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# The Conductus of W1: An Investigation into their History and Rhythm

Andrew James Anderson Bull

BMus (hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
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Supervisors: Dr David McGuinness and Professor John Butt

Department of Music

School of Culture and Creative Arts

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

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## Abstract

The manuscript 'W1', otherwise known as the St Andrews Music Book, contains 197 folios of music from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This music was transmitted to St Andrews from the cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, which was the centre of European religious music making during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The history of W1 is a fiercely debated topic, and this thesis will tackle some of the recent claims made regarding its dating, as well as dealing with some of the issues surrounding the *conductus*, a certain style of the Notre-Dame polyphonic chant repertoire, which inhabits a unique place in the repertoire of this time. Not evidently liturgical, but not secular, its role in the medieval church is highly debated, and its interpretation under the supposed 'universal' approach of Notre-Dame modal rhythm is ripe for enquiry.

This rhythmical theory has been deduced from the interpretation of medieval theorists' writings, however these writers were not clear and concise in terms of modern expectations. We find ourselves with a body of theoretical treatises written after several of the major manuscript sources were already created, posing a question for modern interpreters: should we apply these theoretical writings to a time before they were created, and were these practices in fact in use before the systemisation represented by the treatises occurred? Whilst much work has been done in applying modal rhythm to music which could predate the codification of modal rhythm, remarkably few editions present the music of this time without rhythmical biases. As this thesis will show, notions of rhythm were far more based around performative interpretations by the musicians, that than by abstract theoretical readings of notation.

The rhythmically-undefined editions of this music that are found at the end of this thesis are an attempt to return this repertoire's rhythm to its previous interpretational and performative aspect. This was found in the early years of Notre-Dame polyphony, where the notation was primarily meant only as a guide to the music's shape. The intended use of these scores is a method more akin to a

notational pitch guide than a fully metrically-conceived score, allowing for performances closer to the rhythmic freedom that the early Notre-Dame musicians had within this repertoire.

### Thanks

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## Chapter 1: The History and Placement of W1 in the Notre-Dame Repertoire

W1 is one of the largest extant sources for the music of the Notre-Dame style of polyphony, and is currently stored at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, catalogued under ‘Codex Guelf. 628 Helmstadiensis’ (formerly Heinemann catalogue 677).<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Ludwig’s initial report of the manuscript in Wolfenbüttel led to its moniker ‘W1’ (it being the earliest Notre-Dame manuscript that Ludwig found there), though it has also been called ‘The St Andrews Music Book’. Likely created for the Scottish cathedral priory of St. Andrews (note the inscriptions ‘liber monasterii S. andree apostolic in Scotia’ on folio 64,<sup>2</sup> and the upside-down ‘Viro venerando discrecionis Iacobo clerici sancti Andree’ on folio 172<sup>3</sup>), the manuscript contains examples of nearly all the major styles of Notre-Dame music (motets being the only notable exception - see pages 17 and 46 for a further examination of this). It is divided into eleven fascicles, each containing a portion of the repertory for a particular style, with occasional extras added onto the end of a fascicle as further work was carried out after the main scribal entries had been made.<sup>4</sup> Two numbering systems have been used in the manuscript: a potentially early 14<sup>th</sup>-century hand in the top middle of each page starting in Roman numerals then changing to Arabic numbering from page 30 onwards, and a later 19<sup>th</sup>-century foliation also in Arabic numerals found in the right hand corner of each page.<sup>5</sup> The older numbering system takes precedence throughout this work, with the more recent system only ever included in the transcriptions given at the end, contained in brackets after the older foliation.

The number of scribes, and their identity, is a tricky puzzle that has occupied musicologists since the 1970s. Edward Roesner claims there were three scribes that

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<sup>1</sup> An online facsimile is available: Herzog August Bibliothek (unknown) *MSS 628 Helmst.* [Online] Available at: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/628-helmst/start.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Roesner, Edward H. (1993) *Le Manus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*. Volume 1: Les Quadrupla et Tripla de Paris. Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, p. lxiii. Roesner dates this hand to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, Julian; Patterson, Sonia; Hiley, David. (1981) ‘Further observations on W1’. *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, pp. 53-80, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> Edwards, Warwick. (2000) ‘Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century Scotland’ in: Preece, Isobel Woods. *Our awin Scottis use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*. Studies in the Music of Scotland. Glasgow: the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, pp. 225-271, 258.

were not dissimilar in style, who divided the work up between themselves.<sup>6</sup> Julian Brown however claims a single scribe, and that the variations in handwriting were caused instead by ‘differences in lateral compression governed by changes in the relationship between text and notation’,<sup>7</sup> i.e. that the areas where the handwriting differs are due to the scribe needing to fit into an ever-changing amount of space on the page, and not due to a change in writers.

A colophon asking that the scribe of this book, ‘Walterus’, may be blessed, appears on folio 191v,<sup>8</sup> however both Roesner and Brown claim this a 15<sup>th</sup>-century addition. Why the person adding it wrote the music in neume forms that were more likely to have been in common use *before* the manuscript’s creation rather than in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is unknown. Also unclear is why they decided to call the scribe ‘Walter’, when a ‘Jacob’ (‘Iacobo clerici’ above) has been mentioned earlier on the manuscript. A look at the contemporary Bishop David Bernham’s group of skilled scribes and administrators reveals a ‘Waltero de mortuomari’ amongst the witnesses to charters around 1240-1248.<sup>9</sup> This ‘Walter’ appears repeatedly in these documents, was made an ‘Official with General Authority’ during 1240-1242 at St Andrews,<sup>10</sup> and apparently became Dean of Glasgow in 1250.<sup>11</sup> This clearly capable man may well have been the skilled scribe required to create W1, but until the supposed 15<sup>th</sup> century dating of this colophon is refuted, we are left with no obvious reason as to why ‘Walterus’ is mentioned except that our 15<sup>th</sup> century writer potentially knew more of the inner workings of St Andrews’ earlier manuscript creation processes than we do.

Whoever the scribe or scribes were, they were clearly trained in the notational style of Notre-Dame polyphony (even the eleventh fascicle, which whilst being of differing provenance from the rest of the manuscript and displaying more insular features still shows Notre-Dame notational elements).<sup>12</sup> Brown has suggested that the scribe ‘was

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<sup>6</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, Patterson & Hiley, 1981, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiii mistakenly claims this is on 192r.

<sup>9</sup> Ash, Marinell (1976) ‘David Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, 1239-1253’ in McRoberts, David. (ed.) *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*. Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Historical Association, pp. 33-44, p. 43.

<sup>10</sup> Watt, D. E. R. (1969) *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*. 2<sup>nd</sup> draft. St Andrews: Fasti Committee, Department of Mediaeval History, St Salvator’s College, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153. Mortuomari is interchangeable with Mortimer.

<sup>12</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiv.

a Scotsman or an Englishman who had learned to write as he did in Paris'.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript was likely copied in St. Andrews, and if not, was clearly intended for the cathedral there; the inclusion of the *clausula* for St. Andrew 'In odorem' without an *organum* into which it could be inserted is telling, with an apparent expectation for its usage on its own at the recipient cathedral.<sup>14</sup> 'Vir perfecte' and 'Vir iste' from the 3<sup>rd</sup> fascicle are also linked to the patron saint of Scotland.<sup>15</sup>

### Contents of the Manuscript<sup>16</sup>

197 folios, divided as follows (gatherings have been omitted, as they will not be referred to in this work).

**Fascicle 1:** folios 3-6; containing *quadrupla* (discant and *clausula*), starting part way through *Viderunt omnes*.

**Fascicle 2:** folios 9-16; *tripla* (discant) followed by three-part *conductus*.

**Fascicle 3:** folios 17-24; *organa dupla* for the Office, a two-part *Sanctus* trope added onto the end.

**Fascicle 4:** folios 25-48; *organa dupla* for the Mass.

**Fascicle 5:** folios 49-54; two-part *clausulae*.

**Fascicle 6:** folios 55-62; two-part *clausulae*, with a two-part *conductus* added onto the end.

**Fascicle 7:** folios 63-69 (68 is used twice); *tripla*

**Fascicle 8:** folios 70-94; three-part *conductus*, followed by a *tripla*, then another three-part *conductus*, along with a three-part *organum* and *clausula*, finished with added three-part *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* tropes.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, Patterson, & Hiley, 1981, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiv.

<sup>15</sup> Purser, John. (2007) *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> Taken from Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiii, and Edwards, 2000, pp. 259-271.

**Fascicle 9:** folios 95-176; three- and two-part *conductus*, a small group of *Benedicamus domino* settings, along with two-part *Agnus dei* tropes added in.

**Fascicle 10:** folios 185-192; monophonic *conductus*, and monophonic *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* tropes.

**Fascicle 11:** folios 193-214; two-part music for the *Missa de sancta Maria*.

In total, the manuscript now transmits three hundred and thirty-seven pieces (including substitute *clausulae*) in a complete form; the theoretical reconstructions of the missing folios provided by Warwick Edwards and Robert Falck,<sup>17</sup> along with the inclusion of the pieces only partially surviving, would increase the number of pieces in W1 to three hundred and ninety-two.

### The Dating and Creation of W1

Attributing W1 to a specific time period has been a consistently thorny issue since the discovery of the manuscript by musicologists. Early attempts at dating had suggested the 14<sup>th</sup> century as a possibility; this was primarily concluded by Ludwig's early examination of the manuscript<sup>18</sup> which James H. Baxter reiterated,<sup>19</sup> and Roesner originally suggested a connection between W1 and 'the liturgical Renaissance at St. Andrews after 1314.'<sup>20</sup> The paleographical and illuminate initial analysis of Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, however, showed that W1 was in fact contemporaneous with the music that it transmitted, not later.<sup>21</sup> All three authors shared a similar view with regards to W1's dating: David Hiley suggested the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, claiming that W1 'best represents, in one source, the range of sacred polyphony used in a major church' at that time.<sup>22</sup> Julian Brown similarly dated the handwriting to 'before rather than after 1250', 'probably written during

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<sup>17</sup> Edwards does not suggest a reconstruction for the no longer extant section of Fascicle 10, folios 177-184v. Falck, Robert. (1981) *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*. Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, pp. 123, gives a hypothetical reconstruction.

<sup>18</sup> Edwards, 2000, p. 228.

<sup>19</sup> Baxter, James H. (1931) *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628): Published in Facsimile with an Introduction by J. H. Baxter*. London: St Andrews University, pp. vii and xiii.

<sup>20</sup> Everist, Mark. (1990) 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 1-42, 3 fn 7.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, Patterson & Hiley, 1981.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> Finally Sonia Patterson remarked that the initial flourishing 'is of the period c. 1240', due to its 'early transitional' elements.<sup>24</sup> The overall conclusion of the article was that the manuscript 'coincides with the episcopacy of David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews 1240-52'.<sup>25</sup>

However, Mark Everist posits Guillaume Mauvoisin, the bishop of St Andrews between 1200 and 1238 as the likely force behind W1's creation.<sup>26</sup> Hailing from France, and keeping ties with his homeland throughout his life, Mauvoisin is suggested to be a more likely candidate than his successor David Bernham. However, this would mean a date of creation for W1 of no later than the 1230s, which would contradict the findings of Brown, Patterson, & Hiley. Everist's attempt to disprove Patterson's dating of the flourished initials in W1 bases itself on the re-dating of the 'David Bernham Pontifical' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 1218; hereafter Lat. 1218), to which Patterson compared W1's initials. Everist suggests Patterson gives a potential date of 1225 for Lat. 1218, but at no point does Patterson say this.<sup>27</sup> Patterson is quite clear in dating W1 to around 1250 'or a little before', putting it in the mid-point of her 'transitional' period of which W1 occupies the early end, i.e. the 1240s. Indeed, Everist's own quote by Patterson clearly indicates 'the last decade' of 'the second quarter of the 13th century' for Lat. 1218.<sup>28</sup>

In his efforts to re-date Lat. 1218 to an earlier period, Everist notes that the main text was written 'above top line', i.e. that the first line of text was written on top of the first ruled line on a page, as a crucial point to it being circa 1230s or earlier;<sup>29</sup> therefore the link in style between it and W1 would provide a similar date for W1. Writing in such a method apparently underwent a critical change around 1230, whereby professional scribes started to instead write 'below top line'. However, this sudden alteration in style cannot have been so comprehensive as to have altered all professional writing throughout the British Isles in one fell swoop - we may well be dealing with a hanger-on of the old style in the scribe of Lat. 1218, and the lack of

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 1981, p. 53. Bernham was actually bishop from 1239.

<sup>26</sup> Everist. 1990.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

any similar pages containing only text prevents us from positively applying this method of dating onto W1.

In addition, Everist also points to the dating of Latin 12036, a manuscript showing similarities to Lat. 1218 in handwriting and illumination (also of the Bibliothèque Nationale, hereafter Lat. 12036) as weight towards his dating for W1 of the 1230s. However, at no point does he actually discuss Lat. 12036's date, only banding it, Lat. 1218, and W1 all altogether into the 1230s at the end of his discussion.<sup>30</sup> The evidence he gives to show Lat. 12036's possible use at St Andrews gives no clear-cut reason as to why the 1240s could not also be considered.<sup>31</sup>

### The Flourished Initials of W1

The manuscript Lat. 1218 that Everist and Rebecca A. Baltzer posit as a first quarter 13<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript<sup>32</sup> and put forth as a major point of comparison to W1 was likely created in a different workshop to W1's<sup>33</sup> and a small sampling of its initials have shown less in the way of similarities with W1 than other insular manuscripts discussed below. The examples Baltzer reproduces from both Lat. 1218 and Lat. 12036<sup>34</sup> have little in the way of similarities between W1's component parts and their own. W1's main decorative element is of singular lines feeding out from the initial, looping up and down which occasionally form 'snake heads' with their neighbours. Baltzer's examples are instead more concerned with floral patterns that then trail a single line downwards. Sonia Patterson's example from Lat. 1218<sup>35</sup> does at least contain the 'snake heads', but the lines they produce begin horizontally then change to vertical (looking almost more like a small bird), whilst W1's invariably move the opposite way, creating a stylistic contrast that is hard to ignore.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-13.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-7; Baltzer, Rebecca A. (2008) 'The Manuscript Maker of W1: Further Evidence for an Early Date' in: Cannata, David Butler; Currie, Gabriela Ilnitchi; Mueller, Rena Charnin; & Nádas, John Louis. *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*. Miscellanea 7. Wisconsin: American Institute of Musicology, pp. 103-120, 108.

<sup>33</sup> Brown, Patterson & Hiley, 1981, p. 61.

<sup>34</sup> Baltzer, 2008, p. 106.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, Patterson & Hiley, 1981, p. 66.

Baltzer claims that the illuminated initials of W1 show a likely dating of 1230,<sup>36</sup> but in her comparison of other insular sources from the British Isles with those of W1, one finds that whilst the internal decorations are less complex, the external components that extend away from the main body of the letter appear more complex and intricate than the example given from Lat. 1218, and the majority of the other 1<sup>st</sup> quarter 13<sup>th</sup>-century examples.<sup>37</sup> The only manuscript examples that gives similar complexities in their initial's external elements are Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F.160 (ca. 1230s) and Paris, B.n.F., latin 7399, which is actually dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Baltzer's comparison against French manuscripts shows a difference in style between the French and insular sources that only strengthens the likelihood that the illumination of W1 occurred within the British Isles.<sup>38</sup>

An exploration of a number of music manuscripts from the British Isles gives us a more complicated view of illuminated initials to which either Patterson or Baltzer admit. Whilst there is a noticeable trend towards greater complexity in both internal and external elements in the second half of the century (see University of Oxford: Worcester College, MS 213\* [*olim*: MS 3.16 (A)\*],<sup>39</sup> folios 1v and 2v containing highly decorated initial 'A's, and Bodleian Library, [*pr. bk.*] Wood 591,<sup>40</sup> folio i-verso containing a highly decorated 'S'), not all later manuscripts contain such complexity in their illuminated initials. Two late 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts contain examples of external initial decoration that bear remarkable similarities to the level of decoration in W1 (University of Cambridge: Jesus College, MS QB1, folio 1b's initial with no music,<sup>41</sup> and St John's College, MS 138 (F.1),<sup>42</sup> folio 128's bottom half

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<sup>36</sup> Baltzer, 2008, p. 107.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Baltzer, 2008, pp. 106 and 108.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>39</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Owc MS 213\**. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=580> [September 25, 2016]. The parent volume contains an index that ends at the year 1281; likely originated from Reading Abbey.

<sup>40</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Ob [pr. bk.] Wood 591*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=548> [September 25, 2016]. The presence of rondelli embedded in the English works dates the manuscript to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>41</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Cjec MS QB1*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=306> [September 25, 2016]. The music in English mensural notation clearly dates this to the later 13<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>42</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Cjc MS 138 (F.1)*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=315> [September 25, 2016]. The notation is English mensural, dating the manuscript to the later 13<sup>th</sup> century.



containing an ‘O’ and a ‘P’ in quick succession), along with the ‘Worcester Fragments’ of ca. 1300 which show similarities with both the internal and external elements of W1’s initials (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, *MS. Lat. liturg. d. 20*,<sup>43</sup> folios 12’s ‘A’ and folio 14v’s ‘A’ and ‘P’ on top of each other). These similarities, this author suggests, do not put doubts on W1’s provenance or suggest a re-dating of that manuscript is in order, but show the unstable conclusions one can easily come to with a small selection of manuscript examples. Had this author merely compared W1 to those manuscripts just listed above, they would have been forced into a dating conclusion of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century for W1, even though the music it contains is far earlier.

In the manuscripts displaying similarities to W1’s initials, one finds a range of dates - not only of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as shown above, but earlier in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as well. The mid-13<sup>th</sup>-century fragment from Lambeth Palace Library (*MS 752*)<sup>44</sup> shows noticeable similarities in the two initials that survive, and also transmits music contained within W1 (as does *MS QB1*, above). We find similar styling in the initials of *MS. Bodl. 79* (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, folios 53v and 56 ‘O’ and ‘F’ respectively)<sup>45</sup> as well, and though the only dating given for the manuscript is ‘13<sup>th</sup> century’, this author would suggest that a date contemporary to that of W1 would be appropriate due to the similar level of decoration found with its illuminations. The last manuscript we shall note in comparison to W1 is British Library, *Add. MS 30091*.<sup>46</sup> This manuscript, out of all the ones given above, is perhaps the most similar to W1 in terms of both internal and external decoration for the initials. External ‘snake-heads’ appearing in the lines feeding out from the initial are common throughout this manuscript (see folios 1 ‘O’

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<sup>43</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Ob MS. Lat. liturg. d. 20*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=525> [September 25, 2016]. Includes English mensural notation, which would date the manuscript to at least the 13<sup>th</sup> century. DIAMM seem to be certain of ca. 1300, and claim their information supersedes that of the RISM.

<sup>44</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Llp MS 752*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=451> [September 25, 2016]. The book these fragments were binding appears to be 13<sup>th</sup> century; the musical notation is only in the Notre-Dame style, suggesting the period before the rise of English mensural notation.

<sup>45</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Ob MS. Bodl. 79*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=3881> [September 25, 2016]

<sup>46</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. (unknown) *GB-Lbl Add. MS 30091*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=388> [September 25, 2016]. Transmits motets from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

and 6v 'b'), with truncated tongues sticking out to the side. Snake-heads whose tails create the lines of the decoration are a common feature throughout W1 (for example, folios 88 and 174) and are also found in *MS. Bodl. 79*. Whilst the obvious snake-heads in *Add. MS 30091* are horizontal, a stylised version of the vertical ones found in W1 occur as well where the snake-heads are more circular and are not separated from the rest of the line as they are in W1, where one line finishes with the head whilst another starts from the tongue. Such a stylised feature can be found in W1, for example on the *verso* of folio iii, starting off from the last of the blue ink of the initial itself and replete with circular eye. The number of lines used in the decorations of both W1 and *Add. MS 30091* are the same, and the general flow of them is similar as well.

The dating for *Add. MS 30091* is for the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (which may explain the deviation in the snake-heads), and whilst it does not have the geographical link that Lat. 1218 or Lat. 12036 have to St Andrews, and transmits music of a differing style both content-wise and notationally, the similarities between its initials and W1's cannot be ignored. If nothing else, its dating to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century shows that such initialling styles were being carried on further into the century than Baltzer would have us believe, however the remarkable similarities between W1, *Add. MS 30091*, and *MS. Bodl. 79* could suggest an initialling school or at least similarities in training between these initialers, whose practices clearly carried on into the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Even if such theories prove fruitless, the above comparisons and dates show that specific decades do not necessarily dictate how manuscripts' initials look. Later manuscripts have been shown to be both more and less complex in terms of initial decoration than W1, whilst relatively contemporary and slightly later sources have given similar stylings. To base the dating of a manuscript on illuminated initials is clearly fraught with danger.

### On the lack of Motets

Mark Everist fairly points out that by the time David Bernham visited Paris as Bishop of St. Andrews, the motet would have been a highly prominent feature of the music

occurring there by that time, so the lack of motets in W1 seems a strange discrepancy.<sup>47</sup> However, one could speculate whether these new-fangled motets would have been well-received. As has so often been pointed out, Scotland is on the periphery of Notre-Dame's reach, so such new works may have been felt by Bernham to be unsuitable for the cathedral at St Andrews. It may also have been that whoever was creating W1 did not have access to these motets; perhaps they were not in the exemplars, perhaps they were lost, or perhaps they were jealously guarded by Notre-Dame's *clerici* at this time. One should note that W1 does transmit truncated motets, with their Tenors removed, so that they appear as *conductus* (see page 46). Whether this is a sign of *conductus* being morphed into motets, or motets being altered to fit the *conductus* form is unknown, but should it be the latter, this might give a clue as to why Bernham did not have motets in W1. The alteration would suggest either a dislike of them, or an unwillingness to bring them to St Andrews, perhaps for fear that the new style might be received poorly.

Of course, having the newest Parisian music would have exhibited prestige, but W1, out of all the major Notre-Dame sources, seems less like a status symbol or show of power and more a book that was actually used, and had always been intended for use. The multiple marginalia and lower-quality parchment in comparison with F<sup>48</sup> or W2<sup>49</sup> show a book that was created with usage in mind and was used regularly. Everist suggests that W1 may have been 'for use in the chapel of the Bishop's Palace/Castle or part of the episcopal *capella*' instead of for use in the cathedral,<sup>50</sup> but Roesner refutes this as unlikely, due to these institutions lacking the resources or the ceremonies for this manuscript.<sup>51</sup> A usage within the cathedral of St Andrews seems most likely, unless strong evidence is revealed to disprove such a link.

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<sup>47</sup> Everist, 1990, p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> The 'Florence' manuscript, likely 1240s. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. (1966-67) *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift, Facsimile reproduction of the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29, 1*. 2 volumes. New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music.

<sup>49</sup> Herzog August Bibliothek. (ca. 1275) *Guelf. 1099 Helmst.* [Online] Available at: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/1099-helmst/start.htm>

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>51</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiv.

### The Mauvoisin and W1 Dating discrepancy

Everist's push for a dating of the 1230s for W1's creation would mean that Mauvoisin had been in power for thirty years before the production of the manuscript.<sup>52</sup> This seems strange in the light of Mauvoisin having likely collected the exemplars for W1 during his 1200 trip to Paris, an idea that Everist appears keen on as he stresses the potential contact between Mauvoisin and both Leonin and Perotin<sup>53</sup> (the two main composers of Notre-Dame polyphony that we know of) and the effect that hearing their music had on both Mauvoisin and his *familia*. The likelihood is pushed that Mauvoisin or one of his *familia* obtained the exemplars of W1, Everist noting that

it must have been possible to obtain so-called "Notre-Dame" polyphony in quires more or less off-the-peg from suppliers in Paris, and it is quite feasible that it was an assortment of such quires that was carried from Paris to St. Andrews and then copied there to form the nucleus of W1<sup>54</sup>

Such an early obtainment of those quires that would later form the nucleus of W1's repertory invites the question as to what Mauvoisin did with them in the intervening years between the 1200 trip and the 1230s date of creation that Everist posits, and also why the creation of W1 took so long to begin. A speculative reading of this gap is that it took a differing bureaucratic regime in St Andrews to result in the creation of W1 - evidently the first twenty years of Mauvoisin's regime did not entail the creation of W1, so why would the last ten or so?

The present author, in the face of the varying issues surrounding this debate, offers an alternative reading of the Mauvoisin or Bernham debate. The theory and chronology presented below postulates the notion that Mauvoisin obtained the exemplars for W1 early in his pontificate but that it was only in the time of Bernham that W1 was created from those exemplars.

It is certain that Mauvoisin could not have obtained the entire repertory of W1 during his likely time in Paris during the year 1200, as '*O felix bituria*' found in the eighth fascicle (folios 88-90), could not have been composed before 1209 due to it being

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<sup>52</sup> Purser, 2007, p. 60, notes this discrepancy.

<sup>53</sup> Everist, 1990, p. 26.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

for the death of Guillaume, the Archbishop of Bourges.<sup>55</sup> However, this does not rule out an earlier obtainment of the rest of music in W1, or at least some parts of it; this would account for the relatively early polyphony of Notre-Dame that is transmitted throughout W1. The quires containing later pieces could have been obtained at a later date. Mauvoisin could have acquired these, as he kept contacts in France until the mid-to-late 1220s and did visit France either in 1212 or 1215.<sup>56</sup> This could have also been achieved by Bernham, either by himself during his own visits of 1240-1 and 1245-6,<sup>57</sup> or perhaps sent to him by his nephew who studied in Paris and therefore could have stayed abreast of the changing musical landscape.<sup>58</sup>

Bernham was also one of Mauvoisin's *familia*,<sup>59</sup> so potentially accompanied him on one or more of his trips to France.<sup>60</sup> Should Bernham have wanted to collect more quires at a later date, he may well have known the people and places to go to in order to achieve this. He may have even brought the scribe or scribes along so that they might learn from the masters in Paris, as the insular works contained in W1 do show a great deal of working knowledge with the Notre-Dame style; but this is pure conjecture unless we conclusively determine a scribe or scribes, and the composition of Bernham's *familia* that travelled with him. The author notes that this potentially contradicts the above supposition that Walter Mortuomari was the scribe of W1, due to his installation as Official whilst Bernham was away in the early 1240s – however, he is not listed as the Official for Bernham's later trip, and the theory that Bernham brought his scribes on these trips is purely conjectural. It might be that Bernham left his most skilled musician at St Andrews in his stead, in order to keep the musical elements of the services running smoothly whilst the bishop was away. As Bernham himself was likely to have been a capable musician<sup>61</sup> who may well have been a

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<sup>55</sup> Falck, 1981, p. 223.

<sup>56</sup> Everist, 1990, p. 20.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 14-15. Ash, 1976, p. 43 suggests longer dates for these trips: 1240-2, and 1245-8, but Everist's evidence refutes these, pointing to the dedication of a church by Bernham in 1246, and his presence in Durham during June 1241. Why, then, we find 'Officials with General Authority' (i.e. those covering the bishop's role while he was away) during the periods of 1240-1242, and 1245-1248, is unknown (dates from Watt, 1969, p. 323). We require a fuller picture of Bernham's actions after these one-off events to ascertain whether he did return to St Andrews straight after them; not all of his travels to France may have been recorded.

<sup>58</sup> Purser, 2007, p. 60.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Everist, 1990, p. 27, notes that no evidence is clear on who accompanied Mauvoisin on his travels.

<sup>61</sup> Purser, 2007, p. 60.

strong driving force for the music in St Andrews, he might not have wanted to remove two skilled musicians from the cathedral. Any reading of a later quires acquisition by either bishop must contend with the issue of the lack of motets, which were already in circulation by the 1210s.<sup>62</sup>

These quires are clearly the exemplars from which Rebecca A. Baltzer has claimed that W1 was copied from. Baltzer believes that due to these exemplar's rhythmical uncertainties W1's notators struggled to update their notation consistently when transferring the music over.<sup>63</sup> If this struggle was the case, then how could one have bought Notre-Dame polyphony pretty much straight from the source, and it not contain the most up-to-date notation? A reading of Mauvoisin obtaining the early quires in 1200, these being used by the musicians in St Andrews and only later being codified into W1, would account for this disparity. By the time of Bernham's rule the original quires would have been around thirty years old, and as will be noted later, the first half of the thirteenth century was a fast-paced one in terms of notational and musical growth and evolution. Rhythmical signs were becoming more codified, although full-on systemisation appears to have only occurred by Johannes de Garlandia in the 1250s. Still, this period of quire usage between Mauvoisin and Bernham would account for Baltzer's remarks that the notators of W1 were having to update the notation on-the-go as it were in an attempt to keep things modern and understandable for the current musicians. If the majority of the exemplars that they were working from dated from Mauvoisin's time in France around 1200, then their notation may well have differed in comparison to the notators of the 1240s. It is notable that even in '*O felix bituria*' the clef and accidental issues Baltzer describes as a sign of earlier notation in the exemplars occur. At folio 88 the very beginning notes have clearly been entered in before the clef and key signature, resulting in the B-flat sign occurring above or below the first note. At folio 90 in the 1<sup>st</sup> line of the Duplum a clef move has not been left enough space, and on the second line of this folio, the second line's continuation of the *cauda* gives no clear vertical alignment by the end.

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<sup>62</sup> Sanders, Ernest H. (2009) 'The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates' in: Roesner, Edward H. (ed.) *Ars antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet*. Music in Medieval Europe. England, Ashgate, pp. 413-421, 420.

<sup>63</sup> Baltzer, 2008, p. 116.

Clearly, then, the notators of W1 had issue with translating the older notational style of the exemplars into the more recent style that they were accustomed to. The gap presented between Mauvoisin's believed Paris trip of 1200 to Bernham's episcopate in the 1240s would account for this issue. Bernham's notable push throughout his rule for 'order and efficiency... [and] the better ordering of Christian life and practice'<sup>64</sup> could well have been the driving force behind collecting the music contained in the quires obtained by Mauvoisin into one complete manuscript. This would have preserved the music contained within the loose quires, which may have been become worn out from use (or at least, the creation of W1 may have lessened the chance of losing the music in physical form should those quires have become unusable).<sup>65</sup>

At the present time there has been no more decisive information added to this subject either way, and illuminated initial dating has been shown to be less than reliable. A dating of the 1230s and 1240s for W1's creation is all that can be positively deduced from present scholarship.

### W1's More Recent Travels

If W1's history in Scotland is partially obscured by the mists of time, its later movements throughout Europe are thankfully relatively clearer. W1 was definitely in the possession of the controversial Protestant theologian Flacius Illyricus by 1552, as he published texts from it in his *pia quaedam vetustissimamque poemata* in that year.<sup>66</sup> How this managed to find its way into his collection is unknown - James H. Baxter's account that Illyricus' agent Marcus Wagner retrieved it during his visit to Scotland in 1553<sup>67</sup> is clearly no longer valid in light of Illyricus' use of W1 texts in 1552. However it managed to find its way into the hands of Illyricus it remained in his possession until his death in 1575, and his collection was then sold by his widow to Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig of Wolfenbüttel in 1597. This collection

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<sup>64</sup> Ash, 1976, p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> The report of Marcus Wagner in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that the books of the library were 'ill cared for' may explain the lack of these exemplar quires in our modern era. It may also account for the missing folios in W1. See Baxter, 1931, p. x.

<sup>66</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxxiv.

<sup>67</sup> Baxter, 1931, p. x.

was then presented to his recently founded University of Helmstedt, possibly in 1618, where W1 remained until the dissolution of the university and its library in 1810. The collection then returned to the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel in 1817 and is now stored at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel;<sup>68</sup> it is this place of residence that has given it the moniker of 'W1'.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. xi; Staehelin, Martin. (1995) *Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W1: vollständige Reproduktion des "Notre Dame"-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst / mit einem Vorwort (deutsch und englisch) herausgegeben von Martin Staehelin*. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, p. 46.





## Chapter 2: On the Position of the *Conductus* in the Notre-Dame Repertoire and the Church

The repertory of the Notre-Dame *conductus* numbers several hundred works,<sup>69</sup> in both single-part form (i.e. monophonic) and in two-, three-, or even four-part forms (i.e. polyphonic). The *conductus* enjoyed favour from around 1160 until about 1240. The later ‘W2’ manuscript (ca. 1275) shows the decline in favour that the *conductus* encountered in the face of the motet’s rising popularity; W2 transmits over two hundred motets, but only twenty-nine *conductus*.<sup>70</sup> Despite the earlier popularity of the *conductus*, no contemporary definition gives much in the way of information regarding *how* they were used. The definitions we do have ‘are often vague, incomplete, or largely irrelevant’<sup>71</sup> and give little in the way of information on how a service actually happened, and where the music fitted into it. The majority of the treatises dealing with music in some way are mostly concerned with the technical aspects such as consonant intervals and rhythmic information. However, the repeated references to the *conductus* within the theoretical writings, and the large collections of them contained in both W1 and F, show that it was one of the major styles of Notre-Dame polyphony.

### Definitions of the Term ‘*Conductus*’

The term ‘*conductus*’ is one that theorists have been struggling with since musicology took an interest in this repertoire, and one that many have been unwilling to conclusively define. In two of the major modern editions of this repertoire, Janet Knapp’s *Thirty-Five Conductus* and Gordon Anderson’s *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, neither editor gives a definition of the term at all, and neither does Jann Cosart’s more recent work on the monophonic *conductus* of

<sup>69</sup> Falck, 1981, pp. ii & 390, claims around three hundred and ninety.

<sup>70</sup> Knapp, Janett. (unknown) ‘Conductus’. *Grove Music Online*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/06268> [September 26, 2016]

<sup>71</sup> Gillingham, Bryan. (1991) ‘A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus’. *The Musical Quarterly*. Vol. 75, No. 1, pp. 59-73, 59.

W1.<sup>72</sup> It is unhelpful that relatively few pieces that we classify as *conductus* actually have that label attached to them in the manuscript sources,<sup>73</sup> making definition via easily deduced rulesets difficult, but this is an issue that the modern reader must deal with when approaching these sources in general. The medieval writers were not thinking of the current-day observer's requirements for guidance when they created these manuscripts. In general, it is noticeable that large scale repositories of Notre-Dame music are collected together in stylistic terms. The eighth fascicle of W1, where the later transcriptions found in this work come from, is primarily based around the repertoire of three-part *conductus*, with occasional other three-part works added onto the end as they fitted the three-part staves already ruled out on the folios.

Clearly then the *conductus*, whatever it may be, was a clearly defined genre for Notre-Dame composers and scribes. This is also made evident by the remarks made by medieval theorists, who mention it alongside other Notre-Dame styles such as *organum*. What is unclear, however, is the role the *conductus* played in the churches of the time. Collected alongside the liturgical music required for services, their place in the manuscripts would suggest a liturgical usage of some fashion. However, some modern writers, noting that the *conductus* are often based on Latin poetry, have affixed to them the term 'para-liturgical'.

The term para-liturgical is a controversial one however, conjuring notions that they were not part of the accepted repertory of church life. The placement of *conductus* in the manuscripts alongside liturgical pieces, along with those *conductus* containing texts based on biblical quotes and paraphrases, shows that such a term is not really applicable. Barbara Hagg has noted the rise in usage of this term, and was quick to point out that such pieces, although without a clearly defined role in the church service, were still part of services, and were occurring 'for the common welfare of the people'.<sup>74</sup> Therefore they played a liturgical role in terms of general prayer. The use of 'liturgy' as meaning just the ritual of the Church is a modern usage, and ignores the blurred area of public and private

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<sup>72</sup> Cosart, Jann. (ed.) *Monophonic Tropes and Conductus of W1*. Wisconsin: A-R Editions.

<sup>73</sup> Falck, 1981, p. 4, complains about this.

<sup>74</sup> Hagg, Barbara (1992) 'The meeting of sacred ritual and secular piety: endowments for music' in Knighton, Tess & Fallows, David (eds.) *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, pp. 60-68, 61.

religion that was common to the medieval period and only gained definition in the Renaissance.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, nearly twenty percent of the *conductus* repertory are *admonitio*, moralising poems directed not just at the public, but also the clergy, often utilising biblical allegory in condemning certain practices or behaviours.<sup>76</sup> Though they are unclear liturgically, their clear moral element aimed at bettering the welfare of the people can hardly be termed para-liturgical in the face of Hagg's argument above.

The lack of distinction between secular and sacred in the medieval period is also shown in the melodies used in the composition of a *conductus*. It has long been noted that, often in the Tenor, the tune has in fact been borrowed, either from earlier chants or from the songs of the French Trouvères or Provençal troubadours.<sup>77</sup> Strangely, the later 13<sup>th</sup> century medieval theorists were either unaware of the borrowing that took place in the *conductus*, or disapproved of it, and therefore claimed that it was newly-composed. Franco of Cologne (ca. 1280) remarks that both the Tenor and the polyphony above it should be newly composed for a *conductus*.<sup>78</sup> No other 13<sup>th</sup> century theorist mentions the compositional elements of the *conductus* aside from those that paraphrase from Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*,<sup>79</sup> and the clear borrowing that occurred between the 'secular' and 'sacred' musics at this time disprove Franco's remark.

### The Source of the Term 'Conductus'

The term *conductus* is commonly accepted as deriving from the verb *conducere*;<sup>80</sup> however, due to preconceived notions of what the role of the *conductus* was in church, the translations of this verb have been drawn towards the notions of movement - to guide, lead, escort, and so on, in an attempt to support the notion

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Falck, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Husmann, Heinrich. (1962) *Medieval Polyphony*. Anthology of Music. Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, p. 9.

<sup>78</sup> Reaney, Gilbert and Gilles, André. (1974) *Franconis de Colonia: Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*. United States of America: American Institute of Musicology, pp.69, 73-74.

<sup>79</sup> Sanders, Ernest H. (1985) 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 439-469, 446.

<sup>80</sup> Gillingham, 1991, p. 61.

that the *conductus* was to accompany a procession.<sup>81</sup> However, the majority of times that the term *conductus* is specifically linked to movement are found in liturgical dramas,<sup>82</sup> with only very early 12<sup>th</sup> century sources for the *conductus* being linked to the manoeuvrings of clergy for readings.<sup>83</sup> A review of the writings by 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century theorists reveals no obvious link to movement when the *conductus* is mentioned; indeed, no mention is made at all as to *when* the *conductus* occurred, only how it was performed and what it looked like on the page. The persistent idea of movement being linked to the *conductus* is likely due to Leonard Ellinwood's article 'The "Conductus"', in which he defined the *conductus* as

a Latin metrical poem set to music in from one to four parts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, used for festive or processional purposes both within and without the church.<sup>84</sup>

Ellinwood claims that this processional usage later diminished, and they became more generally used, but kept the categorical term. He also notes that the later complex *caudae* found in some *conductus* are a clear sign of this move away from processional accompaniment to accepted liturgical style without notions of movement involved.<sup>85</sup>

Bryan Gillingham posits another theory for the source of the term *conductus*, claiming that instead of the term coming from the notion of a procession, it in fact meant a 'contraction' or 'joining together' of both styles and singers.<sup>86</sup> Gillingham points to the hybridisation of sequences and hymns for the creation of the *conductus* (the seeds of its creation being based in St. Martial de Limoges during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and only later being transmitted further north to Notre-Dame).<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>83</sup> Knapp, unknown. Knapp quotes the conclusion from a *conductus* from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 289, which contains 'an exhortation to the congregation to prepare itself for the reading of the scriptures'. Knapp presumes that this means the lectionary was being carried into place whilst the *conductus* was being sung.

<sup>84</sup> Ellinwood, Leonard. (1941) 'The "Conductus"'. *The Musical Quarterly*. Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 165-204, 165.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 168, 180. i.e. that it would have become impossible to walk accompanied by such complex soloistic music.

<sup>86</sup> Gillingham, 1991, pp. 63, 68.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 63. Randel, Michael. (1986) *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*. Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, p. 194 agrees with the general idea that the *conductus*

He finds evidence for a period of experimentation with sequences and hymns, where the two were joined together.<sup>88</sup> This resulted in the removal of the repetitive elements of the sequence, which had required singers to alternate singing between themselves, instead creating a ‘joined together’ style with a unified group of singers.<sup>89</sup> Gillingham points out that this is a far more likely approach to the term *conductus* and its verb *conducere*; instead of the tenuous connotations linked to processions, the primary meaning of the verb as being brought together makes more sense in this context.<sup>90</sup>

Gillingham’s article, however, does not answer the question of what the role of the *conductus* actually was in a service. By deconstructing the notion of its use as a procession, we are left with no obvious point in the service for the *conductus* to occur. Certainly, by the Notre-Dame period, any original meaning behind the term (whether from processional usage or its stylistic hybrid creation) was no longer of importance. The lack of any instruction of the 13<sup>th</sup> century usage of the *conductus* leaves us in a conundrum, but their inclusion alongside the rest of the repertoire of Notre-Dame music clearly indicates they were used in the same services.

### The Usage of *Conductus*

One clear usage for the *conductus* is for the feasts of the church year, as much of the repertoire seems designed for this.<sup>91</sup> After works for Christmas and Easter, W1’s next largest repertory for a singular event is for the Assumption of St Mary, which occurs on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August. This repertory is almost as sizeable as the repertoires for Christmas and Easter, indicating that this was one of the major events of the church calendar at St Andrews cathedral.<sup>92</sup> The inclusion in W1 of a number of *conductus* honouring the Virgin Mary in some way (such as ‘*Serena virginum*’ - folios xiii to xv, or ‘*Ave maris stella*’, folios 70 to 71) would seem to

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of Notre-Dame had its roots in the more southern tradition, even though no concordances exist between the two era’s repertoires.

<sup>88</sup> Gillingham, 1991, p. 64.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 68-69.

<sup>91</sup> Randel, 1986, p. 194.

<sup>92</sup> See Edwards, 2000, pp. 259-271, whose table helpfully lists the feast a piece was designed for.

support this theory that a selection of the *conductus* repertoire was designed for celebrating church feast days.

However, as noted earlier, another noticeable portion of the repertoire are *admonitio*, moralising texts that were aimed at both congregation and clergy, mostly decrying the vices of simony and sloth.<sup>93</sup> Others still remark on contemporary events - *conductus* lamenting the death of persons of note, such as Thomas Becket of Canterbury, have an obvious role in the anniversaries of their deaths, and for those later canonised as saints, perhaps the anniversary of that occasion as well. But those *conductus* serving a more political role, such as the above *admonitio* type, have a less clear purpose in terms of usage in the church service.

Whether as feast-day celebration, as exhortation to the congregation or clergy to do better and live their lives according to the teachings of the bible, or any other usage, the *conductus* clearly had an important role in the musical life of Notre-Dame and those centres influenced by its music. However, the question of what its specific role was in the service of the church may never be answered.

All we can say for sure regarding the *conductus* is:

- That its texts are consistently in Latin (commonly with a rhyming scheme of some form) and concerned with moral dilemmas including current politics, sometimes utilising paraphrases of the bible in order to strengthen their arguments.
- They were transmitted both with and without complex soloistic *caudae*, allowing for easy dissemination to a wider body of singers.
- It was clearly a popular genre in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, having garnered a large repertoire over a less than a hundred years before being replaced with the *motet*.
- They appear to have been one of the most effective ways in which members of the church could critique current events, moralise the populace and clergy, and, of course, praise God.

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<sup>93</sup> Randel, 1986, p. 194.

### Chapter 3: The Rhythmic World of W1

Any transcription of music from the Notre-Dame school of polyphony must contend with the issue of rhythm, specifically the application of ‘modal rhythm’ to the musical notation. Whilst some believe that the *conductus* should be fully modally interpreted (Gordon Anderson,<sup>94</sup> William Waite,<sup>95</sup> Heinrich Husmann,<sup>96</sup> and Hans Tischler<sup>97</sup> are several notable persons from this camp) there are others that call for a more nuanced approach rather than a blanket application (such as Edward Roesner,<sup>98</sup> Jacques Handschin,<sup>99</sup> and Ernest Sanders<sup>100</sup>).

#### Modal Rhythm

Whilst there is not enough space to give a full explanation of modal rhythm here, a certain amount of understanding of its rules is required here in order to make sense of the rhythmic arguments presented below. Modal rhythm is based on two note values, one long and one short, named *longa* and *brevis* respectively. These are organised into six distinct ‘modes’, the first of which gives the pattern Long-Short-Long-Short, commonly transcribed in modern notation as:

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<sup>94</sup> See: Anderson, Gordon. (1986) *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*. Part 1: Four- and Three-Part Conductus in the Central Sources. Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music.

<sup>95</sup> See: Waite, William. (1954) *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*. Yale Studies in the History of Music; Volume 2. New Haven: Yale University Press

<sup>96</sup> See: Husmann, Heinrich. (1952) "Zur Rhythmik des Trouveregesanges". *Die Musikforschung*. V, p. 111 : "Die modale Rhythmik beherrscht . . . die Kompositionsgattungen des Organums, der Motette und des mittellateinischen Liedes." ("Modal rhythm governs ... the compositional genres of organum, motet, and medieval Latin song."), with a footnote stating that "Lied soll also gleichbedeutend mit Konduktus sein." ("Song is meant to be equivalent to conductus."), quoted from Sanders, 1985, p.442 fn 16.

<sup>97</sup> See: Tischler, Hans. (1980) "Versmass und musikalischer Rhythmus in Notre-Dame-Conductus". *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*. XXXVII, p 303: "Conductus müssen innerhalb des Systems der rhythmischen Modi fibertragen werden." ("Conductus must be transcribed within the system of the rhythmic modes.") quoted from Sanders, 1985, p.442 fn 16.

<sup>98</sup> See: Roesner, Edward H. (1990) "The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*" in: Wolf, Eugene K. and Roesner, Edward H. *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*. Wisconsin: A-R Editions, pp. 41-74.

<sup>99</sup> See remarks for considering chronology of *conductus* repertoire, pp. 107-113: Handschin, Jacques. (1952) "Conductus-Spicilegien". *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*. IX, H. 2, pp. 101-119.

<sup>100</sup> See: Sanders, 1985.





Such a pattern would repeat until the end of a section (marked by a vertical dash, termed by some as a ‘Silbenstrich’ - see page 55) where it finishes on a *longa*. This first mode is held to be the earliest of all the modes, and is by far the most commonly used rhythmic pattern throughout the Notre-Dame repertoire. The modal rhythmic patterns were only definably codified in the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, first by Johannes de Garlandia (*ca.* 1250), and later by Franco of Cologne (*ca.* 1280)<sup>101</sup> and Anonymous IV (*ca.* 1275-80).

Willi Apel labels the *Discantus positio vulgaris*<sup>102</sup> (written by an anonymous writer, and contained in Hieronymus (or Jerome) of Moravia’s *Tractatus de Musica*) as one of these sources,<sup>103</sup> but modal rhythm is never specifically mentioned alongside *conductus* in either the older section of the treatise (*ca.* 1225)<sup>104</sup> or the slightly more recent section (*ca.* 1270s).<sup>105</sup> Its opening contents are a list of the consonant vertical intervals, and an explanation of the notions of *longa* and *brevis*, though it then proceeds to claim that a ternary long (i.e., a *longa* of three beats instead of two) is ‘unmeasurable’.<sup>106</sup> How one is then supposed to practice the third, fourth, and fifth modes, all of which contain such a note (see Example 2’s modern transcription below), in a rhythmically accurate way, appears to be beyond the anonymous writer at this stage.

<sup>101</sup> Reaney and Gilles, 1974, pp. 10-11.

<sup>102</sup> Apel, Willi. (1961) *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*. Fifth Edition. Massachussetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, p. 220.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>105</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 444.

<sup>106</sup> Hammond, Frederick and Roesner, Edward H. (unknown) *Hieronymus de Moravia*. [Online] Available from:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/14275> [September 6, 2016]

Ex. 2

Mode 3

Mode 4

Mode 5

etc.

Evidently this part of the treatise was written in the developing era of modal rhythm, a period that can be roughly labelled as ‘pre-Garlandia’, i.e. the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century before Johannes de Garlandia’s codification of the modal system. *Fractio* and *extensio modi*, the breaking down or lengthening of some notes within the rhythmic patterns (including ternary longs), was clearly at that point still a new phenomenon only recently starting to occur. Only later does an ‘elementary’ explanation of the fundamental basics of modal rhythmic patterns occur, right after a mention of the *conductus* that Sanders labels as part of the more recent (*ca.* 1270s) section.<sup>107</sup> This explanation is suspected to not actually be the work of the anonymous writer of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, but in fact an insertion by Hieronymus de Moravia during the compilation of the *Tractatus*,<sup>108</sup> which would explain the surprising listing of modes that the earlier section implies are ‘unmeasurable’.<sup>109</sup>

As we can see in Example 1, the first mode gives weight to every odd-numbered note in a rhythmic section, or ‘ordo’. The first mode was, as its name suggests, the first to occur and be codified by musical thinkers at the time. Edward Roesner<sup>110</sup> suggests

<sup>107</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 444.

<sup>108</sup> Reckow, Fritz. (1967) ‘Proprietas und perfectio. Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert’. *Acta Musicologica*. Vol. 39, Fasc. 3/4, pp. 115-143, 137 fn 81.

<sup>109</sup> This distinction between the two sections of *Discantus positio vulgaris* appears to occur around two-thirds of the way through the treatise - p. 193 in Cserba, Simon M. (1935) *Hieronimus de Moravia O. P. Tractatus de Musica*. Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft. 2. Reihe der Veröffentlichungen des Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Freiburg. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.

<sup>110</sup> Roesner, 1990.

that this came into being as a development of a more rhythmically free method of performance, where singers were aware of each other's lines and naturally gave more weight to consonant 'anchor' points whilst moving quicker over the dissonant areas in between these anchors.

As he says,

In early *sine littera* discant, cantus and duplum move in an essentially note-against-note relationship, and for the most part in consonance. ... One aspect of this approach to composition is the cultivation of tonal coherence, with the duplum oriented around, and moving toward, well-defined anchor points... The tonal and dynamic quality of the duplum encouraged, among other things, a fair amount of additional melodic activity beyond that resulting from its note-against-note relationship with the tenor.<sup>111</sup>

These anchor points are the odd-numbered notes of a first mode ordo, as

The duplum note falling on the tenor-duplum simultaneity is consonant, stable, and possessed of melodic and structural "weight"; material falling between simultaneities is more subsidiary, "passing," and less "weighty." The stable duplum notes were perceived as "inherently long," the "passing" ones as "inherently short." ... [They] have those qualities more owing to melodic and harmonic factors, and in part to the stress that results from them, than from their duration as such. And there is nothing here to imply a tendency towards any particular kind of rhythmic organization... *internal temporal organization was largely a function of performance, dependent on melodic content, tempo, and so on.* At some point, however, the nature of this duplum flow was conceptualized, articulated, and described in verbal terms, like so much else at the time.<sup>112</sup>

This period of conceptualisation occurred around the start of the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and was a period of systemisation and increased interest in literature on many various subjects.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, the systemisation of music had already begun two centuries earlier, with the actions of Guido of Arezzo creating

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-7, emphasis added.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 45, fn 7.

the beginnings of staff notation,<sup>114</sup> but it was the universities in Paris centred around the cathedral of Notre-Dame that started systematising and codifying rhythmic information in treatises. Indeed, one of the main theoretical treatises upon which we base our understanding of modal rhythm upon, the writings of ‘Anonymous IV’, potentially appear to be lecture notes from their studies in Paris.<sup>115</sup>

This codification, of course, could hardly stop musicians from altering things in performance as and how they wished. The culture surrounding this music was one still of orality,<sup>116</sup> and every performer had the freedom to interpret a piece differently, either due to artistic licence or due to their memorisation of the music altering over time and repeated performances of it. Certainly, before this period of systemisation and codification, performances of Notre-Dame’s repertoire appear to have been conceived of in a more performative, rhythmically freer way. Anonymous IV, when writing regarding the lack of formal shaping of notes in the notation of the ‘ancients’, remarks on how difficult it must have been to differentiate *brevis* and *longa* via notation. They then explain that performers were reliant upon the consonant areas of the music to intuit the rhythm, saying that

the upper-voice respected the lower voices. These persons taught others, saying: Listen to them and be guided by them while singing. ... The upper-voice must form a good consonance with the lower-part, and that is enough.<sup>117</sup>

This note-against-note approach was evidently in use around the turn of the century, as an anonymous treatise on music from St Martial dated from the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries transmits similarly basic rules for discant.<sup>118</sup> They write that

discantus accords with its cantus firmus always through some consonance or unison and by means of an equal number of notes<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Forrest-Kelly, Thomas. (2015) *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 67.

<sup>115</sup> Dittmer, Luther. (1959) *Anonymous IV*. Musical Theorists in Translation. Vol 1. New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music.

<sup>116</sup> Berger, Anna Maria Busse. (2005) *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*. California: University of California, p. 197.

<sup>117</sup> Dittmer, 1959, p. 40. This would suggest that no strict rhythmical systematic interpretation occurred concerning this music until a later period.

<sup>118</sup> Seay, Albert. (1957) ‘An Anonymous Treatise from St. Martial’. *Annales musicologiques: Moyen-âge et Renaissance*. Vol. 5, pp. 7-42.

<sup>119</sup> Waite, 1954, p. 107. He earlier sums this up as ‘*nota contra notam*’ in (1952) ‘Discantus, Copula, Organum’. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 77-87, 81.

This linkage between upper and lower voices, where they changed notes together, clearly holds interest for the syllabic sections of the *conductus*, where singular notes are primarily used in all parts, and all voices move together. This approach places more weight upon the singers' unity in performance, rather than on notational signals and the interpretation of them.

That this approach was in use in Leonin's time is evidenced by Anonymous IV's claim that the notational symbols codifying *longa* and *brevis* were only really stabilised by the time of Perotin.<sup>120</sup> John Haines noted that these 'ancients' were flourishing around 1200 and still notating in the 'equivocal' style that Anonymous IV laments.<sup>121</sup> W1's likely place in this early Notre-Dame period is shown by the still-developing writing of the musical notation it contains, as evidenced by the occasional non-standard *currente* usage along with the clef and accidental confusion that arise in some of the pieces.<sup>122</sup>

A point of particular interest from the above excerpt from Anonymous IV in terms of three- and four-voice *conductus* is that Anonymous IV appears to claim that the upper voice was above *several* other voices: 'the upper-voice respected the lower voices'. This suggests that at least 3-part polyphony was already occurring before the time of Perotin, and that therefore rhythmically free performances of music containing more than two lines did occur. A common argument for modally rhythmic interpretations of this music is that it would have been impossible for three lines to have kept together metrically; this quotation suggests otherwise.

Anonymous IV's labelling of the period around Leonin as 'ancient' is understandable, considering that they were writing in the latter stages of the century (*ca.* 1275-1280).<sup>123</sup> Looking past the developments of Johannes de Garlandia and the systemisation that had occurred during the first half of the century would have felt like delving into a deep and murky past (a common feeling for those looking from a more systematised world into an era pre-systemisation). Indeed, considering how late Anonymous IV appears to be, they were writing about music that was becoming

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<sup>120</sup> Dittmer, 1959, p. 40.

<sup>121</sup> Haines, John. (2006) 'Anonymous IV as an Informant on the Craft of Music Writing'. *Journal of Musicology*. Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 375-425, 381-2.

<sup>122</sup> Baltzer, 2008, p. 116.

<sup>123</sup> Dittmer, p. 1; Apel, 1961, p. 201.

increasingly obsolete and replaced with Franconian notation (named after its creator, Franco of Cologne). This notation took the step towards codifying rhythmic information in singular note shapes, rather than entire note phrases as had been done in the *ordos* of modal rhythm. We must be wary, then, of applying Anonymous IV's rhythmic world onto music that had come far before them.

It is to be noted that Anonymous IV's explanation of 'Compositions for Three and Four Voices' includes those basic rules that Roesner listed earlier: when adding a *Triplum* line in first mode, it must form consonances with both the Tenor and *Duplum* on every odd-numbered note. The *Duplum* must also form consonances with the Tenor, whilst the even-numbered notes in all the parts do not have to follow these rules.<sup>124</sup> Again, the first mode's reliance upon consonance on every odd-numbered note shows its roots in the freer world of Roesner's proto-modal, 'ancient' rhythms, which are transmitted in the St Martial anonymous treatise. Anonymous IV may also make an oblique reference to this approach earlier in their treatise, when they say

There is also a kind of *organum*, which was so designated by our forebearers, and this involves the consonance of one sound with another. Of all of them [the various '*organum*' that occur], this one consisted of connected *conductus simplices* with any kind of mensuration, and any kind of melody.<sup>125</sup>

These 'simple' *conductus*, based on consonance between parts, sounds very similar to the early rules for discant. Such early *conductus*, with no mensural specificity (no '*cum proprietate*' or '*perfectione*' meanings in their note tails) are found throughout W1. At no point does W1 transmit mensuration information, with note tails coming and going seemingly at random.

It seems that, for those *conductus* transmitted in earlier sources, a proto-modal interpretation is more fitting if we wish to claim any historical accuracy in our performances of them. If we aim for a historically-informed performance of this music in any way, we must keep in mind what we understand to have happened to it during this period of change. We must regulate our rhythmical interpretation of this music when performing from sources of differing dates, just as we alter physical

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<sup>124</sup> Dittmer, p. 65.

<sup>125</sup> Dittmer, 1959, p. 56.

aspects of our performance along the same lines (altering bows, string types, and instrumental construction per historical eras).

### Conductus as Discant?

The proto-modal rhythmic idea is primarily ascribed to the discant species of Notre-Dame polyphony, which Ernest Sanders claims does not contain *conductus* in its genus.<sup>126</sup> Sanders's primary reason for this argument to disprove the *conductus*'s relationship to discant is so that it can be free from being similarly 'governed by the rhythmic modes'.

Sanders' dislike regarding modal rhythm being applied to the *conductus* is clear, and to this end he points out that Johannes de Garlandia only uses a single *conductus* example, part of one of the *caudae*, in his explanation of modal rhythm.<sup>127</sup> This singular use of a *cauda* does not equal an entire repertory beholden to modal rhythm, of course, but in his rush to disprove the link between discant and *conductus* in order to free the *conductus* from modal rhythm, I believe he ignored the early discant rules laid out earlier, where similarities between the two are clear.

An early connection between the two does not necessarily indicate a strong relationship at a later stage. The *conductus* clearly became a separate entity, and evolved on its course away from the other types of discant (much like the motet's evolution out of the *conductus*).<sup>128</sup> In early writings, or writings talking of early *conductus*, however, a link can be made between the two.

The *Discantus positio vulgaris* in fact makes a clear association between the two, stating that

Other kinds of discantus include conductus, motet, and hocket.<sup>129</sup>

Though this statement does appear just before the section of questionable authorship and likely later dating, a point Sanders references when he claims 'the

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<sup>126</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 452.

<sup>127</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 452.

<sup>128</sup> Falck, 1981, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup> Strunck, Oliver & Treitler, Leo. (1998) *Source Readings in Music History*. Revised Edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, p. 221.

designation of *conductus* as a kind of discant seems not to have occurred before the 1270s',<sup>130</sup> the similarities between the two styles cannot be easily ignored. Even in a three-voice *conductus*, we still find ourselves aiming towards the anchor points of consonance at ligature and section starts and ends. The simple roots of the first mode in discant link nearly all the music that is grouped under the Notre-Dame banner, but it is especially clear in the *conductus*. The note-against-note rules and style of early discant is seen in the syllabic sections of *conductus*, whilst the *caudae* show clear resemblance to the florid sections of *organum*, just with all voices joining in and moving together.

Sanders strangely discounts the link made between *conductus* and *organum* in the earlier part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, where larger-scale ligatures are said to be found in both *organum* and *conductus*:

[These ligatures] are not really subject to rules but are performed ad libitum; and they are particularly applicable to organum and conductus.<sup>131</sup>

Sanders claims this to be a sign that the two are unrelated<sup>132</sup> – I beg to differ. Clearly they are two separate entities by this time, but if we accept that early *caudae* (where such ligatures appeared) were in fact rhythmically free and not restricted by modal rhythms, then the usage of these unmeasured ligatures becomes less surprising. Such a rhythmically free *cauda* then suddenly seems closer to the freedom of *organa*. Their sharing of certain building blocks, these larger ligatures, would in fact suggest a familial resemblance.

Anonymous IV also connects early *conductus* to *organum*, as we saw earlier when they state

There is also a kind of *organum*, which was so designated by our forebearers, and this involves the consonance of one sound with another. ... this one consisted of connected *conductus simplices*<sup>133</sup>

As early discant was not so rigorously controlled by rhythmic rulesets (as shown by Roesner earlier), then the *conductus*'s noticeable similarities to early discant could

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<sup>130</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 452 fn 70.

<sup>131</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 444.

<sup>132</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 452 fn 70.

<sup>133</sup> Dittmer, 1959, p. 56.



show a link between the two as an off-shoot, similar to how the *conductus* is (liturgically speaking) an off-shoot from primary religious service needs.

Indeed, Anonymous IV's listing of Perotin's achievements names him 'the greatest composer of discantile compositions' and then soon after lists several of his 'excellent' and 'renowned' *conductus*.<sup>134</sup> Being skilled in one, it seems, led to being skilled in the other.

Gustav Reese clearly saw the likelihood of a link between the two styles, as he claimed

the forerunners of the polyphonic *conductus* are such early organa as were based on melodies with metrical texts<sup>135</sup>

As *conductus* texts were similarly based on Latin metrical poems, Reese clearly saw an evolution occurring here, from the early *organum* to the *conductus*. All of this then suggests that *conductus* was, at least originally, part of the discant species, alongside *organum*.<sup>136</sup> Their sharing constituent parts such as large-scale ligatures and textual similarities, along with two theorists grouping them together in some way, therefore leaves no doubt in this author's mind that the two were linked. Therefore, this allows comparisons between the *conductus* and the rhythms of discant.

### Earlier Notions of Rhythm

That there was some form of underlying pulse throughout the *conductus* regardless of the rhythmical freedom the notes had is suggested by the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, which, in the later section, claims the *conductus* is 'a highly consonant chant upon a meter'.<sup>137</sup> Some modern writers have taken this to mean that modal rhythm was already in existence and should be applied to the *conductus* - but the heavy weight of meaning upon 'highly consonant' suggests that the meter was perhaps primarily influenced by the consonant anchor points of proto-modality. That

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>135</sup> Reese, Gustav. (1941) *Music in the Middle Ages*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, p. 308.

<sup>136</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 452.

<sup>137</sup> Gillingham, 1991, p. 62.

the *conductus* came across as ‘highly consonant’ would support Roesner’s statement that the dissonant, subsidiary ‘passing’ notes were performed quicker than the more consonant notes, and that the moving between these anchor points was so artfully done that any dissonance was happily resolved quickly by the musicians. ‘upon a meter’ also suggests a singular tempo - not the changes between non-modal syllabic sections (*cum littera*) and the modal *caudae* sections (*sine littera*) that are commonly presented in interpretations of the *conductus*.

The earlier section of this treatise, dating from the start of the second half of the century, gives no clear indication of modal rhythm being applicable to the *conductus*. The only mention of *conductus* in this section is in connection with ligatures numbering more than four notes, which we noted above:

[These ligatures] are not really subject to rules but are performed ad libitum; and they are particularly applicable to organum and conductus.<sup>138</sup>

*Organum* is a species of Notre-Dame chant that contains remarkably rhythmically free sections, alongside note-against-note discant sections. Attempts to apply modal rhythm to the free sections are few and far between, and are rarely satisfactory. The inclusion by the anonymous writer of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* of something encountered in the rhythmically free sections of *organum* in the supposedly modal *caudae* of *conductus* (as this is the only place in a *conductus* where such ligatures appear) suggests an earlier performance practice that encompassed rhythmically free components at the very least. This ‘ad libitum’ approach is likely due to the writer’s refusal or ignorance of *fractio modi* that we encountered earlier, but this in itself tells us much regarding the still developing practices of Notre-Dame polyphony. Such ligatures were clearly approached in a rhythmically free way, rather than the modal groupings as later theorists would attempt to codify, and mostly struggle with. Even William Waite’s attempts in *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony* are less than satisfactory, containing tuplets and divisions down into semibreves that no performer would be comfortable with, especially not in reading straight from the page.

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<sup>138</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 444.

### The Influence of Poetry

An exploration of the rhythm of the *conductus* must also touch upon the theory of poetic meter, as there are those that believe the rhythmic modes of Notre-Dame polyphony developed out of the poetic metrics of the time. This appears to have stemmed from Leonard Ellinwood's claim that the 'conductus was a Latin metrical poem set to music',<sup>139</sup> a claim that has mutated into a belief that poetic metrics were the forebears of modal rhythm.

Willi Apel dismisses the notion that poetic metrics influenced modal rhythm, pointing out that the only medieval theorist who expresses such a link was Walter Odington (*ca.* 1280),<sup>140</sup> who used such terms due to his antiquarian studies into Greek poetry rather than them having had any direct impact on the development of the rhythmic modes. Edward Roesner, however, is not so quick to dismiss the notion entirely. Whilst not accepting a direct influence of poetry onto modal rhythm, he does concede that they played some role in its development, as

they fostered a sensitivity towards a particular kind of controlled stress in works intended to be realized in sound, as well as towards certain kinds of durational relationships<sup>141</sup>

though he qualifies this by claiming that the development of modal rhythm would have occurred without this influence (due to its reliance upon the consonance weighting patterns he described earlier).

Certainly, poetical terminology is appropriate when speaking with regards to the text, as they are clearly based on poetical forms and standards.<sup>142</sup> Ernest Sanders claims that the poetic verses were secondary to the music, in fact being created in order to fit the music.<sup>143</sup> The existence of a number of Conductus texts in just textual form (including several of Philipp the Chancellor's in the *Carmina Burana*) suggests that these texts circulated on their own before their usage in a *conductus*, or at least on their own after their use in the *conductus*. The apparent close working

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<sup>139</sup> Ellinwood, 1941, p. 165.

<sup>140</sup> Apel, 1961, p. 201.

<sup>141</sup> Roesner, 1990, p. 45, fn 7.

<sup>142</sup> For an example of this, see: Gillingham, 1991.

<sup>143</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 451.

relationship between Perotin and Philipp the Chancellor<sup>144</sup> suggests the potential that neither music nor text was secondary, and that both were created in an understanding of the other's requirements.

This author would suggest, following along the notion of anchor points/stresses on consonance that a similar approach be taken with the words whereby natural stresses are allowed to occur in the words in a similarly personally interpreted way as the rhythmic contents. This would be especially prevalent in the syllabic *cum littera* sections of the *conductus*, which, as they are notated primarily in single notes, modal rhythm was unlikely to have been used. Johannes de Garlandia points out that single notes are not part of any ligature,<sup>145</sup> and as modal rhythm was explained in the context of a repeated series of ligatures,<sup>146</sup> the argument can be made that single notes were not seen as having a specific durational value.<sup>147</sup> This is supported by Anonymous IV's statement that syllabic *cum littera* sections in 'the older books' were notated in 'an ambiguous manner', which caused musicians to struggle to understand the required length of notes. This section however feels like a theorist attempting to shoehorn their current methodology into music that it doesn't quite fit. Anonymous IV claims that if one follows the then current rules of propriety and perfection when reading this music, then 'the uncertainty of the old books is resolved',<sup>148</sup> but there is little in the way of differentiation in the 'old books' (likely W1, and other similarly dated sources) concerning the propriety and perfection rules of the later 13<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, most note heads are similar entirely; if a tail is missing from one note, the likelihood is that the rest of the following notes are missing them too. No unified system is shown in the contents of W1 supporting the usage of rules concerning propriety and perfection, so when Anonymous IV claims that syllabic passages of single notes can be read in terms of *brevis* and *longa*, this is certainly not the case for W1 where all the single noteheads are similar. We must then assume that they were treated in a non-specific durational

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<sup>144</sup> Or, indeed, the potential that Philipp the Chancellor himself wrote the *conductus* his texts are attached to.

<sup>145</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 449, fn 52.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 450.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 451.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 447.

approach, where the flow of the text may well have been the main factor in their rhythmic delivery.

### Is Modal Rhythm Historically Defensible for W1?

So, then, we have a rhythmic system in the *ordos* of modality that can only be honestly claimed to have been in codified usage by the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Johannes de Garlandia's work being the first treatise to entirely codify modal rhythm; the efforts of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* do not offer a fully realised system in the same way as Garlandia). Considering this systemisation's epoch occurs at least ten years, and possibly twenty, after the creation of W1, and around twenty-five years after both Perotin's and Philipp the Chancellor's deaths,<sup>149</sup> we should be careful of applying this fully-realised system onto W1 without considering the dating of its contents. W1 clearly transmits music of Notre-Dame's earlier period of creation, including a piece as early as 1164-1170. '*In Rama Sonat Gemitus*',<sup>150</sup> a single-voiced *conductus* lamenting the archbishop Thomas à Becket's exile in France, must date from this period,<sup>151</sup> as if it had come from any later time it would have been a lament for his death as Becket's assassination occurred during December of 1170. Similarly, the 3-voiced *Crucifigat omnes*<sup>152</sup> from Fascicle 8 (the same fascicle that the editions below take as their primary source) was likely created around 1188 as a summons to the Third Crusade.<sup>153</sup> Such a period would place it in the earliest era of modal rhythm's history (arguably pre-history as we know so little from this period), and potentially puts it in the position of being created by Leonin, not Perotin.

Leonin's active dates are 1180-1200,<sup>154</sup> and whilst Anonymous IV does not specifically mention Leonin in connection to the *conductus* repertoire, this does not provide

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<sup>149</sup> Apel, 1961, p. 215, dates Perotin's life and death as 1160-1235; both Handschin, 1952, p. 107 and Husmann, Heinrich & Briner, Andres P. (1963) "The Enlargement of the "Magnus liber organi" and the Paris Churches St. Germain l'Auxerrois and Ste. Geneviève-du-Mont". *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 176-203, 186, give Philipp the Chancellor's death as 1236.

<sup>150</sup> W1, f. 185v.

<sup>151</sup> Purser, 2007, p. 60.

<sup>152</sup> W1, f. 78v-79.

<sup>153</sup> Anderson, 1986, p. XXXIII; Knapp, Janet. (1965) *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*. USA: Yale University, p. 141.

<sup>154</sup> Forrest-Kelly, 2015, p. 85.

concrete evidence that he did not participate in the creation of some of it. Whilst only Perotin is specifically linked to the creation of *conductus*, Anonymous IV labels Leonin as ‘the greatest composer of polyphonic music’<sup>155</sup> before Perotin, and the dates shown above make it far more likely that it was Leonin, not Perotin, who created the earlier *conductus*. Indeed, if the dating for *In Rama Sonat Gemitus* is correct, then this *conductus* may have come from a period before even Leonin (the *conductus* being cultivated in Paris since the 1160s<sup>156</sup>). The quietness on Leonin’s outputs other than *organa* in Anonymous IV’s treatise does not necessarily equate to a lack of production on his part, and one should note the point made earlier about the similarities between *organa* and *conductus* – such a link might suggest Leonin did indeed compose *conductus*, including three-part ones. The number of voices in a piece does not in any way necessitate a later creation date, so the *tripla* and *quadrupla* of Parisian *organum* may not have a later creation date than that of the *dupla*.<sup>157</sup>

An alternate translation of this area of Anonymous IV’s writing by Thomas Forrest-Kelly sheds a different light on labelling of Perotin specifically with the *conductus*. In this reading, Perotin composed ‘the most noble three-voice works’; a potential emphasis here on ‘most’ suggests that other three-voice *conductus* were created, but in a lesser style than Perotin’s creations. Of these, we could likely include *Crucifigat omnes*. Containing no *caudae* at all, being written only in the texted *cum littera* style, and with its early dating, this *conductus* may well have been seen as a lesser form in the repertoire, less ‘noble’ than those made by Perotin which included multiple florid *caudae* indicating a likely later creation. *Caudae*, or at least the space for *caudae*,<sup>158</sup> do appear in the manuscript Troyes 1471 (dated to the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and likely of Parisian origin),<sup>159</sup> and no earlier extant source for the *conductus* repertory exists; but the simple syllabic sections of *conductus* must surely have come first, the beginnings of polyphony itself being similarly note-against-note. The lack of *caudae* in both *Crucifigat omnes* and *In Rama Sonat Gemitus* suggests that *caudae* were a development that occurred around the turn of

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<sup>155</sup> Dittmer, 1959, p. 36.

<sup>156</sup> Bevilacqua, Gregorio. (2016) ‘The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony?: A New *Conductus* Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century’. *Music and Letters*. Vol. 97, No. 1, pp. 1-41, 2 fn 1.

<sup>157</sup> Roesner, 1993, p. lxix.

<sup>158</sup> Bevilacqua, 2016, p. 12.

<sup>159</sup> Bevilacqua, 2016, p. 20-23.

the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Another indicator for the later creation of a *conductus* is the usage of a text attributed to Philipp the Chancellor, which gives us a likely period of around 1217 (the beginning of his chancellor-hood)<sup>160</sup> to 1236 (his death)<sup>161</sup> for the creation of a piece. Without such attribution, we are reliant on historical indicators, such as *Crucifigat omnes*'s links to the Crusades.

As shown in Chapter 1, W1 is likely to be the earliest of the major Notre-Dame sources, so we must be careful in our presentations of this repertory, in order to represent it in the correct rhythmical context. As Johannes de Garlandia's treatise appeared only in the 1250s, we cannot be entirely sure that modal rhythm was in existence as a clean-cut set of rules followed by all composers before this point. Indeed, as Sanders argues, by using it in a blanket method we 'conglomerate... the approaches of at least four generations to different genres',<sup>162</sup> and he notes that such a method applies technical approaches and terminologies to pieces of music that were likely never thought of in such a way.

Certainly, Leonin was likely writing in a 'proto-modal' way for non-organa, following the simple rules that Roesner laid out above and are similarly found in the St Martial anonymous treatise. Can we be so sure that Perotin did not follow similar rules whereby rhythm was created by the interpretation of the singer's lines, rather than by fixed rules set by theorists, the earliest of whom can claim no date earlier than after the death of the major creators of this repertory? Even our main sources of Notre Dame polyphony were created at least fifty years after the earliest stages of the repertory that they transmit.<sup>163</sup>

We must remember that, certainly in the 1230s and likely in the 1240s, we are still in an area of change with this repertory where codification is still proving elusive (or impossible). The performances and notation were still growing out of the Gregorian tradition, and the terminologies taken from that tradition still being adapted to the changing circumstances. Indeed, the term *organum* could mean both the specific *organum* style (long melismatic flourishes across a held Tenor, along

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<sup>160</sup> Husmann & Briner, 1963, p. 186.

<sup>161</sup> Handschin, 1952, p. 107.

<sup>162</sup> Sanders, Ernest H. (1980) 'Letter from Ernest H. Sanders'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 602-607, 602.

<sup>163</sup> Roesner, 1990, p. 43.

with discant sections where both lines were changing together) and also general polyphonic compositions.<sup>164</sup> Notational differences between Anonymous IV's time and the time of W1 are noticeable – notions of 'propriety' and 'perfection' being given via note tail placement are clearly not of interest, or unknown, to the notators of W1. So when Anonymous IV claims that rhythmical ambiguity in 'the old books' can be solved by following such rules,<sup>165</sup> they are providing a solution that, frankly, does not fit the notes given. This is a theorist trying to reconcile their system with the unruly music from before their time, retrofitting their ideas onto older music that does not actually support such rules.

Thomas Forrest-Kelly rightfully warns of this, noting that

the music of Notre-Dame composers is not as systematic as Johannes and his colleagues described; that's because it developed gradually, and because it is *art*, not mechanical patterns.<sup>166</sup>

The concerns of the theorists of this time were based around *musica*, which meant the measuring of music using numbers and ratio to find harmony (in both a musical sense and a universal one).<sup>167</sup> The notion of 'immeasurable' or 'not-so-precisely-measured'<sup>168</sup> music was of little interest to them, and as we noted above with Anonymous IV's suggestion of interpreting supposed mensural properties in 'the old books', the idea that music which *was* now measured had potentially not been fifty years ago was clearly concerning and required fixing. Such a change in usage of this music ran contrary to their practice of creating a 'rigorous description' of such music, even though we can now clearly see that such descriptions are far more systematic than the actual practice around the repertoire.<sup>169</sup> Those genres that appear to have always been un-measured, such as plainchant, were noticeably left alone in the retrofitting efforts of these theorists.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Anonymous IV lists a number of variations on the term – Dittmer, 1959, p. 56.

<sup>165</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 447.

<sup>166</sup> Forrest-Kelly, 2015, p. 96, emphasis added.

<sup>167</sup> van der Werf, Hendrick. (2009) 'The "Not-so-precisely Measured" Music of the Middle Ages' in: Aubrey, Elizabeth. (ed.) *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song*. Music in Medieval Europe. Great Britain: Ashgate, pp. 489-507, 490.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492.

<sup>169</sup> Forrest-Kelly, p. 96.

<sup>170</sup> van der Werf, pp. 492, 496.



There have been calls to judge Notre-Dame against more recent transmissions in mensural notation, closer to the world Anonymous IV was living in. However, even if we ignore the fact that these transmissions come far later than the originals, we still find the belief that the transmitters were intending to present a source precisely as they found it; but intentional alteration of music could, and did, happen for specific receiving institutions. Rather than comparing two sources and finding the 'original' somewhere in the middle (even with sources contemporary to each other, such as W1 and F), one should first ask whether or not the changes between the sources actually show a varied performing practice between different areas and institutions. A comparison between an early source and a later does not inform us of the rhythmic content of the earlier one - it only tells us how the later period transmitted it.

### Geographical Difference

One must also take into account geographical differences of manuscript locations in determining the correct performance practices for them. There are a number of English sources that indicate non-modal rhythm for *conductus*, including the late 13<sup>th</sup> century *GB-Cjec MS QB1*,<sup>171</sup> which, whilst transmitting several Notre-Dame *conductus* in non-mensural (and therefore likely rhythmically non-measured) syllabic notation, also uses mensural notation for some of its other contents. The lack of *caudae* in the pieces transmitted leaves us with only the syllabic treatment to analyse, but the fact that these sections still contain no mensural indicators of propriety or perfection strongly suggest a practice common in England until the late 13<sup>th</sup> century that did not ascertain rhythmic information through such indicators in this repertoire. Robert Falck has noted that there appears to have been an independent tradition within England of *conductus* composition contemporary with the main epoch of Notre-Dame's output.<sup>172</sup> Such an independent performance practice in England might also have been transmitted to, and prevailed in, Scotland,

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<sup>171</sup> Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (unknown) *GB-Cjec MS QB1*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=306> [September 19, 2016]

<sup>172</sup> Falck, 1981, p. 9.

though Scotland's strong links with France may also have meant that such a tradition was bypassed in the transmission of W1's contents from Paris.

Roesner has noted that outside of the immediate sphere of Notre-Dame, the notation and music of *conductus* and *organa* was likely to have been interpreted differently, and such music may have been rendered in a more straight-forward manner without the trappings of modal rhythm.<sup>173</sup> It is notable W1 transmits no motets, a style that had become quite popular at this time. However there are two four-part motets transmitted in a truncated form<sup>174</sup> with their Tenors removed, leaving them as three-part *conductus*, along with a number of three-part motets similarly altered to become two-part *conductus*.<sup>175</sup> Evidently whoever created W1 felt that their intended audience would not have appreciated or understood these motets. W1 transmits the four-part *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes* by Perotin, so it cannot be claimed that their audience would not have appreciated the complicated polyphony of the four-part motets; clearly a stylistic preference was at play here - it is quite possible that such new styles as the motet were believed to be less welcome at St Andrews.

To conclude this chapter, then, we must summarise the many arguments given above:

1. Modal rhythm appears to have first been truly codified as a system by Johannes de Garlandia, in the 1250s; earlier treatises transmit more simplified rhythmical rules, based around harmonic concordances between 'anchor points' rather than specific rhythmical meanings.
2. The *Conductus* is likely derived from the underlying rules for discant, evolving out of the discant species to become a separate entity.
3. Syllabic sections should not be treated modally - Garlandia notes that giving single notes a specific durational value is a remarkable novelty,<sup>176</sup> so

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<sup>173</sup> Roesner, 1990, p. 43 fn 5.

<sup>174</sup> *Latex silice*, from the 8<sup>th</sup> Fascicle, and *Serena virignum*, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Fascicle. See: Falck, 1981, p. 2.

<sup>175</sup> See: Falck, 1981, p. 2.

<sup>176</sup> Sanders, 1985, p. 451.

anything pre-1250 (i.e. W1) should be treated non-rhythmically, likely following the vocal stresses of the texts.

4. Pre-1250 *caudae* probably followed the early rules for discant, where the singers aimed for the concordant points of ligatures and gave them more weight
5. Geographical location must be taken into account. Differing areas have different traditions of performance that should be noted and taken into consideration when approaching issues like rhythm.
6. Following the above points, it follows that W1, likely created in the 1230s or 1240s for use in St Andrews, contains music not intended for an entirely modal approach. This is especially true for those pieces that are datable to the early period of Notre-Dame polyphony - there is no historical basis for applying later-developed modal rhythm onto such pieces.

## Chapter 4: Editorial Procedure and Terminology

### Editorial Procedure

The *conductus* chosen for transcription are taken from the eighth fascicle of W1, and will show the variety in complexity found in these pieces. *Conductus* both with and without *cauda* are given here, as without definitive historical markers within a piece, dating a piece is relatively impossible. Whilst earlier it was surmised that *conductus* without *caudae* are likely to be an earlier form of the *conductus*, this does not mean that those with *cauda* are instantly out-with the realm of an earlier rhythmical interpretation. With modal rhythm's codification only being confidently datable to Garlandia's treatise of the 1250s, we are left with a remarkable amount of time in which music was still thought of in freer terms; even Perotin's music potentially comes under this banner. Therefore *conductus* with *caudae* are also dealt with here in an attempt to show that such music was feasible within the rhythmically freer world of early Notre-Dame polyphony.

The notation of W1 is relatively consistent throughout all eleven fascicles comprising of *puncta* and *virga* for single notes, and ligatures that are mostly in square notehead form (though liquescence does occasionally appear). Within the *conductus* repertory we find a relatively large occurrence of *currentes*, the diamond-shaped noteheads that are often just a scribal shorthand for a ligature. *Plicae* also occur as tails on the ends of notes, indicating an extra note going up or down depending on the direction of the tail. This is usually to the next note, but occasionally a third if the gap between the main notated notes is large enough.

With regards to the points made earlier regarding the freedom of rhythm that this author believes the early *conductus* to have, a caveat should be made, that any interpretation of this music is just that, an interpretation. Should the lack of clear rhythmic indicators in the scores enclosed within this thesis present a problem to the performer, other editions portraying a supposed rhythmical certainty are available (Anderson, Knapp, etc). No matter what editorial policy is taken upon this

repertory, one must always be aware that the main point of interest for the performer and listener is how this music sounds.

As Falck notes,

any rhythmic transcription of a conductus can never be more than a theory, but a theory about the music itself, not just about the notation.<sup>177</sup>

To that end, this writer believes the freedom provided by the enclosed scores will allow for a performance based more upon how this music ‘sounds’ rather than how this music can be interpreted through ancient treatises. Such a performance-based approach may indeed result in outcomes that differ from what was originally heard when this manuscript was first in use, but this writer suspects that the simple rules listed earlier of basing the weight of notes upon their consonance or dissonance will easily fit within a modern performer’s approaches. It is hoped that, for a group of singers comfortably working with each other, a musical outcome will be easily obtainable for these transcriptions.

In defence of the ‘diplomatic’ transcriptions (as they are sometimes called) contained within this thesis, to the author’s knowledge such an endeavour has not been undertaken with this music before. Editions exist of this music in both a strictly modal form and a relatively freer version (Anderson and Knapp, respectively) but no publication has yet transcribed the repertory of the polyphonic *conductus* in a rhythmically free method. If for no other reason then, the enclosed transcriptions present an opportunity to see how such pieces fare in such free rhythmical notation. It is the author’s hope that they will show that rhythmically interpreted transcriptions of this music do not need to be the only valid transcriptions existent.

Indeed the edition by Anderson listed above has been deemed too overbearing in its treatment of modal rhythm. Not only applying it to the melismatic *sine littera* sections, Anderson also applied it to the syllabic *cum littera* sections, a practice that more recent scholarship now believes to be an unfounded approach to this music. No contemporary treatise aside from the 1279 St. Emmeram Anonymous

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<sup>177</sup> Falck, 1981, p. ii.

associates the syllabic sections of *conductus* with the modal rhythmic system.<sup>178</sup> This author believes that over-bearing rhythmical interpretations enforced by editors from on high are unnecessary so long as the performers are capable enough to work together in a rhythmically free framework. To this end, the enclosed transcriptions do little except update the music to the modern-day syntax of Western notational expectations, providing the performers the notes and words arranged in a manner similar to how the manuscript presents them (with necessary adjustments for space and critical scribal errors). The music is aligned in a way that the parts are together and readable with modern clefs and noteheads, but with no obvious meter or rhythm to be found. It is hoped that this performance world will create, and necessitate, a ‘sympathetic understanding between the singers’<sup>179</sup> during their performances of these pieces.

### Terminology

#### ***Cauda/Caudae:***

The non-texted (*‘sine littera’*) sections of a *conductus*, written primarily in ligatures as opposed to the single notes more common to the texted (*‘cum littera’*) sections. They primarily occur at the end of a stanza of text, on the second to last syllable, sung on the vowel. Likely a chance for singers to have shown their abilities.

#### ***Cum/Sine Littera:***

Simply, with or without text. The only areas of a *conductus* without text are the *caudae*.

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<sup>178</sup> See Sanders, 1985, p. 453.

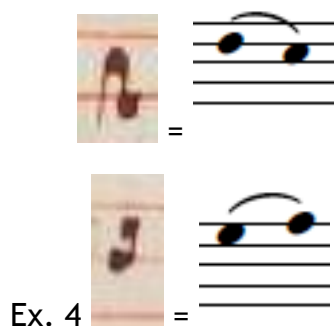
<sup>179</sup> Apel, 1961, p. 218.

**Currentes:**

These are diamond-shaped notes with no tail commonly appearing in a *ternaria* ligature as the two last notes (see Example 3 below), however they can occasionally be found elsewhere; the notation for these is the same throughout.

**Ligature (*Binaria*, *Ternaria*):**

The grouping together of two or more notes into a single pen-stroke. The ligature forms given in W1 are the result of several centuries' worth of usage and systemisation of earlier neume forms. With the advent of the staff in music, scribes needed to fit earlier free-form neumes onto rigid staff lines, resulting in the square-note heads that we find in the Notre-Dame repertory. The most common forms of ligature are the *binaria* and *ternaria*, which comprise either two or three notes joined together. The most common forms are given below, with their modern day equivalents.

***Binaria*:**

*Ternaria:**Plica/Plicae:*

These are notes added onto the end of a ligature, taking the form of an additional tail to the ligature that otherwise would not be there. In terms of alignment with the other parts, these can occur on their own, either necessitating the other parts to wait until the *plica* has been sung, or taking a portion of the main note's durational length.<sup>180</sup>

In Example 6 below, the first *binaria* has a *plica*, whilst the second does not.



<sup>180</sup> Apel, 1961, p. 227.



In Example 7 below, we have two lines exactly the same in terms of ligatures, aside from the lower line containing a *plica* on the second ligature. Clearly a performance of this cannot continue until the *plica* has been sung, before moving onto the next ligature in all parts:

Ex. 7

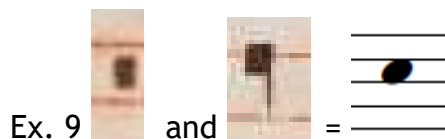
However, *plicae* also commonly occur on the end of a *binaria* when a *ternaria* is being sung in a different part – the obvious reading here then is that *plicae* are sometimes a shorthand for another note, meant to occur simultaneously with another part. In the middle of the phrase below (Example 8), the Triplum line contains two *ternaria* and then a *binaria*, whilst the Duplum contains a *ternaria*, *binaria* with *plica* tail, and another *binaria*. This level of similarity between parts around a ligature with a *plica* is an obvious sign that the *plica* is clearly taking the same duration as a regular note.

Ex. 8

### ***Puncta* and *Virga*:**

These are the single notes found throughout W1. A *puncta* has no tail, whilst a *virga* does; the *virga* form is more common in W1. Both are notated the same way in the

transcriptions; there is no evidence of them having alternative meanings until late 13<sup>th</sup>-century treatises.



### Silbenstrich:

A term that has perhaps fallen out of favour recently, the word is used here as a general ‘catch all’ term for the vertical strokes that occur throughout the music of this manuscript and the other sources of Notre-Dame polyphony (See Example 10 below). Throughout *W1’s conductus*, the primary occurrence of the Silbenstriche is to signal a change in syllable; indeed the term Silbenstrich appears to have occurred out of the need to give these markers a defined terminology. A common explanation of the term is

a short vertical stroke through some part of the staff to indicate a change of syllable in the text<sup>181</sup>

This definition does not allow for the usage of the term for another common meaning also given by some vertical strokes, that of a rest. However some writers have equated the term to a rest, taking it as either a rest that does not break the flow of the melodic line,<sup>182</sup> or one of clear rhythmically-precise length, taking a place with the ordos of modal rhythm. This change appears to have occurred at least partially in the 1950s: William Waite introduces the term ‘Silbenstrich’ in his 1951 work *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony* according to the precept set above, noting of its non-temporal status as a syllable change marker;<sup>183</sup> at no point throughout the work does he equate the Silbenstriche with rests. Seven years later, however, confusion over its usage appears to have already begun, as Waite criticises Carl Parrish’s *The Notation of Medieval Music*<sup>184</sup> for its lack of use of the term, and an

<sup>181</sup> Randel, 1986, p. 749.

<sup>182</sup> Dyer, Joseph. (1980) ‘A Thirteenth-Century Choirmaster: The “Scientia Artis Musicae” of Elia Salmon’. *The Musical Quarterly*. Vol. 66, No. 1, pp. 83-111, 108.

<sup>183</sup> Waite, 1951, p. 91

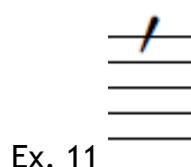
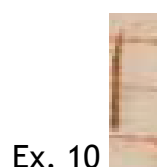
<sup>184</sup> Waite, William G. (1958) ‘Review: The Notation of Medieval Music by Carl Parrish’. *Notes*. Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 393-395, 394.

apparent misunderstanding of its function. Even by this early point in the term's life it seems to have already started to be conflated with the rests of modal rhythm. It appears that this growing association of the term with the rests implicated by some vertical strokes caused Edward Roesner to abandon the term altogether, preferring to term them simply as vertical strokes indicating rests, breath marks, or syllable changes as necessary.<sup>185</sup>

However, the term is of use in descriptions of the manuscript's contents. Throughout the editorial commentaries, it will be used to denote any vertical stroke occurring in the manuscript; further usage intentions believed to be indicated by them will be clarified either by the commentary or by the transcriptions themselves.

In the transcriptions contained here, the Silbenstriche will be notated in three different ways. If a Silbenstrich is marking the end of a textual phrase and is common to at least two parts, then a normal bar line will be used. If a Silbenstrich is not marking the end of a phrase, only a syllable change partway through a phrase (but similarly in at least two parts), then a dotted bar line will be used (this is primarily for ease of use in terms of regular section breaks). If a Silbenstrich is in fact indicating a rest, then a small line through the top stave line will be used, with the space left blank until the performer is meant to enter again (see Example 11 below for how this appears).

Where the Silbenstriche do not either concord throughout at least two parts or do not play an obvious role as a rest, then they have been omitted for clarity's sake. Those Silbenstriche that divide a singular note or ligature from the rest of a phrase, rather than occurring part way through a phrase, are mostly disregarded as well for ease of reading. Much of these extraneous Silbenstriche are word change markers that are unnecessary for modern day performers, though they will be recorded in the commentary.



<sup>185</sup> Roesner, 1993, pp. lxxxvii and xciv.

**Tenor, *Duplum*, *Triplum*:**

The Tenor is the bottom line of a *conductus* (or any other composition of this period; note that some literature refers to the Tenor as ‘*Cantus*’). The *Duplum* is the line above this, and the *Triplum* above that (so that the *Triplum* is always the top line in the repertoire we are discussing). Instances of a *Quadrupla*, i.e. a fourth voice above the *Triplum*, are rare and are not dealt with here.



## Chapter 5: Transcriptions and Commentary

The following abbreviations are used throughout the transcriptions and commentaries:

CPI = *Cantum pulcriorem invenire conductus*. A database of *conductus*, available at: <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/>

F = *MS Pluteus 29.1* stored at the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana.

Available in facsimile: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. (1966-67) *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift, Facsimile reproduction of the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29, 1*. 2 volumes. New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music.

W1 = *Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, stored at the Herzog August Bibliothek.

Available in online facsimile: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/628-helmst/start.htm>

# Festa ianuararia

folio 80v-81 (73v-74)

W1

1 2

Fes - ta ia - nu - a - ri - a fes - ti - va sunt fes - to - rum

3 4

ve - ra fi - gu - ra - li - a in - sig - ni - a sig - no - rum

5 6

Hec lu - mi - num ob - la - ti - o hec est il - lu - mi - na - ti - o

7 8

qua pa - tet de - clar - a - ti - o ra - ta que re - rum ra - ti - o

# Verbum pater exhibuit

folio 77-77v (70-70v)

W1

1 2

Ver - bum pa - ter ex - i - bu - it

3 4

pro - mis - sum ab i - ni - ti - o

5 6

no - bis quod pan - di vo - lu - - it

7

in vir - gin - a - li gre - mi - o



8

pro - ce - dit de - prin - ci - - pi - o

9 10

prin - ci - pi - um quod in - du - it

11

car - nem quam mo - ri sta - tu - it

12

pri - me ma - tris sug - ges - ti - o

**13**

Musical score for exercise 13, consisting of three staves. The first staff contains a sequence of eighth notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. The second and third staves provide accompaniment with longer note values and slurs.

**14**

Musical score for exercise 14, consisting of three staves. The first staff contains a sequence of eighth notes with slurs. The second and third staves provide accompaniment with longer note values and slurs.

# Premii dilatio

folio 74v-75v (67v-68v)

W1

1 2

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

3 4

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

5 6

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

7 8

de - vo - tis ob - se - qui - um

9 10

qui sus - pen - dunt pre - mi - um

11 12

ne re - cep - to pre - mi - o

13 14

dec - li - nent ob - se - qui - um

15 16

17

set quo plus sus - pen - di - tur

18

19

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

20

21

vo - to lon - go ven - di - tum

22

pro - dit mu - nus mer - i - tum.

23

24

Musical notation for measures 23 and 24. The first staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. The second staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs. The third staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. A vertical dashed line separates measure 23 from measure 24. Below the staves is a horizontal line.

25

Musical notation for measure 25. The first staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. The second staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. The third staff (treble clef) contains a sequence of notes with slurs and diamond-shaped accents. The measure ends with a double bar line. Below the staves is a horizontal line.

# Trine vocis tripudio

folio 75v-77 (68v-70)

W1

1 2

Tri

3

ne vo - cis tri - pu - di - o

4 5

so - net con - cors dis - cor - di - a

6 7

ut ling - ua

8 9

mens et ac - ti - o

10 11

pa - ri con - cor - dent gra - ti - a

12 13

tri - um dul - cor - e con - ti - o

14 15

in - e - bri - a - tur so - bri - a



16 17

18 19

Pre - sens qui co - lit gau - di - um pen - set e - ter - ni pre - mi - um

20 21

in e - um con - fe - rat stu - di - um fac - ta qui

22 23

pon - - de - - rat \_\_\_\_\_ om - - ni \_\_\_\_\_

24 25

26 27

um.

28 29 30

Ho nus

31 32

quod no - bis all - i - gant no - lunt mo - ve - re di - gi - to

33 34

35 36

hinc est quod e - os dil - i - gant qui

37 38 39

pal - pant in ab - scon - di - to

40 41

hos a se - cre - tis a - bi - gant qui ter - rent vi - te me - ri - to

42 43

44 45

Om - ne cor me - rens ho - di - e

46 47

ca - put est om - ne lan - gui - dum cle - rus cam - po li - cen - ti - e

48 49

va - gus ut - vul - gus sor - di - dum Se - men le - gis et gra - ti - e

50

So - lum con - dit in ar - i

The first system consists of three staves. The top two staves are for an instrumental accompaniment, and the bottom staff is for the vocal line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "So - lum con - dit in ar - i". The music is written in a treble clef with a common time signature. The vocal line features a series of quarter notes with slurs, and the accompaniment consists of eighth notes with slurs.

dum.

The second system continues the musical score with three staves. The vocal line continues with the word "dum." The music maintains the same melodic and rhythmic patterns as the first system, with slurs over the notes and a consistent accompaniment.

## Editorial Commentary

### Festa ianuarua

W1 80v-81.

**Section 2:** Text; ‘festorum’ abbreviated in W1, line through ‘r’ (reading taken from CPI).

**Section 3:** *Triplum*; no Silbenstrich at end, but Tenor and *Duplum* do, and is end of poetic line.

**Section 4:** *Triplum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> last ligature; last note is notated not as a *currente*, which might suggest being separate from the ligature, but its closeness to the ligature and this reading’s fit with the other lines suggests it is meant to be part of the ligature.

Text; ‘signorum’ abbreviated in source, line through ‘r’, taken as **Section 2**; spacing on manuscript suggests ‘no’ occurs over these two ligatures.

**Section 6:** *Duplum* D in brackets; this is an editorial addition, as this line is clearly missing a note or ligature, causing uncertainty in how the *Duplum* line fits with the Tenor and *Triplum*. This additional D keeps the *Duplum* vertically aligned with the Tenor in the manuscript.

**Section 8:** *Duplum*; Silbenstrich after ‘rerum’ taken as word change marker. Later Silbenstrich noted, as occurs in both Tenor and *Duplum*, though not *Triplum*.

Second last ligature of *Triplum*; similar to **Section 4** above, closeness and fitting with rest of lines taken to mean singular ligature rather than separate note.

Text; ‘rata’ and ‘que’ given in CPI as ‘rataque’; not close to each other in the manuscript, and does not make an actual word.

‘ti’ of ‘ratio’ clearly meant to be occurring over these two ligatures in the manuscript, similar to **Section 4** above.

Verbum pater exhibuit

W1 77-77v; F 223-223v

**Section 1:** Text; ‘exibuit’ transmitted in F as ‘exhibuit’. The only other concordant source, GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510 gives ‘exibuit’ as well.<sup>187</sup>

**Section 2:** All parts, second and third ligature; ‘i’ of ‘exibuit’ - this many notes on single syllable is uncommon for a cum littera area, however the closeness of the notes in both W1 and F and alignment of later notes make this the only option.

**Section 4:** *Triplum*; Silbenstrich after ‘ab’, clearly just word change marker, omitted.

**Section 5:** Tenor and *Duplum*; Silbenstrich after ‘nobis’, omitted here as they are likely just word change markers.

**Section 6:** Text; ‘quod’ is only given in an abbreviated form in both W1 and F, however clearly meant as ‘quod’.<sup>188</sup>

Just after ‘quod’ in W1, there is a change in folio, which causes the key signature to vanish - this appears to be a common issue, found in other pieces of the 8<sup>th</sup> Fascicle, and a reading of F shows that this same problem occurs there too, but due to the different placement on the folio, this ‘key change’ occurs at the end of **Section 7**. Clearly, then, no key change is intended, and this is in fact due to a forgetful scribe not carrying on the key signature over the page.

**Section 8:** *Duplum*; Silbenstrich after ‘procedit’, clear word change marker.

**Section 10:** *Duplum* and *Tripum*; Silbenstrich after ‘quod’, clear word change marker so omitted. *Triplum*, no Silbenstrich at the end of this section, but there is in both the Tenor and *Duplum*, along with all three given in F.

**Section 11:** This area has a confusing key signature, however, taking as a basis that the scribe merely forgot to carry on the key signature from earlier, the scribe has

<sup>187</sup> See: Anderson, 1986, p. 173.

<sup>188</sup> See: Reimer, Stephen R. (2015) *Manuscript Studies: Medieval and Early Modern*. IV.vi. *Paleography: Scribal Abbreviations*. [Online] Available at: <https://sites.ualberta.ca/~sreimer/ms-course/course/abbrevtn.htm> [August 16, 2016]

then attempted to make it clear that the *Triplum* line has a natural B, whilst the others carry on flat.

**Section 13:** *Triplum*; this line contains six ligatures, whilst *Duplum* and Tenor have only five (the Tenor's first counting as two due to its length). This is an area where Silbenstrich take on the meaning of a rest, being taken here to represent the length of a ligature in the *Triplum* line.

**Section 14:** Tenor ligatures 3,4, and 5; unclear in W1, however the existence of a tail on the starting note of ligature 4 clearly denotes the beginning of a new ligature. Ligature 4 is written unclearly, however has been taken here as a four-note ligature with *plica* attached, as four- and five-note ligatures have already occurred in this final cauda in the Tenor part.

### Premii Dilatio

W1 74v-75v; F 206v-207v.

**Section 5:** Tenor line, last ligature; in W1, these two repeated Ds are clearly a single ligature, due to their closeness. What appears to be an upwards tail on the second D in the MS is in fact a Silbenstrich.

**Section 11:** *Duplum* line, second last ligature; whilst a ligature in both W1 and F, the other lines are one ligature too long for the *Duplum* to line up, with a one ligature gap occurring. Both the Tenor and *Triplum* lines are very clear in their ligatures, with no alternative readings possible, it seems, even with the number of single notes occurring (due to their clear separation from each other). The only option, taking the alignment of the MS into the equation, is that this C-B-A ligature in the *Duplum* is meant to be stretched over two ligatures in the Tenor and *Triplum*. This works harmonically (the F-A-C chord over the three parts occurs in a similar position in **Section 7**, though differently voiced), and is shown in the transcription by the stretching of the notes over the D-C of the *Triplum* and the G-F of the Tenor, whilst the C-B-A retains its ligature marking.

**Section 12:** *Triplum* line, ligature 4; in W1, there is a marking that could be taken as another note, however it is not fully written, and considering the rest of the



ligature, the note would not be written in this way anyway. The ligature of D, with *C plica*, would not be written the way it is if this ‘extra’ note, another D, was meant to be performed – a ligature of D-C-D would have occurred. F proves this, by not having the ‘extra’ note at all.

Duplum line, end; Silbenstrich here unclear but there is one in W1, just looks like strange note tail.

**Section 16:** *Triplum*, last two notes; transmitted as two single notes in MS sources, but treating them separately desynchronises the lines. Both the F and G work in the ligature space given in the transcription, with the F sounding along with the Tenor, and the resolution to a G working well with the two other line’s Ds, a chord that occurs earlier within the same section. Placing the F in the previous ligature space would create a clash between F and E, and makes less sense overall when a harmonious alternative is available.

**Section 18:** All parts, 2<sup>nd</sup> ligature; These are very strange harmonies, with Bs against Cs, and Cs against Ds, however the MS sources are very clear on this, both in W1 and F. A possible solution is to move the Duplum line up a step, to make it C-D, fitting with the other lines, but nothing in the MS sources suggest this reading as the notes are clearly notated. One could presume transmission error occurring in both W1 and F, perhaps from their exemplar. The transcription gives the MS reading.

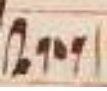
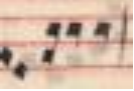
**Section 20:** Tenor, last two ligatures; these are not clear in either MS source, however, a treatment as just regular ligatures results in the transcription’s current placing, using a *ternaria* and a *binaria* which seems to fit. Certainly the *ternaria* does, working in contrary motion with the above *Duplum* line, a manoeuvre commonly used in this piece. This leaves the final two notes, which seem to work best with the G quickly resolving to the A when the *Triplum* line moves to its D.

**Section 21:** *Triplum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> last ligature; this ligature does not exist in W1, but is taken from the F MS. The *Triplum* line is otherwise out of sync with the *Duplum* and Tenor.

**Section 22:** Duplum, 2<sup>nd</sup> ligature; clearly these repeated Ds are a singular ligature (lack of tails a usually clear sign of this) – it is just impossible for these notes to be notated in the MS due to the ligature forms not allowing the joining of repeated notes.

**Section 22:** Duplum, last 3 notes; this is a singular ligature in W1, but separated in F. The separation fits the other parts better, so has occurred in the placement of notes in the transcription, but the ligature marking has been left from W1.

**Section 22:** Tenor, last 4 notes; transcription gives synthesised reading of both W1

and F. W1 at this point gives:  F gives: . The third last ligature from F makes sense, giving a Bb against the E of the *Duplum*, more feasible than W1's singular D, so has been included. After this, W1 has been followed, which shows *currente* usage to be a highly contextual issue; its replacement in F highlights the fact that these note forms were sometimes used as regular notes.

**Section 23:** Tenor, last three notes; the middle A is notated without a tail in W1, but is in F – lack of tail can be taken to mean part of a larger ligature form, but here is just another singular note.

**Section 23:** Duplum, 2<sup>nd</sup> ligature; closeness clearly shows this is a singular ligature.

### Trine vocis tripudio

W1 75v-77; F 205-206v.

**Section 4:** Tenor; repeated note taken as single ligature. *Duplum* line contains Silbenstrich word change marker 'Trine/vocis'; similarly *Triplum* 'vocis/tripudio'.

**Section 5:** *Triplum*; word marker change Silbenstrich 'concors/discordia'.

**Section 9:** *Duplum*; first three notes clearly meant to be together, so taken as single ligature.

**Section 18:** Text 'Presens'; There are 2 Ps for 'Presens' – clearly the earlier marker for the initialer (this can also be seen in **Section 45**'s 'O' as well).

Text 'gaudium'; followed by faint Silbenstrich in the Tenor; its usefulness to break up the text has led it to be included in the transcription.

**Section 21:** Word change Silbenstrich after 'facta'.

**Section 26:** *Triplum*; first three notes are clearly meant to be a singular ligature.

**Section 27:** *Triplum* and *Duplum*, second ligatures; repeated notes equalling singular ligature – *Triplum* and *Duplum* last notes don't have *plicae* but regular tail, whilst *Tenor* clearly has *plica* tail.

**Section 28:** Text; Both *W1* and *F* transmit 'Honus' at this point – *F* is very clear that this is the start of a new stanza, with a large stylised initial 'h' in the same style as previous stanza beginnings; *W1* is less clear, however it gives a 'placeholder' initial similar to that found at **Section 18** 'Presens' – only this time no larger initial has been added, leaving only the cursive 'h' of the placeholder slightly detached from the 'o'. Confusingly, the word 'honus' does not exist – Anderson does acknowledge the 'h' in his editorial notes,<sup>189</sup> but omits it in his actual transcription,<sup>190</sup> and the preface containing translations of the stanza similarly omits it, giving 'onus' and translating it as 'burden'.<sup>191</sup> The CPI does not acknowledge the 'h' at all, yet *W1* and *F* are the only two sources transmitting this particular stanza. The MS sources have been taken at face value here.

Silbenstrich after the first note of 'Ho' is clearly not a superfluous syllable change marker, so has been included in the transcription. This may indicate a slight break before the start of the *cauda* proper.

*Tenor* final C; – *W1* separates this from the rest of the line before it with a Silbenstrich, *F* does not – as playing no rest role in this ligature-for-ligature transcription, it has been left out.

**Section 31:** Text: 'alligant' is written 'alligāt' in both *W1* and *F*. The CPI translates this as 'alligatur', however this would not fit the three notes both sources give. Anderson gives 'alligant';<sup>192</sup> the macron of 'ā' is commonly used to indicate a missing 'n' or 'm'.<sup>193</sup>

Also, see the later word 'diligant' (**Section 35**), which is fully written out in *W1*, whilst in *F* appears in macron format, in the same way as 'alligant' does in both *W1*

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<sup>189</sup> Anderson, 1986, p. 172.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XLII.

<sup>192</sup> Anderson, 1986, pp. XLII and 123.

<sup>193</sup> Reimer (2015).

and F. This gives a clear indication of the macron's usage in this area to indicate a missing 'n'.

This section of text is a clear paraphrase of Matthew 23:4, with 'Honus quod nobis alligant nolunt movere digitio' bearing a striking resemblance to '*Alligant autem onera gravia et importabilia et imponunt in umeros hominum, ipsi autem digito suo nolunt ea movere*'.<sup>194</sup> Here Christ claims the scribes and Pharisees 'bind heavy and insupportable burdens and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of their own they will not move them.'<sup>195</sup> The creator of this conducti is clearly using biblical parallels to admonish corrupt clergymen of their own day, in the *admonitio* style of *conductus*.<sup>196</sup>

**Section 31-32:** *Triplum*; no Silbenstrich in W1 for this section break; F gives no Silbenstrich at all at this point. However, for the other points where the text ends with the rhyme 'ant' ('diligant' and 'abigant'), both W1 and F give Silbenstrich markers in all three parts, so the Silbenstrich have been included here.

**Section 34:** All parts, final notes; these are close together, with no/small tails on the last notes, taken as a singular ligature. F does not give this last note.

**Section 35:** Tenor; Silbenstrich before 'diligant' - taken as word change marker (not transmitted in F).

**Section 36:** Tenor; Silbenstrich at the end for this section is not marked in W1, but is in F. Transmitted in both source's *Duplum* & *Triplum*.

**Section 42:** Tenor, first ligature; these repeated notes are not obviously close in W1, but F shows them closer (and first note with no tail, a clear sign that the note is meant to be part of a larger ligature). The *Duplum* and *Triplum* lines contain *ternaria* at this point, and the rest of the ligatures throughout all three parts are the same in this section, allowing for no other reading.

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<sup>194</sup> Promulgata, Ioannis Pauli PP. II. (1979) *Bibliorum Sacrorum Nova Vulgata Editio*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, p. 1812, emphasis added.

<sup>195</sup> *The Catholic Comparative New Testament: Rheims New Testament, New American Bible, Revised Standard Version, New Revised Standard Version, Jerusalem Bible, New Jerusalem Bible, Good News Translation, Christian Community Bible*. (2006) Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 168 Rheims New Testament.

<sup>196</sup> It is interesting to note that Anderson, 1986, p. XLII does not remark on this area of biblical paraphrase, as this is usually noted in the footnotes.

**Section 46-47:** Tenor; no Silbenstrich marker; there is in F, and they do occur in W1's *Duplum* and *Triplum*.

**Section 48:** Text; 'vulgus' is in abbreviated form in W1, but fully written in F.

**Section 49:** *Duplum* and *Triplum*; *plicae* taken to be simultaneous.

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