

## Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique

(for Ernest Sanders)

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One of the greatest obstacles to histories of earlier medieval music lies in the relative absence of concrete historical testimony for extant compositions. Information pertaining to the names, life spans, and working records of composers is rare, dates for the creation or performance of pieces are exceptional, and critical judgments of specific works from contemporaries almost nonexistent. As a result, detailed explanations of how a medieval musical genre may have originated or developed during an era of cultivation can pose special challenges to historians of the period. Scholars may be forced to paint impressionistic or monolithic landscapes that may obscure decades or even centuries of intense artistic transformation. Typically they have to reason from manuscript sources or theoretical testimony produced much later than the compositions they seek to understand, or they may be compelled to draw conclusions from teleological assumptions of how a particular genre unfolded over time. Faced with such impediments, it would seem that investigators would wish to seize upon and exhaust any measure of data able to illuminate the history of medieval music, if only fractionally. Such resources, though, have not always been exploited as fully as they deserve.

An example of such an oversight applies to at least thirty-one conductus preserved among the four main manuscript sources now associated with the music of the Notre Dame school: F, W1, W2, and Ma.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to references in their lyrics to contemporaneous historical events, the texts of these pieces can be dated with relative security either to a specific year or within a brief time span. Their subjects are manifold: they mourn the deaths of kings or celebrate their coronations; they chastise popes for corruption and emperors for cowardice; they urge the faithful to take up a crusade, and then just as easily berate them for the loss of holy relics.<sup>2</sup> But whatever their intent, this repertory of datable conductus represents a potentially precious sample of changing musical tastes within the total corpus of 275 such works preserved among the four sources. Since other types of hard data concerning the historical development and aesthetic preferences of Notre Dame music are difficult to come by, a comparison of the texts and music of these datable pieces presents an opportunity to evaluate the stylistic development of the conductus from approximately

1170 to ca. 1250. It is therefore remarkable that these works have not been the source of numerous comparative studies.

In fact, it was not until 1985 that Ernest Sanders first presented an examination of changes in style between earlier and later pieces in the datable repertory.<sup>3</sup> Most notable was his demonstration of the progressive length and complexity visible in polyphonic caudae (melismatic sections), and how such caudae begin to feature increasingly complicated formal schemes soon after their appearance in works from the 1180s. However, since Sanders confined his remarks almost exclusively to polyphonic works, and even then chiefly to their caudae, there exists no comparable estimation of the historical development of the datable monophonic repertory, nor of features in the polyphonic works that lie outside the use of melismatic embellishment, such as the choice of poetic structures or preferences for certain musical forms. Because datable monophonic conductus outnumber the polyphonic (19 out of the total 31), and because caudae are by no means a staple of the repertory, the need for a more inclusive inquiry into these important works is long overdue.

Several objections have arisen to using the datable repertory as a measure of historical tendencies. Mark Everist (1989: 27–30) in particular has claimed that there is no way to rule out the possibility that the texts and music of these pieces may have been written at widely varying intervals, and, additionally, that we may not possess the original, representative musical settings of these works. Although due caution should be exercised, particularly since it is unclear what practical function these pieces actually served,<sup>4</sup> the events recounted in the datable works help to confirm rather than deny the supposition of a simultaneous composition of music and text. The majority of these poems treat events so specifically circumscribed that it would appear curious for a composer to turn to them years later as verbal material for new musical settings.<sup>5</sup> In support of this claim, it is striking that none of the datable examples survives elsewhere in a version that differs fundamentally from its musical rendering in the earliest sources.<sup>6</sup> Such a state of affairs, although it relies on the absence of evidence, suggests that the members of the datable repertory were regarded as a series of musical commemorations that retained their essential outlines throughout the time of their compilation.

Yet another related question deserves attention, for a number of the datable conductus appear to address issues or invoke personages far from the orbit of Notre Dame cathedral, and thus would not serve to illuminate the style of the conductus as practiced at Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Particularly conspicuous are the numerous works that relate to English matters; but here the distance is more apparent than real. Not only was there a considerable English presence on the Continent

during the decades bounded by the datable conductus, but many of these so-called “English” works actually point to France, and occasionally even to Paris itself, as the place of their origin. For example, Thomas Beckett, the archbishop of Canterbury whose murder is mourned in *Novus miles sequitur* (1173), spent the years 1164–1170 in exile as the guest of Louis VII of France; Geoffrey of Brittany, son of Henry II of England, who may be the subject of the lament *Anglia planctus itera* (1186 or 1189), died in Paris and was buried in Notre Dame, thus weakening the claim that these compositions are English products. In a similar vein, Geoffrey’s brother Henry the Younger, who is mourned in *Eclipsim patitur* and *In occasu sideris* (both from 1183),<sup>7</sup> was allied at the time of his death with Philip Augustus of France, while his sibling Richard the Lion-Hearted, celebrated in *Redit etas aurea* (1189 or 1194), is noted for spending only six months of his ten-year reign in the Isles. Richard, moreover, never learned to speak his subjects’ language and spent the remaining years of his life chiefly in France.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, the pattern of concordances, the musical style of the works, and the paths of transmission revealed by the surviving sources also do not support the claim that the works connected with England are indigenous compositions.<sup>9</sup> The only clear exception among the conductus with insular themes is the earliest datable example, *In Rama sonat gemitus*, which is not only unique to W1, a source copied in Scotland, but whose text also betrays a likely English perspective in its condemnation of Beckett’s exile across the Channel.<sup>10</sup>

Yet even though the repertory examined in these pages focuses on France, and particularly on Paris, this study makes no claim that the conductus repertory preserved in F, W1, W2 and Ma is in any sense exclusive to the city or its cathedral. It also does not attempt to distinguish between insular or Continental compositions. Instead, the purpose is to determine what stylistic features these pieces may preserve from the time of their composition, and how observable changes in musical taste may reflect the resources that composers and poets could exploit in fashioning conductus. The terms “Notre Dame” and “Parisian” are therefore used here for the sake of convenience, as labels to delimit a large group of diverse works whose manuscripts—rather than the pieces they contain—claim a point of origin in Paris. The use of these labels thus denotes not the generative forces behind these works, but rather the primary locus for their collection and dissemination. Indeed, the importance of the city of Paris as a cosmopolitan cultural and intellectual center in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries argues just as strongly for its role as a receptor as it does for its role as an instigator of musical styles.

Consequently, there should be little hesitation in using the datable conductus to inform the study of the genre at large. Their music and texts

appear to have originated in close temporal proximity to the events they relate, and, except for the textual circumstances that enable them to be situated in time, they exhibit no exclusive traits; the forms and styles they display are evident throughout the Parisian conductus repertory. The availability of specific compositions with known dates of creation therefore presents an opportunity for historical insight that should not be ignored. The observations submitted in this study are thus intended to help establish a more complex and concentrated assessment of the style of the conductus preserved in the central sources. The inquiry begins with the evidence that arises from the structure of the poems.

### Stanzaic Construction

In terms of large-scale designs, the music and poetry of the datable conductus collaborate to provide four different and representative types of strophic organization. Each of the arrangements depends on the balance of repetition between music and text. The four types include: 1) *regular strophic* forms, where the same recurring block of music is repeated to accompany a series of identically formulated text stanzas; 2) *through-composed strophic* designs, where identical poetic stanzas are answered with music that does not mirror their matching forms; 3) *strictly through-composed* pieces with no repetition of larger formal units on either textual or musical levels; and 4) works that recall a structural feature especially reminiscent of the liturgical *sequence* or the vernacular *lai*, in which textual strophes are disposed into a series of pairs, and where each double-stanza unit is differentiated by a contrasting musical setting.

Of the four poetic schemes, the most common is the regular strophic form.<sup>11</sup> The repertory under scrutiny includes thirteen works disposed in this manner (see table 1).<sup>12</sup> Included in this table are four pieces that survive only as single strophes, but that presumably were originally multi-stanzaic.<sup>13</sup> The organization of Latin lyric poetry into repeating strophes appears prominently in the medieval West as early as the fourth century in the poems attributed to St. Ambrose (reg. 370–397), the bishop of Milan who is credited with first popularizing the Latin hymn and securing its entry into the liturgy of the Western church. The continued significance of the strophic form is attested by its predominance not only in medieval Latin lyric, but also in the vernacular songs of troubadours, trouvères, Minnesänger, and of Spanish, Italian, and English poets. By the late twelfth century, during the activity of the earliest composers and poets that can be associated with the Parisian conductus, the strophic model was a means of arranging poetry and song that already possessed a long history, widespread esteem, and the stamp of liturgical approbation.

**Table 1**  
 Uniform Strophic Structures  
 (identical poetic stanzas and music, 13 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure		
1164	In Rama sonat	1	1*	strophe(s),	8 lines
1173	Novus miles	3	3	"	10 "
1174	Dum medium silentium	1	8	"	8 "
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	5	"	8 "
1183	Eclipsim patitur	2	4	"	8 "
1183	In occasu sideris	2	3	"	15 "
1187	Venit Ihesus in propria	1	1*	"	13 "
1190	Pange melos lacrimosum	2	4	"	8 "
1197	Eclipsim passus	1	1*	"	12 "
1198	Pater sancte dictus	1	4	"	7 "
1198	Dic Christi veritas	3	3	"	12 "
1208	Christus assistens	1	4	"	10 "
1223	Beata nobis gaudia	1	1*	"	12 "

(\*indicates single strophes preserved from what was, presumably, a multi-strophic poem.)

Other than their shared structures, though, there appears little else to tie these thirteen datable works to each other, nor is their use of a regular strophic arrangement particularly indicative of any general tendencies in the Notre Dame conductus repertory. Polyphonic and monophonic compositions are nearly equally represented (6 and 7 works, respectively), and as table 1 demonstrates there is no overwhelming preference for either a specific number of lines per stanza or a particular number of strophes per song. The chronological boundaries of the datable strophic conductus are also quite extensive. The examples stretch from the earliest piece in the corpus, *In Rama sonat gemitus*, from the 1160s, to Philip the Chancellor's *Beata nobis gaudia* of 1223. Hence, any attempt to evaluate a strophic Notre Dame conductus for the purpose of determining its time of composition must rely on other stylistic attributes.

Nonetheless, even though the presence of regular strophic works in the Notre Dame repertory extends at least over a half century, it appears significant that eleven of the thirteen datable examples were written prior to the turn of the century. In the wake of pivotal musical advancements, noticeable for the first time around the year 1200 and associated with the figure of Perotinus,<sup>14</sup> it is not unreasonable to conjecture that in the early decades of the thirteenth century a uniformly strophic musical setting of a

conductus poem may have been viewed as a piece of restrained, if not conservative, compositional workmanship.

This hypothesis may even be substantiated by considering the datable poems whose individual strophes are poetically identical, but which feature different musical settings for each stanza (see table 2). In contrast to the regular strophic conductus that reuses its music, through-composed settings of strophic poetry appear to be a slightly later phenomenon. The first appearance of such a work in the repertory does not occur until after 1185, and the remaining five examples all issue from the thirteenth century.

The same scenario also seems to hold true, if not to an even greater extent, for conductus that feature not only through-composed music but texts as well. In these compositions there is no hint either of musical or poetic repetition on the strophic level. Such wholly through-composed works do not surface until nearly a decade after the earliest strophic conductus with through-composed music in table 2. Although they constitute a very small number of datable works, they appear to represent an even later departure (see table 3).

Although it is readily apparent that conductus set to strophic poetry were cultivated throughout the Notre Dame era, the above tabulations suggest that during the decade prior to the turn of the century the artists associated with the Paris cathedral began more customarily to fashion their music—and eventually their poetry as well—outside the constraints of the strophic models that most closely characterize earlier medieval Latin lyric poetry and the vernacular songs of the troubadours and *trouvères*.

Just as the strophic conductus relied on an older scheme, so does the fourth and final poetic design in the datable repertory, which involves the organization of textual strophes into series of musically identical pairs. This procedure has an especially obvious precedent in the double versicles of the sequence, a form of great antiquity that was especially prized at Paris.<sup>15</sup> One of the most celebrated Notre Dame poet-composers, the cantor Adam (who until recently bore the name of the abbey of Saint Victor, where he spent his final days) is credited as the prime mover in the regularization and cultivation of the poetic and musical form of the sequence.<sup>16</sup>

The evolution of the sequence into the form now associated with Adam of Paris owes much to the same aesthetics that shaped the lyric poetry of the conductus.<sup>17</sup> Although the Latin sequence had originated in the ninth century as a genre that typically featured texts either in prose or in quantitative verse, by the eleventh it had begun to emulate the new rhymed, rhythmic lyric based on syllable count and the location of the

**Table 2**  
Through-Composed Strophic Forms  
(identical poetic stanzas with contrasting music, 6 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure
1186/89	Anglia planctus itera	1	2 strophes of 9 lines
1208	Anni favor iubilei	2	3 " 7 "
1209-12	Rex et sacerdos prefuit	1	3 " 7 "
1223	Alabastrum frangitur	1	3 " 12 "
1223	O mors que mordes omnia	1	3 " 10 "
1233	Clavus clavo retunditur	1	3 " 8 "

**Table 3**  
Through-Composed Poetry *and* Music (3 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure
1198	Iherusalem Iherusalem	1	5 of 12, 14, 12, 6, 4 lines
1209	Regi regum omnium	2	3 of 8 lines (dissimilar)
1236	Aurelianis civitas	1	4 of 6, 8, 7, 8 lines

final accented syllable in the poetic line. In the course of the next hundred years, significant developments that were to affect sequence texts included the casting of its paired versicles into stanzas that are often quite similar both in length and form to conductus strophes, and ultimately encompassed the fashioning of all the versicle pairs to match each other in structure and length.

At least seven "sequence-form" conductus occur within the datable repertory (see table 4). Included as a possible eighth case in this tally is the planctus *Sol eclipsim patitur* (1188 or, more probably, 1252), whose four preserved strophes frequently display some striking parallelisms suggesting that it may actually exhibit a free form of strophic pairing. Such a practice of varied doubling has been associated with the repertory of *versus* from Aquitania in Southern France, and would be fitting for this composition, which appears to emanate from Spain.<sup>18</sup> As table 4 demonstrates, datable examples of conductus poetry in sequence form illustrate two different types of verse structures. Each pair of strophes may either be distinct from the others in its poetic scheme, or, alternately, every one of the doubled stanzas may match the others in the length, number, and accentual patterns of its lines. In other words, the texts alone of the latter category

**Table 4**  
Datable Conductus with Musically Paired Strophes

A. SEQUENCE FORMS (dissimilar paired strophes, 4 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Pairing
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	1	3 double, 1 single
1190-92	Divina providentia	1	3 double
1209	O felix Bituria	3	2 double, 1 single
1188/1252	Sol eclypsim patitur	1	? 2 double (varied)

B. STROPHIC SEQUENCES (identical paired strophes, 4 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Pairing
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	2 double
1192-97	Sede Syon in pulvere	1	3 double
1224	De rupta Rupecula	3	2 double, 1 single
1233	Clavus pungens acumine	2	2 double, 1 single

are indistinguishable from regular strophic conductus, and the disposition of such works into sequence form is evident only through the presence of music that offers a different setting for every other stanza. This latter scheme is known as the strophic sequence, to borrow a term used by Hans Spanke (1936: 76-77).

The enumeration of these two classes in table 4 shows that, just as with the through-composed strophic structures discussed above, both types of sequence-form pieces are absent from the earliest layer of datable Notre Dame compositions. Datable conductus with paired strophes do not surface until 1181, as much as ten to fifteen years after the earliest known examples in the main sources. Strophic sequences in particular appear to be a later development. The first datable instance of such a work (*Redit etas aurea* of 1189 or 1194) postdates the earliest member of the "nonstrophic" type by at least eight years (*Omnis in lacrimas* from 1181). The apparently later arrival in the conductus repertory of the strophic sequence, in which all stanzas are essentially equal in construction, consequently mirrors the shift of the liturgical sequence itself towards an increasingly homogenized poetic structure.

The examination of large-scale textual and musical designs in the datable works thus shows some rather contradictory trends between the uniform and through-composed strophic conductus on the one hand and



those compositions that feature paired versicles on the other. As the datable repertory proceeds chronologically, a decline in the number of pieces with regular strophic organization on both poetic and musical levels is noticeable. Only two of the conductus based on this model were written after the turn of the century.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, datable works with strophic texts set to through-composed music increase after 1200, with the first example appearing in *Anglia planctus itera*, placed either in 1186 or 1189. The most recent practice of all, however, arose with settings that are through-composed both musically and poetically, in which the design of the lyrics as well as the music is free from the successive repetition associated with stanzaic designs. These "thoroughly composed" pieces surface at least by 1198 with the example of the planctus *Iherusalem Iherusalem* and remain to include one of the very latest of the datable Parisian conductus, *Aurelianis civitas*, from 1236. On the other hand, an opposite trend is visible in the texts of those pieces that employ the doubled strophic pairing typically associated with the liturgical sequence. In these works, which first occur in the datable repertory by 1181, the greatest variety in poetic scheme occurs in the earlier compositions, while the stricter textual regularity of the strophic sequence appears later (by 1189 or 1194) and prevails longer (up to at least 1233).

### Verse Schemes

On a slightly smaller scale, the construction and organization of the individual lines of verse within a poem may likewise indicate historical trends. Poetic verse schemes in the datable repertory exhibit three major types. These comprise complete pieces or single strophes that either contain 1) *isosyllabic* patterns, with the same number of syllables per line appearing throughout the poem; 2) a series of *distichs*, in which lines of only two different formations alternate regularly; or 3) less uniform schemes with lines of two, three, or four different lengths. Of all these types, the most informative is the first.

Among the isosyllabic schemes that occur in the datable conductus, the most common example, with the greatest chronological sweep, is the eight-syllable line with a consistent stress on the proparoxytone, or antepenultimate syllable (8pp).<sup>20</sup> By the time of the Notre Dame school, the 8pp line had the double fortune of being both very old and extremely distinguished. In its construction it recalls the quantitative classical iambic dimeter, the very scheme that Saint Ambrose had used exclusively for introducing his hymns to the Western church. In its rhythmic, accentual form it continued as one of the most common patterns for the liturgical hymns of the Office, and was especially popular in the north of France, where it attracted the attention of the Notre Dame poets for their conductus and the trouvères for their chansons (see Spanke 1936: 22, 23).

As a result of its wide acceptance, the use of 8pp lines in the datable conductus provides no overt chronological trends, except for its persistence throughout the corpus (see table 5). The exclusive use of the line for an entire poem occurs in eleven texts within the datable conductus repertory. Three are strophic sequences, four others are single stanzas, and the rest are regularly strophic. There is likewise no consensus among them as to a favored number of lines per strophe or number of strophes per poem. The chronological boundaries of the 8pp pieces are similarly extensive. They range from the earliest datable conductus, *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–70), to the two Holy Nail lyrics of 1233, *Clavus clavo retunditur* and *Clavus pungens acumine*. In addition to these works, 8pp lines also appear as the sole component of several specific strophes in three other through-composed datable poems, two from the twelfth century and the third probably composed as late as 1252.<sup>21</sup>

Isosyllabic strophes with proparoxytonic lines of seven syllables (7pp) are likewise chronologically diverse, although not as numerous as the eight-syllable type.<sup>22</sup> Somewhat more informative for suggesting chronological tendencies is the role played by poems composed solely of six syllables with an antepenultimate stress (6pp).<sup>23</sup> This particular scheme recollects the design of alexandrine verse, a pattern associated especially with Old French epic poetry consisting of a twelve-syllable line with a marked caesura after the sixth syllable. During the course of the twelfth century, notably in some of the hymns of Peter Abelard, the caesura became increasingly emphasized by rhyme, which divided the line in half and led to the more common 6pp form found in the Notre Dame conductus repertory.

Two datable works composed solely of 6pp verses appear in the conductus repertory. They are the coronation song *Ver pacis aperit* from 1179 and the planctus *Eclipsim patitur* of 1183, which varies from a constant 6pp scheme only once in its refrain.<sup>24</sup> Besides *Ver pacis* and *Eclipsim patitur*, 6pp lines are also prevalent in the first and second strophic pairs of the 1181 monophonic lament *Omnis in lacrimas*.<sup>25</sup> From this evidence, the exclusive use of 6pp lines in a conductus stanza offers the possibility that such works may issue from the last two decades of the twelfth century. This interpretation has been strengthened by the research of Janet Knapp (1979), who has specifically investigated six polyphonic conductus that have exclusive, or nearly so, 6pp verse schemes.<sup>26</sup> She has found that these compositions exhibit a closely related musical style and a notational consistency that she applies to the vexing question of their rhythmic performance. A further perusal of the entire Notre Dame conductus repertory reveals a total of twelve examples that rely exclusively on 6pp lines for either their entire verse scheme or for the complete content of specific strophes (see table 6).<sup>27</sup> Only three of these pieces (*Beate virginis*, *Fontis in*

**Table 5**  
Datable Conductus with Eight-Syllable Proparoxytonic  
(8pp) Lines Throughout (11 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Number of Strophes	Lines per Strophe
1164-70	In Rama sonat	1	1	8
1170	Dum medium	1	8	8
1186/89	Anglia planctus	1	2	9
1187	Venit Ihesus	1	1	13
1192-97	Sede Syon	1	3 double	6
1197	Eclipsim passus	1	1	12
1209-12	Rex et sacerdos	1	3	7
1223	O mors que mordes	1	3	10
1223	Beata nobis	1	1	12
1233	Clavus clavo	1	2 double, 1 single	8
1233	Clavus pungens	2	2 double, 1 single	8

**Table 6**  
Six-Syllable Proparoxytonic (6pp) Lines Throughout All Strophes

A. DATABLE WORKS (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	strophic (5 strophes)
1183	Eclipsim patitur	2	strophic (4 strophes) (refrain: 6pp+10pp)

B. OTHER NOTRE DAME WORKS (10 pieces)

	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
	Beata viscera . . . cuius	1	strophic
*	Beate virginis	2	through-composed strophic
	Celum non animum	3	strophic
*	Fontis in rivulum	1	sequence (1a and b)
	Fulget Nicholaüs	3	through-composed (strophe 1 of 3)
	Heu quo progreditur	2	strophic
*	Iam vetus littera	2	through-composed strophic
	Procurans odium	3	strophic
	Si mundus viveret	3	strophic
	Partus semiferos	1	strophic (refrain: 4x7pp)

(\*indicates works with extended caudae.)

*rivulum*, and *Iam vetus littera*) diverge significantly from the simpler styles of Knapp's "early layer" compositions by presenting extensive melismatic interludes throughout the course of each work. These observations imply that the bulk of the 6pp conductus repertory—those pieces that correspond stylistically to the datable *Ver pacis aperit* (1179) and *Eclipsim patitur* (1183)—were also likely composed before 1200, and that the use of an isosyllabic 6pp verse structure did not make great inroads in the development of the more complex, melismatically suffused works associated with the thirteenth-century datable repertory.<sup>28</sup>

Closely related to the 6pp verse, both in its structure and in its isolated use in the conductus repertory, is the line of ten syllables with a final proparoxytonic accent (10pp). This specific linear scheme is also prominent in vernacular literature, both in Occitan and Old French, and was especially favored for the *chanson de geste*.<sup>29</sup> The 10pp line as used in Notre Dame conductus nearly always features a caesura after the fourth syllable, which suggests that it may be easily and conveniently viewed as a 6pp line introduced by a four-syllable unit.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the relationships between these two types of lines may extend beyond their structural similarities, since their use throughout the conductus repertory suggests a chronological proximity as well.

Isosyllabic texts of 10pp lines occur only five times in the conductus from Notre Dame sources (see table 7) and the only datable representative is Philip the Chancellor's encomium to Innocent III, *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198). Of the other examples, the two-part *O varium fortune lubricum* and Philip's monophonic *Homo vide que pro te patior* share with *Pater sancte* and the majority of the isosyllabic 6pp works an unpretentious musical style, with sections devoted to caudae notably absent. The two exceptions are the three-part *Ortus summi peracto gaudio*, which possesses only a modest closing melisma, and the strikingly different *Christi miles Christo quo militat*, a composition for two voices that brandishes extensive, musically sophisticated caudae at the beginning and end of each of the five 10pp couplets that make up its strophes. The consistency in style, however, of the other, plainer decasyllabic conductus suggests that these poems may hail from around the same time as *Pater sancte* (1198). With the additional evidence of a connection between the form and style of works with proparoxytonic lines of ten and six syllables, it is even tempting to suggest a time of composition one or two decades earlier than *Pater sancte* for most of the 10pp works.<sup>31</sup> Except for the advanced *Christi miles*, then, the sparse number of such conductus and their prevailing stylistic simplicity argue for a period of cultivation principally before the turn of the century.<sup>32</sup>

Strophes composed of regular chains of distichs are rare in the datable repertory and by themselves do not provide ready means for chronological arrangement into earlier or later practices, even when bolstered with

**Table 7**

## Ten-Syllable Proparoxytonic (10pp) Lines Throughout All Strophes

## A. DATABLE WORKS (1 piece)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1198	Pater sancte	1	strophic

## B. OTHER NOTRE DAME WORKS (4 pieces)

	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
*	Christi miles Christo	2	through-composed strophic
	Homo vide que pro te patior	1	strophic
	O varium fortune lubricum	2	strophic
+	Ortus summi peracto gaudio	3	strophic (refrain: 7pp,6pp)

(\*indicates a work with extended caudae; + indicates a work with a modest concluding cauda.)

additional datable works that use a less rigorous series of the same two-line units or by a survey of the entire body of Notre Dame conductus. Two different and representative types of such strictly alternating patterns are especially prominent. As with the relationship between the alexandrine and 6pp designs signaled above, both first formed a series of longer lines that were eventually split into two unequal units through the increasing demarcation of a fixed caesura (as well as the end of the line) through rhyme. One of the two schemes consists of fifteen syllables divided into 8p+7pp; the other presents thirteen arrayed as 7pp+6p.

The former of the two is unquestionably the older. Whatever its debt to quantitative classical metrics may be, it appears prominently in early church hymns, and is perhaps best known as the scheme of *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* by Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 540–ca. 600).<sup>33</sup> Strikingly, the one datable example that faithfully follows this fifteen-syllable pattern, *Pange melos lacrimosum* of 1190,<sup>34</sup> actually evokes the precedent of the older hymn in its opening word.

The obstacles to using the 8p+7pp line for assessing the chronology of Notre Dame conductus seem clear. Spanke cites two other such works that use both the same form and rhyme scheme as *Pange melos: Fraude ceca desolato* and *Hec est dies triumphalis*, both of which are heavily melismatic works that probably issue from the 1200s. He also reveals the additional employment of the fifteen-syllable distich in conductus from before the turn of

the century in Alain de Lille's *Exceptivam actionem* and in a poem without a surviving melody by Walter of Châtillon (Spanke 1936: 27–28). Other, less regular occurrences of this pattern within the datable repertory add little additional support. They show that individual stanzas using the elements of the 8pp+7p model range all the way from the twelfth-century *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181) to portions of *Aurelianus civitas* (1236).<sup>35</sup>

The second instance of reiterated two-line chains in the datable conductus repertory appears not only to be a more recent phenomenon than the fifteen-syllable design of *Pange melos lacrimosum*, but also is instructive because the datable items seem to contradict the evidence of the conductus repertory at large. The thirteen-syllable distich of 7pp+6p is more generally known as the “goliardic measure,” so called from its frequent use in Latin poems with secular and profane themes.<sup>36</sup> Although several isolated examples of this line have been traced back to as early as the fourth century, it was not until the middle of the twelfth that it truly blossomed and became one of the most prevalent of the verse forms of its time. It is especially closely associated with Walter of Châtillon, and several of his poems in this arrangement are preserved with music in Notre Dame manuscripts.<sup>37</sup>

The datable conductus repertory argues for the most concentrated use of the goliardic measure before 1200. Only two works, *O felix Bituria* (1209) and *Sol eclipsim patitur* (1188/1252), give evidence of the implementation of the thirteen-syllable unit after the turn of the century. Both of these pieces are also singular in presenting their texts in regular distichs. All the other datable examples of the scheme, which either feature a more varied configuration of the lines or mix the goliardic pattern with other verse forms, point to the twelfth century (see table 8). However, this apparently pointed chronological information does not conform to the evidence presented by the complete body of Notre Dame conductus. No less than twelve undated examples with goliardic measure appear in the central Notre Dame manuscripts. Three of these works, *Flos in monte cernitur*, *Ave virgo virginum*, and *Quid tu vides Jeremia*, do conform to the unadorned musical style already associated with the earlier layer of the corpus, but a further nine pieces are more elaborate, melismatically rich compositions that probably issue from the thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

Far from being silent, then, the structures of the poetic texts in the datable repertory can provide some telling means for inquiry into conductus style. Not only do the various strophic designs of the works furnish perspectives for clarifying the development of the genre, but even the use of certain poetic schemes in the verse of these specific pieces can offer information for the outlining of trends within the Notre Dame school. As these compositions demonstrate, investigations of their texts as well as their

**Table 8**

Datable Conductus Featuring "Goliardic Stanzas" (7pp+6p lines)

## A. REGULAR DISTICHS (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme
1209	O felix Bituria	3	strophe 2a: 4(7pp+6p) strophe 3: 6(7pp+6p)
1188/1252	Sol eclysim	1	strophe 1a: 2(7pp+6p)

## B. NON-DISTICHAL PATTERNS (3 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme
1170	Novus miles	3	2(7pp+6p) +2(7pp+7pp+6p)
1183	In occasu syderis	2	2(7pp+6p) +3(7pp) +4(7pp+6p)
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	3(7pp+6p) +2(7pp) +6p

## C. COMBINED WITH OTHER TYPES OF LINES (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme
1190-92	Divina providentia	1	strophe 2: 6(8pp) +2(7pp+6p)
1198	Iherusalem Iherusalem	1	strophe 3: 2(7pp+6p) +8(8pp)

music are essential tools in any attempt to unravel the musical history of the conductus.

**Musical Designs**

The evidence illustrated by the poems in the datable repertory may appear informative for the history of Notre Dame conductus, but the testimony provided by its music, some of which has already surfaced above, is even more profitable. Although Sanders (1985b) provided a valuable initial foray into this topic, an investigation of the changes in musical style throughout the entire datable Notre Dame corpus still remains to be accomplished. Sanders's results, as he himself admitted, were especially limited by the fact that he did not incorporate monophonic pieces into his evaluations.<sup>39</sup> Their inclusion, however, is indispensable for a balanced overview. Therefore, in an effort to expand his findings and to reinforce his depictions of chronological trends, both monophonic and polyphonic datable conductus are examined here.

## Monophony

Since so much of the general inquiry into Notre Dame music has focused on polyphony, the position of the monophonic pieces in the repertoire has tended to remain obscure. This has also been the case in earlier research on the datable repertoire, possibly because monophonic works lack so many of the clues that polyphony suggests for charting historical change. Although in their most general features they do conform to the historical trends demonstrated by the datable polyphonic conductus, evidence for rhythmic interpretation, economy of melodic material, and an increasing clarity and complexity of formal musical structures are all absent or figure less prominently in the monophonic pieces. Moreover, the stylistic overview of the one-part conductus shows that they exhibit less obvious enrichment after the turn of the century than do contemporaneous polyphonic works.

Within the datable monophonic corpus, however, a distinctive early convention does arise in several conductus that present musical designs associated especially with the vernacular songs of the *trouvères*. Such pieces are characterized by the complete absence of melismatic sections, a generally syllabic or at most lightly ornamented setting of music to text, and a structure that presents a repetition of the phrases for the opening two or three poetic lines. The bipartite AA/B formal design that is evident in these works has long been recognized as a familiar element of medieval vernacular song. As early as the first decade of the fourteenth century, Dante alluded to the practice in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, an unfinished treatise on vernacular poetry and song that often features excerpts from the texts of troubadour and *trouvère* chansons as illustrative material. In a chapter dealing with the composition of the stanzas of a song (*cantio*), Dante relates the most common formal elements that are found in the music of such works:

We say, therefore, that every stanza is composed in order to receive a specific melody; but there are different ways of doing this. For there are some [stanzas] that proceed all the way through to the end by means of a through-composed melody [*oda continuata*] – that is without a repetition of any phrase and without *diesis*. And we define *diesis* as a progression [within a song] that turns from one melody to another, which when we speak in the vernacular, we call a *volta* (turn). . . . On the other hand, there are certain [stanzas] that do admit *diesis*; and there can be no *diesis* according to the way it is defined here, unless a melody undergo repetition either before, after, or on either side of the *diesis*. If the repetition is made before the *diesis*, we say that the stanza has *pedes* (feet); and it is proper that it



should have two, although now and then three appear, albeit rarely. If the repetition occurs after the diesis, then we say that the stanza has *versus* (verses). If there is no repetition before [the diesis], we say that the stanza has a *frons* (front); if there is none afterwards, we say that it has a *sirma*, or *cauda* (tail).<sup>40</sup>

Dante's observations may be paraphrased a little more readily by using the alphabetical designations common to musical analysis: if the form of a song can be represented by AAB, it is composed of two pedes and a *cauda*;<sup>41</sup> if by ABB, it features a frons and two versus. Should a work divide in the manner AABB, then it has both pedes and versus. If, however, the piece is through-composed, it has none of these four elements.

The scheme of the pedes-plus-cauda (AAB) plan described by Dante and designated here as the *cantio* form is one of the most common designs in the entire body of medieval song. According to Spanke, the *cantio* form is first observable in the *cansos* of the earliest troubadours, and soon spread to other lyrics. This same form so dominated Latin song written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that it is estimated that half the surviving corpus, both in the Notre Dame repertory and elsewhere, uses this structural pattern.<sup>42</sup>

The confluence of the medieval vernacular chanson and the Notre Dame conductus is therefore especially evident in the five datable syllabic<sup>43</sup> works that present *cantio* forms (see table 9). Their formal structures are remarkably consistent. Four of the five specimens within this body of pieces confine their opening section (the two pedes) to the first four poetic lines. Here the musical phrases of the third and fourth lines echo the first and second, producing the pattern a-b a-b, or on a larger scale AA. Likewise, the length of the succeeding *cauda* (the B section of the *cantio* form) in all but two of these works happens to correspond exactly with the two pedes in its number of lines; but it also may be independent in length and structure, as in the nine-line *cauda* segment of *Venit Ihesus in propria* (1187), or the three lines of *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198), both with texts by Philip the Chancellor. In addition, refrains may be present, as in Walter of Châtillon's *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (1174). In two different instances in the datable repertory, though, the *cauda* section exhibits a repetition scheme of its own that signals the presence of Dante's versus. A representative case of the use of both pedes and versus in a conductus can be seen in *Pater sancte*, offered as example 1, which, significantly, is a contrafact of the trouvère chanson *Douce dame grez et graces vous rent* by Gace Brulé.<sup>44</sup> In this piece the customary pair of two-line pedes (AB AB) is followed by two versus of one line each (CC'), the first member of which closes on the final pitch of the mode (g), the

Table 9

Monophonic Datable Syllabic Conductus in Cantio (AAB) Form (5 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1164–70	In Rama sonat	1 strophe
1174	Dum medium	strophic; refrain
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	sequence
1187	Venit Ihesus	1 strophe
1198	Pater sancte	strophic; contrafact

second on its upper third (b). This “open” segment is then completed by a relatively ornate final phrase (D), which sets the last line of the strophe and rounds off the composition by cadencing once again on the final.

Besides contrafacture, these cantio-form pieces exhibit additional affinities with the trouvère corpus in their poetic forms. All are either strophic or single stanzas that appear to be the only surviving members of an originally multistrophic lyric.<sup>45</sup> The single exception to this characteristic is the 1181 *Omnis in lacrimas*, a sequence form whose first stanzaic pair also diverges from the more usual two-line coupling of pedes in the other datable conductus by admitting a three-line repetition (see example 2).<sup>46</sup>

In considering the historical significance of these compositions, it seems consequential that all of these “trouvère-style” conductus predate the thirteenth century. They range from the earliest datable work, *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–1170), to Philip’s *Pater sancte* from 1198. Though there are indeed two later datable monophonic compositions that use the opening repetition typical of trouvère chansons, these differ from the ones considered here since they either contain extensive caudae, or are prosulas—texts written to conductus caudae that have been dissociated from their original setting.<sup>47</sup> Hence, that part of the datable repertory that most closely resembles the vernacular songs of the trouvères seems, significantly, to embrace a very early layer of compositions. This assertion is strengthened by the predominance of strophic forms among the relevant examples, as well as the presence of the single datable example of an isosyllabic 10pp lyric in *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius*. Philip the Chancellor’s two earliest datable works are counted among the pieces in this stratum, and the cantio form is also well represented in the surviving music to several of the texts of his older contemporary, Walter of Châtillon.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately, no other formal melodic designs in the music of the datable monophonic conductus appear as chronologically decisive as the trouvère-style cantio form, nor are they easily classified. Other incidents of phrase repetition do exist, but such cases either accommodate only a very

Example 1: *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198), F, fol. 440.

A  
Pa - ter san - cte di - ctus lo - ta - ri - us

B  
qui - a lo - tus ba - ptis - mi gra - ti - a.

A  
ap - pel - la - ris nunc in - no - cen - ti - us

B  
no - men ha - bens ab - in - no - cen - ti - a.

C  
di - vi - ni - tus vo - ca - ris ter - ci - us

C'  
ter - na - ri - i si - gnant mi - ste - ri - a

D  
tri - ni - ta - tis quod sis vi - ca - ri - us.

few examples, or else they are chronologically diverse and therefore not readily indicative of stylistic trends.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, those compositions that are through-composed on the strophic level and those with occasional or unsystematic repetition of phrases appear in the datable repertory soon after the cantio form and coexist with it. The earliest such through-composed strophes occur in the second and third versicles of *Omnis in lacrimas*, a conductus in sequence form from 1181, whose initial strophic pair, as shown in example 2, features a cantio structure with a *pes* of three lines.

**Example 2:** *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181), strophe 1, lines 1–6, F, fol. 415v.

A  
O - mnis in la - cri - mas

B  
u - ber - ri - mas

C  
sol - va - tur o - cu - lus.

A  
fun - dant que pa - ri - a

B  
sus - pe - ri - a

C  
cle - rus et po - pu - lus.

Somewhat more enlightening for the chronology of the datable monophonic conductus is the noticeable change in style between the earliest syllabic works and those later ones that contain melismatic sections. The rise of such caudae in the monophonic repertory coincides almost exactly with their appearance in the polyphonic conductus (Sanders 1985b: 505). Melismas are absent from six of the seven earliest pieces in the datable corpus<sup>50</sup> and first surface as a component of the monophonic repertory in the lament *Anglia planctus itera* from either 1186 or 1189. Already in this initial appearance, short melismas or groups of ornate neumes not only introduce each strophe, but occur throughout this richly embellished composition. Their employment in strophe 2 is particularly sophisticated and indicates that a high degree of fluency is already possible in this elaborate style. In *Anglia planctus*, the presence of brief caudae not only imparts a musical complexity to this piece that is missing in the trouvère-style

works profiled above, but also serves in this instance as a notable means of delineating the structure of its text (see example 3).

In this example, the strategic placement of short melismas or florid neumes at the beginning of lines 1, 4–6, and 7–9 splits the stanza into three tercets, a delineation supported by the interlocking formations of the strophe's rhyme scheme (aba bbc bbc), its syntax, and the anaphora in lines 4, 5, and 7–9 (the exclamation "O dies"). By 1189 and thereafter, caudae are the rule in datable monophonic conductus. The sole exceptions occur only in Philip the Chancellor's *trouvère* contrafact *Pater sancte* (1198), in his conductus *prosulas*, and in one of the very latest one-part pieces, *Aurelianus civitas* (from 1236 and probably also his work), whose unusually spare, syllabic setting at this late date makes one wonder whether it might be a *prosula* as well.<sup>51</sup>

Several of the caudae among the datable monophonic conductus exhibit polished musical forms and elegant melodic organization. Like their polyphonic counterparts, they too seem to have shared at least partially in the new formative aesthetics that are readily visible in the organa of Perotinus.<sup>52</sup> Some of the more ambitious specimens have been included in the following illustrations. For instance, in example 4, which features two caudae in conductus from 1190–1192 and 1223 respectively, a pair of related phrases carves out a melismatic couplet. The two *ordines* in each part of this example begin with closely related gestures, but finish with cadences that are strongly contrasted through their use of open and close endings. Other specimens present short motives in melodic sequence, as in example 5, but perhaps the lengthiest and most ambitious of all the datable monophonic caudae is the one that ends the 1198 lament *Iherusalem Iherusalem*, presented as example 6. The design of this elegant melisma seems almost to resemble a "textless" cantio form in its AA'BB'C structure, except that the correspondence here between the opening sequential gestures is upset somewhat by the strokes of division that separate the two phrases into uneven components.

Melismas such as those presented in examples 4–6 are the exception rather than the rule, but it may be worthwhile to notice that all of them stem from the 1190s or later, at the same time it is hypothesized that Perotinus may first have surfaced in Paris (Wright 1989: 293–94). More typically, the bulk of the caudae that appear throughout the monophonic datable corpus are neither as lengthy, as complex, nor as adventurous as most of their polyphonic counterparts. Interestingly, several of them present a recurring figure, especially frequent at cadential points (compare the boxed phrases in example 7). The close identity of this gesture among the various pieces as well as its pitch content easily recall a particular reiterated formula from the body of organum duplum.<sup>53</sup> If more expressions

Example 3: *Anglia planctus itera* (1186/89), strophe 2, F, fol. 421v.

1. Pa - ri - si - us sol pa - ti - tur

2. e - cly - psim in bri - tan - ni - a

3. ge - ne - ra - li - ter cer - ni - tur.

4. O di - es mun - do no - xi - a.

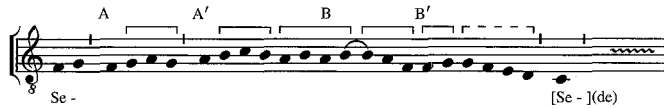
5. O di - es lu - ctus nun - ti - a.

6. so - lem in - vol - vens la - te - bris.

7. O di - es no - ctis fi - li - a.

8. O di - es ca - rens ve - ni - a.

9. O di - es ple - na te - ne - bris.

**Example 4:** Melodic couplets in caudae.a. *Divina providentia* (1190–92), strophe 3, final cauda, F, fol. 420v.b. *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223), opening cauda, F, fol. 433v.**Example 5:** Sequential gestures in caudae.a. *Sede syon in pulvere* (1192–97), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.b. *Eclipsim passus tociens* (1197), opening cauda, F, fol. 429.c. *Christus assistens pontifex* (1208), opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.

like this one should be identified, they would suggest that melodic, rhythmic, and compositional relationships between Leoninian organa and monophonic conductus are not as diverse as previously assumed.<sup>54</sup>

Given the contemporaneous developments in polyphony, the lack of strong rhythmic profiles in the notation of many of the monophonic caudae is perhaps startling. Very few melismas within the monophonic datable repertory appear to suggest a sure rhythmic rendering. The majority of these tend either to be very short, comprising only two or three

**Example 6:** *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 5, final cauda, F, fol. 435.

The image shows four staves of musical notation for a final cauda. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The first staff is labeled 'A' and has a '8' below it, with the text '(ope - )' underneath. The second staff is labeled 'A'' and also has a '8' below it. The third staff is labeled 'B', 'B'', and 'C' above it, with a '8' below it. The fourth staff has a '8' below it and ends with the text '- ra.' The notation consists of a series of notes connected by horizontal lines, with some notes having stems pointing up or down. There are also some dashed lines above the notes, possibly indicating phrasing or breath marks.

measures in modern transcription, or else they restrict their rhythmic indications only to the opening gestures of the phrase. Three of the five brief specimens given in example 8 begin with chains of ligatures that imply the rhythmic values associated with either the first or third rhythmic modes. Shortly after these melismas begin, though, the phrases quickly disintegrate into less obvious readings along the lines of *organum purum*. Again, it should be emphasized that all of these examples hail from the last decade of the twelfth century at the earliest, which suggests that it was not until this later period that conductus composers began to incorporate some of the rhythmic facets of polyphony into their monophonic works.

However, a few such caudae are more exceptional. In three instances, melismas appear that are more consistent in their implications of modal rhythms and that also exhibit a scheme of antecedent and consequent phrase pairing that commonly surfaces in the caudae of the polyphonic corpus and in the copula sections of Notre Dame organa (see ex. 9). It is well worth noticing that not only do all the “modal” caudae in example 9 hail from well after 1200, but all their texts are by Philip the Chancellor. They consequently present the strong possibility that their music may have been written – or at least strongly influenced – by the hand of Perotinus.<sup>55</sup>

Even though the excerpts presented in example 9 offer evidence of an occasional foray into rhythmic precision, they remain anomalous. Caudae in later monophonic conductus tend to maintain the rhythmic ambiguity of earlier specimens. All of the observations of musical style offered here imply that the monophonic conductus repertory is essentially a more rhythmically fluid genre when compared to the polyphonic. Some notable



**Example 7:** Seven examples of cadential formulae.

- a. *Sol eclipsim patitur* (1188/1252), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 451.  
 b. *Divina providentia* (1190–92), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 420.  
 c. *Turmas arment chisticolas* (1192/93), opening cauda, F, fol. 431v.  
 d. *Sede syon* (1192–97), opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.  
 e. *Eclipsim passus tociens* (1197), final cauda, F, fol. 429.  
 f. *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 3, opening cauda, F, fol. 434v.  
 g. *Clavus clavo* (1233), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 437.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

f.

g.

support for this view is presented by the recent trend in the musicological literature that sees the one-part conductus as a species that participated little, if at all, in the development of rhythm that is so closely linked to the polyphony of the Notre Dame school.<sup>56</sup>

**Example 8:** Five examples of occasional modal rhythms.

a. *Sede syon in pulvere* (1192–97), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.



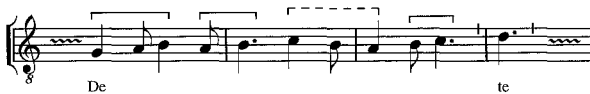
b. *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 434v.



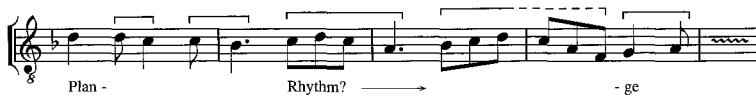
c. *Rex et sacerdos profuit* (1209–12), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.



d. *O mors que mordes omnia* (1223), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 448v.



e. *O mors que mordes omnia* (1223), strophe 3, opening cauda, F, fol. 448v.



**Polyphony**

The polyphonic conductus, on the other hand, have rightly been appraised as some of the most impressive witnesses to the innovative forms, styles, and procedures associated with the Notre Dame school. Those in the datable repertory can offer weighty evidence for charting the stylistic course of the conductus in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In contrast to the monophonic corpus, clearer indications of rhythm in polyphony make possible more significant observations about chronological development.

In terms of large-scale musical forms, there is a further interesting point of contact between the monophonic and polyphonic repertoires in

**Example 9:** Three examples of extensive modal rhythms.

a. *Christus assistens pontiphex* (1208), opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.



b. *Rex et sacerdos profuit* (1209–12), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 436.



c. *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223), opening cauda, F, fol. 433v.



the presence of the AAB cantio form in six of the datable multi-voice conductus (see table 10). As this table shows, polyphonic examples with this musical form are typically distinct from the monophonic. Their incorporation of sometimes lengthy caudae and their preference for sequence structures or through-composed strophic forms stands in stark contrast to the emphasis on regular strophic organization in the monophonic examples.<sup>57</sup> There is a quite notable exception, though, to both these features in the earliest member of the polyphonic cantio group, *Ver pacis aperit*. This two-voice, five-strophe conductus, the text of which was written by Walter of Châtillon to celebrate the coronation of King Philip Augustus of France in 1179, is actually a trouvère contrafact.<sup>58</sup> It features no melismas and, except for its added duplum, exhibits no appreciable differences from its monophonic counterparts.<sup>59</sup> Although this is only a single example, *Ver pacis* may well be indicative of a style current in the earliest layer of the polyphonic conductus. Like the monophonic pieces that most closely resemble this type of trouvère song form, it also suggests that other non-melismatic cantio schemes in the polyphonic Notre Dame conductus repertory may stem from the two or three decades that preceded the turn of the century.

It may also be significant that cantio forms occur only once in datable polyphonic pieces from after the first decade of the thirteenth century. This tendency leads to the supposition that with the concentration on other features that prevail in later polyphonic conductus (most notably

**Table 10**  
Polyphonic Datable Conductus in Cantio (AAB) Form (6 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	no melismas; strophic; contrafact
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	melismas; strophic sequence
1190	Pange melos	2	melismas; strophic
1209	Regi regum omnium	2	melismas; strophe 1 of 3
1209	O felix Bituria	3	melismas; sequence
1224	De rupta Rupecula	3	melismas; strophic sequence

the development of increasingly complicated melismatic writing), through-composed musical settings became the norm, as did similar departures from uniform strophic structures in the production of conductus texts. The only exception to these observations is the example of the three-voice strophic sequence *De rupta Rupecula* from 1224, which differs from the other pieces in having a three-line pes (A–B–C, A–B–C), and is likewise singular in restating the music of all of its vocal parts nearly exactly upon repetition (see ex. 10).<sup>60</sup>

The datable polyphonic conductus, just like their monophonic counterparts, also show changes in the musical intricacy of their text settings and the incorporation of cauda sections over the years. This feature may aid in pinpointing differences in style and serve as signposts for the chronological evaluation of other Notre Dame conductus. As with the datable monophonic repertory, the earliest layer of the polyphonic corpus is characterized by prevalent syllabic declamation and an absence of caudae. This style is generally consistent with the works in the datable repertory that indicate trouvère influence, except that in these instances the opening repetition of the cantio form may be absent. A nearly strict syllabic style is present in three of the four earliest works, which also happen to display a regular strophic organization in their texts: *Novus miles sequitur* (1173), *Ver pacis aperit* (1179, in cantio form), and *In occasu syderis* (1183). Thereafter, all of the examples contain melismas, matching their appearance in the monophonic pieces.

A more embellished type of text setting, which signals the presence of a different aesthetic approach, surfaces in *Eclipsim patitur* from 1183, the earliest datable polyphonic conductus that also features caudae. This work is especially distinguished from the earlier specimens in the multi-part datable repertory through the style of its *cum littera* sections (the divisions of the piece that present the syllables in relatively quick succession). Here the texted portions are much more ornate than the polyphonic examples

**Example 10:** *De rupta rupecula* (1224), strophe 1, lines 1-6, F, fol. 245.

A B

De ru - pta ru - pe - cu - la gra - ta flu - unt po - cu - la

C A

cir - re pro - pi - nant ni - sa. ad cir - re - um ver - ti - cem

B C

ni - sa ba - chi ca - li - cem ru - pe mit - tit ex - ci - sa.

from previous years. An especially noticeable trait in this piece is the way in which its two vocal parts frequently match varying aggregates of ligated pitches that are often ambiguous with regard to their harmonic simultaneity and rhythmic execution, if any such specificity is indeed intended (see ex. 11).

Stylistically, the conflicting pitch ratios of the ligatures and the notational obscurities evident in example 11 are rather striking in their resem-

Example 11: *Eclipsim patitur* (1183), lines 1-4, F, fol. 322v.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Eclipsim patitur" in two staves. The score is divided into four systems, each corresponding to a line of lyrics. The lyrics are: "E - cly - psim pa - ti - tur", "splen - dor mi - li - ti - e", "so - lis ex - tin - gui - tur", and "ra - di - us ho - di - e". The music is written in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line red staff. The first staff is the upper voice, and the second staff is the lower voice. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The score includes various musical notations such as beams, slurs, and dashed lines above the notes, likely indicating phrasing or performance instructions.

blance to works associated with both the earlier Aquitanian polyphonic repertory and the multi-part compositions that are now preserved in the so-called Codex Calixtinus. If *Eclipsim patitur* is in fact representative of a polyphonic style that was current in the 1180s, it may serve to indicate a second point of contact beyond the indebtedness of the Notre Dame composers to the forms and styles utilized in the vernacular songs of the trouvères. Through paleographical and liturgical studies of the Codex Calixtinus, as well as the identification of one of the composers cited therein with Albert, a cantor of Notre Dame (d. 1177), other scholars have already demonstrated that the Aquitanian, "Compostelan," and Notre

Dame repertories may not be as isolated as has been hitherto suspected.<sup>61</sup> In support of this assertion, the few records of twelfth-century polyphony from the area of Paris prior to the Notre Dame sources show that practices that emerged in the South also made inroads to the North (Huglo 1982). Since *Eclipsim patitur* may postdate the polyphony in the Codex Calixtinus by only a few decades, it could well illustrate another type of polyphonic conductus style prevalent at the time when Leoninus was supposedly active: a concatenation of two ornately textured musical lines whose harmonic and rhythmic ambiguity contrasts strongly with the balance and homogeneity of musical materials under the hand of Perotinus and his contemporaries.

Such "Perotinian" consistency in a musical setting appears for the first time either six or eleven years after *Eclipsim patitur* in *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), a conductus in praise of King Richard the Lion-Hearted. This piece is representative of the classic Notre Dame conductus style and exhibits traits that were to persist throughout the early decades of the thirteenth century. In addition to the two lengthy, elegant caudae that end each strophic pair, there is a greater autonomy between the texted and melismatic sections in *Redit etas* than is apparent in *Eclipsim patitur*. The cum littera sections in *Redit etas* are now less ornate and recall the earliest syllabic pieces. But even when a higher degree of embellishment does surface, as in the second strophe of this work, there appears to be a more conspicuous effort to balance the motion of each voice with the other, so that the earlier uncertainties of pitch alignment practically vanish (see ex. 12).

Except for the above observations on the form and texture of texted portions, it is in the development of their caudae that the ongoing changes in the polyphonic conductus are best apprehended. Ernest Sanders devoted a sizable portion of his 1985 study to the examination of caudae, and his findings are instructive. In addition to noting the presence of melismas in all polyphonic conductus composed after 1189, he observed that the phrase structure of such sections becomes more complex during the thirteenth century (1985b: 505, 508–09). We may add here that the formal design of such caudae, in terms of the interrelation and correspondence of musical phrases to one another, also shows signs of increasing intricacy. Even in the earliest instance of polyphonic cauda segments in *Eclipsim patitur* from 1183 (see ex. 13), there are shared motives among parts, and correspondences among phrases (in their use of melodic sequence and rhythmic consistency), but the melodies themselves show little in the way of stricter formal correlation. In fact, their synchronicity and mirror-image counterpoint still recall features prevalent in the caudae of the Aquitanian corpus.<sup>62</sup>

Example 12: *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), strophe 2, lines 19–22, F, fol. 319.

Pi - us po - tens hu - mi - lis di - ves et ma - tu - rus

e - ta - te sed do - ci - lis. et re - rum se - cu - rus.

Example 13: *Eclipsim patitur* (1183), final cauda, F, fol. 323.

(parce -)

- re.

By 1189 or 1194, in the caudae of *Redit etas aurea*, there is still no significant rhythmic interplay among the phrases, but the music now betrays a seemingly new formal awareness in its reliance on clearly articulated repetitive structures in each of the two voices. In example 14, which presents the first of the two caudae in *Redit etas*, the tenor states three phrases that are immediately repeated with only a slight change in the last member to produce an open and closed pair of cadences (ABC–ABC').



Example 14: *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), strophe 1, final cauda, F, fol. 319.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff in each system is for the tenor voice, and the bottom staff is for the duplum voice. The first system is labeled with 'D' and 'E' above the tenor staff, and 'A', 'B', and 'C' above the duplum staff. The second system is labeled with 'D' and 'F' above the tenor staff, and 'A', 'B', and 'C'' above the duplum staff. The duplum staff in the first system has the annotation '(fugan -)' below it, and the second system has '- tur.' below it. The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic lines with slurs.

Meanwhile the duplum, which is consistently disposed into four four-measure groups, presents a design with the form DE–DF that closely mirrors the tenor's structure.

By the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century, formal designs like the ones in the caudae of *Redit etas* were further enriched by the dovetailing of phrases among the voices. This device for achieving an unbroken flow within a melismatic section by interlacing the entrances and cadences of the different vocal parts served to forge some of the most attractive and elegant caudae in the datable repertory. One of the most splendid examples, which exhibits a sophisticated formal structure as well as instances of rhythmic continuity, appears in a melisma from the two-part *Anni favor iubilei*, probably from 1208 (see ex 15).<sup>63</sup>

This cauda divides into two parts, transcribed here as sections of eleven and thirteen measures. The first of these two sections displays a tenor with the form  $AB^1B^2B^1B^3$  ( $B^2$  and  $B^3$  are consequent "answers" to the preceding melodies of  $B^1$ ). The duplum, however, shows a contrasting structure ( $CDE^1E^2$ ), and is further complicated by a short rhythmic overlap with the phrases of the tenor beginning in the sixth measure of this section. In the second portion of the melisma, the tenor continues to echo phrases from the first ( $AB^4B^5$ ). Here the B components generally progress in longs while recalling the melodic contour from their counterparts in the first section. As in *Redit etas*, the duplum is essentially independent here, except for a brief exchange of motives between the two voices that produces a fleeting snatch of canonic imitation beginning in the fifth measure of this segment. The final six bars of this cauda continue to exploit

Example 15: *Anni favor iubilei* (1208), strophe 2, final cauda, F, fol. 348.

Section 1

Section 2

[ - um]

the relationships of the two vocal parts by featuring a repeat of the duplum phrase  $E^1$  from section one, now transposed down a fifth in the tenor ( $E^3$ ).

In the following decades, the caudae that appear in datable examples of polyphonic conductus continue to explore structural and melodic features analogous to those detailed above, in some cases with an even greater emphasis on motivic interrelationships among the voices, voice exchange, and occasionally canon. In example 16a, for instance, the musical material in all the parts is so highly integrated that the opening three

**Example 16:** Two examples of later caudae.a. *O felix Bituria* (1209), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 209v.

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of three staves. The first system is labeled 'Per' below the first staff. The notation is in a single system with three staves per system, showing complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The music is in a single system with three staves per system, showing complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The first system is labeled 'Per' below the first staff. The second system is also labeled 'Per' below the first staff. The notation is in a single system with three staves per system, showing complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

bars of this cauda contain nearly the entire melodic substance of its remainder. Furthermore, the distribution of rests is so carefully staggered that nowhere do all three parts cadence together, and two of the three voices are allowed to converge at only one point. Likewise, in example 16b, the complementary second-mode rhythms of the first seven measures are complicated even further by an exact imitation at the unison, four measures in length and separated by the distance of only a single ternary long.

Ernest Sanders notes an additional trait in the later works from the thirteenth century, discernible for the first time around 1210, in the exploration of the new iambic rhythmic patterns that complete the system of six rhythmic modes (Sanders 1985b: 510–12; Roesner 1990: 41–62). Although he correctly states that the earliest datable cauda with such rhythms appears in the final melisma of *O felix Bituria* from 1209, this final melisma presents some complexities in transmission since it also happens to appear independent of the conductus as a freely composed *Benedicamus Domino* setting from the Saint Victor codex (StV). The presence of this cauda in the guise of an organum raises the question as to when this portion of the piece was composed and whether or not it originally served as

**Example 16 (cont.)**

b. *Clavus pungens acumine* (1233), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 358v.

part of the conductus, which otherwise is completely trochaic in its rhythms.<sup>64</sup> A possible impetus for appending this melisma to the conductus at a time after its initial composition might be traced to the canonization of St. William of Bourges and the institution at Notre Dame of a liturgical feast in his honor. According to liturgical documents, William was sanctified in 1218, nine years after his death, but his feast was not added to the Parisian liturgy until more than a decade after he achieved sainthood.<sup>65</sup> The later addition of a cauda in the new iambic rhythmic modes, based on an earlier freely composed *Benedicamus Domino*, would have served to embellish the older conductus further, and would even tie it to the liturgy for possible performance on William's feast day. But though the earliest appearance of the iambic rhythms of the second and third modes is difficult to determine for certain, they were certainly in use by the 1220s, as table 11 shows.<sup>66</sup> Such evidence may not only help to fix the dates of the incursion of the various rhythmic modes into the conductus repertory, but also may illuminate the development of rhythmic style in the discant clausulae and the early medieval motet.<sup>67</sup>

**Table 11**  
Polyphonic Melismas Featuring Explicit Iambic Rhythms

Date	Incipit	Voices	Location (rhythmic mode)
1209	O felix Bituria	3	final cauda (modes 2, 3; added later?)
1224	De rupta	3	final cauda (mode 2)
1233	Clavus pungens	2	opening cauda, strophe 2 (modes 2, 6)

The above discussion of musical and textual traits in the datable conductus repertory has confirmed previous suggestions of notable changes in musical style during the decades surrounding the year 1200 and has built upon Sanders's earlier findings to propose some further elements that may be significant for weighing the chronological development of Parisian conductus style. By investigating textual as well as musical features, and monophonic as well as polyphonic works, the evidence of the entire datable repertory confirms and expands Sanders's observations of progressive rhythmic, melodic, and formal refinements in caudae; it also indicates that through-composed schemes in both poetry and music had become more common by the early decades of the thirteenth century. Rather surprisingly, though, an opposite trend is seen in the texts of several conductus that feature strophes disposed into paired versicles (the so-called "sequence" forms). Here a tendency towards strophically uniform texts mirrors the same sort of progression that can be seen in the larger history of the sequence repertory itself. Furthermore, the analysis of individual poetic line schemes in the datable repertory suggests that stanzas composed solely of lines of six and ten syllables with a paroxytonic accent did not survive long after the year 1200. Finally and most notably, this investigation proposes that the presence in conductus of cantio forms modeled on the chansons of the vernacular repertories appears largely in the twelfth century and that the use of secular songs as models or patterns for Notre Dame conductus declines or even disappears after the end of the century.

All the above features propose that pivotal stylistic transformations to the conductus began in the decade preceding the year 1200, at the same time that similar developments have been claimed for the repertory of organa tripla and quadrupla. It is in this interval that many of the musical advancements connected with the Parisian repertory, and specifically with the activity of the composer Perotinus, were codified, and that the conductus began to take on the musical trappings that are now most closely associated with the Notre Dame school. The conclusions of this study suggest, therefore, that in the two decades surrounding the turn of

the century, the Parisian conductus ceased to be a type of song that relied on earlier models and became instead a sophisticated compositional entity unto itself, on a par with the organa and motets that accompany it in the major sources. Although they have been relatively ignored for decades, the datable conductus provide an excellent means to paint a more detailed picture of the history of Notre Dame music. Thanks to their evidence, the development of nearly a century of medieval song in Paris may now be more closely documented, and historians may now begin to chart even more carefully the development of an important genre from one of the most significant chapters in Western European music.

### *Appendix*

#### **Datable works of the Notre Dame School**

The following works are arranged in chronological order, with the possible date or dates following the incipit. Information enclosed within parentheses indicates the number of voices and the number of the piece in the conductus catalogs of Anderson (1972, 1975) and Falck (1981), respectively.

*In Rama sonat gemitus* 1164–1170 (à1; L1, 181) On the exile in France of Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury.

*Novus miles sequitur* 1173 (à3; E11, 228) On the death of Thomas Beckett.

*Dum medium silentium tenerent* ca. 1174 (à1; K15, 99) Part of a longer *prosimetrum* beginning “In domino confido,” delivered by the author to the University of Bologna; author: Walter of Châtillon.

*Ver pacis aperit* 1179 (à2; J32, 366) Coronation of King Philip Augustus of France; author: Walter of Châtillon.

*Omnis in lacrimas* 1181 (à1; K2, 253) Death of Henry I, count of Champagne.

*Eclipsim patitur* 1183 (à2; I7, 105) Death of Henry the Younger, son of King Henry II of England.

*In occasu syderis* 1183 (à2; I11, 178) Death of Henry the Younger and praise to the future King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England.

*Anglia planctus itera* 1186 or 1189 (à1; K12, 14) Death of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1186) and/or death of his father, King Henry II of England (1189).

*Venit Ihesus in propria* 1187 (à1; K42, 365) Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, impetus for the Third Crusade; author: Philip the Chancellor.

*Redit etas aurea* 1189 or 1194 (â2; I8, 298) Coronation of King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, or in celebration of his release (1194) from imprisonment by Emperor Henry VI, which occasioned a second coronation.

*Pange melos lacrimosum* 1190 (â2; I15, 258) Death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

*Divina providentia* 1190–1192 (â1; K9, 96) During the regency of Willam of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, under King Richard the Lion-Hearted.

*Turmas arment Christicolas* 1192 or 1193 (â1; K41, 352) Death of Albert of Louvain, archbishop of Liège, assassinated at Rheims.

*Sede Syon in pulvere* 1192–1197 (â1; K8, 321) Call to Henry II, count of Champagne, to deliver the Holy Land from Islamic forces.

*Eclipsim passus tociens* 1197 (â1; K33, 104) Death of theologian Petrus Cantor.

*Dic Christi veritas* 1198 (â3; C3, 94) Conflict between King Philip Augustus and Pope Innocent III over the rejection of Ingeborg of Denmark as queen of France.

*Iherusalem Iherusalem* 1198 (â1; K46, 169) Deaths of Henry II, count of Champagne (1197) and his mother Marie, countess of Champagne (1198).

*Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* 1198 (â1; K61, 267) Installation of Pope Innocent III; author: Philip the Chancellor.

*Christus assistens pontiphex* 1208 (â1; K48, 61) Installation of Peter of Nemours as bishop of Paris; author: Philip the Chancellor (the bishop's nephew).

*Anni favor iubilei* 1208 (â2; J25, 16) Call to the Albigenian crusade.

*Regi regum omnium* 1209 (â2; J22, 300) Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges; canonized 1218, feast added to Notre Dame calendar approximately a decade later.

*O felix Bituria* 1209 (â3; E8, 232) Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges; closing *Benedicamus cauda* in mode 2 possibly a later addition (ca. 1218? late 1220s?).

*Rex et sacerdos prefuit* 1209–1212 (â1; K49, 308) Dispute between Pope Innocent III and Emperor Otto IV over land conquests; author: Philip the Chancellor.

*Alabastrum frangitur* 1223 (â1; K50, 12) Death of King Philip Augustus of France; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.

*O mors que mordes omnia* 1223 (â1; K77, 241) Death of King Philip Augustus; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.

*Beata nobis gaudia* 1223 (â1; K44, 41) Accession of King Louis VIII of France (reg. 1223–1226).

*De rupta Rupecula* 1224 (â3; F25, 82) Commemoration of the battle of La Rochelle.

- Clavus clavo retunditur* 1233 (à1; K51, 64) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
- Clavus pungens acumine* 1233 (à1; J39, 65) Recovery of the Holy Nail; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
- Aurelianis civitas* 1236 (à1; K60, 25) Riot in Orléans between the townspeople and the clergy; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
- Sol eclypsim patitur* 1188 or 1252 (à1; K83, 331) Death of Ferdinand II of Spain, king of León (1188), or death of Ferdinand III, saint, king of León and Castile (1252).

### Piece whose dating needs further discussion

(See Dronke 1989: 7)

- Veritas equitas largitas* 1226–1236 (à1; K62, 375) Reference to Louis IX under regency of Blanche of Castille?

### Pieces whose dating has been rejected

(See Sanders 1985b: 521)

- Nulli beneficium* (à2; H7, 229)
- Nemo sane spreverit* (à3; F12, 215)

### Datable pieces from the “Saint Victor” Manuscript (StV) – not considered

- Gaude felix Francia* 1226 or 1244 (à2; P3, 136) Coronation of King Louis IX of France, or in celebration of the anniversary of his coronation.
- Scysma mendacis Grece* 1244? (à2; P4, 320) Refers to the flight of Pope Innocent IV to France before Emperor Frederick II.

### Notes

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1. The following common sigla are employed for the manuscript sources: W1—Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.; F—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1; W2—Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.; Ma—Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486; Ch—Châlons-sur-Marne, Archive de la Marne et de la région de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250; StV—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 15139; Fauv—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146.

2. See the appendix to this article for a complete list of the works. The three datable prosulas to organa and conductus caudae, *Associa tecum in patria* (1212), *Crucifigat omnes* (1219–1220), and *Bulla fulminante* (1222–1223), are not considered



here, since as *prostulas* they form a special, independent group of compositions and deserve separate study. For like reasons the monophonic *rondelli* preserved in the eleventh fascicle of F are also not taken into account in this study. An addendum to the appendix, the lyric lai *Veritas equitas largitas*, proposed by Peter Dronke (1989: 7) as a work stemming from the years 1226–1236, does not appear as a datable work in these pages, since in my view the evidence for its chronological specificity awaits additional demonstration. Finally, *Gaude felix Francia* and *Scysma mendacis Grecie*, two datable *conductus* preserved in the so-called St. Victor Manuscript (StV), lie outside the scope of this study, primarily because the relationship of this manuscript to the Parisian repertory remains to be determined (for a start in this direction, see Falck 1970: 315–26).

3. Sanders 1985b. The bulk of the datable *conductus* repertory was first identified by Léopold Delisle in his plenary address to the French Historical Society (1885: 82–139).

4. For a notable attempt to situate several *conductus* within the ritual of royal coronations, see Schrade 1953: 9–63.

5. Everist (1989: 29) actually admits that such a relationship would argue for the concurrence of musical and poetic composition. An obvious exception needs to be made, though, for works that are fashioned through the principle of *contrafacture*, the retexting of a preexistent song; yet even these redactions indicate a preference for the verse form and musical features of the model at the time the *contrafact* was devised.

6. Modifications to the state of *conductus* may include the addition or subtraction of polyphonic voices, the abbreviation of lengthier *caudae*, and the slight rewording of a text so as to play down the specific occasion for its original composition. None of these changes essentially obscures the musical fabric of the earlier redaction of the work. Verbal paraphrase is particularly evident in the works transmitted in the early fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Fauv), where the modification of textual details allows the pieces to function within the context of the *Fauvel* narrative. For an assessment of the music in this source, as well as the controversial opinion (not subscribed to here) that the abbreviated Notre Dame pieces in Fauv represent the original musical state of these works, see the essay by Edward Roesner in the introduction to the recent facsimile edition of this manuscript (Roesner et al. 1990).

7. The dating of *In occasu* to 1183 and its focus on Henry the Younger was tentatively suggested by Gordon A. Anderson (1979: 5:xiii). I am especially indebted to one of my students, Ms. Rachel Cooper, for her convincing arguments that the younger Henry is indeed the subject of both *In occasu* and *Eclipsim patitur*.

8. For the preceding historical details, any thorough book on medieval English history will suffice. See, for example, Poole 1955: 209, 349–50; Henderson 1958: 55; and Warren 1973: 581, 591, 599.

9. On the complex musical commerce between the continent and the British Isles, see the complementary studies of Everist 1992 and Losseff 1994.

10. On the text of *In Rama sonat*, see Stevens 1970: 316–19. For its “English” perspective, see the cautious statement of Schrade 1953: 17 (and the reference cited therein). Other datable works that point away from Paris include *Sol eclipsim*

*patitur*, which probably hails from Spain, and *Turmas arment christicolas* (1192 or 1193), possibly composed in Rheims. For support of these contentions, see below, note 18, for a discussion of *Sol eclipsim*, and see Falck 1981: 110 for *Turmas arment*.

11. The two datable conductus prosulas, *Crucifigat omnes* and *Bulla fulminante* from 1219–1220 and 1223, respectively, are also organized into uniform strophes.

12. In this and the following tables, the pertinent works are arranged chronologically. A poem encompassing a possible time period of several years has the inclusive dates separated by an en dash, whereas two possible dates for a given piece are distinguished by a slash.

13. These pieces are *In Rama sonat gemitus, Venit Ihesus in propria, Eclipsim passus tociens*, and *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit*. One other work with a single stanza, *Turmas arment christicolas* (1192 or 1193), does not appear to have been conceived on the strophic model due to its considerable length.

14. This view is supported by the dates proposed for the composition of Perotinus's quadruple organa, *Viderunt omnes* (1198) and *Sederunt principes* (1199) (see, for example, Sanders 1966: 243–44; and Baltzer 1974: 1:510). However, Pinegar (1994) argues that these dates should be pushed forward by a year or two.

15. For an assessment of the Parisian sequence and its relationships with the music of Notre Dame, see Fassler 1987b.

16. On Adam of Paris and his development of the so-called "Victorine" sequence, see Fassler 1984 and 1987b, and Wright 1989: 274–78.

17. The major points in the following brief outline of the historical development of the sequence are indebted chiefly to Spanke 1936: 76–77, 80–84.

18. See Spanke 1936: 81–84. *Sol eclipsim* mourns a "Fernandus Hispanie," and has been assigned to two different individuals: Ferdinand II, king of León (d. 1188) and Ferdinand III, the saint, king of León and Castile (d. 1252). The literature usually credits the former candidate as the one to whom the piece is dedicated. The only mention of Ferdinand III that I know of stems from Yearley 1981. I believe there is good reason to support the later date, because of indications that *Sol eclipsim* was added to F after the bulk of its contents had already been entered; see Payne 1986: 240, n. 23.

19. *Christus assistens* (1208) and *Beata nobis* (1223).

20. The terminology employed here to denote a verse's structure by the number of syllables per line and by the fall of the final accentual syllable within it (proparoxytonic [pp] and paroxytonic [p]), derives from Norberg 1958: 5–6. Analogous descriptions are employed by the poetic theorists of the time, notably in Johannes de Garlandia's *Parisiiana poetria*, a treatise from ca. 1220. For a general introduction to this work and to rhythmic poetry and its musical connections, see Fassler 1987a and Sanders 1995. The latter study offers some useful corrections to the former.

21. Exclusively 8pp strophes appear in the monophonic conductus *Divina providentia* (1190–1192), strophe 1; *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophes 1, 2, 4, and 5; and *Sol eclipsim patitur* (1188/1252), strophes 1b, 2a, 2b.

22. Datable conductus poems composed exclusively of 7pp lines include *Alabastrum frangitur* (1223), a monophonic lament with three twelve-line strophes; and *De rupta rupecula* (1224), a strophic sequence with two double and one

single stanzas, all again of twelve lines. Considerably earlier are the examples of 7pp lines in individual isosyllabic strophes. These comprise the nine-line first strophe of the monophonic *Divina providentia* (1190–1192); and the eight-line opening stanzas of the polyphonic *Regi regum omnium* and *O felix Bituria*, both probably from 1209. There is no instance of any Notre Dame conductus with strophes formed solely from 7p lines, and only one example in the entire corpus is similarly constructed from octosyllabic paroxytonic (8p) verses (*Si quis amat quod amare*).

23. The following history of the six-syllable line and its ancestry derives from Spanke 1936: 36–37; and Norberg 1958: 99–100.

24. The refrain shows the pattern: 6pp+10pp, or 6pp+(4p+6pp).

25. The schemes are strophe 1: 2(6pp+4pp+6pp)+2(8pp)+4(6pp); strophe 2: 4(6pp)+4pp+6(7pp).

26. The six 6pp conductus that she scrutinizes are *Fulget Nicholaüs*, *Celum non animum*, *Procurans odium*, *Si mundus viveret*, *Heu quo progreditur*, and *Ver pacis aperit*.

27. Not reckoned as separate pieces in this numbering are the two contrafacts of *Procurans odium*: *Purgator criminum* and Philip's *Suspirat spiritus*. The remaining stanzas of *Partus semiferos* argue that the opening lines of the first strophe, ostensibly 6p, are accented proparoxytonically throughout.

28. Poems that feature a prominent use of 6pp lines mixed with other types are also not habitual in their use of caudae. Only three of twelve works of this type display an elaborate, melismatic style: the datable *Dic Christi veritas* (1198), *O curas hominum*, and *Eterno serviet*. Similarly, of the four works I have found that have only an occasional appearance of the 6pp line, two, *In ripa ligeris* and *A globo veteri*, have prominent caudae.

29. See Chambers 1985: 1–5. On the possible derivation of the 10pp from quantitative meter, see Norberg 1958: 153.

30. See also Knapp 1979: 397 for this claim.

31. The music of *Pater sancte* is a contrafact of a trouvère song (see the discussion of this piece below) and may therefore presumably be dated as earlier than the Latin text. This feature thus supports the claim of a late twelfth-century preference for the 10pp line by conductus composers.

32. Other instances of ten-syllable lines in the conductus repertory sustain this assertion. Mixtures of the decasyllabic scheme with other verse structures appear in two elaborately styled monophonic works, *O labilis sortis humane status* and *Stella maris lux ignaris ave*, neither of which possesses any caudae.

33. On this verse form and its history, see Spanke 1936: 26–27; Norberg 1958: 113–14; and Beare 1957: 15–19, 138–40, 181–82, 262.

34. The scheme is 4(8p+7pp) per strophe.

35. The stanzas consist of *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181), strophe 3: 5(7pp)+3(8p)+7pp; *Regi regum omnium* (1209), strophe 2: 4(7pp)+2(8p+7pp) and strophe 3: 2(2(8p)+2(7pp)); and *Aurelianus civitas* (1236), strophe 2: 2(8p+7pp)+3(8p)+7pp.

36. On the goliardic measure, see Spanke 1936: 40–45; Norberg 1958: 151–52, 187–88; and Raby 1957: 2:196, 248.

37. For some examples of Walter's and other works, see Spanke 1936: 42.

38. The works are: *Sonet vox ecclesie*, *Flebiles et miseri*, *Ave tuos benedic* (all in strict distichs), and (with mixed poetic schemes) *Ave salus hominum*, *Novus annus hodie*, *Nicolai presulis*, *Novum sibi texuit*, *Virga Yesse regio*, and Perotinus's *Salvatoris hodie*.

39. "The examination of available evidence presented here produces suggested perspectives, even though it yields relatively spotty results, in part because it restricts itself to polyphonic compositions, and, specifically, to melismatic passages" (1985b: 505).

40. Book 2, chapter 10. Original: "Dicimus ergo quod omnis stantia ad quam odam recipiendam armonizata est; sed in modis diversificari videntur. Quia quedam sunt sub oda continuata usque ad ultimum progressive—hoc est sine iteratione modulationis cuiusdam et sine diesi. Et diesim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda in aliam (hanc voltam vocamus, cum vulgus alloquimur). . . . Quedam vero sunt diesim patientes; et diesis esse non potest, secundum quod eam appellamus, nisi reiteratio unius ode fiat, vel ante diesim, vel post, vel undique. Si ante diesim repetitio fiat, stantiam dicimus habere pedes; et duos habere decet, licet quandoque tres fiant, rarissime tamen. Si repetitio fiat post diesim, tunc dicimus stantiam habere versus. Si ante non fiat repetitio, stantiam dicimus habere frontem. Si post non fiat, dicimus habere sirma, sive caudam."

41. This particular formal term should not be confused with the melismatic sections of the same name found in the conductus. When used to define the B section of a cantio form, it will be italicized.

42. See Spanke 1936: 142–47 for an account of the development and acceptance of the cantio form. For some observations on the effect this form may have had on the structure of the poetry, see Diehl 1985: 93.

43. The term as used in this context simply denotes an absence of caudae.

44. The other instance of a secular contrafact among the pieces of the datable repertory appears in the two-part *Ver pacis aperit* of Walter of Châtillon, whose tenor is identical with Blondel de Nesle's *Ma ioie me semont*.

45. The relevant monostrophic works are *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–1170) and Philip the Chancellor's *Venit Ihesus* (1187).

46. A similar design appears at the beginning of the three-part, melismatic *De rupta rupecula* (1224) (see example 10).

47. Such pieces are *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit* (1223) and the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (1219–1220). What is especially interesting, however, is the fact that the designs of conductus caudae sometimes recall the repetition schemes of the cantio form.

48. Walter's works with music that use a trouvère-style cantio form comprise the datable *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (1174), *Licet eger cum egrotis*, and the polyphonic works *Omni pene curie*, *Ver pacis aperit* (1179), as well as the questionably attributed *Vite perditte*. For information on these specific pieces, consult the catalogs of Anderson (1972, 1975) and Falck (1981: 138–256).

49. Consider, for instance, those datable works that feature an identity between the first two lines of a strophe: *Divina providentia* (1190–1192), strophe 3; *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 4; *Alabastrum frangitur* (1223), strophe 3; and *Aurelianus civitas* (1236), strophe 1; or, alternately, the single example of repetition between only the first and third lines of a strophe in *Clavus clavo retunditur* (1233), strophe 1.

50. Of the seven, only *Eclipsim patitur* (1183), for two voices, has caudae.

51. For the claim of authorship, see Payne 1991: 1:143–51.

52. For more on these opinions, see Sanders 1966: 248–49.

53. Compare, for example, the formulaic melodic material over the syllables (*con-*)*stantes* in the organum duplum setting of the verse of the responsory *Iudea et Iherusalem* ♯. *Constantes estote* in F, fol. 65; W1, fol. xvii (13); and W2, fol. 47.

54. For an assessment of some of the aesthetic differences between organum duplum and conductus, see Roesner 1990: 70–74.

55. On the likelihood of close collaboration between the poet and the composer, see Payne 1986 and 1991, chapters 4 and 8.

56. See, for example, Fassler 1987b: 369 and Stevens 1986: 492–504. Sanders (1985) presents analogous arguments for the interpretation of the *cum littera* sections of polyphonic conductus. The rhythmic relationships of the caudae of monophonic conductus to the *modus non rectus* of organum purum, though, deserves further comparative study.

57. In the datable monophonic repertory, the only instance of caudae in a work that also possesses cantio form occurs in the late *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223).

58. Blondel de Nesle's *Ma ioie me semont*. See Anderson 1972: 184, no. J32.

59. Another specimen, the planctus *Pange melos lacrimosum*, probably from 1190, is also quite close to the style of the trouvère-influenced cantio. It does, however, contain a brief final cauda.

60. Another datable instance of a three-line pes is found in the earlier monophonic *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181) (see example 2 above).

61. On the dating and provenance of the Codex Calixtinus, see Wright 1989: 278–81, 336; and the recent contributions offered in Huglo 1995.

62. For these techniques, see Treitler 1964: 37–39; 1979: 546–48.

63. Interestingly, a rare occurrence of musical concordance between an organum and a conductus surfaces in this example. Measures 3–10 of the tenor of example 15 can also be found in extended form in the organum triplum *Exiit sermo* ♯. *Sed sic eum*. See the duplum voice near the beginning of the verse: F, fol. 18v; W2, fols. 14v–15r.

64. On the transmission of this cauda, see Falck 1970: 321–24, who argues for the priority of the *Benedicamus*.

65. The date of 1218 is given for the creation of the feast at Notre Dame in Wright 1989: 79, 81; but Baltzer (n.d., note 7) shows that the actual institution of the celebration at Paris cannot be traced to earlier than the 1230s. I am indebted to Professor Baltzer for her generosity in sharing her paper with me prior to its appearance in print.

66. In this table, caudae with a strict succession of mode 3 ligatures have not been included, since a possibility remains for reading their rhythms trochaically.

67. On the significance of iambic rhythms for the history of the motet and clausula, see especially Sanders 1973: 529–31.

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