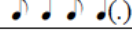


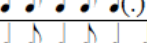
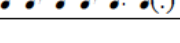
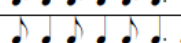
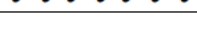
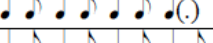
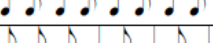
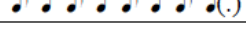
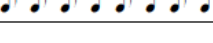
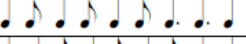
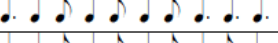
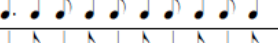
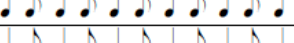
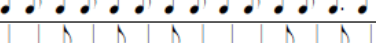
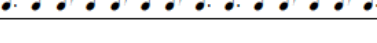
approach in advocating a “motet first” chronology.<sup>28</sup> Beginning with the four-voice organum prosulae, Earp showed that the text not only reflected the musical rhythm, but also anticipated changes in the tenor syllable. Earp then argued that the advanced discant of Perotin, with their patterned tenors, were chronologically later than the prosulae and also originated as texted pieces rather than as clausulae. In a process either collaborative between musician and poet or determined by the poetry itself a piece was created through the coordination of poetic text and repeating tenor pattern. Anomalies in this process could be explained by the text, as van der Werf also noted, or as an indication of an upcoming change in the music or tenor’s text. What makes Earp’s thesis stand out is his emphasis on the relationship between rhythm, verse length and tenor pattern. In the next section I will consider how these relationships play out among the **Ch** motets.

### 4.3 Verse Lengths and Rhythm

A tabulation of the mode 1 **Ch** motets according to verse length shows that there exist certain rhythmic patterns that correspond to specific verse lengths. The five motets (*Nostrum est impletum*, *Homo quam sit pura*, *O quam sancta quam benigna*, *In veritate comperi*, and *O Maria maris stella*) have 125 verses which include verse lengths from 2p to 14pp. Additionally, each verse has been categorized according to whether or not its rhythm begins on the beat, designated thesis (t), or before the beat with a breve anacrusis, designated arsis (a) (see Appendix G). Table 4.1a presents the data of Appendix G in a compact form where each verse type, when applicable, appears next to its typical rhythm. The table also indicates how many of the total examples employ the typical verse rhythm. So, for example, 4p(a) occurs a total of four times in the **Ch**

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<sup>28</sup> Lawrence Earp, “The Beginnings of the Motet: A New Hypothesis” (paper, AMS New Orleans, November 2012); Earp, “The Beginnings of Metrical Rhythm in Music: the Organum Prosulae of Perotin and Philip the Chancellor” (paper, CPI Southampton, September 2013). I am grateful to Prof. Earp for sharing his papers with me.

	Arsis		Thesis
2p: 1/1		2p <sup>b</sup>	
		3p: 1/1	
		3pp: 2/2	
4p: 3/4		4p: 9/10	
4pp: 7/7		4pp: 1/1	
		5p: 1/1	
		5pp: 12/12	
		6p: 22/22	
6pp: 1/1			
7p: 1/1			
		7pp: 23/32 (72%)	
		8p: 8/11 (73%)	
8pp: 2/2		8pp: 3/5 <sup>a</sup>	
		9pp: 1/1	
		10p: 1/1	
		10pp: 2/3 <sup>a</sup>	
		11pp: 2/3 <sup>a</sup>	
		14p: 1/1	
		14pp: 1/1	

<sup>a</sup>all examples from a single motet

<sup>b</sup>not conclusive: equal division of examples

Table 4.1a: **Ch** Verse Lengths and Related Rhythms

motets and three of those four verses (3/4) employ the rhythm of a breve followed by three longs. Of the twenty-three verse lengths represented, thirteen have two or fewer examples. Of the remaining verse lengths, two (10pp and 11pp) are uncommon in the motet repertory, while the final eight verse types suggest a correlation between verse length and rhythm.

Despite the minimal data available from the **Ch** motets, a comparison with a much larger data set indicates that, for the most part, the majority of verse length rhythms indicated in Table 4.1a reflect the larger trends for mode 1 motet verse lengths in general. A similar list of verse lengths and corresponding rhythms was compiled by Earp for the mode 1 motets in **F**. This analysis comprised fifty-three motet voices for a total of 1,241 verses and ranged from verses of

a single syllable to verses of 13pp.<sup>29</sup> A comparison between the data from **Ch** and **F** demonstrates that it is primarily at the extremes (the very short and very long verse lengths) that **Ch** verse rhythms differ from those found in the **F** motets (see Table 4.1b). In the case of the

Arsis		Thesis	
2p: 1/1		2p <sup>b</sup>	
		3p: 1/1	
		3pp: 2/2	
4p: 3/4		4p: 9/10	
4pp: 7/7		4pp: 1/1	
		5p: 1/1	
		5pp: 12/12	
		6p: 22/22	
6pp: 1/1			
7p: 1/1			
		7pp: 23/32 (72%)	
		8p: 8/11 (73%)	
8pp: 2/2		8pp: 3/5 <sup>a</sup>	
		9pp: 1/1	
		10p: 1/1	
		10pp: 2/3 <sup>a</sup>	
		11pp: 2/3 <sup>a</sup>	
		14p: 1/1	
		14pp: 1/1	

<sup>a</sup>all examples from a single motet

<sup>b</sup>not conclusive: equal division of examples

red = dominant rhythmic pattern of corresponding verse type in **F** mode 1 motets

Table 4.1b: **Ch** and **F** Verse Lengths and Related Rhythms Compared

very short verses, the typical rhythm of 2p(t) is two successive longs in the **F** motets whereas the single example of 2p(a) in **Ch** is the only example of that verse rhythm among the **F** motets as well. In terms of the longer verses, all of **Ch**'s verse lengths greater than 8pp differ rhythmically from the typical rhythms in **F** or do not occur in the **F** data at all. **Ch**'s largest verses, those

<sup>29</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Earp for providing this data which was adapted (according to personal preference, or following Thomas Payne, Catherine Bradley, Susan Kidwell, and my own work) from Hans Tischler's comparative edition of early-thirteenth-century motets. See Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets*. Any mistakes in the interpretation of this data for the purposes of this project are my own.

between 9pp and 14pp, all occur in the motet *O quam sancta quam benigna*, a motet not contained in **F**.<sup>30</sup> Even those verse lengths which do occur in **F** (8pp, 9pp, 11pp) have very few examples (no more than fifteen), and of those only 8pp(a) and 9pp(t) have a conclusive typical rhythm, the first of which matches the rhythm in **Ch**, the second of which does not.

Long verse lengths are not the only verse types that are only minimally represented in the **F** motet repertory. Among those verse lengths represented in **Ch**, two, 5p(t), and 7p(a), have fewer than twenty examples in **F**. Of these, 7p(a) has a dominant rhythmic pattern which matches that found in the single example from **Ch** as noted in Table 4.1b. The dominant rhythm of 5p(t) verses in **F**, on the other hand, does not correspond to the 5p(t) rhythm found in **Ch**, and occurs in only seven of the sixteen verses, in other words, in only forty-four percent of the examples. This suggests that 5p(t) verses are not only uncommon, but also lack a clear rhythmic identity. Only one other verse type has a dominant rhythmic pattern than occurs in fewer than fifty percent of the examples. There are only ten 8pp(t) verses in the **F** motet repertory, and only four, or forty percent, employ the dominant rhythm. Perhaps unsurprisingly this rhythmic pattern also differs from that found in **Ch**. Both of these rhythmic “deviations” I discuss in more depth below.

An obvious extension of this data is the question of whether dominant rhythmic patterns based on verse length suggest an origin for the motet not as texted clausula but as an independently-created piece (Riemann’s “first-fruits”) with rhythms derived from verse length and concluding accent pattern, the two most defining features of rhythmic poetry according to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century treatises (see section 3.4 above). Can knowledge of a text alone provide performers the relevant information needed for the correct performance of a

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<sup>30</sup> The motet *Velut stella firmamenti* (315), a contrafact of *O quam sancta*, does occur in **F** but the verse divisions differ significantly from the Marian motet.

motet? In an unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in November 2012, Lawrence Earp argued that while it was possible that Perotin and Philip created the organum prosulae and early motets together, with Perotin first conceiving the music and Philip later supplying the text to fix it in memory, it was just as possible that Philip's poetry determined the musical phrase structure in coordination with the tenor pattern.<sup>31</sup> This direct relationship between verse length, rhythm and tenor is perhaps most apparent in the popular Marian motet discussed in Chapter Three (see section 3.5.2 above), *O Maria maris stella* (448).

Recall that *O Maria maris stella*'s text consists entirely of alternating 8p and 5pp verses (except for the final 5p verse) (see Table 3.3 above).<sup>32</sup> Each of these verses strictly adheres to its primary rhythmic pattern: four trochees for the 8p verses; two trochees plus a final long for the 5pp verses. Though grouped in pairs to create musical phrases of eight perfections, each textual phrase is independent from that which precedes and follows—except, perhaps, for verse 13 which references back to verse 11. While this independence between verses might seem insignificant to the overall form of the motet, which I have already shown is pseudo-strophic, it helps to clarify the motetus's relationship with the tenor pattern: rather than the single musical phrase (which combines two verses) over two statements of the tenor's 3 li | pattern, each verse of the motetus corresponds to a single tenor statement. A similar relationship occurs in another of **Ch**'s strophic motets, *Homo quam sit pura*.

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<sup>31</sup> Earp, "The Beginnings of the Motet."

<sup>32</sup> In the following discussions of verse length thetic verse types should be assumed unless otherwise indicated. In other words, 8p and 5pp indicate 8p(t) and 5pp(t).

### 4.3.1 *Homo quam sit pura* (231) / [*Latus*] [M14]

It is apropos to begin with *Homo quam sit pura*, since Wilhelm Meyer used it, together with its contrafact *Stupeat natura* (232), in his discussion of texted clausulae.<sup>33</sup> Of all the motets contained in **Ch**, *Homo quam sit pura* is the smallest surviving fragment. It is the last of the three monophonic motetus voices on the first folio of gathering y, following *Nostrum est impletum* and *Eximia mater*, and consists of only four verses of poetry and the first word of a fifth.<sup>34</sup> The music occurs as a two-voice clausula in both **W1** and **F**, a conductus-motet in **F**, and a strophic motet in **Sab**. The similarly strophic *Stupeat natura* employs the same music and is extant in five sources, two with text only,<sup>35</sup> one as a two-voice motet,<sup>36</sup> one in a monophonic version,<sup>37</sup> and finally a mutilated fragment (see Appendix B).<sup>38</sup>

The Franciscan Adam de Salimbene attributed the text of *Homo quam sit pura* to Philip the Chancellor in his late-thirteenth-century *Chronica*. Payne accepted this attribution as well as Philip's authorship of the first three of the five strophes of *Stupeat natura*, first suggested by Gordon Anderson.<sup>39</sup> Several characteristics of *Homo quam sit pura* suggest it predates *Stupeat natura* (see Tables 4.2–3).<sup>40</sup> First of all, the text explicitly addresses the topic of Christ's passion, a textual trope of the Easter Alleluia verse from which the tenor is derived. Second, the tenor's text, *immolatus*, appears at the end of each of the three strophes of the poem. Third, the earliest textual version of the piece occurs in **F** as a conductus-motet, considered the earliest type of motet. Finally, verses 14 and 15, *stupens hic tormenta / condolet natura* (nature suffers with him

<sup>33</sup> Meyer, "Der Ursprung," 122–25.

<sup>34</sup> For a full transcription of this motet with tenor see Appendix D.

<sup>35</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 44; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 409.

<sup>36</sup> **W2**.

<sup>37</sup> **Tort**.

<sup>38</sup> **MüB**.

<sup>39</sup> Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 159.

<sup>40</sup> Text and translation from Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 62–63 and 158–59.

<i>Homo quam sit pura</i> (231)		Translation		
1.	Homo quam sit pura	6p	a	Man, my many humiliations
	michi de te cura	6p	a	prove how absolute my
	probra probant plura:	6p	a	concern is for you:
	dolor et pressura,	6p	a	the grief and oppression,
5	verberum tritura,	6p	a	the sting of the whips,
	lancee fixura,	6p	a	the piercing of the lance,
	vinctus in cathena,	6p	b	though bound in chains
	nulla victus pena,	6p	b	no suffering vanquished me,
	potus in lagena	6p	b	the drink from the flask
10	mirra felle plena.	6p	b	filled with bitter myrrh.
	Cesa gena,	4p	b	My cheek was cut,
	omnis vena	4p	b	every vein
	sanguine cruenta.	6p	c	shedding blood.
	Stupens hic tormenta,	6p	c	Nature grieved along with me,
15	condolet natura:	6p	a	astonished by these torments:
	veli fit scissura,	6p	a	the temple veil was rent,
	solis lux obscura,	6p	a	the light of the sun blotted out,
	patent monumenta	6p	c	and tombs gaped forth
	dum sum <b>immolatus</b> .	6p	d	when I was sacrificed.
20	2. Homo, quam ingratus.	6p	d	Man, how thoughtless you are.
	Omnis immutatus	6p	d	The entire state of your nature
	est nature status,	6p	d	has been transformed, and yet
	manes induratus.	6p	d	you remain hardened.
	Ego pro te natus,	6p	d	For you was I born
25	pro te immoratus	6p	d	a child in swaddling clothes;
	paras involutus,	6p	e	for you I remained
	pauper distitutus.	6p	e	a forsaken pauper.
	Pro te baptizatus,	6p	d	For you I was baptized;
	pro te sum temptatus.	6p	d	for you I endured temptation.
30	Exprobatu	4p	d	I was reproached
	et ligatus,	4p	d	and bound fast,
	traditus, consputus,	6p	e	delivered up, spat upon,
	virgis flagellatus,	6p	d	beaten with sticks,
	clavis perforatus,	6p	d	pierced by nails,
35	spinis coronatus,	6p	d	crowned with thorns,
	latus lanceatus.	6p	d	had my side pierced with a lance.
	Morte contempnatus,	6p	d	I was condemned to death,
	tandem <b>immolatus</b> .	6p	d	then sacrificed.
40	3. Homo, quem formavi,	6p	f	Man, whom I fashioned,
	michi conformavi,	6p	f	whom I shaped after myself,
	tandem reformavi,	6p	f	and eventually transformed;
	pro te, quem amavi,	6p	f	for you, whom I loved,
	celos inclinavi,	6p	f	I have bent down the heavens,
	tuis condescendi	6p	g	stooped, and yielded
45	penis et descendi.	6p	g	to your punishments.
	In agone gravi	6p	f	In dire agony
	pro te laboravi.	6p	f	I toiled for you.
	Pro te non expavi	6p	f	For you I feared not to be
	vili pendi,	4p+	g	weighed, delivered up,
50	tradi, vendi.	4p+	g	and cheaply sold.
	Et qui non offendi,	6p	g	And I, who displeased no one,
	penas pro te pendi.	6p	g	suffered punishment for you.
	Veni, iam extendi	6p	g	I came. And as I stretched out
	zelo conplectendi	6p	g	my hands with the zeal of embracing
55	manus, <b>immolatus</b> .	6p	d	you, I was sacrificed.

Table 4.2: *Homo quam sit pura* Text and Translation



	<i>Stupeat natura</i> (232)		Translation
	1. <i>Stupeat natura;</i>	6p a	Let nature be astounded;
	<i>fracta sua iura</i>	6p a	her laws have been broken
	<i>virgine fecunda.</i>	6p b	by a pregnant virgin.
5	<i>Omnis creatura</i>	6p a	Let every living thing
	<i>sua pro mensura</i>	6p a	according to its ability
	<i>hac in genitura</i>	6p a	shout favorable prayers
	<i>iubilet iocunda</i>	6p b	that will be pleasing
	<i>vota placitura.</i>	6p a	to this birth.
	<i>Lingua det facunda</i>	6p b	Let an eloquent tongue
10	<i>laude non obscura.</i>	6p a	relate uninhibited praise.
	<i>Psallat plebs gratulabunda</i>	8p b	Let the cheering crowd sing
	<i>communi sensura;</i>	6p a	in universal accord.
	<i>sit hec nobis cura,</i>	6p a	Let this be our charge,
	<i>lenis et non dura,</i>	6p a	an easy one, not difficult,
15	<i>voce letabunda;</i>	6p b	performed with a joyful voice;
	<i>nam sine iactura,</i>	6p a	for without defilement,
	<i>parit parens pura,</i>	6p a	a pure mother gives birth,
	<i>virgo manens munda.</i>	6p b	remaining a chaste virgin.
	2. <i>Ordine mutato,</i>	6p c	With the standard order recast,
20	<i>gaudet virgo nato,</i>	6p c	a virgin rejoices in a son,
	<i>nata genitorem</i>	6p d	having born her father
	<i>utero beato,</i>	6p c	from her blessed womb,
	<i>verbo fecundato</i>	6p c	made fruitful by a word
	<i>celitus illato.</i>	6p c	furnished from heaven above.
25	<i>Gignit contra morem,</i>	6p d	She gives birth against custom,
	<i>servans, illibato</i>	6p c	preserving her virtue,
	<i>corpore, pudorem.</i>	6p d	her body untouched.
	<i>Singulari dato,</i>	6p c	Through this unique gift,
	<i>sponsa parit amatorem,</i>	8p d	a bride begets her lover
30	<i>thalamo serato.</i>	6p c	with her chamber secure.
	<i>Perdit, usitato</i>	6p c	Reason, its usual course
	<i>cursu violato,</i>	6p c	breached, surrenders
	<i>ratio vigore;</i>	6p d	its command;
	<i>nam, intermerato</i>	6p c	for, preserving her
35	<i>flore conservato,</i>	6p c	maidenhood intact,
	<i>flos producit florem.</i>	6p d	the flower produces a blossom.
	3. <i>Hoc figurabatur</i>	6p e	This was foreshadowed
	<i>olim, videbatur</i>	6p e	long ago, when
40	<i>cum rubus ardere,</i>	6p f	a bush seemed to burn,
	<i>nec eurebatur.</i>	6p e	yet was not consumed.
	<i>Quod si contemplatur</i>	6p e	For if anyone ponders
	<i>quo pes calciatur,</i>	6p e	how his foot is shod,
	<i>debet remove,</i>	6p f	he should remove his shoes,
	<i>ut sic mereatur</i>	6p e	that thus he may be worthy
45	<i>proprius videre.</i>	6p f	to look more closely.
	<i>Vellus humectatur;</i>	6p e	The fleece is moistened;
	<i>ros quo possit vas implere</i>	8p f	the dew that can fill the
	<i>Gedeoni datur.</i>	6p e	vessel is granted to Gideon.
	<i>Nulli reseratur</i>	6p e	The door that is revealed
50	<i>porta que monstratur,</i>	6p e	to one who is truly searching
	<i>inquirenti vere.</i>	6p f	is unbolted to no one.
	<i>Virgo fecundatur,</i>	6p e	The virgin becomes pregnant,
	<i>sed non irrigatur,</i>	6p e	bearing fruit like the spring,
	<i>fructum ferens vere.</i>	6p f	but is not dampened.

Table 4.3: *Stupeat natura* Text and Translation

<i>Stupeat natura</i>		Translation		
55	4. Thronus deitatis	6p	g	This throne of divinity
	est fons castitatis,	6p	g	is the source of chastity,
	lilium ortorum,	6p	h	the lily of the gardens,
	flos virginitatis,	6p	g	the flower of virginity,
	splendor claritatis,	6p	g	the radiance of brightness,
60	lux iocunditatis	6p	g	the light of happiness,
	rosa angelorum,	6p	h	the rose of the angels,
	dux humilitatis,	6p	g	the duchess of humility,
	forma perfectorum,	6p	g	the beauty of perfect things,
	causa sanitatis,	6p	g	the cause of health,
65	spes et venia reorum,	8p	h	the hope and pardon of sinners,
	portus pietatis,	6p	g	harbor of piety,
	domus caritatis,	6p	g	the house of charity,
	mater bonitatis.	6p	g	the mother of goodness.
	Memor miserorum,	6p	h	Remember the miserable ones,
70	dans solamen gratis	6p	g	granting solace for free
	cunctis desolatis	6p	g	to all the desolate
	metu peccatorum.	6p	h	through fear of sins.
	5. Speculum doctrine,	6p	j	Mirror of beliefs,
	cella medicine,	6p	j	chamber of remedies,
75	ianua salutis,	6p	k	gate of salvation,
	dux lucis divine,	6p	j	noble lady of the divine light,
	mentis columbine;	6p	j	of the dove-like mind;
	te laudant regine	6p	j	queens praise you
	vocibus argutis.	6p	k	with lively voices.
80	Schola discipline,	6p	j	School of good conduct,
	procul a versutis;	6p	k	far from cunning;
	gene turturine	6p	j	your cheeks like turtledoves
	dant fulgorem restitutis	8p	k	bestow the splendor of the
	stelle matutine.	6p	j	morning star on the delivered.
85	Et tu, Florentine,	6p	j	And you, Florentine,
	da laudes regine	6p	j	grant praises to your generous
	danti. Verba mittis,	6p	l	queen. Send forth the words,
	ut sis sine fine	6p	j	so that you may forever be
	flos expers ruine	6p	j	a flower free from destruction
90	in regno virtutis.	6p	k	in the kingdom of virtue.

Table 4.3: *Stupeat natura* Text and Translation, cont.

/ astonished by the torments here), may have inspired the opening verse of *Stupeat natura* though the contexts differ significantly.<sup>41</sup>

The latter poem, in a remarkable contrast, celebrates the virgin birth, a breaking of the natural law about which nature should be amazed. Silencing the voice of Christ in the former poem, *Stupeat natura* encourages a jubilatory exultation of the Mother of God, in a sense encapsulating the basic temporal cycle in the joint performance of motetus and tenor. Despite

<sup>41</sup> Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 159.

possibly deriving from the same hand, *Stupeat natura* is a far more elegantly conceived poem. Each strophe employs only two rhymes, and while they are different in each strophe, none of the rhymes repeat. The two rhymes of strophe 1 both employ the vowels *u* and *a* (*-ura* and *-unda*) which are the same vowels (though in reverse order) of the tenor syllables *-latus*.<sup>42</sup> There is also a deliberate rhyme scheme in each strophe with the initial two sections (aabaaab) reversed after a central abab section.<sup>43</sup> The final verse of this central section occurs at that unique point in the poem in which regular 6p lines are disrupted by a single verse of 8p (in *Homo quam sit pura* there are two rhymed verses of 4p), which moves seamlessly to another verse of 6p, four out of five times completing a syntactic thought.<sup>44</sup> *Homo quam sit pura*, on the other hand, has both an irregular rhyme scheme from strophe to strophe but also a different number of rhymes per strophe.

In both cases the text easily predicts the motet's musical rhythm and phrasing. First of all, every 6p verse corresponds to the typical rhythm for that verse length. Second, each 6p verse aligns with the four perfections of the 3 li | tenor pattern. The two voices move in lockstep throughout, each short phrase defined by motetus and tenor forming a complete musical unit. This plodding regularity makes its disruption in verses 11 and 12 stand out even more, but even here, between perfections 41–44, the text informs the music. At this moment *Homo quam sit pura* links two rhymed 4p verses whereas *Stupeat natura* employs a single 8p verse. In both cases the trochaic rhythm corresponds to the primary rhythm for each respective verse length (see Example 4.1). There is neither a specific musical nor textual explanation for this specific

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<sup>42</sup> Of the three rhymes employed in the first strophe of *Homo quam sit pura*, not including the final word *immolatus*, only the first (*-ura*) employs the same vowels as the tenor text *latus* and, like *Stupeat natura*, in reverse order. The others are *-ena* and *-enta*.

<sup>43</sup> For some reason, van der Werf felt that the rhyme scheme of *Homo quam sit pura* was more “straightforward.” Van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty*, 103.

<sup>44</sup> The fourth strophe almost exclusively lists Marian appellations.

change of verse length at this moment. Both poems begin this section with a new sentence but of the two only *Stupeat natura* appears to respond with a change of subject. While *Homo quam sit*

37

10. mir - ra fel - le ple - na. 11. Ce - sa ge - na, 12. o - mnis ve - na 13. san - gui - ne cru - en - ta.  
 10. lau - de non ob - scu - ra. 11. Psal - lat plebs gra - tu - la - bun - da 12. con - mu - ni sen - su - ra;

Example 4.1: *Homo quam sit pura* / *Stupeat natura* Perfections 37–48

*pura* continues to relate the various tortures of Christ, *Stupeat natura* shifts from more celebratory exclamations of joy to an exclusively musical one, *psallat*.<sup>45</sup>

One concern regarding the textual origins of this piece is the slightly divergent form of the clausula in **W1**.<sup>46</sup> The **F** clausula follows the motet exactly except for a concluding copula.<sup>47</sup> **W1** lacks both this copula as well as several longs at the ends of phrases. These occur on perfections 4, 28, 48, 60 and 72. In each case the missing pitch is a repeated *c*. There are other repeated pitches on the final perfections of phrases and there is even one other phrase with a repeated *c* (though in this case the pitch is plicated), so it is difficult to deduce whether either of these factors plays a role in the pitches' absence. Nor is this characteristic limited to **W1**, in other words, a purely English trait. Comparison of other similar clausulae shared by **W1** and **F** demonstrates that in some instances **W1** contains the extra concluding pitch absent in **F**.<sup>48</sup>

Yet, none of these oddities specifically proves that the motet must have followed the clausula rather than vice versa. For Frobenius, the monotony of the music implied the priority of

<sup>45</sup> While the verb *iubilet* from verse 7 may be translated as “to sing joyfully,” it also connotes shouting and hollering. It is also interesting to note that it is the *plebs* who are singing, and the musical line could hardly be simpler, though, to be fair, the motetus is exceptionally simple throughout.

<sup>46</sup> **W1**, fol. 57r (49r).

<sup>47</sup> **F**, fol. 158v.

<sup>48</sup> On this and similar clausulae see Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style,” 246–48. Baltzer notes that clausulae for 3 li | motets “sometimes vary between their different transmissions, for what is a masculine phrase ending in one copy may be made feminine in another by the repetition of the final note.”

the text.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, van der Werf argued the same conclusion based on the manipulations of the *-latus* melisma made to create the motet and clausula tenor.<sup>50</sup> Comparison of the *-latus* melisma with the motet tenor indicates that the latter, while retaining certain important aspects of the original, altered others (see Example 4.2). Most noticeably, the tenor

Example 4.2: Comparison of *-latus* Chant Melisma and Tenor

occurs a fifth lower than the plainchant. Also, through the elimination of the first three pitches and regrouping of the following six notes the tenor obscures the AAB form of the chant. Except at the beginning and ending, the three-note groupings of the chant and the motet tenor are identical. In only three places (other than the opening) are pitches removed or added. In the two instances of pitch removal the pitches are repetitions and occur between groupings. The single addition is also a repeated pitch and also occurs between two groupings of the original chant.<sup>51</sup> None of these examples suggests significant manipulation of the chant to accommodate a newly composed text, as van der Werf seems to imply. However, it does indicate how easy it would be to create a text over a pre-existing melody without the need for a clausula. A melisma dominated by groupings of three notes would easily translate into short phrases of three tenor pitches over

<sup>49</sup> Frobenius, “Zum genetischen Verhältnis,” 23.

<sup>50</sup> van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty*, 103.

<sup>51</sup> It is worth noting that the place where this additional pitch appears corresponds to the first phrase following the long 4p+4p+6p phrase, and also begins the verse from which *Stupeat natura* may have derived its first verse.

which parallel textual phrases, defined by verse length and accent, might fall in repetitive fashion.

#### 4.3.2 *Nostrum est impletum* (216) / [*Nostrum*] [M14]

Like *Homo quam sit pura*, the manuscript evidence indicates that the motet *Nostrum est impletum* did not enjoy any significant popularity.<sup>52</sup> Though a three-voice discant version appears in all three central Notre-Dame sources (**W1**, **F**, and **W2**), there are only two extant sources transmitting the motet. The motetus voice alone is the first of three monophonic motets in gathering *y* of **Ch**. The only other source is an incomplete conductus-motet in **F**. Also like *Homo quam sit pura*, there is a single contrafact, the French *Hui matin a la jornee me levai* (217), which appears in chansonniers **N** and **R** (see Appendix B). *Nostrum est impletum*, another Easter topic linking Christ's sacrifice to the celebration of the Eucharist, is far less regular than *Homo quam sit pura* (see Table 4.4).<sup>53</sup> The tenor text, *nostrum*, appears both at the beginning and the end of the motetus text, and the poetry throughout emphasizes the final *-um* of the tenor text in a manner that can only be described as exuberant playfulness. From a topical standpoint the poem is almost palindromic, moving from the initial *nostrum* to the communion bread and on to the Christ's death, resurrection, and reunion with the Father after which the communion meal reappears with emphasis on the blood and wine finally to conclude with a repetition of the text *nostrum*. More specifically, the midpoint occurs near the beginning of the second tenor cursus, again a point of pseudo-strophic division.<sup>54</sup>

The somewhat unusual character of the text setting in *Nostrum est impletum* means that the motet demonstrates a similar, yet modified, approach to that witnessed in *Homo quam sit*

<sup>52</sup> For a transcription of this motet with tenor see Appendix D.

<sup>53</sup> Text and translation adapted from Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 140–41.

<sup>54</sup> Technically, the beginning of the strophe occurs two pitches before the repeat of the tenor cursus where the 3 li | pattern begins.

	<i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216)		Translation
	Nostrum	2p	Ours
	est impletum	4p	is a joy
	gaudium	3pp	fulfilled
	per azimum.	4p(a)	through the unleavened bread.
5	Sit animum	4pp(a)	Let the paschal lamb
	pascha letum.	4p(a)	be happy in his soul.
	Leto letum	4p	Death has been destroyed
	est deletum;	4p	by death;
	exulat exilium	7pp	exile is exiled
10	post Triduum.	4pp	after the Triduum.
	II		
	Cessat vacuum	5pp	Death
	tuum,	2p(a)	your hollow verdict
	mors, decretum.	4p(a)	is overturned.
	Amplexatur parvulum;	7pp	The son is embraced;
15	dat osculum,	4pp(a)	The father gives a kiss,
	dat anulum	4pp(a)	he gives a ring,
	pater et vitulum.	6pp(a)	and a calf.
	O quam dulce ferculum	7pp	Oh, how sweet is the dish
	in ara crucis toridum	8pp(a)	cooked on the altar of the cross
20	a quo fluit sapidum	7pp	from which flows the blood,
	crur poculum	5pp	the savory drink
	nostrum.	2p	that is ours.

Table 4.4: *Nostrum est impletum* Text and Translation

*pura* (see Example 4.3).<sup>55</sup> The motet begins with a “motto” on the initial word *nostrum* which extends for the length of the tenor pattern, in this instance 3 li | 2 si |. The motto divides into two parts at the halfway point: four perfections in simple trochees followed by three perfect longs. This phrase division significantly influences the first strophe of the piece since the motto indicates the rhythms of phrase beginnings and endings. After the motto, the musical phrases of the first strophe extend beyond the length of the tenor pattern to twelve perfections, specifically 4+8 (perfections 9–20) followed by 8+4 (perfections 21–32). In both instances the phrases begin with a trochaic rhythm of at least four perfections and continue that pattern until they conclude with three perfect longs. These phrases complete nearly an entire tenor cursus. The final two

<sup>55</sup> This transcription differs slightly from other modern transcriptions. For a discussion of these differences based on my analysis see below.

notes of the cursus correspond to a new statement of the 3 li | 2 si | tenor pattern and the

33  
 II  
 11. Ces - sat va - cu - um 12. tu - um 13. mors de - cre - tum. 14. Am - plex - a - tur par - vu - lum; 15. dat o - scu - lum 16. dat

I  
 1. No - - - - - strum 2. est im - ple - tum 3. gau - di - um 4. per a - zi - mum... 5. Sit  
 No - - - - - strum

47  
 II  
 a - nu - lum 17. pa - ter et vi - tu - lum. 18. O quam dul - ce fer - cu - lum 19. in a - ra cru - cis

15  
 I  
 a - ni - mum. 6. pa - scha le - tum. 7. Le - to le - tum 8. est de - le - tum; 9. ex - u - lat ex -

59  
 II  
 tor - ri - dum 20. a quo flu - it sa - pi - dum. 21. cru - or po - cu - lum 22. no - strum.

27  
 I  
 i - li - um 10. post Tri - du - um.

Example 4.3: *Nostrum est impletum* / *Latus Strophe Comparison*



beginning of the second strophe of the poem, whose phrase lengths correspond exactly with those of the first with the addition of a final six-perfection phrase (perfections 65-70).<sup>56</sup>

So, while the longer phrase lengths and the overlapping of the second tenor cursus suggest a more complicated procedure at work than in *Homo quam sit pura*, the construction of *Nostrum est impletum* through the simple expedient of a motto is easily explained. The expansion of the motto into longer twelve-perfection phrases is controlled by the motto's opening and closing rhythmic identities. With this longer phrase length well established in the first half, the second half of the poem mimics the first exactly with a second strophe, both in terms of phrase length and relation to the tenor pattern, plus a short "cauda" to coincide with the conclusion of the second tenor cursus. Under the superficial simplicity of this motet, however, lie complex textual and musical relationships. Specifically, the regularity of thesis verses and rhythms witnessed in the motet examples discussed so far account for only slightly more than half of the verses. The remaining verses employ phrases that begin on an anacrusis breve, linking several verses together in a sort of cascading effect that make the verses tumble to the end of the musical phrase.

The various versions of the music are remarkably similar. All but one significant discrepancy, which I will address below, occur in the first half of the piece. Recent fascination with this motet complex stems partially from the fact that the conductus-motet that appears in **F** is incomplete: the staff of the motetus lacks notation over the phrase *sit animum pascha letum* (see Figure 4.1). The problem with this moment in the motet directly relates to the music of the clausula. The musical phrase, which begins on perfection 9 and continues through perfection 19,

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<sup>56</sup> **F** separates the final word (*nostrum*) from the rest of the preceding text, unlike **Ch** or the equivalent moment in the French motets. This separation, in the form of a stroke of division, also appears in all three versions of the clausula. See below for a discussion of this final phrase as it relates to **Ch**'s notation.





Figure 4.1: *Nostrum est impletum*, Missing Notation in **F**, fol. 384v

has twenty notes (discounting plicas) in the triplum whereas the duplum has only eighteen (see Example 4.4, which takes the clausula as the point of departure). Within the clausula itself this poses no significant problem. However, combined with a nineteen-syllable text, the scribe recognized a notational issue. This resulted in a section of the motetus staff being left blank.

Example 4.4: Comparison of *Nostrum* Clausula and *Nostrum est impletum*, Perfections 9–20

Recently, Catherine Bradley used this conductus-motet as evidence that the **F** scribe generated (at least some) of the motets from their melismatic (i.e., clausula) versions, an idea initially suggested by Ernest Sanders.<sup>57</sup> Bradley argued that this fraught moment of discontinuity

<sup>57</sup> Bradley, “Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets,” 20; Bradley, “Re-workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family,” *Journal of Musicology* 32, no. 2 (2015): 153–97, at 175, 179–80; Sanders, “The Medieval Motet,” 509 note 43.

between parts prompted a moment of such confusion that the scribe was unable to provide a suitable conclusion to the motetus phrase. (At least initially—it seems entirely plausible that he was in a hurry, moved on and never returned to fill the gap.) But strangely, this is *not* the only moment of disjunction between the two upper voices in the clausula. The second moment comes between perfections 28–31 where the triplum alone has an anacrusis breve moving into perfection 29 and concludes with a perfect long, three breves (notated as currentes  in the clausula,  in the motet), and a final perfect long (Example 4.5). Meanwhile, the clausula duplum proceeds with two perfect longs, a trochee and a final perfect long. The difference between these two sections is the numbers of notes versus syllables. Unlike the former, in this



25

F-Clausula,  
fol. 24r

F-Motet,  
fol. 384v

Payne  
Transcription

Tenor

ex - u - lat ex - i - li - um post tri - du - um

ex - u - lat ex - i - li - um post tri - du - um.

ex - u - lat ex - i - li - um post tri - du - um.

Example 4.5: Comparison of *Nostrum Clausula* and *Nostrum est impletum*, Perfections 25–32

example the number of notes in each part exactly equals the number of syllables. The result is a motet phrase that, in **F**, clearly moves in the rhythm of the clausula triplum despite harsh dissonances, both between upper parts and with the tenor. Because of these successive harsh dissonances, Thomas Payne adapted the motetus and triplum to conform to the rhythm of the clausula duplum by dividing the three-note *coniunctura* in the triplum over two syllables.<sup>58</sup>

A comparison of the conductus-motet with the monophonic version in **Ch** provides further insight into these two problematic phrases in **F**. In a strange twist of fate, the tear that bisects the bifolio of gathering *y*, in which *Nostrum est impletum* appears, obscures the ending of the same phrase missing in **F**. What is clear, however, is that unlike the phrase beginning for *per azimum* suggested by **F**, which corresponds to the clausula duplum and starts on the beginning of perfection 13, in **Ch** the same phrase begins on the breve anacrusis preceding perfection 13 (see Example 4.6).<sup>59</sup> This corresponds to the beginning of an alternate realization proposed by Bradley. Bradley argues for a derivation of the motetus rhythm in this phrase from the triplum, a technique she has adopted for her analysis of several motets whose rhythms depart from their clausula model.<sup>60</sup> This means that the concluding *pascha letum* corresponds to the trochee and two perfect longs of the clausula triplum, the same conclusion arrived at by Payne.<sup>61</sup> To create this text setting she sets the last syllable of *animum* to all three duplum notes of perfection 16, and breaks the perfect long of perfection 17 into a trochee. This contradicts the setting in **Ch**, which shows a two-note neume for the final syllable of *azimum* (instead of *animum*) and a simplex for the first syllable of *pascha*. What is more, the first pitch for *pascha*, though slightly

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<sup>58</sup> Philip the Chancellor, "Motets and Prosulas," 139; Tischler, *The Earliest Motets*, 1:118.

<sup>59</sup> The text of these two short phrases (*per azimum sit animum*) is altered slightly in **Ch**. *Azimum* appears in the place of *animum*, and the legible letters before *azimum* do not suggest the word *sit*.

<sup>60</sup> See Bradley, "Re-workings."

<sup>61</sup> Philip the Chancellor, "Motets and Prosulas," 139.

9

Payne Transcription

est im-ple-tum gau-di-um per a-zi-mum. Sit an-nu-um pa-scha le-tum

Bradley Transcription

est im-ple-tum gau-di-um. Per a-zi-mum sit a-ni-mum\_ pa-scha le-tum

Ch

est im-ple-tum gau-di-um per a-ni-mum\_ ? a-zi-mum pa-scha le-tum

Tenor

Example 4.6: Comparison of *Nostrum est impletum* Text Settings, Perfections 9–20

obscured, appears to be an *a*, so the rhythm of this final phrase would correspond to the clausula duplum (anacrusis breve and three perfect longs), rather than the triplum.

Perhaps more significantly, the reading in **Ch** not only corresponds to the concluding rhythm of the opening motto, but further demonstrates the relationship between the first and second strophe of the poem (see Table 4.5). A comparison of the three different versions of the problematic phrase with the corresponding phrase from the second half of the poem demonstrates not only does the version in **Ch** present a more consistent rhythmic relationship, but this rhythmic relationship is corroborated by a textual correspondence as well: the monosyllabic words of the short phrases align, the rhymes at the ends of phrases align,<sup>62</sup> as do the initial sounds of the final phrases (*pa-*). This amended reading of *pascha letum*, which matches the

<sup>62</sup> This provides evidence against Payne's choice to correct *animus* to *annuum*. Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, 141.

1	2 <sup>est</sup>	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Payne:	im-ple-tum	gau-di-um	a-per-um	zi-mum	an-ni-mum	um-mum	um-mum	pa-scha	le-scha	tum	
Bradley:	im-ple-tum	gau-di-um	a-per-um	zi-mum	an-ni-mum	um-mum	um-mum	pa-scha	le-scha	tum	
Ch:	1 <sup>Am</sup> -ple-xa-tur	3 <sup>gau</sup> -di-vu-um	4 <sup>per</sup> -a-um	5 <sup>7</sup> zi-mum	6 <sup>dat</sup> an-ni-mum	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha	6 <sup>pa</sup> -scha

Table 4.5: *Nostrum est impletum* Comparison of Verses 2–6 and 14–17

opening motto, compels me to consider the equally problematic setting of *post triduum* (see Example 4.5 above). Like the preceding and following phrase endings (*pascha letum* and *mors decretum*), *post triduum* consists of four syllables and the duration of the pitch preceding it is a long. Unlike *pascha letum*, scholars have never considered this a problematic setting primarily because of a clear matching duplum rhythm as well as a supposed harmonic necessity: the reading in **F**, which indicates no break before *post triduum* (a reading matching the motto, *pascha letum* and *mors decretum*) would create a series of dissonances between two voices on the first two syllables of *triduum*.<sup>63</sup> **F**'s reading is contradicted both by the corresponding phrase in the second strophe, which breaks after the final long, and by the presence of a stroke of division in **Ch** which occurs immediately before *post triduum*.

The French motet, *Hui matin a la jornee* (217) provides additional evidence for the rhythm of this verse. In *Hui matin*, the preceding verse *courtoise et sage et senee* consists of eight (in French versification 7+) syllables rather than seven as in *Nostrum est impletum*. This demands that the verse *S'ot le cuer gai* begin on perfection 29 and not on the preceding breve to match the opening motto (see Example 4.7).<sup>64</sup> However, to directly compare *Nostrum est impletum* and *Hui matin a la jornee* is problematic. Only the structural division of the text into two strophes at the repeat of the tenor cursus links the two texts. The voyeurism of the first strophe, in which a gentleman rides into the countryside and watches the beautiful and happy shepherdess, changes to conversation in the second strophe where the woman rejects the advances of the smitten young man. An interesting melodic discrepancy between the two pieces only highlights the pseudo-strophic character of the motets. Perfections 9–13 and 41–46 of the

<sup>63</sup> The second double dissonance would be resolved if a flat were added to the motetus *b* in performance.

<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that the extra pitch at the end of the preceding verse is a *g*, the same as the following pitch (the pitch of *post*), rather than a repeated *a* which one might choose if basing the new text on the clausula. Could this suggest that at some point there was a version that employed a rhythm equivalent to the opening motto?

French motet deviate from the Latin by the interval of a third: in the first instance up a minor third, and in the second, down a major third. While these could easily be explained away as

33  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus II  
 10. Vers li tig mon oir-re 11. si la sa - lu - ai. 12. Be - le buer fus-siez vos ne - e. 13. Ve - nez ent en  
 Am - ple - xa - tur par

1  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus I  
 1. Hui ma-tin a la jor - ne - e 2. me le - vai. 3. Che - vau-chai 4. a - val la pre - e. 5. Tuis pa- sto - re  
 No - - - - - strum  
 est im - ple - tum gau

47  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus II  
 ma con - tre - e. 14. le vos a - me - rai. 15. Vos se-rez mout bien li - ue - e. 16. De no-vel vos

15  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus I  
 def - fu - ble - e 6. cueil - lant glai. 7. Be - le fu et co - lo - re - e 8. cor - toi-se sage

59  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus II  
 ve - sti-rai. 17. Biauz douz si - re non fe-rai. 18. l'en\_ ai un que pluz chier ai.

27  
 R, fol. 199r  
 N, fol. 185r  
 Tenor cursus I  
 et sen - e - e. 9. S'ot le cuer gai.

Example 4.7: *Hui maitain a la jornee* Strophe Comparison



transposition errors,<sup>65</sup> it seems more significant in the context of a strophic repetition in which the two phrases now correspond, unlike the Latin version (see the small staves in Example 4.7). Not only are the motetus parts identical at this point, they occur over an identical 3 li | tenor group. Despite this correspondence in strophic form, a comparison of the two texts demonstrates an almost unrecognizable relationship, not just in verse lengths and rhythm scheme, but in the way the verses overlap each other in many instances. Simply put, *Hui matin* presents a four-square presentation of the text with verses that frequently correspond to four perfections of music. This differs considerably from *Nostrum est impletum* which derives much of its energy through the use of phrases beginning with an anacrusis breve (*per azimum; mors decretum; dat osculum*) (see Table 4.6).

Wolf Frobenius argued for the priority of *Hui matin* over both the three-voice clausula and *Nostrum est impletum* on the grounds of its simpler text-music relationship as well as the quotation of a refrain.<sup>66</sup> The refrain in question, vdB 223, occurs as the final two verses of the motet text and is the only text spoken by the shepherdess to the knight. Unfortunately, the refrain is unique to this motet and therefore questionable as a pre-existing text. On the other hand, the relationship between the text and music, what I interpret as the regularity of poetic and musical phrasing within *Hui matin* as compared to *Nostrum est impletum*, seems more promising. As a rule, “eight”-syllable verses that end in *-ee* join with shorter verses that end *-ai* to conclude the musical phrase. A strict poetic division by rhyme, as Table 4.6 shows, indicates that this is not entirely the case, however it is very easily understood from the musical context, and it is only in the second “strophe” where the pattern breaks down.

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<sup>65</sup> Haines, “Erasure,” 73.

<sup>66</sup> Though perhaps a bit less haphazard than *Nostrum est impletum*, *Hui matin a la jornee* hardly epitomizes a regular text. Frobenius considered the text-music relationship of *Nostrum est impletum* indicative of a later period. Frobenius, “Zum genetischen Verhältnis,” 16.

<i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216)			<i>Hui matin a la jornee</i> (217)		
	Nostrum	2p a		Hui matin a la jornee	7+ a
	est imple/tum <sup>a</sup>	4p b		me levai.	3 b
	gaudium	3pp c		Chevauchai	3 b
	per azimum.	4p(a) d	5	aual la pre/e.	4+(a) a
5	Sit animum	4pp(a) d		Truis pastore deffuble/e	7+ a
	pascha letum.	4p(a) b		cueillant glai.	3 b
	Leto letum	4p b		Bele fu et coloree	7+ a
	est deletum	4p b			
	exulat exilium	7pp c		cortoise sage et senee.	7+ a
10	post triduum.	4pp e		S'ot le cuer gai.	4 b
	Cessat vacuum	5pp e	10	Vers li tig mon oirre	5+ c
	tu/um	2p(a) e			
	mors decretum.	4p(a) b		si la saluai.	5 b
	Amplexatur parvulum	7pp f		Bele buer fussiez vos ne/e.	7+ a
15	dat osculum	4pp(a) f		Venez ent en ma contre/e.	7+ a
	dat anulum	4pp(a) f			
	pater et vitulum.	6pp(a) f		Ie vos amerai.	5 b
	O quam dulce ferulum	7pp f	15	Vos serez mout bien luie/e.	7+ a
	in ara crucis toridum	8pp(a) g		De novel vos vestirai.	7 b
20	a quo fluit sapidum	7pp g		<i>Biauz douz sire non ferai.</i>	7 b
	cruor poculum	5pp f		<i>I'en ai un que pluz chier ai.</i>	7 b
	nostrum.	2p a			

<sup>a</sup>The syllable following the slash (/) corresponds to the first syllable of the next verse in the alternate text.

Table 4.6: Comparison of *Nostrum est impletum* and *Hui matin a la jornee*

So which came first? A three-voice clausula, with only a single surviving, unsuccessfully-modified example of its conversion to a conductus-motet? A two-voice French motet? Or a two-voice Latin motet? I have shown above that the Latin two-voice motet could have originated from the expansion of the opening motto and the modeling of a second pseudo-strophe on that of the first. Yet even without the strophic modeling of the motet, the music can easily be explained through the text's primary verse rhythms. Only two verses in the poem, not including the opening melisma on the 2p *nostrum*, employ rhythms which are either inconclusive or not the typical rhythm of the verse type listed on Table 4.1b: one 2p(a) verse (12), and one 4p(a) verse (4). Both of these examples may be explained through context. The uniqueness of the 2p(a) verse (the only example among the **Ch** and **F** motets in the data set) suggests the problematic nature of the verse type itself. A less consistent division of the poem by rhyme would place *tuum* at the

end of verse 11 (Payne) or the beginning of 13 (Tischler), but neither the 7p(t), in the first instance, or the 6p(a), in the second provides a better solution. Neither verse type contains more than six examples among the **F** motets and the typical patterns do not coincide with the resulting composite verse rhythm of the text. Instead, I believe that the *tuum* responds to the preceding word (*vacuum*), using the same two-syllable rhyme to create an artificial proparoxytonic stress, a breve-long rhythm, on a paroxytonic word. Similarly, the 4p(a) *per azimum* of verse 4 responds to the similar rhymes that surround it: *gaudium* and *animum*. The simplest explanation is that since *azimum* rhymes with *animum* (and to a lesser degree with *gaudium*) the poet understood the word to accent similarly and therefore the verse would be assigned the same rhythmic pattern. This argument makes the most sense when considered in the order presented in **Ch**, with *animum* preceding *azimum*, rather than the reverse as presented in **F**. So while it is certainly possible that a three-voice clausula was badly adapted to create a conductus-motet, it seems more plausible that the conductus-motet came first because the text so clearly articulates the structural and rhythmic characteristics of the music.

#### 4.4 The Problem with Verse Length Rhythms

For motets such as *O Maria maris stella* and *Homo quam sit pura* the correspondence between motetus text and rhythms and their relationship to tenor patterns is easily explained: the structure of the tenor pattern defines the motetus phrases which in turn are rhythmically determined by the textual verses. In cases like *Nostrum est impletum* the tenor pattern informs the creation of an opening motto which defines integral characteristics of the motetus phrases again rhythmically articulated through the employment of typical verse rhythms. In many instances, however, motet texts appear to defy these principles by deliberately obscuring tenor patterns through elision and varying phrase lengths unrelated to the tenor pattern, as well as

employing non-typical verse rhythms. In the following analyses, I will consider other ways in which motetus text and tenor work together that both argue for the primacy of motet over clausula, as well as clarify certain notational irregularities.

#### 4.4.1 *In veritate comperi* (451) / [*Veritatem*] [M37]

The musical setting of the Chancellor's *In veritate comperi* is one of the more difficult pieces to account for from a textual perspective. Eleven of the forty-three verses employ rhythms that do not correspond to their primary rhythmic pattern, in many cases employing a number of perfect longs or, at the opposite extreme, sets of three texted breves (unusual for early motets; see Table 4.7).<sup>67</sup> These non-conventional settings begin already in the first verse, where both the first and final words are set to perfect (or duplex) longs. Verse 1 is the first of four settings in this motet of the uncommon 8pp verse type. The rhythm of verse 1 is unique, but its unusual rhythm appears to function, as in the earlier examples, to articulate the tenor pattern, two statements of 3 li | borrowed from the tenor of *O Maria maris stella* (see section 3.5.2 above). The second 3 li | corresponds to the final three longs of verse 1 which, rather than concluding, immediately move into a short eliding verse that ends the musical phrase. The employment of the three-long textual setting in this phrase not only establishes the 2 x 3 li | pattern that dominates and defines the tenor and the piece as a whole, it also provides a rhythmic identity for the motet text that recurs throughout the piece, not unlike *Nostrum est impletum*.

Of the remaining ten verses which defy the dominant rhythmic pattern for their verse type or employ an unusual verse type, five conclude with three longs. Four 7pp verses (18, 19, 24, and 25) employ the same rhythm as verse 1 without the initial duplex long. While one might account

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<sup>67</sup> Whether or not *In veritate comperi* qualifies as an early motet is debatable. The conductus-motet form argues for an early date, but its placement at the end of F's conductus-motet fascicle (not in liturgical order) as well as its textual relationship to the conductus *Dogmatum falsas species*, which David Traill dates to 1236, could argue for a late date of composition. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition," 253.





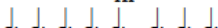







				signals end of tenor pattern: 2 x 3 li
I.i				
		In veritate comperi	8pp	
		quod sceleri	4pp(a)	
		cleri student unitas.	7pp	
		Livor regnat; veritas	7pp	
	5	datur funeri.	5pp	
I.ii		Heredes Luciferi	7pp	
				imitates cursus i
		sunt prelati	4p(a)	
				incorrect compression of 
		iam elati	4p	
		gloria.	3pp	
	10	Membra domat alia	7pp	
		capitis insania.	7pp	
		iii		
				text painting
		Ceci duces/que cecorum,	8p	
		excecati terrenorum	8p	
		ydolatria,	5pp	
	15	querunt omnes propria.	7pp	
II.i		Manus patent,	4p	
		sed iam latent	4p	
				imitates cursus I
		crucis beneficia.	7pp	
				imitates cursus I
		Luge, Syon filia	7pp	
	20	Fructus urit messium	7pp	
				signals end of strophe
		ignis in caudis vulpium.	8pp	
II.ii		Tristes per ypocritas.	7pp	
		Simulata sanctitatis,	7pp	
				replicates beginning of cursus II (verse 18)
		ut Thamar in bivio	7pp	
				replicates beginning of cursus II (verse 19)
	25	turpi marcens ocio,	7pp	
		totum orbem inficit.	7pp	
		iii		
		Nec / deficit,	4pp(a)	
		sed proficit,	4pp(a)	
		data liberati.	6p	
	30	Castitatem polluit;	7pp	
		caritatem respuit,	7pp	
III.i		studens paritati.	6p	
		Sedet in insidiis	7pp	
		hominum pre filiis,	7pp	
	35	pauperem ut rapiat	7pp	
		et, linguarum gladiis,	7pp	
				replicates verse 21
		iustum ut interficiat.	8pp	
		ii		
		Non / est qui bonum faciat	8pp(a)	
		istorum	3p	
	40	quorum consciencia	7pp	
		spelunca latronum.	6p	
				signals the end of the piece
		Hanc vide, videns omnia,	8pp	
		deus ultionum.	6p	

Table 4.7: *In veritate comperi* Summary of Deviant Verse Rhythms

for this rhythm simply by pointing to the opening verse, there appears to be something more significant at play. Recall that verse 16 (*Manus patent*) begins the second statement of *In veritate*'s tenor cursus. A comparison of these two cursus demonstrates that their first two musical phrases are identical in length and while not melodically identical employ some similar musical material (see Example 4.8). The implication is that both verses 18 and 19 (*crucis beneficia / Luge Syon filia*), though deviating from their dominant 7pp rhythm, do so to align with corresponding phrases in the previous pseudo-strophe while employing the identifying three-long rhythmic pattern of the motet.

Example 4.8: *In veritate comperi* Beginning of Cursus I (Perf. 1) & II (Perf. 65) Compared

Verses 24 and 25 (*ut Thamar in bivio / turpo marcens ocio*) prove more difficult to explain. Neither of these musical phrases align with their corresponding phrases in cursus I (or III), yet from a poetic perspective there is a correspondence between the two interior cursus II.i and II.ii. The short 4p verses 16 and 17 expand into the 7pp verses 22 and 23. These are then followed by the identical rhythms of 18–19 and 24–25. Even the rhyme scheme remains the same between the two cursus.

The two additional verses that conclude with three perfect longs, in fact, are comprised entirely of perfect longs. The first, the 8p verse 12, which bridges cursus I.ii and I.iii, provides a clear example of text painting in its slow march from one perfection to the next on the text “the blind and their blind leaders” (*Ceci ducesque cecorum*). The unusually isolated 3p *istorum* of

verse 39, on the other hand, while employing the typical rhythm of 3p verses also provides another example of melodic “borrowing” from cursus I. The verse that precedes it (*Non est qui bonum faciat*) marks the third statement of cursus ii and these two verses replicate the musical material of the previous cursus not only in the motetus but also in both the **F** and **Ch** versions of the triplum (see Example 4.9).

89  
Tr-Cursus II (F)

25  
Tr-Cursus I (F)

153  
Tr-Cursus III (Ch)

89  
Tr-Cursus II (Ch)

25  
Tr-Cursus I (Ch)

153  
Cursus III  
est qui bo - num fa - ci - at 39. i - sto - rum

89  
Cursus II  
22. Tri - stes per y - po - cri - tas 23. si - mu - la - ta san - cti - tas,

25  
Cursus I  
6. He - ro - des Lu - ci - fe - ri 7. sunt pre - la - ti 8. iam e - la -

Tenor

Example 4.9: *In veritate comperi* Opening of Cursus I.ii, II.ii, and III.ii

Finally, the last of the eleven problematic verses are four that each begin with three texted breves. The first of these, verse 8 *iam elati*, provides another instructive example in the usefulness of strophe/cursus comparison. All mensural versions of *In veritate comperi* notate the first three syllables unambiguously as three breves. This rhythm is reinforced by the presence of

a stroke of division before the verse in all but one of these sources (**CI**) as well as in **F** but not in either **W2** or **Ch**.<sup>68</sup> The authority of **F** together with the mensural redactions of the motet strongly argue for the use of three texted breves at this moment, but a comparison with cursus I.i as well as cursus II.ii calls this version into question. Verse 8 continues the musical phrases just discussed at the beginning of cursus I.ii, II.ii, and III.ii, in which all three pseudo-strophes are nearly identical. A comparison of cursus I.ii with cursus II.ii demonstrates that if *iam elati* began the previous breve, the phrase would correspond even more precisely with cursus II.ii (see Example 4.10). A close observer might note, however, that the musical figure of *iam ela-* is a

Example 4.10: *In veritate comperi* Comparison of *iam elati* with Cursus II.ii

simple ornamentation of the pitch *a*, like the musical figure on *-lata* in cursus II.ii is a simple ornamentation of the pitch *b*. While this is certainly the case, I would argue against such a simple explanation for two reasons. First, while the former certainly ornaments the original pitch, the ornamentation maintains the dominant rhythm of the verse, whereas the latter employs three texted breves for no significant reason. (I will show below that the other examples in this motet signal important textual moments.) Second, moving *iam* to the previous breve aligns the musical phrase of cursus I.ii with I.i, the opening of the motet (see Example 4.11). Just as the first verse of the motet signals the end of the first tenor pattern, so do the first two verses of cursus I.ii, and

<sup>68</sup> The stroke appears before *iam elati* in both upper parts in **F**, fol. 398r.



just like verse 1 the musical phrase continues with a four-syllable verse. While this alternative rhythm does not “correct” the 4p verse to the typical rhythm it does account for the verse’s divergence, though the two phrases conclude differently.

25  
I.ii  
6. He - ro - des Lu - ci - fe - ri 7. sunt pre - la - ti 8. iam e - la - ti 9. glo - ri - a

I  
I.i  
1. In \_\_\_\_\_ ver - i - ta - te com - pe - ri 2. quod sce - le - ri 3. cle - ri stu - det

Example 4.11: *In veritate compari* Comparison of *iam elati* with Cursus I.i

Three other verses begin with three texted breves (verses 21, 37, and 42), and each employ the unusual 8pp verse type with which the motet begins. Unlike *iam elati* all three verses are preceded by a stroke of division in **Ch**, but there is no harmonic reason the phrases could not begin on the previous breve thereby creating the dominant rhythm for the 8pp(a) verse type. However, in these instances, certain features (aside from the mensural redations) suggest the accepted rhythm was intended. First of all, in the first example, verse 21 (*ignis in caudis vulpium*), the triplum in **F**, which employs figures worth three breves (i.e., a longa florata) on the previous perfection, makes movement back by a breve almost impossible for reasons of logical performance practice. Second, the quick movement up by step is evocative of the fire in the foxes’ tails detailed in the text, another example of text painting following that of the blind leaders in verse 12. Third, verse 21 and verse 37 (*iustum ut interficiat*) occur at the same moment within their respective cursus, perfections 85 and 149, respectively, again demonstrating textual/musical relationships between corresponding cursus. Finally, all three verses signal the

end of textually significant moments: verse 21 marks the end of the first half as well as the refrain text; verse 37 concludes cursus III.i; and verse 42 (*hanc vide, videns omnia*; perfection 169) is the penultimate verse, heralding the end of the motet. What the preceding analysis demonstrates is the ability of verse rhythms, pseudo-strophic repetitions, and significant textual moments to account for the rhythmic identity of a motetus, even in those instances that appear independent of tenor patterns and which include seemingly random rhythmic variety.

#### 4.4.2 *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) / [*Et gaudebit*] [M24]

Even more difficult to explain in terms of verse length than *In veritate comperi* is the Marian motet *O quam sancta quam benigna*, discussed in relation to pseudo-strophic form in Chapter Three. Of the twenty-four verses of the poem, almost half – ten verses – equal or exceed nine syllables, verse lengths especially uncommon among mode 1 motets (see Table 4.8). Of the remaining fourteen verses, seven depart from their dominant rhythmic type, and in almost every case the deviations consist of words or syllables set to consecutive longs. This leaves only one quarter of the motet's verses that accord with typical verse rhythms. The resulting textual form, strictly divided according to rhyme, adheres remarkably well to the musical phrases as they appear in **F**'s corresponding clausula.<sup>69</sup> Does this combination of characteristics (unusual verse types, and text-phrase correspondence) point to a text specifically created to mimic the form of the clausula? I would argue no.

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<sup>69</sup> There are two surviving two-voice clausulae for *O quam sancta*. **F** contains the earliest extant version, while the version in **StV** appears next to the text incipit *Al cor ai une*, the motetus incipit of the French double motet in **W2**. There are minimal differences between the two versions. The most common deviations occur at the ends of phrases: where in **F** the duplum rests for a perfect long, **StV** consistently repeats the final pitch of the phrase to fill in the space, perhaps as a way of indicating *ultra mensuram* durations. This happens regardless of whether the tenor rests with the duplum or sustains a duplex long. This persistent apparent dislike for the absence of moving notes, is counterbalanced by **StV**'s almost equally regular use of the stroke of division after notes the length of a perfect long. This is especially evident in the first two phrases where seven of the eight perfect longs precede a stroke of division, compared to only three in **F**, two of which correspond to syllable changes in the tenor.

O quam <sup>a</sup> sancta, quam benigna fulget <sup>a</sup> mater Salvatoris, laude plena virgo digna, archa Noe, Iacob scala, vasculum pudoris,	8p 8p 8p 14p		two monosyllabic words (2p+6p) imitation of verse 1 imitation of verse 1
5 aula Redemptoris, totius fons dulcoris, angelorum <i>gaudium</i> , lactans Dei filium, regem omnium.	6p 7p(a) 7pp 7pp 5pp 7pp		first troped word; rests with tenor
10 Ave, salus gentium, preces supplicantium! Audi, virgo, Yesse virga <sup>a</sup> nobilis, super omnes venerabilis!	7pp 7pp 11pp 9pp		final <i>-ium</i> rhyme; rests over sustained pitch in tenor
(II) Spes unica, succurre miseris! 15 Inebrians animas fons es <sup>a</sup> admirabilis, que tuos numquam mori deseris. O <sup>a</sup> anima, ex sordibus vilis hanc Mariam virginem expostula, ut sit pro te sedula	10pp 14pp 10pp 10p 11pp 7pp 7pp		monosyllabic word monosyllabic word monosyllabic word monosyllabic word; final <i>-ilis</i> rhyme; rests with tenor last <i>-ula</i> rhyme; rests with tenor
20 exorare filium propitium, una spes fidelium. O genitrix, <i>gaude</i> in filio! <i>Gaudens</i> ego <i>gaudeo</i> in Domino.	4pp(a) 7pp 10pp 11pp		last <i>-ium</i> rhyme; rests with tenor monosyllabic word monosyllabic word; last <i>-ino</i> rhyme

<sup>a</sup> The <sup>a</sup> indicates a stroke of division present in the F clausula but not in the motet  
orange = verses with deviant rhythms

Table 4.8: *O quam sancta* Summary of Deviant Verse Rhythms

Only five of the twenty-four verses (1, 2, 12, 15, and 17) differ from the phrasing suggested by the **F** clausula, and each of these examples provides insight into the close relationship between the texted and untexted versions of the piece. The first two verses are instructive because the clausula divides the first two perfections in each phrase from the remaining four but lacks a stroke of division between the two verses (see Example 4.12a). The strokes of division between perfections 2–3 and 8–9 in **F** are traditionally understood as syllable breaks where the tenor moves from *et* to *gau-* and finally to *-de-*. The text of all five motets on this clausula reflects these divisions by ending the preceding word(s) before the break, for example, the first two words of *O quam sancta* occur on perfections 1 and 2 and the word *fulget* on perfections 7 and 8. This division not only respects the text, it creates a poetic phrase of 2p+6p syllables both of which adhere to their typical rhythmic patterns, unlike the combined 8p verse.<sup>70</sup>

F-Duplum, fol. 161v

Motet

1. O quam san - cta quam be - ni - gna 2. ful - get ma - ter Sal - va - to - ris,  
 1. Ve - lut stel - le fir - ma - men - ti 2. ful - gent fa - cta pre - la - to - rum.  
 1. Vir - go vir - gi - num re - gi - na 2. vir - ga vi - rens ge - ne - ro - sa,  
 1. Me - mor tu - i cre - a - to - ris; 2. ei - us vi - vas in ti - mor - re.  
 1. Al - cor ai - une a - le - gran - ce 2. d'un fier dol et ob - scu - ra - de;

Tenor

Et gau - - - - - de - - - - -

Example 4.12a: Comparison of *Et gaudebit* Clausula in **F** with Motet Texts (317, 315, 321, 320, and 319)

The remaining “extra” strokes of division (i.e., those not signifying a rest in modern notation) in the **F** clausula also reflect textual divisions in all but one motet text (see Example 4.12b). A division after perfection 62 separates the first eight syllables of verse 12 from the final three, and the familiar 4p+4p = 8p pattern of *audi virgo Yesse virga* from the concluding 3pp

<sup>70</sup> The typical 2p(t) verse rhythm among the **F** motets is two consecutive longs.

59

F-Duplum,  
fol. 161v

motets

12. Au - di, vir - go, Yes - se vir - ga no - bi - lis,  
gra - na pu - ra se - pa-rant a pa - le - a  
14. Mi - se - ris o - pem pro - pi - na, 15. do - mi - na,  
12. La - bi - lem ro - tam er - ro - ris 13. pro - vi - dus  
12. Per hoc sui en tel ba - len - ce 13. que des deus

Tenor

Perfections 59–64

95

F-Duplum,  
fol. 161v

motets

17. O a - ni - ma, ex sor - di - bus vi - lis  
23. nec o - cu - los 24. ad lo - cu - los 25. fle - ctunt  
22. quos e - mu - la 23. car - nis tra - hit vi - a,  
21. Pos - si - de - as 22. o - pes lu - cis ve - re,  
21. que froit jo - vent no - vi - on qes cou - brar,

Tenor

Perfections 95–102

Example 4.12b: Comparison of *Et gaudebit* Clausula in **F** with Motet Texts (317, 315, 321, 320, and 319)

*nobilis*, both employing their dominant rhythmic type. Two strokes of division separate the first two exhortatory words of verse 17 (*O anima*) but in this instance while the first four syllables employ the typical verse rhythm, arguing that the following 6p(a) verse does as well is more difficult. 6p(a) is a problematic verse length since there are no examples among the **Ch** motets and only two examples in the **F** repertory. However, of those two examples one matches the rhythm of this pseudo-verse from *O quam sancta*. Therefore, even with serious hesitation, the rhythm present here is typical. One final stroke of division in the **F** clausula separates the ninth syllable of verse 15 after the words *fons es*. This division, unlike in the previous verses, is more difficult to account for. Only *Memor tui creatoris* (320), like *O quam sancta*, has a textual break after this syllable.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The verse in question is *quia iugiter gaudeas* (verse 18), and the stroke of division occurs after the first word, *quia*.

One of the interesting characteristics of this motet is the preponderance of perfect longs. Unlike *In veritate comperi*, however, these occur both at the ends of phrases as well as at beginnings. The significance of rhyme in the shaping of the musico-poetic phrases may account for many of the concluding perfect longs. Verses 7, 11, 17, 19, 22 and 24 all conclude with three perfect longs, and in each but the first of these they are the final iteration of their respective rhyme syllable. Perhaps also significantly, all verses but one (verse 11) are followed by a rest of a perfect long which occurs simultaneously with an identical rest in the tenor. In the case of verse 11, the rest in the motetus occurs over a sustained pitch in the tenor. This leaves only verse 7 unaccounted for and in this instance the setting emphasizes the first troped word (*gaudium*) of the motet. But what of the nine verses that begin with perfect longs? The remarkable characteristic of these verses is the number of them that begin with a monosyllabic word. Five of these verses (1, 14, 16, 17, and 23) begin with a monosyllabic word, and a sixth (verse 15) begins with a word containing a prefix (*Inebrians*). Of the three remaining verses, verses 2 and 3 repeat the pattern begun in verse 1 (and set the typical pattern for two-syllable “verses” as noted above). The final example, the last verse of the poem (*Gaudens ego gaudeo in Domino*), also begins with two longs for the initial two-syllable word (the word *gaudens*), and it could be the second trope on the third word of the verse that accounts for the three texted breves before the final three perfect longs of the motet.

\*       \*       \*

In the preceding sections I have shown, through data gathered on verse rhythms, pseudo-strophic relationships between tenor cursus, as well as important textual characteristics and corresponding textual and musical moments, that both the simple and more rhythmically complex motets in **Ch** can be defended as text-first compositions rather than textings of pre-

existing music. While no such argument need be made for conductus, a genre understood as text-first (or at least conceived simultaneously with text and music), the data provided by mode 1 verse types in motets begs the question, to what extent can verse type rhythms inform a rhythmic interpretation of conductus, a genre now commonly considered rhythmically free? Before turning to the question of conductus rhythm, I turn briefly to the notational practices in **Ch** as they relate to the rhythmic interpretation of the motets. What this analysis demonstrates is the keen concern of the **Ch** scribe for practical performance issues, which not only re-emphasizes the preceding analyses of the motets, but also informs the interpretation of the data below concerning the conductus.

#### 4.5 Notation

Whether or not notation, or more specifically the physical characteristics of individual or groups of notes, in pre-mensural *cum littera* music is capable of communicating rhythm has long interested scholars. Recent research has begun to show that notational anomalies, at least in manuscripts from the later thirteenth century, were communicative in the context for which they were created. Mary Wolinski took great pains in her dissertation on the Montpellier codex to demonstrate the competing notational systems with which the scribes worked and the synthesis they made of modal, Garlandian, Lambertian, and Franconian notational practices.<sup>72</sup> Also attempting to account for the unusual notation in the Las Huelgas manuscript, Nicolas Bell argued for a contextual approach which bases the interpretation of the rhythms on “the music itself as displayed in the notation,” which “assumes that the notation has the pragmatic purpose

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<sup>72</sup> Mary E. Wolinski, “The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation, and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1988), 84–138.

of denoting the manner of performance of the music.”<sup>73</sup> Finally, in a codicological context similar to that of **Ch**, Sean Curran has shown that the pseudo-mensural notation in the *La Clayette* motet manuscript, as well as the physical layout of the music, effectively communicated enough information to allow for performance by those without prior knowledge of the music.<sup>74</sup>

I argue that something similar is occurring in the earlier notational practices witnessed in **Ch**, which employs two significant conventions in this regard. The first is elongated noteheads, which occur at important moments throughout the motets and conductus. In this section I focus exclusively on the motets, and demonstrate how these elongated note forms, together with certain other notational devices, account for almost all of the atypical verse rhythms discussed above. Second is the unusual score format. Though highly inefficient from a materials standpoint, score format is ideally suited for accurate coordination of individual parts and the correct reproduction of music without prior knowledge. Far from being the experimental genre-mixing Everist described (see section 3.6 above), **Ch**'s notational practices provide the “hard evidence” that the scribe intended the manuscript to communicate the performative component of the music as clearly as possible.<sup>75</sup>

#### 4.5.1 Lengthened Noteheads

The elongated notehead, in many cases, is a question of degree. The form appears throughout *sine littera* and *cum littera* notation in the majority of the Notre Dame sources, but while some forms are unequivocally lengthened, others are subject to context and debate. Any

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<sup>73</sup> Nicholas Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), 75. On *Las Huelgas* see most recently David Catalunya “Music, Space and Ritual in Medieval Castile, 1221–1350” (PhD diss., Universität Würzburg, 2016).

<sup>74</sup> Curran, “Reading and Rhythm.”

<sup>75</sup> Richard Crocker, in describing his own approach to rhythm in Aquitanian polyphony, notes, “The approach presented here results in a mean between...extremes, while attempting to be more specific than ‘free.’ It stays close to the notation of the sources, not because the notation is necessarily prescriptive, but simply because it is the closest we have to ‘hard’ evidence.” Richard L. Crocker, “Rhythm in Early Polyphony,” *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1990):147–77, at 148.



number of factors can contribute to an elongated form that may have nothing to do with performance practice: the difference between a large word with few syllables (*flamma*) versus a small word with many syllables (*area*); a hurried notating session in which a scribe creates some notes more quickly than others; perhaps, even, a more deliberate approach to beginnings of phrases, or when a scribe refreshed his ink. It is not my intention to consider every notehead in **Ch** that appears slightly longer than its surrounding compatriots. Rather, I focus on those that clearly indicate a deliberate difference in length, and hence may signify a rhythmic difference. What becomes apparent in the motets I discuss below is the accuracy with which the **Ch** scribe notated the unusual rhythmic patterns of the music.

#### 4.5.1.1 The Monophonic Motets<sup>76</sup>

There are only two elongated noteheads among the three monophonic motets in gathering y, and both of these occur on the penultimate note of a phrase: in the final verse of *Nostrum est impletum*, and the fourth verse of *Eximia mater*. In light of the fact that not a single lengthened notehead appears among the monophonic sequences in gathering x, it begs the question, is there some understood performative and/or generic difference between the monophonic and polyphonic pieces in **Ch**? Yet, taken in the context of typical verse rhythms, the paucity of these note forms conforms with the predictable rhythms in these motets (see below on *Eximia mater*). The fragmentary *Homo quam sit pura* (only four-and-a-half verses survive) contains no elongated noteheads because no such rhythmic indicator would be necessary for the succession of 6p verses (or two 4p verses) that constitutes this motet. Similarly, despite the variety of verse lengths in *Nostrum est impletum*, all verses can be accounted for in relation to typical verse rhythms. If such is the case, however, why is the penultimate note lengthened? In this instance it

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<sup>76</sup> Full transcriptions of these motets appear in Appendix D.

may be as simple as convention, as Christopher Page would assert (see section 4.6 below). Nevertheless, it seems possible that some type of elongation is being acknowledged. In all three clausula sources, the phrase that corresponds to the final two syllables of the motet comprise significantly more pitches, extending the phrase by an additional two perfect longs. In **F** the ternaria of the clausula duplum becomes a binaria in the motet with the initial pitch of the figure, *c*, lengthened significantly. The difference, of course, between **F** and **Ch** is both the number of pitches, and the elongated pitch itself. While the clausulae (and the **F** motet) begin this final phrase as a continuation of the *c* with which the previous phrase ended, **Ch** proceeds instead with a lengthened *d* (see Figure 4.2). A change in the harmonic emphasis of the final phrase, the

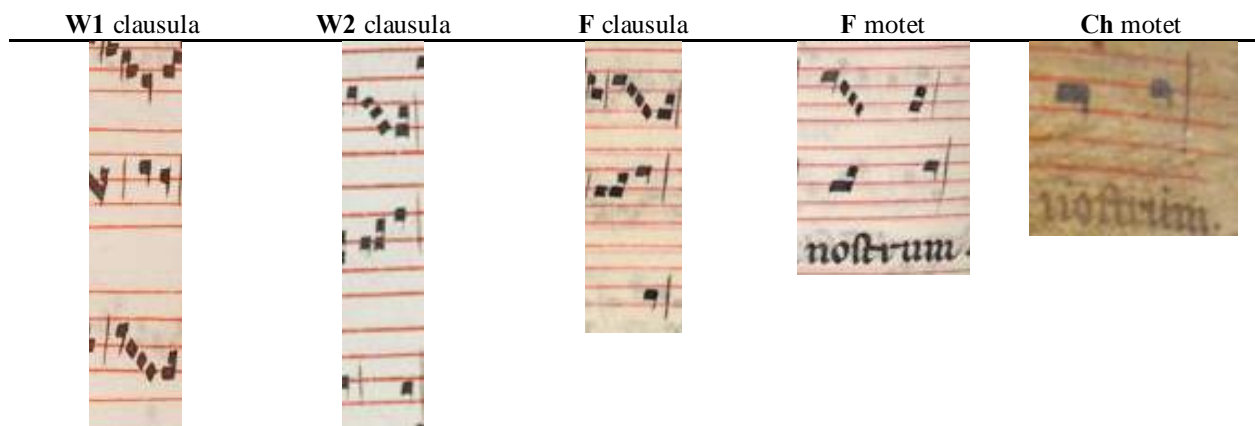


Figure 4.2: Final Phrase of *Nostrum* Clausula and *Nostrum est impletum* Compared

lengthening of the sixth, rather than the fifth, over the tenor emphasizes the move to the final octave more significantly than either the clausulae or **F** motet (see Example 4.13). And though the **Ch** motet need not proceed with a lengthening of the penultimate pitch, in fact neither of the French contrafact's extant sources indicate such a lengthening, the elongated notehead indicates

that some performers understood the final word *nostrum* with an expanded first syllable, not unlike the word's initial iteration on a lengthy melisma.<sup>77</sup>

65

W1 clausula, fol. 49r (57r)

W2 clausula, fol. 22v

F clausula, fol. 24r

F, fol. 384v

Ch, fol. 5v

Tenor

21. cru - or po - cu - lum 22. no - - - - strum.

Example 4.13: Ending of *Nostrum Clausula* and *Nostrum est impletum* Compared

*Eximia mater* (101) / *Et illuminare* [M9] is a little more problematic. I have put off an analysis of this motet until this point for two reasons. First, despite a repeating tenor cursus *Eximia mater* lacks any obvious tenor-related pseudo-strophic division as discussed in relation to similar **Ch** motets in Chapter Three. Second, *Eximia mater* is generally transcribed as a mode 3 motet. This makes the application of evidence gathered with respect to mode 1 motets in this chapter possibly irrelevant. Yet, it is worth considering *Eximia mater* in relation to the mode 1 motets both because Thomas Payne hypothesized that the corresponding clausula may have originated as a mode 1 clausula,<sup>78</sup> and there are a number of correspondences between the verse rhythms of *Eximia mater* and the typical verse rhythms of mode 1 motets.

<sup>77</sup> I chose to postpone the discussion of this lengthened pitch to this section, so Example 4.3 employs the simpler ending of two successive perfect longs for the 2p *nostrum*.

<sup>78</sup> This is based exclusively on the harmonic relationships between the parts. Payne, “Poetry, Politics, Polyphony,” 5:1045–49.

There are three extant versions of the Latin motet, in **Ch**, **Stary Sącz**, and **W2**, and none are identical. **Ch** contains the only version with an additional text strophe and lacks the opening *Et illumina* motto. **Stary Sącz** contains the opening motto, as does **W2**, but in the case of the latter it appears as a correction appended to the end of the motetus voice. **W2** also transmits two French contrafacts, *Et illumina je vos salu dame* (105) and *Entre Robin et Marot* (104). A glance through the Latin poem (see Table 4.9) indicates a typical form with irregular verse lengths, but

	Eximia	4pp	♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	mater plena gratie,	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	potens et pia,	5p	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	subveni pie.	5p	♪ ♪ ♪. ♪. ♪.
5	Per te pater vie	6p	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪. ♪.
	celi regie.	5pp	♪ ♪ ♪. ♪. ♪.
	O virgo regia,	6pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	egregia	4pp	♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	regia,	3pp	♪ ♪ ♪.
10	regis glorie	5pp	♪ ♪ ♪. ♪. ♪.
	victorie	4pp	♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	confert subsidia.	6pp	♪ ♪ ♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	Da gaudia,	4pp	♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	remove tedia,	6pp	♪ ♪ ♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
15	fons venie,	4pp	♪. ♪ ♪ ♪.
	vie	2p	♪. ♪.
	patrie	3pp	♪ ♪ ♪.
	gloria!	3pp	♪ ♪ ♪.

Table 4.9: *Eximia mater* Verse Rhythms

the text includes a number of unusual verse types for a poem this short (5 of 18 verses), namely two 5p verses (3 and 4) and three 6pp verses (7, 12 and 14). A comparison with the typical rhythms of mode 1 motets demonstrates that aside from the reversal of long-breve to breve-long the verses maintain the same verse rhythm in eleven of the eighteen verses. The exceptions, other than the five just mentioned, are the two 5pp verses which each conclude with three perfect longs.

Rather than to try to account for the “discrepancies” of verse length rhythms, it is instead interesting to note whether, if at all, the notation aids in the clarification of rhythm in the monophonic context of this motet. First of all, as noted above, the only lengthened notehead occurs on the penultimate syllable of verse 4. In the context of mode 3 this syllable would be a breve, and therefore the lengthening of the notehead clearly communicates a rhythmic nuance required for performance. On the other hand, it is clear from the preceding verses that the dominant rhythmic pattern in this section of the piece is mode 2, not mode 3, alternating breve-long patterns, so it could be argued the previous pitch should have been lengthened to correctly interpret the concluding three perfect longs of that verse. I would simply note that if the penultimate pitch were understood in second mode, then that pitch would be an imperfect long. Lengthened to a perfect long through notation, the preceding breve would exist without a rhythmic partner and have to be elongated to keep a regular tempus. If the antepenult were lengthened, then the final two pitches of the verse could proceed in mode 3 (or mode 2: the rhythms would be the same) and additional elongation would be required. The single elongated penultimate pitch is sufficient clarification of the intent.

The same rhythmic pattern occurs for both of the 5pp verses. Rather than employ elongation for these phrases, however, the lengthening of the three final syllables in these instances is created through the use of ternariae. In the second of these, verse 10, it is, once again, only the penultimate syllable that receives the ternaria forcing the elongation of the previous syllable (set to a single pitch) to compensate by lengthening as well. The previous instance, verse 6, on the other hand, employs a ternaria on both the penultimate and the antepenultimate syllable. Below I show how ternariae are similarly used in conductus to indicate “isosyllabic,” or a one-syllable-per-perfect-long, text settings. It also seems to be a technique

employed extensively in *Eximia mater*. Two of the three 6pp verses employ ternariae to create their rhythmic profile. This includes the second and third syllables of verse 7—again requiring the elongation of the first syllable in response—and the third syllable of verse 12, though by this stage the third mode pattern, virtually absent in the first third of the poem, is so prominent that the ternaria on the third syllable is unnecessary from a rhythmic perspective. Perhaps this is why the final 6pp verse (14) lacks a ternaria on its third syllable.

This leaves only the unusual 5p verse 3 (*potens et pia*). The rhythm employed is the mode 2 equivalent pattern for 5pp verses (in mode 1),<sup>79</sup> and I am inclined to wonder if this verse could have been intended as a “substitute” 5pp, similar to the “substitute” 4pp verse in *Nostrum est impletum*.<sup>80</sup> Every other paroxytonic verse ending in this motet concludes with (at least) two longs, and all of those texts end with an *-ie* rhyme. All of the *-ia* rhymes, as in verse 3, are proparoxytonic rhymes except verse 3. On the other hand, the importance of the mode 2 rhythms of verse 2 could have created the momentum to keep the breve-long pattern dominant until the end of the period on the following 5p verse with its finality of three perfect longs signaled by a lengthened notehead.

#### 4.5.1.2 The Polyphonic Motets

A 5p verse is also the single example of notational elongation in the Marian motet *O Maria maris stella*. The 5p verse which concludes the motet (*in veritate*) breaks with the poetic pattern of 8p+5pp that dominates the rest of the text. That this divergence results from the troping of the tenor text *veritatem* I have already called into question in Chapter Three (see sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.5 above). Whatever the reason for the change in accent, in **Ch** the

<sup>79</sup> In fact, the corresponding verse in **Ch**'s second strophe (*mitte lumina*) is 5pp.

<sup>80</sup> Norberg notes a tendency for a monosyllabic preposition act as a proclitic to create a displaced accent equivalent to a proparoxytone. He makes no specific mention of the conjunction *et*, nevertheless, a similar practice may be occurring in this verse. Norberg, *Introduction*, 16–17.

accompanying notation includes a lengthened notehead in all three voices on the antepenult (triplum) or penultimate pitch (motetus, tenor). This elongation of the notehead also occurs in **F** (only in the motetus and triplum) and **W2** (only in the motetus) (see Figure 4.3). As with *Eximia mater*, there is reason to believe that the notation was intended to communicate the lengthening of the final three pitches.

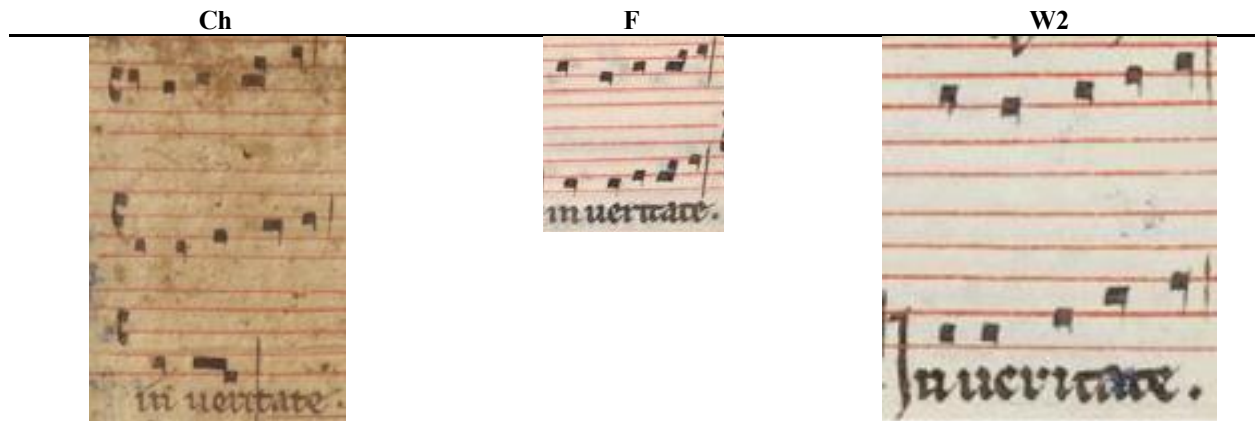


Figure 4.3: *O Maria maris stella* Elongated Noteheads

The various “mensural” versions of the motet already employ a variety of endings (Example 4.14). Several versions including **Ba** and **Cambrai** lengthen the final two pitches of the previous verse to two perfect longs then compress the four subsequent syllables into two semibreves and two breves. **Hu**, in its first version, sets the first three syllables of the final verse to three breves and concludes with two perfect longs. The second version in **Hu**, alternatively, presents the rhythm commonly associated with the modal versions: the trochaic pattern employed throughout the previous verses. Only **Mo** presents a rhythm that reflects the lengthened noteheads of the motet’s *cum littera* notation. In this instance, the final verse begins with a trochee and then proceeds with three perfect longs. What the latter two versions employ, and perhaps the former two versions attempt to rectify, is a dissonance of a major second between motetus and tenor on the antepenultimate syllable. The use of such dissonances is not

57

Hu 2, fol. 124v,  
Cl, fol. 369v

Ba, fol. 49r,  
Ars. 3518, fol. 291r,  
Cambrai (5th down),  
fol. 129v

Hu 1, fol. 102v

Tenor

Mo, fol. 89v

Tenor

Example 4.14: *O Maria maris stella* Alternate Endings

uncommon, however. In fact, the same dissonance occurs in the corresponding phrase at the conclusion of cursus II in **Ch** (see Example 4.15). The interesting point about this

F, fol. 398r

41

Ch,  
fol. 15r

Tenor

Example 4.15: *O Maria maris stella* Cursus ii Concluding Dissonance

correspondence is that while the musical material adopted is almost identical, almost every other extant version, including **Mo**, **F**, and **W2**, avoids the dissonance through a leap from *G-b* then ornaments the *b* with neighbor motion down to *a* before proceeding with passing motion up to *c*. This signifies the importance of the dissonance in the final phrase. So, while it is perfectly acceptable to transcribe the final verse in a simple trochaic rhythm and account for its unusual accentuation through troping or signaling the end of the motet, it makes more poetic and musical



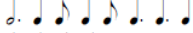


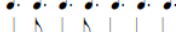
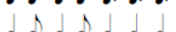
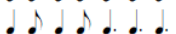
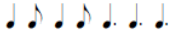


sense to lengthen the final three pitches, following the notation. Not only does this reinforce the paroxytonic accent, it also accentuates the dissonance and its slow, sweet expansion to the octave “in truth.”

The related, but far more complex motet *In veritate comperi* also employs a number of lengthened noteheads in **Ch**. Unlike *O Maria maris stella*, and *Nostrum est impletum*, **F** and **W2** generally lack most of these elongated forms or, at least, the difference between the lengthened noteheads and regular note forms is minimal. This distinction from **Ch** speaks, I believe, to the importance of the notation in **Ch** to aid in the communication of rhythm. I have already discussed above how the divergent verse rhythms of *In veritate comperi* can be explained in relation to important musical and/or textual moments as well as attention to “strophic” qualities of the motet. Most of these rhythmic lengthenings, however, are also reinforced through **Ch**’s notation. As with *Eximia mater* this occurs not only through the use of elongated noteheads but also through the use of ternariae, and other special shapes, many of which occur in **Ch**’s unique triplum.<sup>81</sup>

There are eight separate instances of note elongation, most of which occur in the first half of the motet. Specifically, there are two lengthened noteheads in verses 1 and 7, one in verse 9, two in verse 24, and one in the final verse (see Table 4.10). In all but one of these (verse 9) the elongated note corresponds with a divergent rhythm that employs perfect longs. The elongated note in verse 9, which occurs on the penultimate syllable of the 3pp verse *gloria*, I believe is a mistake. The corresponding phrases in cursus II and III employ the same melody and rhythm and therefore the typical verse rhythm of long-breve-long must be correct. What makes the presence

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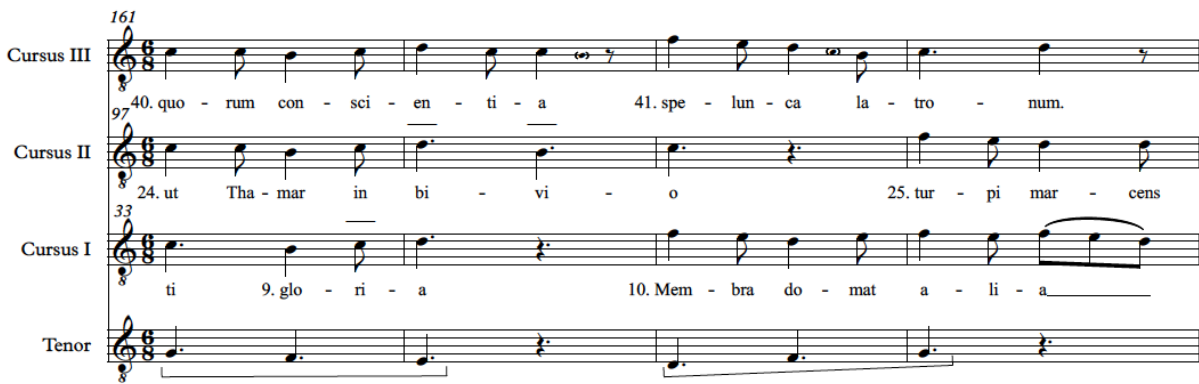
<sup>81</sup> It should be noted that **Ch**’s triplum contains several ternariae on syllables in the position of a breve. They usually occur at the ends of phrases and make me question whether these phrases might have been rendered isosyllabically and extended into the rests between iterations of the 3 li | tenor pattern.

	Verse	Rhythm
1	<b><u>in</u></b> veritate comperi	
7	sunt <b>prel</b> ati	
9	<i>gloria</i>	
12	ceci <u>ducesque</u> cecorum	
18	crucis beneficia	
19	luge, Syon <i>filia</i>	
24	ut Thamar in <b>biv</b> io	
25	turpi marcens <i>ocio</i>	
39	<i>istorum</i>	
43	Deus ultionum	second tenor pitch lengthened

**bold** – elongated notehead  
underline – plica duplex longa  
*italic* – ternaria

Table 4.10: *In veritate comperi* Notation

of an elongated notehead at this point interesting is that the subsequent lengthened pitches occur on the first two syllables of *bivio* in verse 24, the end of the corresponding phrase in cursus II (see Example 4.16). Perhaps this relationship confused the scribe and prompted the incorrect



161

Cursus III

40. quo - rum con - sci - en - ti - a 41. spe - lun - ca la - tro - num.

Cursus II

24. ut Tha - mar in bi - vi - o 25. tur - pi mar - cens

Cursus I

ti 9. glo - ri - a 10. Mem - bra do - mat a - li - a

Tenor

Example 4.16: *In veritate comperi* Comparison of *gloria* and *bivio* Notation

lengthening of the penultimate pitch of verse 9. Whatever the reason, the incorrect elongation of this pitch should not detract from the fact that every other example carries rhythmic significance and therefore was intended to communicate that rhythm to the users of the manuscript. However helpful the lengthened noteheads may be, they do not occur in every verse which employs perfect

longs to disrupt the conventional verse rhythm, namely verses 12, 18–19, and 25.<sup>82</sup> In each of these instances, however, either the triplum or duplum employs a ternaria as an alternative signal for lengthening the rhythmic value of a syllable. Together with the lengthened noteheads, these notational symbols account for all of the unusually lengthened rhythms of *In veritate comperi*.

Unfortunately, the presence of ternariae is not as reliable a witness to the lengthening of pitches as elongated noteheads. There are six ternariae in **Ch**'s triplum (and one in the duplum) which fall either on the strong or weak part of the typical trochaic (long-breve) rhythm.<sup>83</sup> Alternatively, **F**'s triplum contains only three (the last six-and-a-half verses are lost, however). Another notational problem is the inability of **Ch**'s notation to account for the three examples of three consecutive, texted breves in the three 8pp verses 21, 37, and 42 (Table 4.7 above).<sup>84</sup> Nothing in the notation or formatting suggests the rhythm of the text at the beginning of these verses. So, while the notational methods employed by the scribe clearly communicate the lengthening of pitches, no similarly suitable method was available for indicating the shortening of a duration except, perhaps, the verse length itself, and familiarity with “strophic” issues, as I have shown.

Finally, *O quam sancta quam benigna* similarly employs a combination of lengthened noteheads and ternariae to communicate atypical verse rhythms. Unfortunately, only two folios of the **Ch** motet survive so less than half of the music remains for comparison. The music that survives stretches from the beginning of verse 5 (*aula redemptoris*) through the tenth syllable of verse 15 (...*fons es ad*...). In this fragment there are four verses which employ perfect longs unpredictably. These include verses 7 and 11 which conclude with three perfect longs, verse 14

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<sup>82</sup> Verse 39 also employs three perfect longs, but **Ch**'s notation at that point is difficult to discern because of damage and reparative tape. Nevertheless, the motetus note on the penultimate syllable appears to be elongated.

<sup>83</sup> See note 81 above.

<sup>84</sup> I do not include verse 8 which I believe should be breve-long-breve (see above).

with its initial duplex long, and verse 15 also with an initial duplex long and subsequent perfect longs on the words *fons es* (see Table 4.11). Elongated noteheads appear on the antepenultimate syllable of verse 11 (in the motetus), as well as the first syllable of verse 15 (in the triplum).<sup>85</sup>

Additionally, verse 15 has two lengthened noteheads over the text *fons es* clarifying this

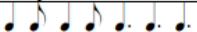
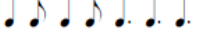
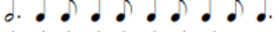
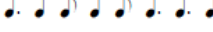
	Verse	Rhythm
7	angelorum <i>gaudium</i>	
11	preces suplicantium	
14	<u>spes</u> unica, succurre miseris	
15	<b>inebrians</b> animas <b>fons es</b> ad...	
	<b>bold</b> – elongated notehead	
	<u>underline</u> – plica duplex longa	
	<i>italic</i> – ternaria	

Table 4.11: *O quam sancta quam benigna* Notation

exceptionally odd 14pp verse. The remaining two verses employ ternaria (verse 7) and a plicated duplex long with a stroke of division (verse 14) to express lengthened durational values.

The reliability with which the **Ch** scribe indicated unexpected rhythmic values suggests, either through the lengthening of noteheads or the employment of ternariae, that the correct rendering of rhythmic values was of the utmost importance to the composer of the manuscript. While the employment of these symbols by the scribe is not entirely precise, there is enough evidence to argue that the manuscript could not only transmit the music to those without prior knowledge of its rhythms, it might also be used in performance. This hypothesis is further supported by the manuscript's employment of score format.

#### 4.5.2 Score Format<sup>86</sup>

One of **Ch**'s most outstanding characteristics is the arrangement of its motets in score with each of the voice parts notated one on top of the other from tenor to triplum, the text entered

<sup>85</sup> It could be argued that this notehead is not elongated, simply that it appears long in comparison to the following pitch. It certainly lacks the length of the other examples of lengthened noteheads in the middle of the same verse.

<sup>86</sup> Full transcriptions of the motets in score appear in Appendix E.

under the tenor staff. It is perhaps the single most commented on characteristic of the manuscript fragment and has generated some interesting, though I believe entirely incorrect, suppositions about genre in relation to the motets in question (see section 3.6 above). Instead, what the evidence clearly indicates is a concern for the correct alignment of the tenor with the corresponding text under which it should be sung. Such a practice demonstrates the suitability of **Ch** to function as a performance manuscript.

The fragment of *O quam sancta quam benigna* is the most consistently correct of the three motets in **Ch** in terms of tenor placement. The alternating 2 si | 3 li | tenor figures are precisely notated above the syllable on which the tenor pattern begins. So, for instances, the first three-note ligature appears above the third syllable of *redemptoris*, and the following 2 si | on the second syllable of *dulcoris*. The only disruption from this pattern occurs two tenor pitches before the second tenor cursus. The tenor *b* should occur on the first syllable of *venerabilis* but appears, instead, above the second syllable (see Example 4.17). Neither *O Maria maris stella* nor *In veritate comperi* are notated as accurately, yet both still indicate the scribe's concern with aligning the tenor with the motetus and triplum text.

Example 4.17: *O quam sancta quam benigna* Tenor Alignment

Of *In veritate comperi*'s forty-four tenor ligatures approximately one third (sixteen) are misaligned. While this may seem like a significant number, the discrepancies between the placement of the tenor ligature and its corresponding syllable are generally minimal. Twelve are

displaced by a single syllable, all but two of which occur on the syllable following. Three of the remaining misaligned ligatures occur two syllables late, the last one three syllables late. More significantly, there are only five examples in which alignment occurs with the incorrect word. Therefore, even though one third of the tenor ligatures appear over the incorrect syllable, ninety percent align with the correct word. A closer examination of the notation also shows that in some cases a desire for exact alignment between tenor and text warred with a similar desire for alignment of parts. Exactly half of the misaligned tenor ligatures, including the first three, were written to appear as if the three voice parts break together (see Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: *In veritate comperi* Tenor Alignment with Phrase Endings

This phrase-end alignment also appears in the much simpler *O Maria maris stella*. In this motet, the repeating 3 li | tenor pattern aligns correctly at the beginning of every eight-perfection phrase, but rather than appearing over the first syllable of the second verse in those phrases, the tenor usually appears above the antepenultimate syllable. In other words, the final three tenor pitches have been assigned to the final three pitches/syllables of the phrase. Only twice does the

tenor alignment in the second half of the phrase occur correctly, first at the end of *cursus II* on the phrase *sol iusticie*, and on the final verse *in veritate* (see Example 4.18 for *sol iusticie*). The fact that these two verses are correctly aligned makes me question to what extent the regularity of the tenor placement in the other phrases does, in fact, reflect a performance option. Could the last three syllables of these particular 5pp verses have been performed as three perfect longs along with the tenor? This would certainly contradict the typical 5pp verse rhythm, but the resulting

Example 4.18: *O Maria maris stella* Tenor Alignment

phrases would then mimic the rhythmic pattern of the final 5p verse and there would be no harmonic objection. Whatever the reason, the alignment of the tenor with the ends of phrases indicates the scribe's awareness of the relationship of the tenor to the text and his interest in communicating that relationship to his readers. A similar scribal concern is also evident in two other thirteenth-century manuscripts which include motets in score notation, London, British Library, Egerton 2615(2), and Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68, Fragment XVIII.

#### 4.5.2.1 Score Format in LoA and Worc

London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (**LoA**) is a musical miscellany that includes a number of important musical items including an *Office for the Circumcision* and *The Play of Daniel*. Of significance here is the middle section of the manuscript, originally a separate fascicle and designated Egerton 2615(2) by Mark Everist, which contains a collection of Notre-Dame

polyphony including selections from the *Magnus liber organi*, conductus and two motets in score, *Agmina milicie* (532) / [*Agmina*] [M65] and *Serena virginum* (69) / [*Manere*] [M5].<sup>87</sup> Like **Ch**, Everist assigned the provenance of **LoA** to Paris based on an identical *mise-en-page* to **F**, and the fact that the manuscript's notational peculiarities (the simplex rhomboid with descending tractus) also appears in Paris.<sup>88</sup> Of the twelve pieces in the fascicle, eight set poetic texts, half of which are attributed to Philip the Chancellor, and so again the question should be asked whether this source was intended to present a small collection of Philip's works.<sup>89</sup> Of significance here, however, is whether the score notation of **LoA** supports or contradicts the performance-oriented arrangement witnessed in **Ch**.

At first glance, the disposition of the tenor in relation to the upper parts of Philip's motet *Agmina milicie* appears haphazard. And, indeed, in comparison to **Ch**, the tenor lacks the precision noted in the motets above. Nevertheless, aside from a major notational error near the conclusion of the piece, the tenor alignment communicates the basic information needed for performing the motet. The tenor follows the common 2 si | 3 li | following an initial 3 si |.<sup>90</sup> A scribe, such as **Ch**'s, intent on transmitting the exact relationship between text and tenor might be expected to orientate these individual tenor pitches with the syllables to which they correspond, but that is not the case here. However, if the relationship between text and tenor is understood in a general sense, no such orientation would be necessary. What the initial tenor pattern demonstrates is that the first three tenor pitches correspond to the first verse *agmina*

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<sup>87</sup> For an introduction to and facsimile of this section of the manuscript see Everist, *French 13th-Century Polyphony*. See also, Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 50–58, 64–71. For transcriptions of these motets see Appendix E.

<sup>88</sup> Everist discounts the possibility that the manuscript could originate in any of the other northern and eastern locales that employ the similar note shape. Everist, *French 13th-Century Polyphony*, 49–50.

<sup>89</sup> The pieces attributed to Philip include the two motets and the two conductus *Dic Christi veritas* and *Relegentur ab area*. The four unattributed pieces are the prosula *Veni doctor previe* and the three conductus *Salvatoris hodie*, *Presul nostri*, and *Transgressus legem*.

<sup>90</sup> This split ligature also appears in **F** and **W2**.



*milicie* while the final two pitches align with the second, *celestis omnia* (see Figure 4.5).

Accepting the dominant rhythms for the two verses (7pp+6pp(a)) and the typical rhythm for the tenor pattern, this arrangement works perfectly.

The same basic pattern of tenor placement continues for most of the piece. Though not precise, the scribe appears sensitive to the relationship between the tenor and the text, and,



Figure 4.5: *Agmina milicie* Tenor Alignment (LoA, fol. 90r)

perhaps more significantly, the precise relationship between the tenor and the poetic verse length and rhyme scheme. The concluding section of the piece is signaled by two short phrases of 5pp + 5pp (*Post hec stadia / gaudet requie*). Unfortunately, after these verses a problem develops. For whatever reason, the scribe skips the next 7pp verse (*carnis habet spolia*) and places its 3 li | tenor ligature with the following 6pp verse (*apex arabie*). This error displaces the tenor for the rest of the motet so that each group of tenor notes, if moved to the left by one verse, would correspond correctly. There is a possibility that this error resulted from a lapse of concentration or confusion regarding the conclusion of the piece. However, it is also possible that the poetry itself confused the scribe. The poetic verse in question returns to the dominant verse pattern of the poem, 7pp + 6pp, but with reversed rhymes. Throughout the majority of the poem, the 7pp verse conclude with the *-ie* rhyme while the 6pp phrase end with *-ia*. These rhymes and their

corresponding phrases also directly relate to the tenor pattern: *-ie* coincides with 3 li | and *-ia* with 2 si |. Seeing an unusual poetic change the scribe opted to notate the pattern as he understood it, 3 li | corresponding to *-ie*, and hence the discrepancy to the end of the motet.

Further study is necessary to determine if a similar issue related to poetic factors affects the tenor alignment in *Serena virginum*. However, like *Agmina milicie*, the notation of the former begins with a basic coordination between tenor and corresponding phrase but already by the tenor's third cursus (of five) the tenor and text have become significantly misaligned (see the edition in Appendix E). Despite the scribe's apparent negligence in precisely aligning the tenor with the upper voices in **LoA**, it is nevertheless clear that he attempted to match the tenor pitches to the corresponding textual phrase. The major difference between **LoA** and **Ch** is where the latter attempted to align the beginning of the tenor motive with the corresponding syllable (or at least very near the corresponding syllable) the former frequently places the tenor near the end of the textual and/or musical phrase, a characteristic also evident in **Ch**, as noted above. Even with this persistent characteristic, however, there is evident interest in performability through the splitting of 2 si | tenor figures in *Agmina milicie*: where the text of a verse splits between two systems the accompanying tenor pitches appear above the corresponding text (see Figure 4.6). This system breaks down at the end of the piece with the scribe's displacement error, and noticeably does not occur with the three-note ligatures, however the practice is a significant one.

**Worc** Fragment XVIII similarly presents a motet in score format but in a slightly different context and dating from approximately the late-thirteenth century.<sup>91</sup> The fragment, a single bifolium from the middle of a gathering, contains a three-voice organum setting of

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<sup>91</sup> On the Worcester Fragments, Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68 (**Worc**) see Luther A. Dittmer, "The Dating and the Notation of the Worcester Fragments." *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957): 5–11; Luther A. Dittmer, ed., *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription* ([Stuttgart]: American Institute of Musicology, 1957); Fred Büttner, *Klang und Konstruktion*.



Figure 4.6: *Agmina melicie* Splitting of Tenor 2 si | over System (**LoA**, fol. 90v)

*Alleluia V. Nativitas* [M38] but with music that differs from the versions in **F**, **W1**, and **W2**. The single concordance occurs on the text *Ex semine* where the remainder of Philip's motetus of the same name (483) has been entered also under the bottom staff (see Figure 4.7). There are several



Figure 4.7: Opening of *Ex semine abrahe* (**Worc**, Frag. XVIII, fol. 1v)

differences between the **Worc** motet and its recension in **F**.<sup>92</sup> First of all, like the motets in **Ch** and **LoA**, *Ex semine abrahe* takes the form of a conductus-motet. Second, unlike those two earlier collections, the music is notated in English mensural notation with distinct symbols for longs and breves. Despite the clarity of this notation, there are still several notational errors that

<sup>92</sup> **F**, fol. 403v.

occur, especially at the ends of phrases. For instance, in Figure 4.7, the motetus has two longs notated over the final two syllables of *divino*, whereas the triplum has a long and a breve.

Finally, like the motet in **Ba**, after the opening motto the tenor is notated entirely in 3 si |.<sup>93</sup>

The alignment of tenor, text and upper voices in **Worc** is as precise as the alignment in **Ch**, if not more so. Of the visible tenor pitches (some are missing either because of trimming or damage and discoloration) only one is aligned incorrectly with textual syllable, and corresponding motetus pitch. This occurs on the word *divino*, see Figure 4.7, where the final pitch of the tenor appears above the syllable *–no* and under the final pitch of the motetus phrase instead of with the previous syllable and pitch. This accurate alignment is not limited to the interpolated motet. It also occurs throughout the preceding and following organum as well. Clearly the scribe of this fragment, presumably English based on the notation,<sup>94</sup> was concerned with creating a score that not only transmitted the music, but transmitted it accurately enough to be reproduced without prior knowledge. And while the context of the **Worc** motet differs from motets in **Ch** and **LoA**, the scribes of the latter collections shared a similar desire.

#### 4.6 Conductus Rhythm

From a discussion of verse rhythm and notation in relation to the motet, I turn now to the question of rhythm and the conductus. I have shown above that **Ch**'s scribe deliberately employed notation to clarify the correct rhythmic realization of a motet. The same notational practices, most significantly the elongated notehead, also appear in **Ch**'s conductus. Therefore, the question must be asked whether rhythm should also be applied to the **Ch** conductus. In the following sections I apply a similar approach to that employed for the motets. After a brief

<sup>93</sup> **Ba**, fols. 15v–16r. There is a single exception in **Ba** where perfections 45–47 are notated as 2 si | in the tenor.

<sup>94</sup> Dittmer lists fragment XVIII as one of several written in English mensural notation. Dittmer, “The Dating and Notation,” 8–11. A modern transcription can be found in Sanders, ed., *English Music*, 209–12.

survey of the history of conductus rhythm I create a similar tabulation of data on conductus verse lengths based on mensural versions and finally apply that information to the seven conductus contained in **Ch**.

Discussions of rhythm in relation to the conductus repertoire date back more than 100 years and in recent decades have reached a status quo. The central problem focuses on the interpretation of *cum littera* sections of the conductus repertory, sections which, depending on the type of conductus, vary in length and style, from simple syllabic to elaborate neumatic, either with or without accompanying cauda or caudae. Early scholars interpreted conductus in much the same way as motets: though written in a notational style they considered to be devoid of rhythmic meaning, the music should be interpreted according to the rhythmic modes. More recently, this “modal approach” has all but disappeared thanks in part to the work of Ernest Sanders, Mark Everist, and Christopher Page, whose interpretation has focused instead on an “isosyllabic” or a free style for *cum littera* sections of conductus.

The modal approach dates back at least to Ludwig,<sup>95</sup> but found its fiercest advocates in the conductus scholarship of the 1960s–1980s. For these scholars (including Gordon Anderson, E. Fred Flindell, Janet Knapp, and Hans Tischler to name just a few), word accents determined the specific mode of the piece.<sup>96</sup> This basic premise was supported by several pieces of evidence: first, the presence of caudae, written in *sine littera* modal notation, in a number of conductus;

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<sup>95</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, “Conductus and Modal Rhythm,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38, no. 3 (1985): 439–69, at 440–41.

<sup>96</sup> Some representative examples include Gordon A. Anderson, “Mode and Change of Mode in Notre-Dame Conductus,” *Acta Musicologica* 40, nos. 2–3 (1968): 92–114; Gordon A. Anderson, “The Rhythm of ‘*cum littera*’ Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26, no. 2 (1973): 288–304; Gordon A. Anderson, “The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 3 (1978): 480–89; E. Fred Flindell, “Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode,” *Acta Musicologica* 39, nos. 1–2 (1967): 21–34; E. Fred Flindell, “*Puncta equivoca* and Rhythmic Poetry: A Reply to G. Anderson,” *Acta Musicologica* 42, nos. 3–4 (1970): 238–48; Janet Knapp, “Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 3 (1979): 383–407; Hans Tischler, “Versmass und musikalischer Rhythmus in Notre-Dame-Conductus,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 37, no. 4 (1980): 292–304.

second, mensural versions of conductus that date from the end of the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century; third, notation in the *cum littera* sections which suggests the lengthening of a pitch; and finally, the existence of a number of conductus with origins either from a cauda or from a motet and its clausula. As analyses and transcriptions multiplied, many of these scholars tempered their strict modal tendencies. Anderson eventually applied a freer rhythmic transcription based more on textual rhythm than the strict adherence to rhythmic mode.<sup>97</sup> Janet Knapp, meanwhile, accepted isosyllabic rhythmicization for several conductus with 6pp texts because they did not appear to fit with any modal pattern.<sup>98</sup>

Though also dating from the beginning of the twentieth century,<sup>99</sup> the isosyllabic theory (together with its freer interpretation) gained steam in the 1980s with the publication of Ernest Sanders's article "Conductus and Modal Rhythm." Sanders's argument focused primarily on theoretical definitions of the conductus. He noted that most theorists, rather than linking the conductus to discant as Franco does, distinguished two musical styles and therefore singing text with rhythm was a style unique to the motet (text set to a preexisting rhythmic melody), and was a practice only later applied to genres like the conductus. This article was followed a decade later by Christopher Page's small monograph *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*. Rather than relying on theoretical music treatises from as much as a century after the flourishing of the conductus, Page returned to the question of text accentuation and notation. Despite substantial discussions of metric and rhythmic poetry, Page's primary criticisms of the modal approach were 1) the theory's acceptance that a succession of differently accented syllables, for instance a trochee (long-short), may be set to any of the durational patterns

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<sup>97</sup> See, for instance, Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*.

<sup>98</sup> Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm."

<sup>99</sup> Page cites an example from the 1901 edition of *The Oxford History of Music*. Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 14.

associated with the modes (long-short; short-long; or equal durations); 2) the common irregularity of verse accents and, hence, a poem's inability to define its mode reliably; and 3) an emphasis on notational "protraction," (i.e., elongated note forms) which he considered conventional. For many scholars, Page "laid to rest" the question of rhythm in *cum littera* conductus, and the preferred method of notation and performance now privileges stemless noteheads and a free or isosyllabic style.<sup>100</sup>

Yet the rhythmic interpretation of conductus as well as other musical genres persist.<sup>101</sup> In a stinging review, David Wulstan critiqued Page's approach on two fronts.<sup>102</sup> First, Wulstan challenged the priority of the rhythmic modes, a critique not even Page leveled at the modalists. Instead he argued that music was always inherently rhythmic and the modes emerged as a codification of specific "song rhythms." He suggested that the *cum littera* sections of conductus are ideal places for investigating and better understanding these earlier, "pre-modal" rhythms through, specifically, the notational issues which he felt Page discounted too easily. Second, Wulstan noted that several pieces occur contemporaneously in both *cum littera* and *sine littera* versions, points made by the earlier modalists as well.<sup>103</sup> While today we might generically

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<sup>100</sup> "The argument that the prosody of conductus texts (aside from the tiny handful that are not rithmi) can be used to, and indeed did, determine the rhythm of the cum littera sections of conducti has been laid to rest in Page, *Latin Poetry*." Mark Everist, "Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic 'Conductus *cum caudis*': The Metz Fragment," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125, no. 2 (2000): 135–63, at 140 note 19.

<sup>101</sup> A recent dissertation by Andrew Flowers is one of the most recent attempts to propose a new model for uncovering the rhythmic organization of polyphonic conductus. Through the application of a Bayesian network, "a machine learning algorithm," Flowers demonstrates that "the melodic contour of the voices communicates a large amount of implicit information about rhythm." As I feel unable to properly assess the model used, and because of its abnegation of poetic relationships to the music, I have chosen to exclude Flowers's work in my discussion here. Andrew T. Flowers, "Rhythm in the Polyphonic Conductus: A Computational Model and Its Implications" (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, 2013).

<sup>102</sup> David Wulstan, review of *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, by Christopher Page, *Music & Letters* 80, no. 1 (1999): 103–105. For a treatment of rhythm more specifically in monophonic song, both Latin and in the vernacular, see David Wulstan, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: The Rhythm of Mediaeval Song* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001).

<sup>103</sup> Sanders, himself, acknowledged that there are "three syllabic conducti that require modal reading, namely those pieces that are newly texted versions of caudae of other conducti." Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," 455.

reclassify these pieces as prosulae (*Dic Christi veritas*, *Bulla fulminate*, etc.) and separate them from other conductus, the point is significant. Wulstan concluded by returning to the issue of “pre-modal” rhythm by stating, “we need to discover how the patterns may be identified from notational clues, concordances, note-distribution, accentual behaviour, syllable counts and the rest.”

Many of these issues are taken into account in my own brief analyses of the **Ch** conductus which follow. Through a compilation of verse lengths taken from mensural versions of conductus I have created a set of data, similar to that for mode 1 motets, that indicates the typical rhythms for specific conductus verse lengths/types. This differs from the modal approach in a couple of significant respects. Rather than taking into account the supposed accentual rhythm of the entire verse/strophe/piece and finding the most appropriate theoretical mode for that accentuation, this method looks at the existing evidence and sees to what extent it may also apply to other non-mensural conductus. Further, contrary to Page’s supposedly “authentic” division of poetic verses into spondees, half spondees, and dactyls, my data, as with the motet verse lengths, focuses only on the final accentuation of verses, a far remove from any metrical conception of verse (see section 3.4 above).<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, I maintain the modalists’s belief that later mensural versions of conductus reflected a rhythmic identity that existed, at least in part, among earlier versions and pieces. The argument against the usefulness of mensural conductus as a model, articulated by Sanders and later by Page and Everist, I find problematic on two counts. First, Sanders and Page want to separate the conductus genre from those of organum and motet evolutionarily and functionally to an extent that seems extreme. While musically the genres may be diverse (the few examples present in **Ch** demonstrate the vast array of conductus

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<sup>104</sup> See Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 47–48.



classified under the umbrella of that generic label), poetically and culturally they stem from the same milieu. Second, to suggest, as both Sanders and Everist do, that mensural versions were later “recompositions” by editors imposing motet characteristics on a virtually dead genre reinforces this genre distinction and neglects the fact that a number of early motets are only decipherable through the existence of measured versions (if one accepts the clausula first theory). Finally, I continue to recognize the significance of notation, specifically what Page calls “protraction” in the communication of a verse’s rhythmic profile. As noted above, notation that implies rhythm appears throughout **Ch.**<sup>105</sup> While in some cases the notation may be unclear, in others an obvious attempt has been made to indicate the lengthening of a pitch which goes beyond the conventions of phrase endings.

In what follows I look at the seven **Ch** conductus and apply the adduced verse rhythms to the *cum littera* notation where possible and appropriate. Not surprisingly, the imposition of these rhythms does not always provide a convincing result. Working with the rhythms and notational characteristics, both elongated noteheads and larger groups of figures (mainly ternariae), I provide transcriptions that reflect a realistic interpretation of the music, not modal but rhythmic. Perhaps the most interesting conclusion is one noted by previous scholars: while certain conductus adapt to a consistent rhythmic interpretation, others do not.

#### 4.6.1 Conductus Verse Lengths and Rhythm





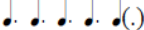
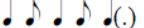





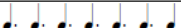
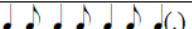
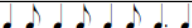

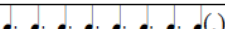

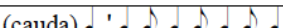
To consider conductus verse lengths and rhythm in a manner similar to that pursued above with motets is an undertaking fraught with difficulties. First of all, unlike many motets, conductus generally lack a *sine littera* version from which a rhythmic framework may be derived. Second, the musical forms that constitute conductus vary widely. For instance, just

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<sup>105</sup> Of course, ternariae and stretched noteheads as clues appear to be normal components of *cum littera* notation.

among **Ch**'s seven conductus there are four conductus *cum caudis*—one with a cauda appended to every verse (*Regis decus et regine*) and three with caudae at only the beginning or ending of a strophe (*De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum*, *Terra Bachi Francia*)—a conductus simplex (*Gedeonis area*), a strophic refrain song (*Dogmatum falsas species*), and a sequence (*O Maria virginis*). To group such diverse songs together under the umbrella “conductus” because of their language and lack of pre-existing music is problematic, as is the assumption that their texts would have been treated in identical manners. Despite these issues, there do exist a number of conductus in mensural versions that provide a window into a rhythmic performance practice for the genre, and from which, as with the motets, verse and rhythm patterns appear.

My analysis includes twelve mensural conductus yielding 303 verses (see Appendix G). These conductus come from three sources, **Hu**, **Fauvel**, and **Metz**, and include only those pieces that were notated predominantly in mode 1. Only *Inter membra singula* (L2) includes a significant section set isosyllabically, but the other lengthy sections of the conductus notated in mode 1 justify its inclusion. Like the **Ch** conductus, the twelve conductus of this data set encompass a variety of conductus types including conductus simplex, conductus *cum caudis* (both simpler and more elaborate types) as well as conductus in sequence form. The results basically resemble those observed in mode 1 motets with a few minor differences (see Table 4.12). First, there are no two-syllable verses. This may reflect the small sample size from which the verses were drawn since there are also a number of verse types with no mensural examples (3pp(a), 4p(a) and 4p(t), 4pp(t), 5pp(a), 7pp(a), and 8p(a), among the most common verse types). However, as will be shown below, the manuscripts do occasionally divide phrases into groups of two syllables; they just lack any relationship to division by rhyme. Second, a number of the unusual motet verse lengths, 5p(t), 6pp(t), 7p(t), and 8pp(t), occur in the conductus but the

Arsis		Thesis	
3p: 5/5 <sup>a</sup>		3p: 6/6 <sup>a</sup>	
		3pp <sup>b</sup>	
4pp: 24/27 (89%)			
5p: 11/11 <sup>a</sup>		5p: 4/4 <sup>a</sup>	
		5pp: 29/29	
6p: 1/1		6p: 19/29 (66%)	
6pp: 1/1		6pp: 2/4 <sup>a</sup>	
7p: 14/15 (93%)		7p: 4/5 <sup>a</sup>	
		7pp: 38/56 (68%)	
		8p: 13/27 (48%) <sup>a</sup>	
8pp: 18/23 (78%)		8pp: 36/72 (50%) <sup>b</sup>	
		9p: 1/1	
		9pp: 1/1	(cauda) 
		10pp <sup>b</sup>	

<sup>a</sup>all examples from a single conductus

<sup>b</sup>not conclusive: equal division of examples

Table 4.12: Summary of Conductus Verse Lengths and Rhythm

majority of them originate in the isosyllabic section of *Inter membra singula*, noted above. Only the 8pp(t) verse type has another rhythm that could be offered as an alternative typical verse rhythm. Third, the dominant rhythm for 8p(t) verses differs slightly from the motet rhythm, employing two longs at the end of the verse (like 6p) instead of a trochee.

The evidence provided by these mensural conductus suggests that a rhythmic interpretation of all types of conductus in the manner of mode 1 motets is at least a possibility. Yet, as witnessed in the **Ch** motets, knowing the typical rhythmic patterns of specific verse lengths does not necessarily reflect the actual rhythm of the verses as they are notated. The **Ch** conductus reinforce this point exceptionally well. In the next few sections I consider each of the conductus in turn. I briefly discuss the musical and poetic forms of the pieces and then, based on a combination of the typical verse rhythms and the alterations suggested by the notation in the

various extant versions, I provide samples of rhythmic transcriptions.<sup>106</sup> It is not my intent to persuasively argue that all conductus texts were performed rhythmically. The fact that only ten of the numerous mensural conductus from **Hu** and **Fauvel** fit my criteria for inclusion in the data set indicates that many conductus were performed isosyllabically, and perhaps even more freely. My transcriptions are intended only as possible solutions to the rhythmic performance of these conductus texts. They are based on a strict adherence to verse length rhythms (not individual word accentuation), and modified only in those places where the notation indicates a lengthening of the expected rhythm.

#### 4.6.2 *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55)

I have already discussed *Dogmatum falsas species* in relation to the dating and provenance of the manuscript in Chapter One (see section 1.12.1 above). Among **Ch**'s six conductus, the refrain song is the simplest in terms of form and musical setting, yet is not without difficulty related to verse rhythms. The poem comprises strophes of eight verses alternating 8pp and 7p, followed by a refrain of four verses also in alternating 8pp and 7p (see Table 4.13). As noted above, both 8pp(t) and 7p(t) verses are problematic because their dominant isosyllabic rhythm derive from a single conductus. One rhythmic interpretation of the poem would set each verse isosyllabically in an alternation of 8pp(t) and 7p(t) verse rhythms. A second possibility could combine the isosyllabic 8pp odd verses with the rhythmic 7p(a) even verses. An additional possibility presents itself if one disregards the dominant isosyllabic rhythm of 8pp and instead employs 8pp's second most common verse rhythm in combination with the rhythm of 7p(a).

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<sup>106</sup> For full rhythmic transcriptions of the **Ch** conductus see Appendix F.

	Dogmatum falsas species	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	profana novitate	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	vulpes Samsonis ganniunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	deserta veritate;	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
5	sub pretexto precipiunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	virtutis simulate,	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	quarum diverse facies	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	sed caude colligate.	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
Refrain:			
	Tui status excidium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
10	Syon, flere non cesses,	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	ignis in caudis vulpium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	tuas combussit messes.	7p	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	etc.		

Table 4.13a: *Dogmatum falsas species* Typical Rhythms

	Dogmatum falsas species	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	profana novitate	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	vulpes Samsonis ganniunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	deserta veritate;	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
5	sub pretexto precipiunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	virtutis simulate,	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	quarum diverse facies	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	sed caude colligate.	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
Refrain:			
	Tui status excidium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
10	Syon, flere non cesses,	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	ignis in caudis vulpium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	tuas combussit messes.	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	etc.		

Table 4.13b: *Dogmatum falsas species* Alternative Rhythms 1

	Dogmatum falsas species	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	profana novitate	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	vulpes Samsonis ganniunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	deserta veritate;	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
5	sub pretexto precipiunt	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	virtutis simulate,	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	quarum diverse facies	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	sed caude colligate.	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
Refrain:			
	Tui status excidium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
10	Syon, flere non cesses,	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	ignis in caudis vulpium	8pp	♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪.
	tuas combussit messes.	7p(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪.
	etc.		

Table 4.13c: *Dogmatum falsas species* Alternative Rhythms 2

Regular use of elongation techniques perhaps argues for the employment of an isosyllabic setting, yet the consistent occurrence of these techniques at the ends of phrases (as frequently seen in the motets) suggests the possibility of a predominant rhythmic pattern throughout the strophes. All four 8pp verses of the strophe elongate the antepenultimate syllable through a ternaria or quaternaria requiring the lengthening of the following syllables to accommodate the next 7p(a) verse. Only the refrain deviates from this pattern. In the first verse of the refrain the fourth and seventh syllable are lengthened both through ternariae and the apparent elongation of the initial notehead of each ternaria as it appears in **F**. Alternatively, the last verse of the refrain requires the elongation of the final four syllables because of the ternaria on syllables four and six respectively (see Example 4.19).

Example 4.19: *Dogmatum falsas species* Verses 7–8 plus Refrain  
(**F**, fol. 438r; **Ch**, fol. 7r)

The explanation for these ornamentally lengthened syllables is unclear. As the motets demonstrate, however, the practice of concluding a phrase with three longs was widespread. The fact that this rhythm is consistently employed in *Dogmatum falsas species* suggests that it may form part of the identity of the piece itself. In all but a single instance the three longs occur on three-syllable words.<sup>107</sup> The unusual alteration in the first and last verse of the refrain could

<sup>107</sup> This pattern holds for many of the residual strophes as well.

easily have been intended to separate this music aurally from the preceding (and following), a way of marking off the refrain from the surrounding strophes. Perhaps the more consistent elongation in the refrain text argues for an isosyllabic setting to emphasize this distinction.

#### 4.6.3 *Gedeonis area* (F15)

The poem *Gedeonis area*<sup>108</sup> is an extended metaphorical description of the Virgin Mary as the mother of God: the extraordinary from the ordinary. Mary is a pot, an olive, the burning bush, the water-filled rock, and, of course, a flowering branch. Only in the second strophe is she finally the chaste virgin who gives birth to the Word, and with the Word comes the turn to the chastisement of the Jewish people who are unable to see the new Law and thus remain ignorant. The text of each strophe divides into two parts, the first of which splits into two equal halves of 7pp+8p and employs the only two rhymes of the strophe (see Table 4.14). All three verse lengths

	Gedeonis area	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	celitus perfusa rore;	8p	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	Flammam rubus ignea	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	radiat absque calore;	8p	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
5	Nucleum et nuclea	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	testa prodit lutea;	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	Lux aurea!	4pp(a)	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	Granum exit palea,	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
	oleastris olea,	7pp	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
10	liquitur petra liquore.	8p	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

Table 4.14: *Gedeonis area* Typical Rhythms

of the first strophe (4pp(a), 7pp, and 8p) have typical rhythmic patterns, and therefore from the text alone a clear rhythmic pattern for the conductus emerges. The second strophe of the poem mimics the first strophe exactly except for the penultimate verse which not only disrupts the rhyme scheme by the addition of a new rhyme but also alters the verse type from 7pp to 7p.

<sup>108</sup> Other sources include **F** and **Praha**.

Whether or not the final word of this verse is a mistake, the fact that it occurs in the second strophe makes the application of the 7pp rhythm of the first strophe acceptable.

The musical setting reflects the form of the poem. The music of the first two verses repeats for the second two verses but then proceeds with all new material for the second half of the poem, an AAB form. In the first half of the conductus, the music adheres remarkably well to the dominant rhythms of each verse type. Only in the second half do the rhythms of the verses begin to move toward isosyllabism. This results from two primary characteristics: ternariae or quaternariae suggesting the lengthening of the dominant rhythm, and notations which indicate the lengthening of a pitch. The former occurs in verses 6, 7, 8, and 9 while the latter occurs in verse 8. Of course, none of these examples is definitive. Especially in verses 8 and 9 the ternaria occur mostly in the triplum and as seen in the **Ch** motets ternaria set to the duration of a breve are not uncommon in the upper-most voice. Yet, since the first half of the poem limits ternaria and quaternaria to perfect longs I have employed this criterion to the remainder of the piece as well (see Example 4.20).

From a textual perspective, the reasons for these rhythmic alterations is less clear, and perhaps argues for a more rigid rhythmic interpretation. Gordon Anderson opted for just such a rhythm in his transcription.<sup>109</sup> The final three verses are single-verse metaphors rather than the longer two-verse metaphors of earlier in the strophe yet the difference is not significant. Perhaps, instead, the exclamatory and unique 4pp(a) verse “O golden light” that precedes them harkens a brief stylistic change that only returns to the dominant trochaic rhythms with the running water of the rock.

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<sup>109</sup> Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 2: 29–30.



21 fol. 16r

5. Nu - cle - um et nu - cle - a 6. te - sta pro - dit lu - te - a; 7. lux au - re - al 8. Gra - num

37

e - xit pa - le - a, 9. o - le - a - stris o - le - a 10. li - qui - tur pe - tra li - quo - re.

Example 4.20: *Gedeonis area* Verses 5–10  
(Ch, fol. 16r)

#### 4.6.4 *De rupta rupecula - Pictavorum idolum - Terra Bachi Francia* (F25)

The question of whether the three texts *De rupta rupecula*, *Pictavorum idolum*, and *Terra Bachi Francia* are distinct conductus or different sections of the same conductus is a difficult one to answer. With all texts ostensibly addressing Louis VIII's battle against the English at La Rochelle (see section 1.12 above), the music appears as three different strophes of the same piece in **F**, the only other extant version, whereas in **Ch** each section of music is marked as a distinct piece through the employment of a pen-flourished initial as well as the presence of a second strophe in all but the last.<sup>110</sup> From a textual and musical perspective, the pieces are similar yet distinct (see Table 4.15). The verses are almost entirely arranged in groups of three (7pp+7pp+7p). This is reinforced by the rhyme scheme which, though different for each text,

<sup>110</sup> It is safe to assume, however, that if the folio with *Terra Bachi Francia*'s second half had survived it would have contained a second strophe.

employs the same rhyme for the 7pp verses in a group and a different one for the 7p verse. The musical setting of each text employs a single cauda: at the end of the strophe in *De rupta*

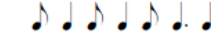


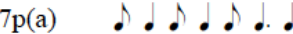
	De rupta rupecula	7pp	
	grata fluunt pocula,	7pp	
	Cirre propinat Nisa;	7p(a)	
	ad cirreum verticem	7pp	
5	Nisa Bacchi calicem	7pp	
	rupe mittit excisa;	7p(a)	
	Deo sapientie	7pp	
	Deus placet copie	7pp	
	Phebus Baccho letatur,	7p(a)	
10	nihil congruentius,	7pp	
	quam quod sic Parisius	7pp	
	in Parnasum mittatur.	7p(a)	

Table 4.15a: *De rupta rupecula* Typical Rhythms


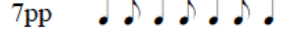
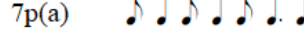
	Pictavorum idolum	7pp	
	non exapvit Carolum	7pp	
	et tremit Ludovicum;	7p(a)	
	dampnat civem subdolum,	7pp	
5	desertorem discolum,	7pp	
	accusat savaricum,	7pp	
	dicens : castrum nobile	7pp	
	forte, firmum, fertile,	7pp	
	quid potuit timere?	7pp	
10	Castrum nulli simile	7pp	
	fecit expugnabile	7pp	
	varietas panthere.	7p(a)	

Table 4.15b: *Pictavorem idolum* Typical Rhythms

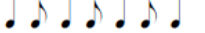

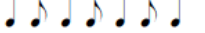
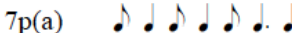
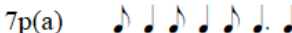
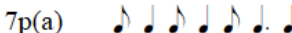
	Terra Bachi Francia,	7pp	
	Moysis est Anglia;	7pp	
	quid de rupe vinosa	7p(a)	
	attinet ad Angliam?	7pp	
5	Fluat hec ad Franciam,	7pp	
	ad hanc rupes aquosa,	7p(a)	
	quidquid ipsa maria	7pp	
	limitant confinia,	7pp	
	magnum chaos, firmatur	7p(a)	
10	Anglie cervisia,	7pp	
	Lyei letitia	7pp	
	Francie superatur.	7p(a)	

Table 4.15c: *Terra Bachi Francia* Typical Rhythms

*rupecula* and *Terra Bachi Francia*, and at the beginning in *Pictavorum idolum*. Yet each of these caudae are different, set in rhythmic modes 6, 2 and 1 respectively. Finally, only the first, *De rupta rupecula*, employs an AAB instead of a through-composed musical form. This may directly reflect the division of text since only *De rupta rupecula* divides after both the third and sixth verse.

Once again the rhythm suggested by the manuscript's notation does not always reflect the typical verse rhythms. One recurring motive throughout all three conductus is an initial figure comprising two longs. This motive appears numerous times in *De rupta rupecula*. In **Ch** these two syllables are marked by a lengthening of the first notehead, a stroke of division after the second, or both (see Figure 4.8). Though these markings are not consistent between the two A



Figure 4.8: *De rupta rupecula* Two-Note Phrases  
(**Ch**, fol. 16v)

sections of the conductus I have chosen to make the two parts coincide rhythmically. Similarly, though the final two three-verse sections of the strophe are not musically related, an identical

rhythmic realization for each part is supported by the placement of ternaria and hence lengthened rhythms.<sup>111</sup>

*Pictavorum idolum* begins its opening cauda with the same rhythm of two consecutive longs, after which the motive is abandoned. The only unusual setting is verse 6 in which every syllable is lengthened to a perfect long. This moment not only marks the middle of the conductus it also occurs at an interesting textual moment when Savaricus is mentioned, the only contemporary person in the text other than Louis VIII, and he is not just addressed but accused (see Example 4.21).

33 fol. 18r

6. ac - cu - sat Sa - va - ri - cum, 7. di - cens: ca - strum no - bi - le 8. for - te, fir - mum, fer - ti - le,

Example 4.21: *Pictavorum idolum* Verses 6–8  
(Ch, fol. 18r)

Finally, *Terra Bachi Francia* most strictly adheres to the typical verse rhythms, but like *De rupta rupecula* begins verse 9 with two syllables set to perfect longs separated from the remainder of the verse. The final three verses also have lengthened rhythms either because of ternariae or extended noteheads. Though *Terra Bachi* adopts the typical mode 1 verse rhythms well, the concluding mode 2 cauda appears to contradict such a rhythmic interpretation.

Nevertheless, the frequency of binaria on odd syllables seems to argue for a mode 1 version of

<sup>111</sup> The single exception could be verse 8, and the corresponding verse 11, where the former has two ternaria on the third and fifth syllables suggesting the lengthening of the final four syllables into perfect longs, whereas the latter only has a ternaria on the final syllable.

the texted portion of the piece. If such a change of mode were unacceptable, then only an isosyllabic rendition of the text would “solve” the awkward modal switch at the end of the conductus (see Example 4.22).

33

9. mag - num cha - os, fir - ma - tur 10. An - gli - e cer - vi - si - a, 11. Ly - e - i le - ti - ti - a

51

12. Fran - ci - e su - pe - ra

65 F, fol. 247r

tur.

Example 4.22: *Terra Bachi Francia* Verses 9–12 (F, fols. 246v–247r)

#### 4.6.5 *O Maria virginiei* (E14)

*O Maria virginiei* differs from the previous conductus in both its length and form. The popular poem, extant in five sources,<sup>112</sup> is an extended paean to the Virgin as object of grace and

<sup>112</sup> Aside from **Ch**, these include **F**, **W2**, **LoB**, and **Praha**.

salvation (see Table 4.16). The sixty-four verses generally arrange themselves into groups of four per strophe (the first two strophes each contain six verses), and most strophes occur in pairs or even groupings. This poetic form translates to a musical sequence form in which pairs of strophes are set to the same music. Occasionally within the versicles themselves there is also repetition between halves, so that the first and last two verses share music except at the cadences which might be designated open and closed. This occurs in strophes 1 and 2 as well as 7 and 8. The odd-numbered strophes of the poem and the sequence form suggest a single opening or closing strophe set to unique music. In this instance, however, three strophes (9, 10, and 11) share the same music.

*O Maria virginei* poses a problem for the application of verse rhythms because thirty of its sixty-four verses are four-syllables, a verse length that among the mensural conductus data is only represented in the category of 4pp(a). There is not a single example of a 4p or a 4pp(t) verse (see Table 4.12 above). This in itself might argue for an isosyllabic setting of the conductus. In fact, the notation of versicles A and C, which correspond to strophes 1–2 and 7–8 respectively, indicates an isosyllabic setting. In versicle A this setting is indicated by a preponderance of elongated noteheads. In versicle C, on the other hand, it results from the large number of ternariae and quaternariae. Structurally the strophes differ significantly. While the opening strophes consist of alternating 4p and 4pp verses, strophes 7 and 8 consist entirely of verses of 5pp, 6p and 8p verses, all of which have typical verse rhythms. Poetically, however, the verses are very similar. Of the poem's fifteen strophes only five focus primarily on appellations to the Virgin: "flower of virginal honor," "font of oil," "throne of Solomon," etc. Four of the five are the four strophes of versicles A and C.<sup>113</sup> In these examples, an isosyllabic setting provides a

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<sup>113</sup> The fifth is the third strophe of versicle B.

1. O Maria	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
virginei	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
flos honoris,	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
vite via,	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
lux fidei,	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
pax amoris;	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
2. O regina,	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
tu laquei,	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
tu doloris	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
medicina,	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
fons olei,	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
vas odoris.	4p	(♩ ♩ ♩ ♩)
3. Tu vulneris	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
medelam reperis,	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
egris efficeris	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
oleum unctionis.	7p(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
4. Post veteris	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
querelam sceleris	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
osculum inseris,	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
paries unionis.	7p(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
5. Spes miseris,	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
thesaurus pauperis,	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
limes itineris,	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
radius visionis;	7p(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
6. assequeris	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
quicquid petieris,	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
sola pre ceteris	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
potior es in donis.	7p(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
7. Tu mors inferis,	5pp	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
predo tu predonis,	6p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
vita superis,	5pp	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
superior es in thronis.	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
8. Archa federis,	5pp	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
thronus Salomonis,	6p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
vestis poderis,	5pp	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
tu vellus es Gedeonis.	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
9. Tu generis	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
proles degeneris	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
regeneras	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
genus in posteris.	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
10. Ex operis	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
servillis operis	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
nos liberas	4pp	(♩. ♩ ♩ ♩)
a luto lateris.	6pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

Table 4.16: *O Maria virginei* Typical Rhythms

11. Tu liberis	4pp	(. . . .)
post iugum oneris	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
spem reseras	4pp	(. . . .)
eterni muneris.	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
12. Tartarei	4pp	(. . . .)
catenas carceris	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
comminuis;	4pp	(. . . .)
captivos exseris.	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
13. Siderei	4pp	(. . . .)
formam characteris	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
restituis	4pp	(. . . .)
a sorde pulveris.	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
14. Aculei	4pp	(. . . .)
dolorem conteris	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
et mortuis	4pp	(. . . .)
vite spem aperis.	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
15. Funerei	4pp	(. . . .)
debitum cineris	6pp(a)	. . . . . .
nos exuis	4pp	(. . . .)
induisque coronis.	7p(a)	. . . . . . . .

Table 4.16: *O Maria virginei* Typical Rhythms, cont.

means of emphasizing, or venerating, Mary. The music, like her character, is, in a sense, timeless, and contrasts markedly with the action of the other strophes. In the latter she works for the salvation of human souls finding remedies for wounds, freeing captives, clothing with crowns. This suggests a musical contrast with the remaining verses and therefore I have chosen to set them rhythmically.

Because of the preponderance of 4pp verses at the beginning of strophes I have opted to employ the typical 4pp(t) verse rhythm found in the motets. This rhythm of perfect long-long-breve-long is supported by the overwhelming number of verses consisting of a monosyllabic word followed by a three-syllable word, such as *tu vulneris*, *post veteris*, and *spes miseris*.<sup>114</sup> In the rhythmic strophes, discrepancies, if they occur, happen at the ends of versicles and inevitably

<sup>114</sup> Recall that *O quam sancta quam benigna* (317) also set a significant number of monosyllabic words to durations of a perfect long.



produce three perfect longs. In versicle B, for instance, this results from avoiding a ternaria on a breve, after which I chose to apply the same rhythmic pattern to the rest of the strophes employing that music (see Example 4.23). For the last two strophes of versicle D I opted for the lengthened versions because of an elongated notehead on the penultimate pitch, absent in the first strophe of that versicle, and in versicle E I alternated between the “correct” and longer endings for similar reasons.

83

6. As - se - que - ris quic - quid pe - ti - e - ris, so - la pre - ce - te - ris po - ti - or es in do - nis.

97 fol. 12v

7. Tu mors in - fe - ris, pre - do tu pre - do - nis, vi - ta su - pe - ris, su - pe - ri - or es in thro - nis.

Example 4.23: *O Maria virginiei* Strophes 6–7  
(Ch, fols. 12r–12v)

#### 4.6.6 *Regis decus et regine - Mandatorum denarius* (J47)

The fragmentary nature of this text makes identifying whether or not the **Ch** scribe separated the two musically distinct parts of the conductus (as with *De rupta rupecula*) virtually

impossible. Combined in **F** as two strophes (strophes 1 and 3) of a single conductus,<sup>115</sup> both the poetic and musical styles differ significantly between the two sections, unlike the three parts of *De rupta rupecula*, though the subject and poetic imagery remains the same.<sup>116</sup> The strophes beginning with *Mandatorum denarius* (strophes 3 and 4) consist of eight verses of 8pp with a cauda at the beginning of the first and fifth verses as well as at the end. *Regis decus et regine* (strophes 1 and 2), on the other hand, comprises six-verse strophes in two groups of two 8p and one 8pp verses with a cauda either beginning or ending almost every verse (see Table 4.17).

The preponderance of caudae would seem to suggest, more than any other style of conductus, a rhythmic interpretation of the text. The mode 1 rhythms of the caudae propel the conductus forward at regular intervals, yet the notation of the text in many cases appears to resist a verse-length-based rhythmic interpretation, and it seems probable that a predominantly isosyllabic performance style was intended given the number of similar conductus in **Hu** that are set almost entirely isosyllabically.<sup>117</sup> The first few verses of *Regis decus* provide an instructive example. In the first verse, following the cauda, the typical trochaic rhythm of the 8p verse is usurped by both elongated noteheads as well as instances of ternariae, a quaternaria and a quinarina requiring a perfect long for every syllable (see Example 4.24). The second verse also requires two initial perfect longs, and the fourth, though not required, suggests a similar opening motto through the employment of a stroke of division after the first two syllables. The prevalence of strokes of division in the middle of textual phrases, ternariae, as well as additional elongated noteheads, further argue for an isosyllabic interpretation.

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<sup>115</sup> **Praha** is the only other source of this conductus. It contains a second strophe for the first half of the piece, but lacks the final strophe found in **Ch**.

<sup>116</sup> The exception, of course, is **Ch**'s unique fourth strophe which castigates the clergy.

<sup>117</sup> See, for instance, *Quod promisit ab eterno* (G6), fol. 132r, in which the second verse is set to mode 1 rhythms but the rest of the piece is set isosyllabically.

	Regis decus et regine,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	saga, pelles et cortine,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	viole, rose, lilia;	8pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	saga signant confitentes,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
5	pelles rubre patientes,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	cortine continentia.	8pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	....		
	Mandatorum denarius	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	conrtinarum pluralitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
15	virtutum quartemarius	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	est colorum diversitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	cum iacincto prudentie,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	bissi retorte castitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	cum purpura iustitie	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
20	cocci bistincti caritas.	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .

Table 4.17a: *Regis decus et regine* Typical Rhythms

	Regis decus et regine,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	saga, pelles et cortine,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	viole, rose, lilia;	8pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	saga signant confitentes,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
5	pelles rubre patientes,	8p	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	cortine continentia.	8pp(a)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
	....		
	Mandatorum denarius	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	conrtinarum pluralitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
15	virtutum quartemarius	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	est colorum diversitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	cum iacincto prudentie,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	bissi retorte castitas,	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
	cum purpura iustitie	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .
20	cocci bistincti caritas.	8pp	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .

Table 4.17b: *Regis decus et regine* Alternative Rhythms

F, fol. 364v

1. Re

17

gis de - cus et re - gi - ne, 2. sa - ga, pel - les et cor -

33

ti - ne 3. vi - o - le, ro - se, li - li - a;

Example 4.24: *Regis decus et regine* Verses 1–3  
(F, fol. 364v)

## 4.7 Conclusion

The value of considering verse rhythms in relation to the ars antiqua genres of the motet and the conductus cannot be overstated. That poets and musicians understood the texts they set in terms of number of syllables and end rhyme is abundantly clear from the theoretical material and the texts themselves. And while there are certainly numerous examples that demonstrate the stylistic differences between motet and conductus texts, evidence shows that the two genres often share the textual characteristic that so often marks the motet as unique: irregular verse lengths. Just within the confines of a small collection like **Ch**, there appear two motets with the most regular of poetic texts, one with a preexisting clausula (*Homo quam sit pura*), and one without

(*O Maria maris stella*). **Ch** also contains the textually diverse conductus *Gedeonis area* and *O Maria virginiei*. Therefore, limiting the discussion of rhythmic treatises to the latter hinders our greater understanding of the motet in relation to the texts on which they rely. These are rhythmic texts and rhythmic music, and the two go hand in hand.

The evidence shows that despite the large number of mode 1 motets, their texts favor certain verse types and those verse types favor certain rhythms. This relationship cannot be coincidental, and suggests that the dogmatic assertion that the motet must have resulted in the texting of discant clausulae should be reconsidered. If the text itself can communicate rhythm then that text no longer requires some preexisting rhythm to define and control it. Of course, as I have shown over the course of this chapter, rhythmic texts both of motets and conductus do not always adhere to their expected rhythms. For me, this is, to appropriate van der Werf's expression, the "hidden beauty" of these pieces,<sup>118</sup> what ultimately makes them more than just musico-poetic exercises which any young cleric could instantly create.<sup>119</sup> It is the relationships between the music and the text such as the subtle influence of strophic structures, important textual moments and in some cases the words themselves that help clarify these unexpected rhythmic patterns, as well as notational practices such as elongated noteheads and the presentation of motets in score format.

More work needs to be done to consider the relationship between individual words and notation in the *Ars antiqua* manuscripts. Van der Werf noted a correlation between ligatures and word accents.<sup>120</sup> In my own work on **Ch** I have witnessed a preponderance of monosyllabic

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<sup>118</sup> I borrow the phrase from Henrick van der Werf's *Hidden Beauty*.

<sup>119</sup> Of course, in some cases, I am sure this is precisely what did happen. One need only read through the numerous discussions of Philip the Chancellor's poetry to appreciate how much scholars insist that only the most imaginative specimens of poetry belong in his oeuvre. The quality of Philip's poetry is one characteristic that makes it endure (as, I am sure, his vast political and spiritual influence), yet on occasion simplicity, and one presumes popularity, also influenced the continued appreciation of a musical work such as *O Maria maris stella*.

<sup>120</sup> Van der Werf, *Hidden Beauty*, 48–53.

words or prefixes set to perfect or duplex longs, for instance, the opening of *In veritate comperi* and *O quam sancta, quam benigna*. The latter motet also demonstrates the occasional placement of two-syllable words to two perfect longs (second and third verses of the first strophe), and while these may have been in imitation of the first verse, the similar disposition of two-syllable words to perfect longs in the conductus raises the question to what extent this practice was understood as a viable rhythmic choice.

The question of rhythm in the conductus is perhaps even more fraught than the origins of the motet. Yet, while the diversity witnessed among the seven **Ch** conductus does not seem to argue for a definitive theory for the genre as a whole, the fact that there is a variety of conductus styles supports the possibility that simpler conductus were performed rhythmically while those that incorporated numerous caudae employed a more isosyllabic textual style as a form of contrast. That rhythmical contrast was of interest to conductus composers seems most obvious in Philip's *O Maria virginis* where the text slows down dramatically, supported by the notation, to address the Virgin directly. That conductus employed diverse rhythmic variety is not only supported by the notation, but by the surviving mensural versions of the conductus themselves. Even among the predominantly isosyllabic conductus there is variety with the occasional verse set in modal rhythm. Rather than demonstrating new editorial techniques employed by motet-obsessed consumers to an old-fashioned genre, these mensural conductus communicate the importance of rhythm to the conductus, the variety of ways it was employed, and perhaps most significantly the value of considering verse lengths in relation to the rhythms they reflect.

## **Appendices**

## Appendix A: Ch Gathering Structure

gathering x

1r	<i>Maiestati sacrosancte</i>
1v	<i>Maiestati sacrosancte; Ad Martini titulum</i>
2r	<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>
2v	<i>Ad Martini titulum</i>
3r	<i>Ad Martini titulum; Paule doctor gentium</i>
3v	<i>Paule doctor gentium</i>
4r	<i>Paule doctor gentium; Per eundem tempus</i>
4v	<i>Per eundem tempus</i>

gathering y

5r	<i>Regis decus et regine; Nostrum est impletum (216)</i>
5v	<i>Nostrum est impletum (216); Eximia mater (101); Homo quam sit pura (231)</i>
6r	<i>O quam sancta quam benigna (317) / [Et gaudebit] [M24]</i>
6v	<i>O quam sancta quam benigna (317) / [Et gaudebit] [M24]</i>

gathering z

7r	<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i>
7v	<i>Dogmatum falsas species; In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
8r	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
8v	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
9r	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
9v	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
10r	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
10v	<i>In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]; O Maria virginei</i>
11r	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
11v	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
12r	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
12v	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
13r	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
13v	<i>O Maria virginei</i>
14r	<i>O Maria virginei; O Maria maris stella (448) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
14v	<i>O Maria maris stella (448) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
15r	<i>O Maria maris stella (448) / [Veritatem] [M37]</i>
15v	<i>O Maria maris stella (448) / [Veritatem] [M37]; Gedeonis area</i>
16r	<i>Gedeonis area</i>
16v	<i>De rupta rupecula</i>
17r	<i>De rupta rupecula</i>
17v	<i>Pictavorum idolum</i>
18r	<i>Pictavorum idolum</i>
18v	<i>Terra Bachi Francia</i>



## Appendix B: Ch Conductus and Motet Concordances

Ch Conductus and Motets		Concordances
fol. 5r	<i>Regis decus et regine</i> (J47) 2 parts	<b>Praha</b> , 38v, text only <b>F</b> , fols. 364v–365r, 2 parts
fol. 5r–5v	<i>Nostrum est impletum</i> (216) / [ <i>Nostrum</i> ] [M14] 1 part	<b>F</b> , fol. 24r, 3 parts, discant organum <b>F</b> , fols. 384r–384v, conductus-motet <b>N</b> , fols. 185r–185v, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Hui matin a la jornee</i> (217) <b>R</b> , fol. 206r, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Hui matin a la jornee</i> (217) <b>Stary Sącz</b> , fol. 12v, 2 parts <b>W1</b> , fol. 78v (87v), 3 parts, discant organum <b>W2</b> , fol. 22v, 3 parts, discant organum
fol. 5v	<i>Eximia mater</i> (101) / [ <i>Et illuminare</i> ] [M9] 1 part	<b>F</b> , fols. 45r–45v, 3 parts, clausula <b>Stary Sącz</b> , fol. 12r, 2 parts <b>W2</b> , fol. 180v–181r, 2 parts <b>W2</b> , fols. 230r–230v, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Entre Robin et Marot</i> (104) <b>W2</b> , fols. 232r–232v, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Et illumina je vous salu dame</i> (105)
fol. 5v	<i>Homo quam sit pura</i> (231) / [ <i>Latus</i> ] [M14] 1 part	<b>F</b> , fol. 158v, 2 parts, clausula <b>F</b> , fols. 385v–386r, 3 parts, conductus-motet <b>Sab</b> , fols. 135v–137v, 1 part <b>W1</b> , fol. 49r (57r), 2 parts, clausula
fol. 6r–6v	<i>O quam sancta quam benigna</i> (317) / [ <i>Et gaudebit</i> ] [M24] 3 parts, conductus-motet	<b>ArsB 3518</b> , fol. 117r–117v, 2 parts <b>Ba</b> , fols. 47r–49r, 3 parts, triplum <i>Ypocrites pseudopontifices</i> (316) <b>Cl</b> , fols. 380v–381v, 4 parts, triplum <i>O Maria mater pia</i> (317a), quadruplum <i>El mois d'avril</i> (318) <b>F</b> , fols. 161v–162r, 2 parts, clausula <b>F</b> , fols. 411v–413r, 3 parts, contrafact: <i>Velut stelle firmamenti</i> (315), triplum <i>Ypocrites pseudopontifices</i> (316) <b>Hu</b> , fol. 94v, 2 parts <b>LoC</b> , fols. 3v–4v, 2 parts <b>Ma</b> , fols. 132r–133r, 3 parts, triplum <i>Ypocrites pseudopontifices</i> (316) <b>Mo</b> , fols. 63v–66r, 3 parts, triplum <i>El mois d'avril</i> (318) <b>StV</b> , fol. 289v, 2 parts, clausula, incipit: <i>Al cor ai une alegrance</i> (318) <b>W2</b> , fols. 187v–188v, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Virgo virginum regina</i> <b>W2</b> , fols. 188v–189r, 2 parts, contrafact: <i>Memor tui creatoris</i> <b>W2</b> , fols. 195r–197r, 3 parts, contrafact: <i>Al cor ai une alegrance</i> (319), triplum <i>El mois d'avril</i> (318)
fol. 7r–7v	<i>Dogmatum falsas species</i> (K55)	<b>F</b> , fol. 438r, 1 part

- fols. 7v–10v *In veritate comperi* (451) /  
 [Veritatem] [M37]  
 3 parts, conductus-motet
- Ba**, fols. 25r–26v, 3 parts, triplum *In salvatoris nomine*  
 (452)  
**Cl**, fols. 378v–379v, 4 parts, triplum *In salvatoris nomine*  
 (452), quadruplum *Ce fu en tres douz tens* (452a)  
**CTr**, fol. 230r, 3 parts, conductus-motet, fragment  
**F**, fols. 398r–398v, 3 parts, conductus-motet, fragment  
**Hu**, fols. 126r–127r, 2 parts  
**LoB**, fol. 50r–54v, 3 parts, triplum *In salvatoris nomine*  
 (452)  
**Mo**, fols. 94v–97r, 3 parts, triplum *In salvatoris nomine*  
 (452)  
**W2**, fols. 149r–150r, 2 parts
- fols. 10v–14r *O Maria virginei* (E14)  
 3 parts
- Praha**, fol. 38v, text only  
**F**, fols. 237v–239r, 3 parts  
**LoB**, fols. 7v–8v, 2 parts  
**MüA**, complex D, fol. 1v, 3 parts, fragment of opening,  
 now lost  
**W2**, fols. 43r–46r, 3 parts
- fols. 14r–15v *O Maria maris stella* (448) /  
 [Veritatem] [M37]  
 3 parts, conductus-motet
- ArsA**, fols. 290v–291r, 2 parts  
**ArsB 3517**, fol. 2v, 2 parts  
**Ba**, fols. 48v–90r, 3 parts, triplum *O Maria virgo davitica*  
 (449)  
**Camb**, fol. 129v, 2 parts  
**Cl**, fols. 369v–370r, 3 parts, triplum *O Maria virgo davitica*  
 (449)  
 Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs–3471,  
 fol. 1av, 3 parts, triplum *O Maria virgo davitica*  
 (449)  
**Erf**, fol. 5v, 2 parts  
**F**, fols. 397v–398r, 3 parts, conductus-motets  
**Hu**, fols. 102v–103r, 4 parts, triplum *O Maria virgo*  
*davitica* (449)  
**Hu**, fols. 123v–124r, 3 parts, triplum *O Maria Dei cella*  
 (449a)  
**Mo**, fols. 88v–90r, 3 parts, triplum *O Maria virgo davitica*  
 (449)  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72, fol. 164v, 2 parts,  
 fragment  
**W2**, fols. 125r–126r, 3 parts, conductus-motets  
**W2**, fols. 135r–136r, 3 parts, conductus-motet, contrafact:  
*Glorieuse dieu amie dame* (450)
- fols. 15v–16r *Gedeonis area* (F15)  
 3 parts
- Praha**, fol. 38v, text only  
**F**, fols. 239v–240r, 3 parts
- fols. 16v–17r *De rupta rupecula* (F25.i)  
 3 parts
- F**, fols. 245r–245v, 3 parts
- fols. 17v–18r *Pictavorum idolum* (F25.ii)  
 3 parts
- F**, fols. 245v–246r, 3 parts
- fol. 18r *Terra Bachi Francia* (F25.iii)  
 3 parts
- F**, fols. 246r–247r, 3 parts

## **Appendix C: Ch Sequences**

## Maiestati sacrosancte (AH 55, 365)

fol. 1r

6b. Re - ges o - lim pe - re - gri - ni or - nant\_ ur - bem Con - stan - ti - ni al - la - tis cor - po - ri - bus.

7a. Tan - dem in - de sunt trans - la - ti, com - men - da - ti ci - vi - ta - ti, cui no - men Am - bro - si - a.

7b. Ter in - ven - tos ter trans - la - tos De - i nu - tu si - bi da - tos co - lit hos Co - lo - ni - a.

8a. Or - tus de - dit Oc - ci - den - ti, quod tres re - ges ter in - ven - ti ex - co - lunt Co - lo - ni - am.

8b. Nun - quam lo - cum mu - ta - tu - ri, nec, ut o - lim, re - ver - su - ri sunt per vi - am a - li - am.

9a. Co - lant re - ges prop - ter\_ re - gem. Sum - mi re - gis ser - vent le - gem co - lo - ni Co - lo - ni - e.

fol. 1v

9b. Nos in fi - dem sum - mus\_ ri - vi. Hi sunt fon - tes pri - mi - ti - vi, gen - ti - um pri - mi - ti - e.

A - men\_

The image shows a musical score for a Latin hymn. It consists of nine staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The score is divided into two sections: fol. 1r and fol. 1v. The lyrics are: 6b. Re - ges o - lim pe - re - gri - ni or - nant\_ ur - bem Con - stan - ti - ni al - la - tis cor - po - ri - bus. 7a. Tan - dem in - de sunt trans - la - ti, com - men - da - ti ci - vi - ta - ti, cui no - men Am - bro - si - a. 7b. Ter in - ven - tos ter trans - la - tos De - i nu - tu si - bi da - tos co - lit hos Co - lo - ni - a. 8a. Or - tus de - dit Oc - ci - den - ti, quod tres re - ges ter in - ven - ti ex - co - lunt Co - lo - ni - am. 8b. Nun - quam lo - cum mu - ta - tu - ri, nec, ut o - lim, re - ver - su - ri sunt per vi - am a - li - am. 9a. Co - lant re - ges prop - ter\_ re - gem. Sum - mi re - gis ser - vent le - gem co - lo - ni Co - lo - ni - e. fol. 1v 9b. Nos in fi - dem sum - mus\_ ri - vi. Hi sunt fon - tes pri - mi - ti - vi, gen - ti - um pri - mi - ti - e. A - men\_

## Ad Martini titulum (AH 8, 190)

fol. 1v

1. Ad Mar - ti - ni ti - tu - lum in - vo - ca - lem mo - du - lum pro - de - at de - vo - ti - o.

2a. Fi - de - i sig - na - cu - lum ful - ge - at ad o - cu - lum o - pe - ris in - di - ti - o.

2b. Pre - sul, gem - ma pre - su - lum, sanc - ti - ta - tis spe - cu - lum no - stra sit in - struc - ti - o.

3a. Na - tus ex gen - ti - li - bus, mi - les ex mi - li - ti - bus, de tri - bu - no mi - li - tum.

3b. Vi - te vir - tus in - cly - te mo - na - chum in mi - li - te ex - hi - bit e - me - ri - tum.

4a. Pal - li - um cum gla - di - o bru - me - scin - dens - me - di - o Am - bi - an - is Do - mi - num tec - tum vi - det pal - li - o.

fol. 2r

4b. Pal - li - i di - mi - di - o tec - tus in vi - ca - ri - o lau - dat ca - the - cu - mi - num Chri - stus o - re pro - pri - o.

5a. Bap - ti - za - tur, or - di - na - tur, ad le - vi - te gra - dum vi - te me - ri - tis. Hi - la - ri - us

5b. hunc in - vi - tat, sed hoc vi - tat nam la - bor - is quam ho - no - ris o - nus e - i gra - ti - us.

6a. Bap - ti - zan - dum ca - the - ri - zat, sed pre - ven - tum non bap - ti - zat, dum ab - est per tri - du - um.


6b. Tur - ba plo - rat, sanc - tus o - rat, pre - ce fu - sa mors con - fu - sa vi - te red - dit mor - tu - um.

fol. 2v

7a. Im - por - tu - ne ser - vus un - us si - bi fu - ne fe - cit fu - nus. Mar - ti - num tur - ba fla - gi - tat. Mar - ti - nus il - lum sus - ci - tat.



7b. Tan-tis sig-nis vir in-sig-nis in pa-sto-rem ad cla-mo-rem\_\_\_\_ cle-ri, ple-bi\_\_\_\_ e-li-gi-tur.\_\_\_\_ Fu-git; in-vi-tus ra-pi-tur.



8a. Qui-dam dic-tus est de-fen-sor, per-so-na-rum ex-tra men-sor, for-ma vi - lem et ex - i - lem hunc in-dig-num a-stru-it.



8b. Lec-tor ab-est, cau-sa mo-re le-git pu-er pro lec-to-re et per-ver-sum hunc ex o - re hunc in-dig-num de-stru-it.



8c. Tu de-struc-tor de-fen-sor-is, a fla-gel-lo de-struc-to-ris nos de-fen-das et im - pen - das gra-ti - e so-la-ti - a. fol. 3r



8d. Tan-ti pa-tris as-se-cu-ti pa-tro-na-tum si-mus tut-ti, ut sa-lu-ti re-sti-tu - ti le-te-mur in glo-ri-a. A - men\_

## Paule doctor gentium (AH 40, 236)

fol. 3r

1. Pau - le, doc - tor gen - ti - um, Chri - sti vas e - gre - gi - um, vas in - sig - ne gra - ti - a,

2a. tu - um est pre - co - ni - um tu - i ver - bi spo - li - um gen - ti - um ec - cle - si - a.

2b. Tu per ver - bi gla - di - um re - se - cas per - pu - ti - um, cir - cum - ci - dis vi - ti - a.

3a. Rap - tus ce - lum ter - ti - um in - tras\_ sanc - tu - a - ri - um, stu - pent om - nes e - bri - um cel - la de vi - na - ri - a.

fol. 3v

3b. Men - tis nec in - ge - ni - um lin - gue\_ nec e - lo - qui - um ex - pli - cat my - ste - ri - um quod mens ca - pit e - bri - a.

4a. Il - lic hau - ris de the - sau - ris. Il - lic vi - des quod non\_ fi - des sus - fi - cit\_ ex - pri - me - re.

4b. O - pes Chri - sti quas vi - di - sti. Non re - fun - dis, sed re - con - dis my - sti - co\_ ca - rac - te - re.

5a. Pre - di - ca - tor ve - ri - ta - tis, e - mu - la - tor ca - ri - ta - tis, mag - nus pre - co gra - ti - e,

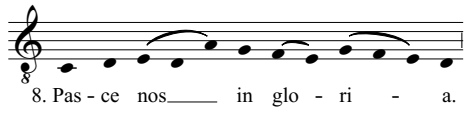
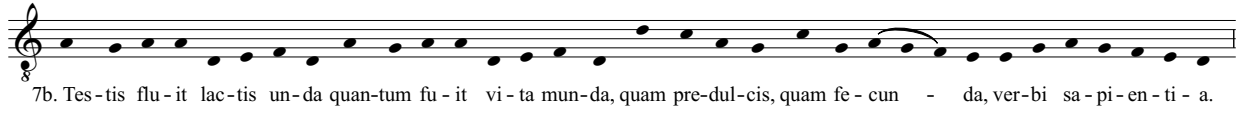
5b. con - tra le - gem le - ge pug - nas. Que - sti - o - num sol - vis\_ pug - nas, ces - sant ce - ri - mo - ni - e.

fol. 4r

6a. Tan - dem pas - so sub Ne - ro - ne pug - na fir - mat spem co - ro - ne\_ ne - que ca - ret\_ my - ste - ri - o\_ doc - tri - ne con - sors pas - si - o.

6b. Mu - cro se - vit pro mu - cro - ne, dum pro ver - bi ra - ti - on - e\_ de - col - lar - is\_ cum gla - di - o;\_ mors con - gru - it of - fi - ci - o.

7a. En - se ver - bi di - mi - ca - sti. En - se fer - ri tri - um - pha - sti. En - sem en - se su - pe - ra - sti, mor - tem pa - ti - en - ci - a.





## Per eundem tempus

fol. 4r

1aa. Per e - un - dem tem - pus — lu - stri lo - co la - tens in pa - lu - stri o - cu - lis ab - scon - di - tur.

fol. 4v

1ab. In pro - fun - dis mer - sum un - dis ne - que le - sum nec — ob - se - sum a - ve pis - ce car - pi - tur.

1ba. Li - cet i - mum te - nens — li - mi ta - men li - mum ne - scit i - mi sa - num si - ne sa - ni - e.

1bb. In - qui - ren - dum re - ve - la - tur et que - ren - ti re - pa - ra - tur a - spec - tus Eu - se - bi - e.

2a. U - bi cor - pus — sit se - pul - tum ig - no - ra - vit tem - pus mul - tum. Di - u fru - stra que - ri - tur.

2b. Tem - pus ta - men — a - bo - le - re ne - quid i - stud quod nam ve - re e - ter - no con - iun - gi - tur.

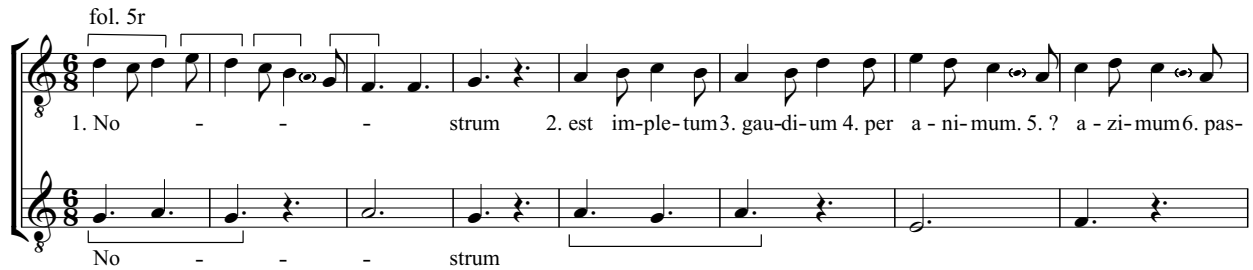
3a. In - qui - ren - do se - pul - tu - re e - li - gi - tur vi - te pu - re E - li - gi - us — pon - ti - fex.

3b. Hic in - ven - tum...

**Appendix D:**  
**Ch Monophonic Motets**

*Nostrum est impletum* (216) / [*Nostrum*] [M14]

fol. 5r



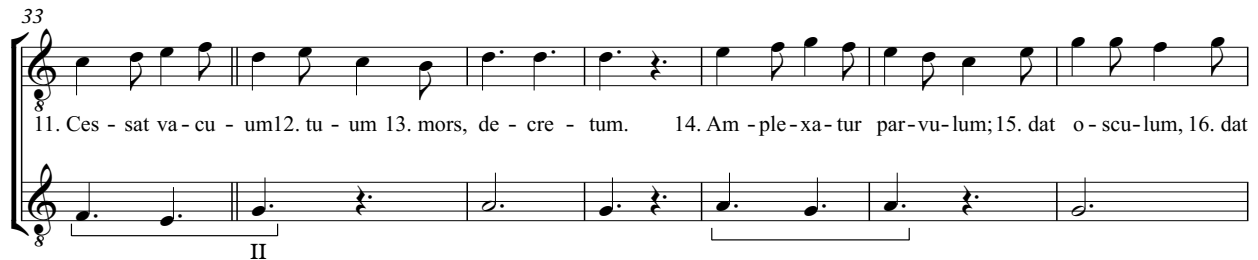
1. No - - - strum 2. est im-ple-tum 3. gau-di-um 4. per a - ni-mum. 5. ? a - zi-mum 6. pas-  
No - - - strum

17



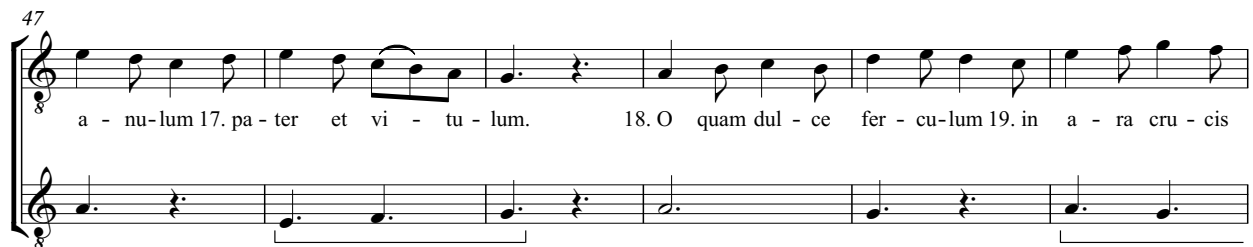
cha - le - tum. 7. Le - to le - tum 8. est de-le - tum; 9. ex - u - lat ex - i - li-um 10. post tri - du - um.

33



11. Ces - sat va - cu - um 12. tu - um 13. mors, de - cre - tum. 14. Am - ple - xa - tur par - vu - lum; 15. dat o - scu - lum, 16. dat II

47



a - nu - lum 17. pa - ter et vi - tu - lum. 18. O quam dul - ce fer - cu - lum 19. in a - ra cru - cis

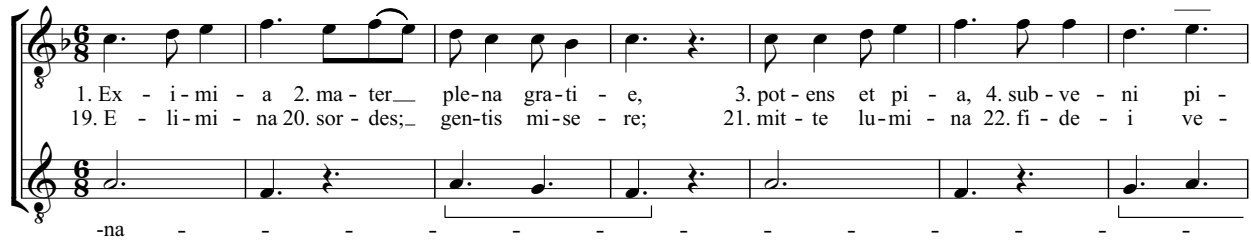
59 fol. 5v



tor - ri - dum 20. a quo flu - it sa - pi - dum 21. cru - or po - cu - lum 22. no - strum.

*Eximia mater (101) / [Et illuminare] [M9]*

fol. 5v



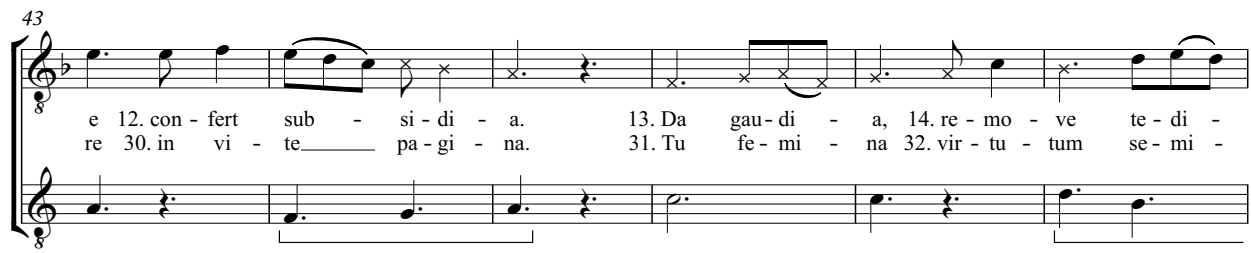
1. Ex - i - mi - a 2. ma - ter\_\_ ple - na gra - ti - e, 3. pot - ens et pi - a, 4. sub - ve - ni pi -  
19. E - li - mi - na 20. sor - des;\_\_ gen - tis mi - se - re; 21. mit - te lu - mi - na 22. fi - de - i ve -  
-na



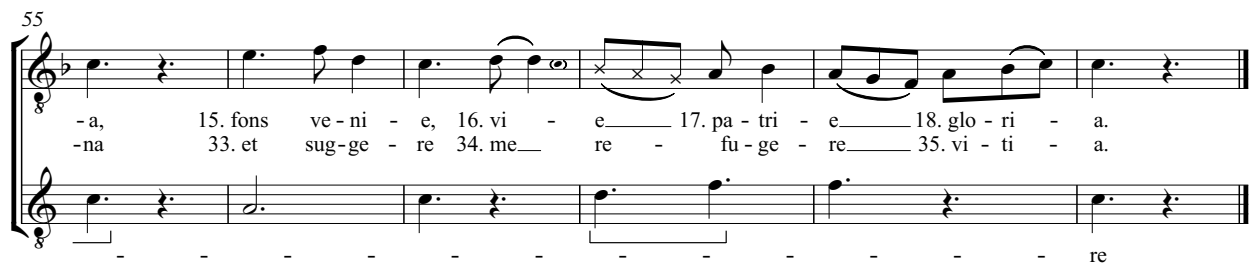
e. 5. Per te\_\_ pa - ter vi - e\_\_ 6. ce - li re - gi - e. 7. O vir - go\_\_ re - gi -  
re. 23. Men - tes\_\_ il - lu - mi - na\_\_ 24. nos - que dex - te - re 25. fi - li - as\_\_ no - mi -



a, 8. e - gre - gi - a 9. re - gi - a, 10. re - gis glo - ri - e 11. vic - to - ri -  
na; 26. o do - mi - na 27. no - mi - na 28. no - stra li - be - re; 29. fac scri - be -  
II



e 12. con - fert sub - si - di - a. 13. Da gau - di - a, 14. re - mo - ve te - di -  
re 30. in vi - te\_\_ pa - gi - na. 31. Tu fe - mi - na 32. vir - tu - tum se - mi -



- a, 15. fons ve - ni - e, 16. vi - e\_\_ 17. pa - tri - e\_\_ 18. glo - ri - a.  
- na 33. et sug - ge - re 34. me\_\_ re - fu - ge - re\_\_ 35. vi - ti - a.  
re

*Homo quam sit pura (231) / [Latus] [M14]*

Ch, fol. 5v



1. Ho - mo quam sit pu - ra 2. mi - chi de te cu - ra 3. pro - bra pro - bant plu - ra: 4. do - lor et pres - su - ra,  
la - - - - -

17

F, fol. 385v



5. ver - be - rum tri - tu - ra, 6. lan - ce - e fi - xu - ra, 7. vinc - tus in ca - the - na, 8. nul - la vic - tus  
- - - - -

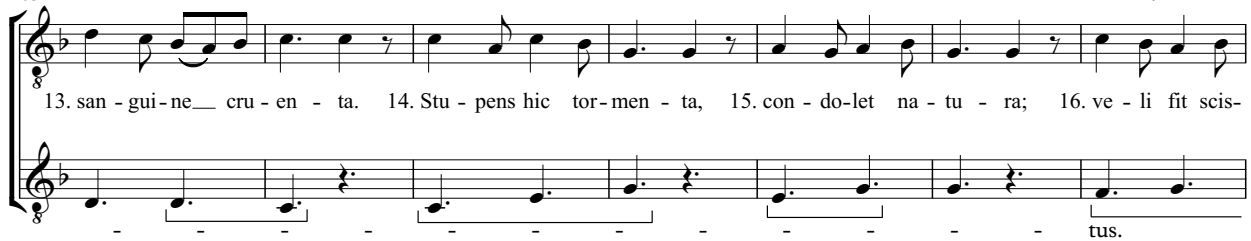
31



pe - na, 9. po - tus in la - ge - na 10. mir - ra fel - le ple - na. 11. Ce - sa ge - na, 12. o - mnis ve - na  
- - - - -

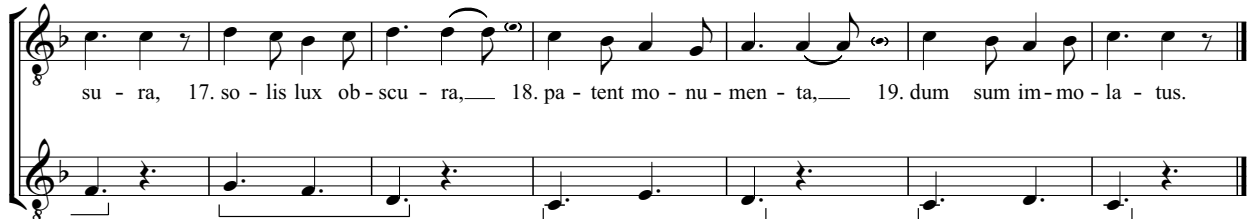
45

F, fol. 386r



13. san - gui - ne cru - en - ta. 14. Stu - pens hic tor - men - ta, 15. con - do - let na - tu - ra; 16. ve - li fit scis -  
tus.

59



su - ra, 17. so - lis lux ob - scu - ra, 18. pa - tent mo - nu - men - ta, 19. dum sum im - mo - la - tus.

**Appendix E:  
Motets in Score Format**

*O quam sancta quam benigna (317) / [Et gaudebit] [M24]*

27 fol. 6r

5. au - la re - demp - to - ris, 6. to - ti - us fons dul - co - ris, 7. an - ge - lo - rum gau - di - um,

41 fol. 6v

8. lac - tans De - i fi - li - um, 9. re - gem om - ni - um. 10. Ave, sa - lus gen - ti - um, 11. pre - ces sup - pli -

55

can - ti - um! 12. Au - di, vir - go, yes - se vir - ga no - bi - lis, 13. su - per om - nes ve - ne - ra - bi - lis.

71

14. Spes u - ni - ca, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris. 15. In - e - bri - ans a - ni - mas fons es ad -

II

*In veritate comperi (451) / [Veritatem] [M37]*

fol. 7v fol. 8r

si 2li | si 2li | 3li | 3li |  
 1. In ve-ri-ta-te com-pe-ri 2. quod sce-le-ri 3. cle-ri stu-det u-ni-tas.

15

3li | si 2li | 3li | si 2li |  
 4. Li-vor reg-nat; ve-ri-tas 5. da-tur fu-ne-ri. 6. He-ro-des Lu-ci-fe-ri 7. sunt pre-la-

31 fol. 8v

3li | 3li | 3li | si 2li |  
 ti 8. iam e-la-ti 9. glo-ri-a. 10. Mem-bra do-mat a-li-a 11. ca-pi-tis in-sa-ni-a. 12. Ce-ci

47

3li | si 2li | 3li |  
 du-ces - que ce-co-rum, 13. ex-ce-ca-ti ter-re-no-rum 14. y-do-la-tri-a,



61

si 2li | si 2li | si 2li | 3li |  
 15. que - runt om - nes pro - pri - a. 16. Ma - nus pa - tent, 17. sed iam la - tent 18. cru - cis be - ne - fi - ci - a.

II

75 fol. 9r

3li | 3li | si 2li |  
 19. Lu - ge, Sy - on fi - li - a. 20. Fruc - tus u - rit mes - si - um 21. ig - nis in cau - dis. vul - pi - um.

89

3li | si 2li | [3li |] 3li |  
 22. Tris - tes per y - po - cri - tas. 23. Si - mu - la - ta sanc - ti - tas, 24. ut Tha - mar in bi - vi - o

103 fol. 9v

3li | si 2li | 3li |  
 25. tur - pi mar - cens o - ci - o, 26. to - tum or - bem in - fi - cit. 27. Nec de - fi - cit, 28. sed pro - fi - cit,

117

29. da - ta <sup>si 2li</sup> li - be - ra - ti. 30. Ca - sti - ta - tem <sup>3li</sup> pol - lu - it; 31. ca - ri - ta - tem <sup>3li</sup> res - pu - it,

123 <sup>131</sup> fol. 10r

32. stu - dens <sup>si 2li</sup> par - ci - ta - ti. 33. Se - det in in - si - di - is <sup>3li</sup> 34. ho - mi - num pre fi - li - is <sup>3li</sup> 35. pau - pe - rem ut

III

137 <sup>145</sup>

ra - pi - at <sup>3li</sup> 36. et, lin - gua rum gla - di - is, <sup>si 2li</sup> 37. iu - stum ut in - ter - fi - ci - at. <sup>[3li]</sup> 38. Non est qui bo - num

155 fol. 10v

fa - ci - at <sup>si 2li</sup> 39. i - sto - rum <sup>3li</sup> 40. quo - rum con - sci - en - ci - a <sup>3li</sup> 41. spe - lun - ca la -

167

tro - num. 42. Hanc vi - de, vi - dens om - ni - a, si 2li | 43. De - us ul - ti - o - num.

*O Maria maris stella (448) / [Veritatem] [M37]*

fol. 14r

3li |  
1. O Ma - ri - a, ma - ris stel - la, 2. ple - na gra - ti - e,  
si 2li |

9 fol. 14v

3li |  
3. ma - ter si - mul et pu - el - la, 4. vas mun - di - ti - e,  
si 2li |

17

3li |  
5. tem - plum no - stri re - demp - to - ris, 6. sol iu - sti - ti - e,  
si 2li |

25

3li |  
7. por - ta ce - li, spes re - o - rum, 8. thro - nus glo - ri - e,  
si 2li |

II

33 fol. 15r

3li | 9. sub - le - va - tris mi - se - ro - rum, 10. ve - na ve - ni - e, 3li |

41

3li | 11. au - di ser - vos te ro - gan - tes 12. ma - ter gra - ti - e, si 2li |

49

3li | 13. ut pec - ca - ta sint ab - la - ta 14. per te ho - di - e, si 2li |

III

57 fol. 15v

3li | 15. qui te pu - ro lau - dant cor - de 16. in ve - ri - ta - te. si 2li |

*Agmina milice (532) / [Agmina] [M65]*

LoA, fol. 91r

1. Ag - mi - na mi - li - ci - e 2. ce - le - stis om - ni - a 3. mar - ti - ris vic - to - ri - e 4. oc - cur - runt ob - vi - a.

17

5. Vir - gi - nis ex - i - mi - e 6. lau - dant pre - co - ni - a; 7. ro - sa pa - ci - en - ci - e, 8. pu - do - ris li - li - a,

33

9. do - num sa - pi - en - ci - e, 10. le - gis e - lo - qui - a. 11. Vir - go re - gi - a, 12. re - gis fi - li - a,

49

fol. 91v

13. Chri - stum re - gem ho - di - e 14. in ce - li cu - ri - a 15. re - ve - la - ta fa - ci - e 16. vi - det in glo - ri - a.

65

17. Chri - sti ho - di - e 18. pa - tent o - sti - a. 19. Sa - pi-en-tum Gre-ci-e 20. fa-cun-di-e\_ 21. so-phis-ma- tum, 22. et

81

si 2li | dog-ma-tum 23. ar - gu - ci-e, 24. si - lent, et stu-di - a. 25. Post hec sta - di - a 26. gau - det re - qui - e.\_\_\_\_

97

27. Car - nis ha-bet spo - li-a 28. a-pex A - ra-bi - e. 29. Ca - ro ca-ret ca - ri-e; 30. mens im-mun-di - ci - a.

113

fol. 92r

31. O - le - um hec gra - ci - e\_\_\_\_ 32. dat et pre-cum suf - fra - gi - si | a.

*Serena virginum (69) / [Manere] [M5]*

LoA, fol. 92r

1. Se - re - na 2. vir - gi - num 3. lux lu - mi - num 4. ple - na, 5. tem - plum tri - ni -

ta - tis, 6. pu - ri - ta - tis 7. spe - ci - a - lis tha - la - mus, 8. ar - cha no - ve le - gis, 9. thro - nus no - vi

re - gis, 10. ve - lus quod reg - na - vit, 11. qui no - strum por - ta - vit 12. sac - rum, no - stram car - nem 13. ve - sti -

fol. 92v

14. Nes - ci - ens 15. vi - rum De - um pa - ris. 16. O Ma - ri - a, 17. ma - ter pi - a,



61

18. stel - la ma - ris 19. sin - gu - la - ris, 20. stel - la, cu - ius 2li si| ra - di - us 21. nu - bem pres - sit, 22. quam im - pres - sit

73

23. E - ve cul - pa pri - us. 24. I - stud nul - la ca - ri - tas 25. me - ru - it aut ca - sti - tas, 26. sed sim - plex hu -

89

mi - li - tas 27. an - cil - le. 28. O ma - mil - le, 29. qua - rum ve - ne 30. flu - unt ple -

105

fol. 93r

ne 31. mun - do lac et mel - la. 32. Gens mi - sel - la, 33. tol - li - te 34. vas fel - li - tum; 35. vas mel - li - tum

121

36. bi - bi - te. 37. Ec - ce lac in - fan - ti - um. 38. Ec - ce man - na mun - do pi - um.

135

39. Ec - ce pi - e 40. flos Ma - ri - e 41. vir - gi - nis. 42. Se - mi - nis 43. A - bra-he stirps

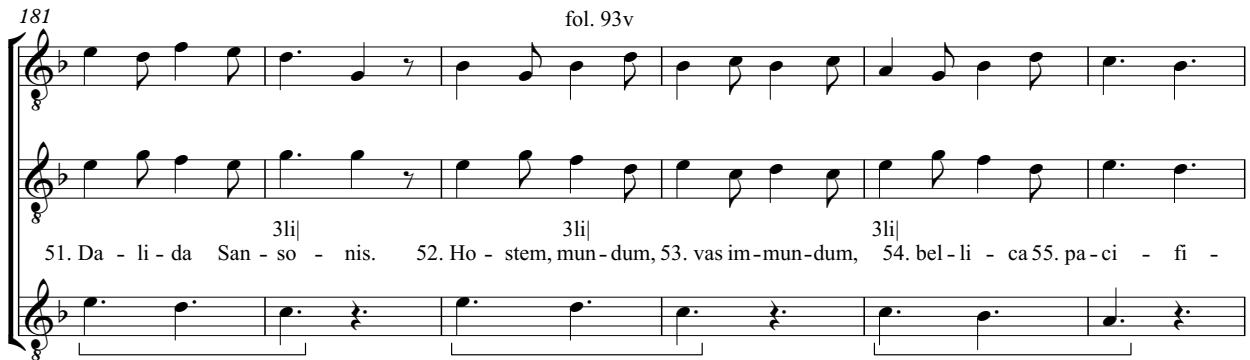
161

in - cli - ta, 44. bal - sa-mus mel - li - ta, 45. ca - la - mus con-di - ta, 46. nar - dus, mir - ra tri - ta;

165

47. O pi - a, 48. tra-hunt nos ad va - ri - a 49. la - que-i pre - do - nis, 50. tor-rens Ba - bi - lo - nis,

181 fol. 93v



51. Da - li - da <sup>3li|</sup> San - so - nis. 52. Ho - stem, mun - dum, <sup>3li|</sup> 53. vas im - mun - dum, <sup>3li|</sup> 54. bel - li - ca 55. pa - ci - fi -

193



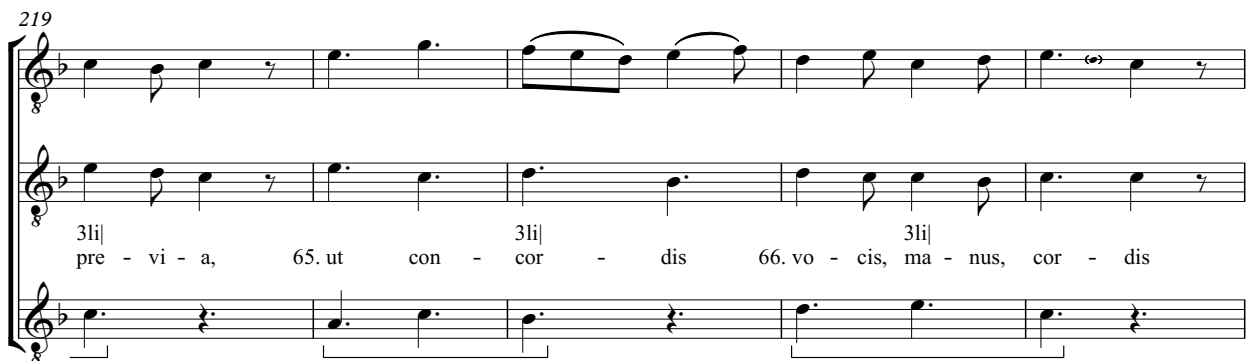
ca, <sup>3li|</sup> 56. spes re - o - rum, 57. lux ce - lo - rum, 58. vir - go re - gi - a. <sup>si</sup> <sup>si</sup> <sup>si</sup> 59. O Ma - ri - a, 60. ce - cis vi - a,

207



<sup>si 2li|</sup> <sup>3li|</sup> <sup>2li si|</sup>  
61. no - stra tim - pha - ni - stri - a, 62. in hoc sa - lo 63. nos a ma - lo 64. sal - va, stel - la

219



<sup>3li|</sup> <sup>3li|</sup> <sup>3li|</sup>  
pre - vi - a, 65. ut con - cor - dis 66. vo - cis, ma - nus, cor - dis

229

3li| 3li| 3li| 3li| si si si  
67. plau - su le - ti tri - no 68. be - ne - di - ca - mus \_\_\_\_\_ Do - mi - no.

*Ex semine Abrahe (483) / [Ex semine] [M38]*

Worc, Frag. XVIII, fol. 1v

si 2li - - si - si | si si si | si si si |  
 1. Ex se - - mi - ne 2. A - bra-he di - vi - no 3. mo - de-ra - mi - ne

17

si  
 4. ig - nem pi - o nu - mi-ne 5. pro - du - cis, Do-mi - ne, 6. ho - mi-nis sa - lu - tem. 7. Pau - per-ta - te 8. nu - da

33 fol. 2r

si si si si si | si si si si si |  
 9. vir - gi-nis na - ti - vi-ta - te 10. de tri-bu lu - da 11. iam pro-pi - nas o - vum 12. per na-ta - le

47

si |  
 no - vum. 13. Pis - cem, pa - nem da - bis, 14. par - tum si - ne se - mi - ne.

**Appendix F:**  
**Rhythmic Versions of Ch Conductus**

## Regis decus et regine (J47)

F, fol. 364v

1. Re  
7. Lec

- - gis de - cus et re - gi - ne, 2. sa - ga, pel - les et cor -  
- - tum or - nat co - lor flo - rum, 8. men - tem pa - scit o - dor

ti - ne 3. vi - o - le, ro - se, li - li - a;  
mo - rum, 9. trip - lex in tri - bus gra - ti - a:

4. sa - ga sig - nat con - fi - ten  
10. con - fi - den - tes in li - vo

- - tes, 5. pel - - - - - les ru - bre pa - ti -  
- - re, 11. pa - - - - - ti - en - tes in ru -

85

en - bo - tes, 6. cor - ti - ne con - re, 12. in can - do - re

101

ti - nen - ti mun - di ti

117

a. 13. Man  
a. 21. lam

133

da - to - rum de - na - ri - us 14. cor - ti - na - rum plu - ra - li - tas,  
sa - go - rum ci - li - ci - a 22. ver - tun - tur in de - li - ci - as,

151

15. vir - tu - tum quar - te - na - ri - us 16. est co - lo - rum di - ver - si - tas, 17. cum  
23. cor - ti - na - rum mun - di - ti - a 24. in sor - des et spur - ci - ti - as, 25. pel -

169

ia -  
li -





## Dogmatum falsas species (K55)

F, fol. 438r

1. Dog - ma - tum fal - sas spe - ci - es 2. pro - fa - na no - vi - ta - te

11 3. vul - pes Sam - so - nis gan - ni - unt, 4. de - ser - ta ve - ri - ta - te;

21 5. sub pre - tex - tu pre - ci - pi - unt 6. vir - tu - tis si - mu - la - te,

31 7. qua - rum di - ver - se fa - ci - es 8. sed cau - de col - li - ga - te

41 *Refrain*

9. Tu - i sta - tus ex - ci - di - um 10. Sy - on, fle - re non ces - ses,

53 *Ch, fol. 7r*

11. ig - nis in cau - dis vul - pi - um 12. tu - as com - bus - sit mes - ses.

2. Sub vestimentis ovium  
latent lupi rapaces,  
quorum cancer eloquium  
venenosi mordaces,  
quibus prestant presidium  
hypocrite mendaces;  
hi consummant incendium,  
illi ministrant faces.  
Tui status....

5. Ecce de fumo putei  
exierunt locuste,  
vulpes nocive fidei,  
per quas messes combuste  
seducte sunt in abditis;  
mentes culpīs onuste,  
que peccatorum meritis  
falluntur non iniuste.  
Tui status....

f.7v  
8. Demoliuntur vineam,  
caudis messes incendunt,  
dum torcular et aream;  
nullam dare contendunt  
sacramento materiam;  
sic sancti vilipendunt  
altaris eucharistiam;  
nec virtutem attendunt.  
Tui status....

3. Captivas ducunt simplices,  
dum domos viduarum  
penetrant mente duplices;  
predones animarum  
littere radunt cortices,  
non favos scripturarum;  
mortis propinant calices,  
erroris fel amarum.  
Tui status....

6. Suavis panis absconditus,  
dulces aque furtive;  
vite.....  
.....  
foris honestus habitus,  
mentes intus captive,  
quorum finis interitus  
inferorum convive.  
Tui status....

9. Quasi licitorium  
fuit hasta Golie,  
designans quod textentium  
sit error huius vie;  
ex his sunt qui non sentiunt  
de sacramentis pie;  
in occultis conveniunt,  
nocte volant non die.  
Tui status....

4. Cur dormitis pontifices?  
Cur estis, canes, muti?  
Vulpes sunt inter frutices  
nec estis persecuti.  
Vere colentes culices,  
camelis involuti;  
infructuose salices,  
non vacantes salutē.  
Tui status....

7. Ecce furnos Egyptios  
intran Egypti rane,  
pascunt Egypti filios  
novi fermenti pane;  
panem vite reiciunt,  
panem doctrine sane,  
erroribus consentiunt  
novitatis prophane.  
Tui status....

10. Ignis in caudis vulpium  
finem horum figurat,  
nam combustores messium  
dignum ut ignis urat;  
qui reperit contagium  
erroris, quem abiurat,  
digne sit cibus ignium,  
quosdam error immurat.  
Tui status....

## O Maria virginei (E14)

fol. 10v fol. 11r

1. O Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne - i, flos ho - no - ris, vi - te vi - a, lux fi - de - i, pax a - mo - ris;

21

2. O re - gi - na, tu la - que - i, tu do - lo - ris me - di - ci - na, fons o - le - i, vas o - do - ris.


41 fol. 11v

3. Tu vul - ne - ris me - de - lam re - pe - ris, e - gris ef - fi - ce - ris o - le - um, un - cti - o - nis.

55

4. Post ve - te - ris que - re - lam sce - le - ris os - cu - lum in - se - ris, pa - ri - es u - ni - o - nis.

69 fol. 12r



5. Spes mi - se - ris, the - sau - rus pau - pe - ris, li - mes i - ti - ne - ris, ra - di - us vi - si - o - nis;

83



6. As - se - que - ris quic - quid pe - ti - e - ris, so - la pre ce - te - ris po - ti - or es in do - nis.

97 fol. 12v



7. Tu mors in - fe - ris, pre - do tu pre - do - nis, vi - ta su - pe - ris, su - pe - ri - or es in thro - nis.

121



8. Ar - cha fe - de - ris, thro - nus Sa - la - mo - nis, ve - stis po - de - ris, tu vel - lus es Ge - de - o - nis.

145

fol. 13r

9. Tu ge - ne - ris pro - les de - ge - ne - ris re - ge - ne - ras ge - nus in po - ste - ras.

157

10. Ex o - pe - ris ser - vil - lis o - pe - ris nos li - be - ras a lu - to la - te - ris.

171

fol. 13v

11. Tu li - be - ris post iu - gum o - ne - ris spem re - se - ras e - ter - ni mu - ne - ris.

185

12. Tar - ta - re - i ca - te - nas car - ce - ris com - mi - nu - is; cap - ti - vos ex - se - ris.

199

13. Si - de - re - i for - mam ca - rac - te - ris re - sti - tu - is a sor - de - pul - ve - ris.

215

fol. 14r

14. A - cu - le - i do - lo - rem con - te - ris et mor - tu - is vi - te spem a - pe - ris.

229

15. Fu - ne - re - i de - bi - tum ci - ne - ris nos ex - u - is in - du - is - que co - ro - nis.

## Gedeonis area (F15)

fol. 15v

1. Ge - de - o - nis\_ a - re - a 2. ce - li - tus per - fu - sa ro - re; 3. flam - mam ru - bus\_

13 fol. 16r

ig - ne - a 4. ra - di - at abs - que ca - lo - re; 5. Nu - cle - um et nu - cle -

25

a 6. te - sta pro - dit lu - te - a; 7. lux au - re - a! 8. Gra - num e - xit

39

pa - le - a, 9. o - le - a - stris o - le - a 10. li - qui - tur pe - tra li - quo - re.

## De rupta rupecula (F25i)

fol. 16v

1. De rup ta ru - pe - cu - la 2. gra - ta flu - unt po - cu - la, 3. Cir - re pro - pi - nat Ni - sa;  
13. Mo - y - sis of - fi - ci - o 14. fac - ta ru - pis rup - ti - o; 15. ru - pis de - mol - li - ti - o

17

4. ad cir - re - um ver - ti - cem 5. Ni - sa Ba - chi ca - li - cem 6. ru - pe mi - tit ex - ci - sa;  
16. a - quam de - di li - quo - rem; 17. Ba - chi pre - stat dul - co - rem 18. Lu - do - vi - ci gla - di - o

33

fol. 17r

7. De - o sa - pi - en - ti - e 8. De - us pla - cet co - pi - e, 9. Phe - bus Ba - cho le - ta - tur,  
19. ru - pes hec Mo - sa - i - ca; 20. ru - pes est a - qua - ti - ca, 21. fit au - tem vi - no - si - or

47

10. Ni - hil con - gru - en - ti - us, 11. quam quod sic Pa - ri - si - us, 12. in Par - na - sum mi -  
22. u - bi ip - sam con - du - it, 23. a - quam so - lam ef - fu - dit, 24. ru - pes is - ta gra -



59

ta - - - - - tur.  
ti - - - - - or.

## Pictavorum idolum (F25ii)

fol. 17v

1. Pic - - - - - ta-vo-rum i - do-lum 2. non ex - pa-vit Ca - ro -  
13. Ob - - - - - stu-pe-scut sce - le - ra, 14. con - qui - es-cat e - the -

17

lum 3. et tre - mit Lu - do - vi - cum; 4. damp - nat ci - vem sub - do - lum, 5. de - ser - to - rem  
ra, 15. con - tra - hunt mul - tum na - sum; 16. re - pu - ta - tur fa - bu - la, 17. cre - dat gens in -

31 fol. 18r

di - sco - lum, 6. ac - cu - sat Sa - va - ri - cum, 7. di - cens: ca - strum no - bi - le,  
cre - du - la; 18. Pa - ri - si - us Par - na - sum, 19. fe - li - ces pri - mi - ti - e

47

8. for - te, fir - mum, fer - ti - le, 9. quid po - tu - it ti - me - re? 10. Ca - strum nul - li  
20. tu - e lu - dunt glo - ri - e, 21. rex, no - ve Lu - do - vi - ce; 22. iam ti - met a

57

si - mi - le 11. fe - cit ex - pug - na - bi - le 12. va - ri - e - tas pan - the - re.  
 scan - da - lis 23. vi - ci - na Bur - de - ga - lis, 24. Ced - ri - cus, mi - ri - fi - ce.

## Terra Bachi Franci (F25iii)

Ch, fol. 18r

1. Ter - ra Ba - chi Fran - ci - a, 2. Mo - y - sis est An - gli - a; 3. quid de ru - pe - vi - no - sa 4. at - ti - net ad An - gli - am?

17

F, fol. 246v

5. Flu - at hec ad Fran - ci - am, 6. ad hanc ru - pes a - quo - sa, 7. quid - quid ip - sa ma - ri - a 8. li - mi - tant con - fi - ni - a,

33

9. mag - num cha - os, - fir - ma - tur 10. An - gli - e cer - vi - si - a, 11. Ly - e - i le - ti - ti - a

51

12. Fran - ci - e su - pe - ra - - - - -

65 F, fol. 247r

tur.

**Appendix G:**  
**Motet and Conductus Verse Lengths and Rhythm Tables**

Verse Length	Total Verses	Rhythm	Motets	Number of Examples	Percentage
2p(a)	1		216	1	100
2p(t)	2	melisma 	216 216	1 1	50 50
3p(t)	1		451	1	100
3pp(t)	2		216 451	1 1	50 50
4p(a)	4		216 451 451 216 (2)	1 1 1 2	25 25 25 50
4p(t)	10		216 (3), 231 (2), 448 (2), 451 (2) 451	9 1	90 10
4pp(a)	7		216 (3), 451 317, 451 451	4 2 1	57 29 14
4pp(t)	1		216	1	100
5p(t)	1		448	1	100
5pp(t)	12		216 448 (7) 216 317, 451 (2)	1 7 1 3	8 58 8 25
6p(t)	22		317 231 (14), 451 (4) 231 (3)	1 18 3	5 82 14
6pp(a)	1		216	1	100
7p(a)	1		317	1	100

Ch Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics

Verse Length	Total Verses	Rhythm	Motets	Number of Examples	Percentage
7pp(t)	32		216 (2), 317, 451 (2) 216 (2), 451 (13) 317 (2), 451 451 317 (4), 451 (4)	5 15 3 1 8	16 47 9 3 25
8p(t)	11		448 (7), 451 317 (2) 317	8 2 1	73 18 9
8pp(a)	2		216 451	1 1	50 50
8pp(t)	5		451 451 (2) 451 451	1 2 1 1	20 40 20 20
9pp(t)	1		317	1	100
10p(t)	1		317	1	100
10pp(t)	3		317 (2) 317	2 1	66 33
11pp(t)	3		317 (2) 317	2 1	66 33
14p(t)	1		317	1	100
14pp(t)	1		317	1	100

Ch Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics



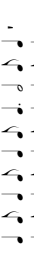







Verse Length	Total Verses	Rhythm	Conductus	Number of Examples	Percentage
6pp(a)	1		E12	1	100
6pp(t)	4		K57	1	25
			L2	1	25
			L2 (2)	2	50
7p(a)	15		E12 (10)	10	67
			K57, E12, L2 (2)	4	27
			K57	1	7
7p(t)	5		L2 (4)	4	80
			L2	1	20
7pp(t)	56		K57 (4), E11, E12,	6	11
			P13, E3 (2)	3	5
			L2 (12), P15 (4), E11 (3),	27	48
			K57, I8 (7)		
			J16	1	2
			E3 (2), P13 (4), J16	7	13
			E11 (2), L2 (2), J12	5	9
			J39	1	2
			E3	1	2
			E3	1	2
			L2 (2)	2	4
			J16	1	2
			J16	1	2
8p(t)	27		L2 (13)	13	48
			L2 (2)	2	7
			L2	1	4
			L2 (3)	3	11
			L2 (2)	2	7
			L2	1	4
			L2 (2)	2	7
			L2	1	4
			L2	1	4
			L2	1	4
			L2	1	4
			L2	1	4

Mensural Conductus Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics, cont.



Verse Length	Total Verses	Rhythm	Conductus	Number of Examples	Percentage
9p(t)	1		K57	1	100
9pp(t)	1	(cauda) 	J16	1	100
10pp(t)	4		L2	1	25
			L2	1	25
			L2	1	25
			L2	1	25
E3	<i>Premii dilatio</i> (fragment)				
E11	<i>Novus miles sequitur</i>				
E12	<i>Parit preter morem</i>				
H20	<i>Ego reus confiteor</i> (fragment)				
I8	<i>Redit etas aurea</i>				
J12	<i>Virtus moritur</i>				
J16	<i>Colombe simplicitas</i>				
J39	<i>Clavus pungens acumine</i>				
K57	<i>Fauvel cogita</i>				
L2	<i>Inter membra singula</i>				
P13	<i>Surrexit de tumulo</i>				
P15	<i>Castitatis thalamum</i>				

Mensural Conductus Verse Length and Rhythm Statistics, cont.

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