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Cueing Refrains in the Medieval Conductus

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Signs in scores such as 𝄆, 𝄇 and 𝄋 elicit a common response from musicians: repeat. Modern notation provides a number of symbols to signal repetition, whether of bars, sections or entire movements. When accompanied by lyrics, symbols morph into lexical directions, with terms such as 'chorus' or 'refrain' informing singers that already-heard material returns. Despite our ease with such symbols and directions, repeat signs of all kinds are relatively recent phenomena, more recent than other conventions of common-practice-era notation and more rarely commented upon.[1] Prior to the eighteenth century, methods for indicating repeating segments of music, poetry or both were as diverse as musical genres themselves. Ranging from explicit written-out commands to implicit or assumed instructions, repetition was at once pivotal to the creation of form and genre and yet frequently ambiguous in its visual inscription.[2]

While a broader history of the signs and symbols of repetition is long overdue, one moment in the Middle Ages calls attention to an increased demand for explicit methods of cueing the return of music and text. New genres in part or wholly dependent on repetition for form, including the vernacular *formes fixes*, *chansons à refrain*, *caroles* and selected Latin conducti and cantilenae with refrains, flourished beginning in the twelfth century, leading to a notational dilemma for scribes: short

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For a key to the manuscript sigla used in this article, see Appendix 1.

[1] While repetition as a cultural and theoretical phenomenon has received scholarly attention, explorations of its history in visual terms lag behind. As Peter Kivy observes, literal repetition and, by extension, its instructions in scores 'for the most part [remain] unremarked and unexplained both by philosophers and by others who write on musical aesthetics in a philosophical vein'. Kivy, *The Fine Art of Repetition: Essays in the Philosophy of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 328. For broader study of repetition in music, see Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis, *On Repeat: How Music Plays the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[2] See, for example, the embedded repeat cues analysed in Michael Burden, 'To Repeat (or Not to Repeat)? Dance Cues in Restoration English Opera', *Early Music*, 35 (2007), 397–417.

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of writing out passages again in full, how do you indicate repetition of both poetry and music?[3] The *ordinatio* of manuscript sources, especially of poetry, provides a broader context for this concern, with the layout or *mise en page* functioning as a visual guide for readers, performers and copyists of the content, form, genre and even aesthetic.[4] As song in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries embraced its visual as well as its aural identity, layout became an increasingly pressing concern.[5] The varying forms, metres and rhythmical structures of medieval song in Latin and the vernacular required techniques that both extended and added to previous approaches to writing and layout.[6] Although earlier poetic and liturgical sources featured various levels of textual and musical repetition, scribal challenges are heightened when repetition defines form and genre to the extent that it does in, for example, the early vernacular *formes fixes*. Since scribes lacked shared conventions for treating layout in an array of new genres, the signalling of repetition in particular

[3] I am not concerned here with musical (as opposed to musical and textual) repetition in forms such as the sequence or French lai, but instead in the cueing of the simultaneous return of text and music. Similarly, I will not broach the issue of tenor repetition in the thirteenth-century motet, although I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers of this article for pointing to the use of both textual and visual cues in motet tenors in sources such as F-Pn n.a.f. 13521 (the La Clayette Manuscript). On tenor cueing in this manuscript, see Sean Curran, 'Reading and Rhythm in the "La Clayette" Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521)', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 23 (2014), 125–51 (p. 135).

[4] Margaret Bent usefully suggests that 'in one sense, music exists only in sound, but paradoxically, sound is its least stable element. But also, visual presentation may be an important or essential ingredient, even to the extent of constituting part of the structure or at least of the aesthetic.' Bent, 'Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 373–92 (p. 392).

[5] See, for example, Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1987); Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Helen Deeming, 'The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 15 (2006), 1–27; Deeming, 'Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes', *Scriptorium*, 60 (2006), 38–59; and Deeming, 'Isolated Jottings? The Compilation, Preparation, and Use of Song Sources from Thirteenth Century Britain', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 6 (2014), 139–52. For musical sources, layout is always a significant concern, with multiple levels and systems of signs required for the notation of even a simple musical work.

[6] As Jan Ziolkowski notes: 'Mechanisms evolved gradually for signaling the special nature of poetry through indentation, offsetting of initial letters, and employment of majuscules for initial letters in lines or stanzas.' Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 91. Poetry holds its own place within the history of writing, layout and punctuation; see Pascale Bourgain, 'La poésie lyrique médiévale', *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990), 164–8; Bourgain, 'Les chansonniers lyriques latins', *Lyrique romane médiévale: La tradition des chansonniers: Actes du colloque de Liège, 1989*, ed. Madeleine Tyssens (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1991), 61–84; and Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 97–114.

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varied among sources, the resulting inconsistencies furnishing, as Ardis Butterfield suggests, 'glimpses of scribal thinking'.[7]

Nowhere is this more evident than in approaches to notating the Latin refrain, a structural element in a range of interconnected genres, most especially the conductus, and an inexact parallel to, and contemporary of, the French *refrain*.[8] Unlike the French *refrain*, which could appear without a surrounding song context (lending it significance as an independent, or intertextual, genre as well as a structural component), the Latin refrain occurs within the confines of larger song forms. In other words, the Latin refrain serves a structural role, while the French *refrain* was not so confined. The cueing of the Latin refrain also differs from the French *refrain* in its close relationship to liturgical sources in terms of language, manuscript contexts and, frequently, devotional focus. Throughout the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the marking out of the Latin refrain showcases scribal experimentation with layout in musical and poetic sources. Simultaneously, the processes reveal indebtedness to established practices in liturgical and didactic realms and involvement in newer techniques of layout developed in the twelfth century and explored more fully in the thirteenth. I argue, moreover, that the graphic treatment of refrains in sources of Latin conducti exposes assumptions made by scribes and performers about form, genre and the realization of song in performance.[9] Attending to the visual cueing of refrains clarifies the textual and musical ambiguities arising from the simultaneously oral, written and performative milieu within which medieval song as a whole was cultivated and disseminated.

I begin here by surveying refrain-laden genres in the high Middle Ages, detailing the broader context for the signalling of refrains across linguistic and musical boundaries. The goal is to demonstrate the variety of repetition cueing found in song and the scribal challenges brought about by the emergence of new genres. While shared practices come to the fore across repertories and languages, a narrowed gaze on the Latin conductus invites consideration of a different set of visual constants and oddities in the disposition of refrains and markers of repeats. Specifically, I consider the range of ways in which the Latin refrain is indicated, initially by comparison with the contemporary French *refrain*, and then by means of the relationship between theoretical discussions of refrains

[7] As Butterfield writes: 'Moments of inconsistency in layout offer perhaps some of the most interesting glimpses of scribal thinking.' *Poetry and Music*, 179.

[8] Although Judith Peraino's point regarding terminology around the *refrain* and its italicization is well taken, in so far as she prefers to avoid italicization of 'refrain' when referring to its 'autonomous' as opposed to its structural role, for the purposes of clarity in this article I shall use italics to refer to French *refrains* as opposed to roman type for Latin refrains. See Peraino, '*Et pui conmencha a canter*: Refrains, Motets and Melody in the Thirteenth-Century Narrative *Renart le nouvel*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 6 (1997), 1–16 (1, n. 1).

[9] On the disjunction between the written page and performance (with specific reference to refrain forms), see Elizabeth Randell Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 99.

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and the material evidence of Latin refrain songs themselves. Building on the special links between many of the conventions found in Latin song sources and those in liturgical and devotional sources – particularly conventions typically not found in vernacular contexts – I delve into the intimate relationship between Latin refrain cueing and practices of cueing and abbreviation utilized in ritual and chant books. Finally, ambiguous refrain cues scattered throughout conducti preserved in two fourteenth-century liturgical sources from the university library in Graz (A-Gu 258 and 409) place the visible in conversation with the invisible. An exploration of the unusual, incomplete and absent cueing of refrains in these two related sources affords unique insights into an array of signalling techniques, as well as the ways in which the Latin refrain itself lived a richer and more complicated life than previously understood.

The refrain

By the thirteenth century, song – and by association the refrain – is virtually always set apart on the manuscript page from non-musical material, whether cued by text or rubric in a narrative or distinguished by staves and musical notation. Within each lyrical instance, a hierarchy organizes the layout of the intertwined components of text, music and form. Repetition requires an additional level of organization, allowing repeated sections such as refrains to be set apart from the remainder of the song. Broadly, lyrical moments are visually demarcated by means of a change of script, such as the use of *litterae notabiliores*, capital letters, a change in the ruling of the page (frequently, but not always, to accommodate notation), illustrations and rubrics.[10] Likewise, moments of repetition command their own visual cues, many identical to those used for song writ large. No single scribal protocol dictates the signalling of song and its constituent parts; at times, indications are absent, requiring the reader and/or performer to make decisions as to where and when music begins and ends, and how and what to repeat and for how long.[11] Despite intensive efforts visually to highlight

[10] For overviews, see Bourgain, 'La poésie lyrique médiévale'; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 171–90; Deeming, 'Observations'; and Malcolm B. Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 55–74.

[11] For example, identifying a French *refrain* can be challenging at times, as is the case in F-Pn fonds fr. 19152, fol. 73^{r}, with the structural *refrain* of the *rondet C'est la jus, desoz l'olive*. Here, the *refrain* is not visually distinguished at all from surrounding text. In comparison, an intertextual *refrain* such as 'Aimi aimi amoretes m'ont traï', no. 34 in Boogaard's catalogue, is set apart within its parent work, the *pastourelle avec des refrains En une praele*, solely by a single point of punctuation at the conclusion of the penultimate strophe in F-Pn n.a.f. 1050, fol. 222^{r}. For the numbering of *refrains*, see Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^{e} siècle au début du XIV^{e}* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). See also Ardis Butterfield, 'Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), 1–23.

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moments of song and repetition therein, inconsistencies occur often, with resulting demands on the performer to decipher and realize the musico-poetic form of a given song through performance.

While I am ultimately concerned with refrains in the Latin conductus, contemporary vernacular contexts serve as a point of comparison for the Latinate realm in terms of how scribes dealt with layout and the marking off of repeated refrains in song. More importantly, no discussion of refrains and medieval song in and around the thirteenth century can justifiably avoid reference to the highly itinerant, widely disseminated and often ambiguous French *refrain*, whether it appears in isolation as an interpolation or is attached structurally to a song, such as a *chanson à refrain*, a *chanson avec des refrains*, a rondeau, a virelai or a ballette.[12]

In particular, some vernacular sources provide insight into scribal negotiations around the refrain and its cueing, including moments of inconsistency that appear despite what may seem to be clear expectations of genre. Numerous instances of such idiosyncrasies litter the folios of the chansonnier GB-Ob Douce 308, an unnotated collection of Old French lyrics, many featuring *refrains*. A ballette whose text plays on familiar tropes of *fin amour* demonstrates clear signalling of its *refrain* (beginning 'Cant remir la belle') at the start of the song and at the end of each strophe; here, capital letters in alternating red and blue ink mark the incipit of each strophe and the repetition of the *refrain* respectively (see Figure 1).[13] Fairly unambiguous, the scribal strategy here relies on the ability of the performer to recall the entirety of the *refrain* (text and also, presumably, music – which, however, is lacking here) previously sung, since the cues after strophes 1 and 2 provide only 'Cant remir lai [*sic*] belle' and 'Cant remir' respectively. A second example is slightly more ambiguous and idiosyncratic, namely the cueing of the *refrain* for *Dame il n'est dolors en terre* (GB-Ob Douce 308, fols. 228^{v}–229^{r}), another ballette. In this instance, the *refrain* lacks any clear signal before being written out in full *after* the final strophe.[14] Consequently, unless a singer is already familiar with the work, they would have to know to locate the repeated portion

[12] Narratives, too, frequently insert both notated and unnotated *refrains*, and the various lofty and base upper voices of motets freely incorporate the pithy interjections. Bibliography on the French *refrain* is extensive: for recent treatments, see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 75–102, and Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2013). See also the recent online database on the refrain aptly entitled 'REFRAIN' run by Mark Everist, Adam Field and Anne Ibos-Augé, <http://refrain.ac.uk/information.html> (accessed 18 May 2018).

[13] Edited and translated in *The Old French Ballette, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Douce 308*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel N. Rosenberg and Elizabeth Aubrey (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 124–7.

[14] See the discussion of *refrain* cueing in GB-Ob Douce 308 in *The Old French Ballette*, ed. Doss-Quinby *et al.*, LXII–LXIII; see also *ibid.*, Tables XIA and XIB. The ballette in question is transcribed and translated *ibid.*, 376–9. Two other ballettes (called 'anomalies' by Doss-Quinby *et al.*) likewise illustrate the absence of the *refrain* preceding or following the initial strophe and its presence instead only after subsequent strophes: *Amours, a cui je me rant pris* (fol. 219^{r}) and *Cis qui contre mal bien rent* (fols. 230^{v}–231^{r}). *Ibid.*, 202–5 and 410–11.

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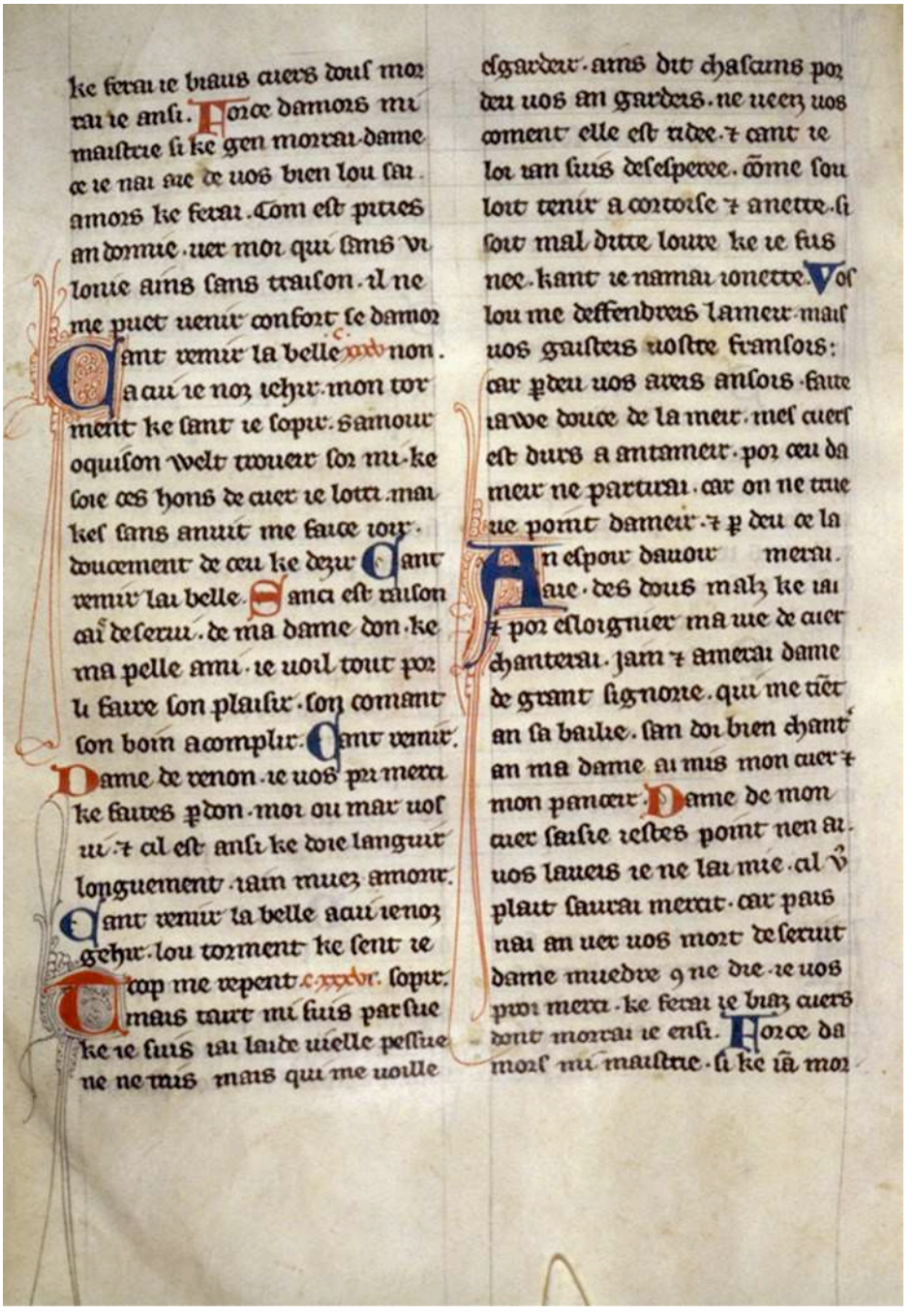


Figure 1. GB-Ob Douce 308, fol. 229^{v}, 'Cant remir la belle'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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at the end of the song, in addition to then looking to the top of the next folio for the *refrain*'s final word.[15] Although familiarity with the conventions of the ballette form could explain away such a moment of irregularity, as could the demands of layout, these sorts of ambiguities require resolution in performance, which in turn places the onus on the manuscript's user to find and interpret cues correctly for repetition, a situation that will find a parallel in the refrain cueing of the Graz sources, discussed below.[16]

Another common strategy found predominantly in French contexts involves the Latin phrase 'et cetera' and its abbreviation. This method is found in the unnotated rondeaux and ballades in *La prise amoureuse* (F-Pn fonds fr. 24391) and serves to clarify the repetition of the *refrain* in its entirety (see Figure 2). In this ballade, the *refrain* 'Flourz de toute creature' appears once with empty space above for a musical stave at the end of the initial strophe (following typical ballade form); two further instances then occur following strophes 2 and 3 (for which no space was left for music). Each occurrence of the *refrain* is abbreviated differently: the first return after strophe 2 in the first column picks out the *refrain* using a blue paraph or pilcrow and 'flours de toute *et* c̄' ('et cetera'), while the second return after the third strophe lacks a paraph, but further abbreviates the *refrain* to 'Flōs *et* c̄'.[17] Despite deciding on strategies (the abbreviated 'et cetera' and a paraph), the scribe varies cues throughout the ballade, resulting in micro-inconsistencies.

In the few vernacular examples so far, cueing marks off structural *refrains*. In other words, these are not the aphoristic and intertextual *refrains* that embody a far more independent existence and whose repetition occurs *across* manuscripts and genres, including chansons, motets and narrative texts. The cueing practices around the more mobile *refrain* respond not to a structural function, but instead to their generic identity as lyrical and intertextual insertions.[18] Consequently, the cueing of such *refrains* has more in common with scribal approaches to vernacular lyric more broadly, including the use of capital letters, musical notation and symbols. The family of citations for the *refrain* 'Vous le me defendés l'amer, més, par Dieu, je l'amerai' illustrates the plurality of ways in which the *refrain* both is and is not clearly signalled in diverse settings,

[15] The *refrain* is 'C'est li malz, li malz d'ameir, qui nos prent / Ameir a la fin, dous a comancement'. The final word, 'comancement', appears at the top of fol. 229^{r}, separated spatially from the remainder of the *refrain*.

[16] A later example of ambiguity in cueing repetition by means of a *signum congruentiae* in French song is discussed in Maureen Epp, 'Reading the Signs: Notation and Performance in the French Popular Song Repertory', *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honour of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian E. Power (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 103–22. See also Robert Judd, 'Repeat Problems in Keyboard Settings of *Canzoni alla francese*', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 198–214.

[17] See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 182–4 and (for another similarly inscribed ballade with *refrain*, *Si plaisamment m'avés pris*, inserted into the same work, *La prise amoureuse* by Jehan Acart de Hesdin, on fol. 138^{r}) Figure 7b. The italicization of 'et' refers to its representation in the manuscript as a ligature.

[18] See *ibid.*, 171–90 on the inscription of vernacular song in manuscripts, including *refrains* of both the structural and the intertextual type.

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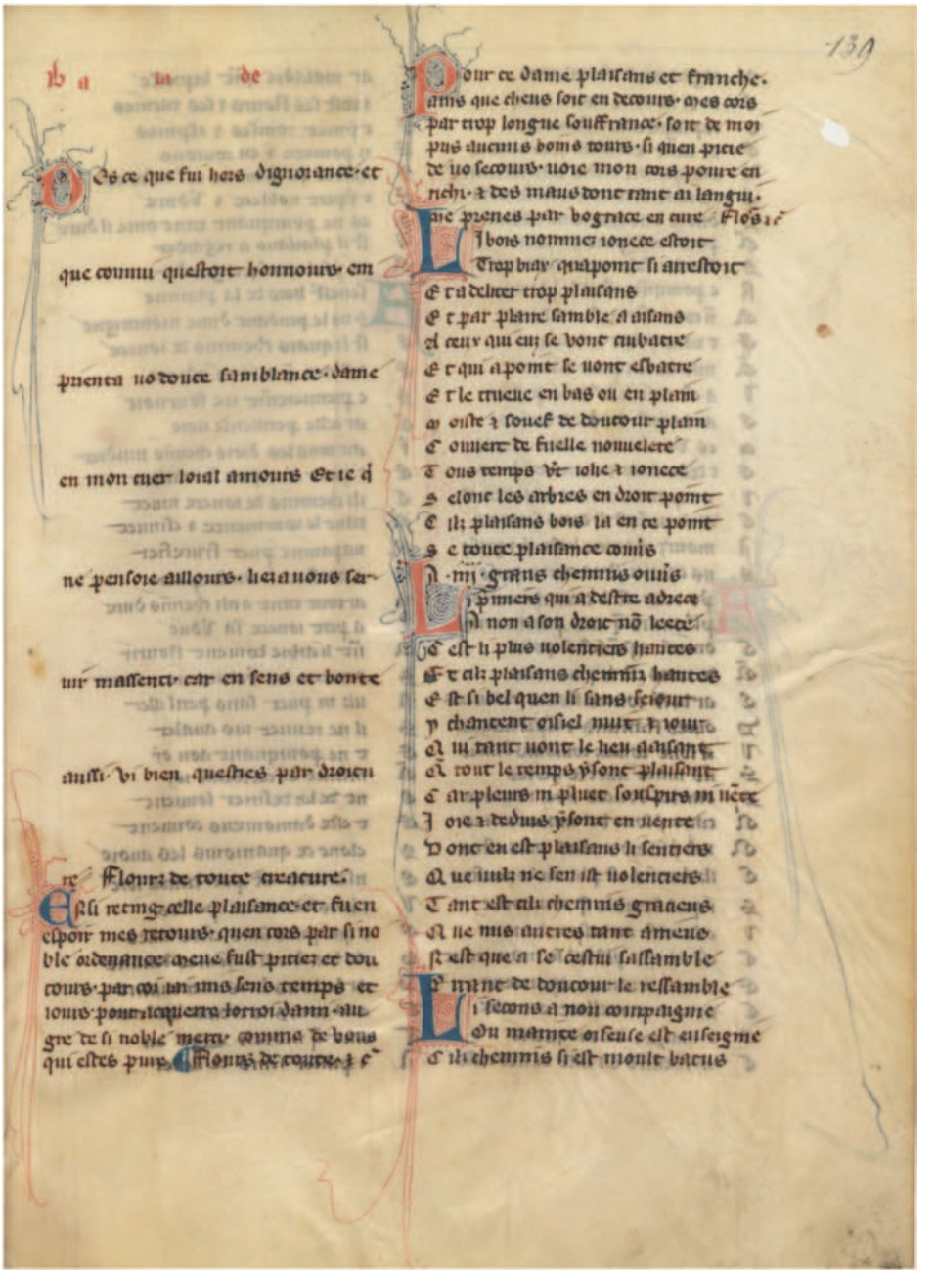


Figure 2. F-Pn fonds fr. 24391, fol. 139r, *Dés que je fui hors d'ignorance*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

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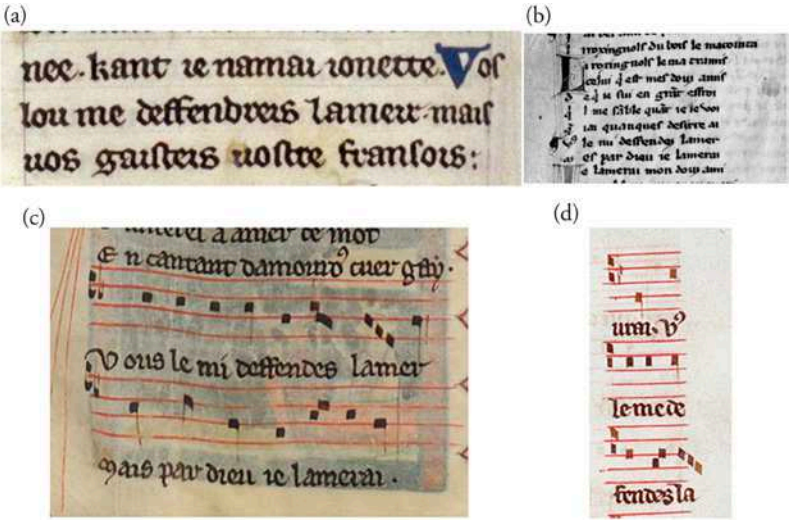


Figure 3. (a) GB-Ob Douce 308, fol. 229^{v}, grafted *refrain*, or *enté*, in the *ballette à refrain Trop mi repent*, 'Vos lou me deffendreis l'ameir'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (b) F-Pn fonds fr. 837, fol. 272^{v}, *refrain* interpolation in *Salut d'amour*, 'Vous le mi deffendez l'amer més par dieu ie l'amerai'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. (c) F-Pn fonds fr. 25566, fol. 168^{r}, *Renart le nouvel*, 'Vous le mi deffendés l'amer mais par dieu ie l'amerai'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. (d) F-MOf H. 196, fol. 317^{r}, *Qui amour – Li douls pensers – Cis a cui*, 'Vous le me de[f]fendés l'a-'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, Montpellier.

including GB-Ob Douce 308 (see Figure 3).[19] In the case of the two unnotated occurrences of the *refrain*, punctuation in the form of a period and a blue capital in GB-Ob Douce 308 (Figure 3a) and a paraph in F-Pn fonds fr. 837 (Figure 3b) visually distinguish the *refrain* from its surrounding song and narrative context respectively. While an indication to sing ('En cantant d'amourous cuer gay') precedes the *refrain* in F-Pn fonds fr. 25566 (Figure 3c), musical notation serves as the clearest visual sign of its lyrical presence within the narrative, in addition to melodically linking to external

[19] This *refrain* family (catalogued in Boogaard as no. 1859) is discussed in relation to its relatively stable melodic tradition in Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 20–2. For a complete list of sources for this *refrain*, see <http://refrain.ac.uk/view/abstract_item/1859.html> (accessed 18 May 2018). For other case studies of 'refrain families', see Butterfield, 'Repetition and Variation', and Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 54–66. On the term *enté* and its implications for text, music and repetition, see Everist, *French Motets*, 75–89; Butterfield, '*Enté*: A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 67–101; and Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21–4.

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iterations of the *refrain*.[20] In the tenor line of the motet *Qui amour – Li douls pensers – Cis a cui*, the *refrain* is virtually indistinguishable from its surroundings (Figure 3d), making its identification reliant on both its occurrence outside the motet repertory and its textual function within the motet itself.[21]

A widely circulating *refrain* such as 'Vous le me' highlights the question of how repetition and cueing function in cross-contextual ways. Although not all *refrains* have concordances,[22] most do appear in multiple contexts, albeit often with a variable appearance, as Figure 3 demonstrates.[23] The 'meta' cueing practices that signal repetition among, rather than within, sources seem to demand different scribal approaches from those utilized for structural *refrains* as seen in Figures 1 and 2. Yet, by the same token, scribes nevertheless drew on the same fount of strategies for song in general and *refrains* of all varieties, with resulting similarities in layout and a familiar range of signs, symbols and abbreviations.

In the process of inscribing song to the page, the scribes of these few sources were well aware that certain genres involved melodic and textual repetition within and across contexts, often owing to the presence of *refrains*. By and large, the signalling of structural repetition was driven by necessity, leading to practical solutions such as the Latin 'et cetera' or the compressing of a repeated line to its incipit. More problematically, *refrains* whose repetition occurs at the intertextual rather than the structural level illustrate an even more varied approach to cueing, while still reflecting many of the tactics used for and within individual songs. The cues used in vernacular settings, many of which echo innovative experiments occurring in other material aspects in the life of French lyric, mirror to some degree the cueing of structural Latin refrains. While the refrain of Latin repertories did not have the same poetic currency and, in most cases, mobility as the French *refrain*, certain instances do bear witness to a shared lineage and perhaps even a shared audience. As I explore below, some Latin refrains embodied a peripatetic existence that blended the itinerancy of the intertextual French *refrain* with its structural counterpart; in all cases, the Latin refrain demanded scribal solutions that are both similar to and yet at a remove from contemporary vernacular contexts.

The Latin refrain

Latin refrain forms rose to prominence at the same historical moment as the vernacular *refrain*, the central difference being that the Latin refrain never appeared to attain

[20] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 23, Example 1.
[21] This is the case, too, in the other manuscripts in which the motet circulates.
[22] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 14.
[23] Butterfield, 'Repetition and Variation', 2–3 and *passim*.

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the level of independence that the French *refrain* repertory enjoyed.[24] Nonetheless, commonalities led some musicologists to posit a lineage for the French *formes fixes* from Latin to the vernacular, since formal parallels between certain chanson genres and Latin conducti and cantilenae are at times striking, most notably with respect to the rondeau.[25] In this unsolvable chicken-and-egg scenario, questions of chronological priority do not detract from the richness of the Latin refrain song repertory – works variously labelled in both contemporary and medieval sources as cantio, cantilena, conductus, versus and so on.[26] Unlike French song forms such as the rondeau, virelai and *chanson à refrain*,

[24] The Latin refrain has received scant attention, but see Andreas Haug, 'Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter', *Musikalische Lyrik*, ed. Hermann Danuser, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen, 8 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004), 120–5; Haug, 'Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains', *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, trans. Jeremy Llewellyn, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Jeremy Llewellyn and Eyolf Østrem (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 83–96; Margaret Switten, '*Versus* and Troubadours around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the "New Song"', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 16 (2007), 91–143; and Mary Channen Caldwell, 'Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000–1582' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2013). Both Switten and Haug are concerned primarily with repertories of Latin song predating the Latin conducti central to my discussion here, although a lineage can be traced from the refrain forms of 'old songs' as described by Haug (including liturgical genres such as hymns) through to the 'new songs' of the twelfth century (including troubadour song, versus and *Benedicamus domino* songs) and onwards to the conducti and cantilenae of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The standard perspective on the difference between Latin and French refrains in the thirteenth century in particular is outlined by John Stevens: 'There is, it should be made clear, no repertoire of Latin *refrains* quite in the sense defined for the French. Of course many Latin songs and all the *rondelli* (by definition) have refrains in the purely formal sense, but these are not of the individualized, aphoristic kind with their own tunes. They may be found to have taken their origin from favourite hymns or antiphons or sequences; they are even more likely to repeat the thousand clichés of medieval devotional verse.' Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 186.

[25] The Latin to vernacular move for refrain forms is argued for in Hans Spanke, 'Das lateinische Rondeau', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 53 (1930), 113–48. For other theories regarding the relationship between the Latin and French poetic forms, see Yvonne Rokseth, 'Danses cléricales du XIIIe siècle', *Mélanges 1945 des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, ed. Université de Strasbourg, Faculté des Lettres (Paris: Ophrys, 1947), 93–126 (p. 103); Gilbert Reaney, 'Concerning the Origins of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms', *Musica disciplina*, 6 (1952), 155–66; and Patrick S. Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars poetica* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 94–5, in which Diehl sees Latin poetry 'turning formal devices that already existed in popular lyric to its own ends'.

[26] The most exhaustive work to date on cataloguing and analysing sources transmitting Latin song (specifically the conductus but also including closely related Latin and vernacular examples) has been carried out by the research team at the University of Southampton as part of the project Cantum Pulchriorem Invenire: Thirteenth-Century Music and Poetry (hereafter CPI), led by Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua (<http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk>, accessed 18 May 2018). This follows the extensive work found in *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson, 9 vols. (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979–); it should be noted that Anderson typically edits only the refrain as it appears in the first strophes of conducti, and does not commment

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the labels available for Latin song do not explicitly or implicitly convey the presence of a refrain. Only subsections of the conductus and versus repertories, for example, feature refrains, and in neither case is there a terminological distinction between those with and those without refrains. In Grocheio's famed – if problematic – description of music 'made with the human voice', he divides song into two broad theoretical categories, cantus and cantilena, the division between which falls precisely at the point of presence or absence of structural repetition.[27] The cantilena category includes refrain forms, while the cantus category does not.[28] A useful if ambiguous heuristic, Grocheio's categorization according to the parameter of form and structure is one of the few instances in the period where distinction between songs with and without refrains is clearly acknowledged. Less usefully, Grocheio's examples derive solely from the realm of vernacular song, with no hint of a parallel system of classification for Latin song.

Manuscript sources provide material evidence confirming Grocheio's organization according to the inclusion or exclusion of repetition, suggesting that such a schema may have derived from practice in both vernacular and Latin contexts. Like is grouped with like in many chansonniers, and so it is for a number of sources transmitting Latin conducti. Three of the largest thirteenth-century sources for Latin conducti with refrains illustrate the distribution of song forms along the lines of Grocheio's categories for vernacular song. In the largest of the sources (the famed collection of polyphony and monophony from mid-thirteenth-century Paris I-Fl Plut. 29.1), 60 Latin songs, almost all featuring refrains, are grouped together in one fascicle at the end of the manuscript (fascicle XI).[29] In a manuscript that uniquely transmits the *Jeu d'Adam* and a Latin Easter drama, F-TOm 927, once again Latin refrain-form

on or indicate the nature of its cueing thereafter. Although my central focus in this article is on the conductus, the repertory of Aquitanian versus and *nova cantica* of the twelfth century more broadly demonstrates similar issues around layout and the notation of the refrain, although with far less variety (refrains when indicated tend to be recued following strophes by a textual and musical incipit; see, for example, the cueing of the refrain 'Fulget dies ista celebris' of the versus *Castitatis lilium* in F-Pn fonds lat. 1139, fol. 42^{r}). On some of the more ambiguous moments of refrain cueing in the versus repertory, see Rachel Golden Carlson, 'Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian Versus' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000), 331–4, and Switten, '*Versus* and Troubadours', 99 n. 26 and 103–4. The earlier versus collection in F-Pn fonds lat. 1154 illustrates another approach to cueing refrains using both abbreviation and green highlighting; see, for example, *Iudicii signum* on fols. 122^{r}–123^{r}. On this well-known sibylline versus, see Sam Barrett, 'Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 86–93.

[27] Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, ed. and trans. John N. Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon, Constant J. Mews and Carol J. Williams (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2011), 66–73.

[28] The category of cantilena includes *rotundellus*, *stantipes* and *ductia*, while cantus includes *gestualis*, *coronatus* and *versiculatus*. *Ibid*., 66–7. For further examination of these categories, see Christopher Page, 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), 17–41.

[29] On the conducti in the final fascicle, see Caldwell, 'Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing', 15–27.

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conducti (31 in total) are collected together, sandwiched between plays in both Latin and French, and interrupted only briefly by a polyphonic insert.[30]

The third source, a text-only miscellany also from Paris, F-Pn fonds lat. 15131 (*c.*1289), contains a large selection of devotional Latin lyrics not grouped according to form, but instead alternating forms predictably.[31] Refrain songs punctuate the folios regularly, with paraphs and dividing lines adumbrating their form (see Figure 4). Despite a lack of grouping around formal types, the consistency with which the scribe orders the collection illustrates awareness of the different forms. Since, as seen in Figure 4, the lyrical interjections assert themselves on the page by means of a distinctive *mise en page*, their regular appearance lends the collection visual as well as lyrical coherence.[32]

While terminology around Latin song and its refrains may be unclear, manuscript ordering reveals consistent scribal treatment according to underlying structures.[33] Layouts utilized for Latin song further distinguish between forms in a manner readily apparent to the eye. One of the principal distinctions in both notated and unnotated sources occurs between rhythmical and metrical verse, where *rithmi* – rhymed, rhythmical verses[34] – are commonly written as prose, in contrast to metrical verse, for which their stanzaic form is emphasized visually. As Pascale Bourgain argues, this is because rhythmical poetry was so clear aurally in comparison with metrical works, and therefore did not require the same level of attention to layout on the page.[35] In Figure 5, the scribe of the poetic anthology in the early thirteenth-century D-Mbs clm 4660 (*Carmina burana*) indicates the alternation between rhythmical poetry (*Iste mundus furibundus*) and metrical verse (*Vivere sub meta lex*) in two ways: first through the use of a rubric for the latter ('versus') and secondly through layout, organizing the *rithmus* visually as prose and the versus as stanzaic verses. In both poems, large red initials open the text and smaller red initials emphasize the beginnings of verses or strophes. In an example where lyrical poetry intermingles with epistolary material, the verse structure is emphasized not solely through the

[30] On this manuscript and its Latin songs, see Mary Channen Caldwell, '"*Pax Gallie*": The Songs of Tours 927', *The Jeu d'Adam: MS Tours 927 and the Provenance of the Play*, ed. Christophe Chaguinian, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2017), 87–176.

[31] 1289 is the *terminus post quem* for at least the portion of the manuscript containing these lyrics; see Barthélémy Hauréau, *Notice sur le numéro 15131 des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889).

[32] As discussed above, in a French lyrical context, paraphs are similarly used to mark out *refrains*; see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 182–5.

[33] The prime example is the ordering of the conductus fascicles in I-Fl Plut. 29.1, which proceeds according to number of voices, concluding in fascicles X and XI with monophony.

[34] On the *rithmus*, see Margot E. Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises "De rithmis"', *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 164–90, and Ernest H. Sanders, 'Rithmus', *Essays on Medieval Music: In Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 415–40.

[35] Bourgain, 'La poésie lyrique médiévale', 165.

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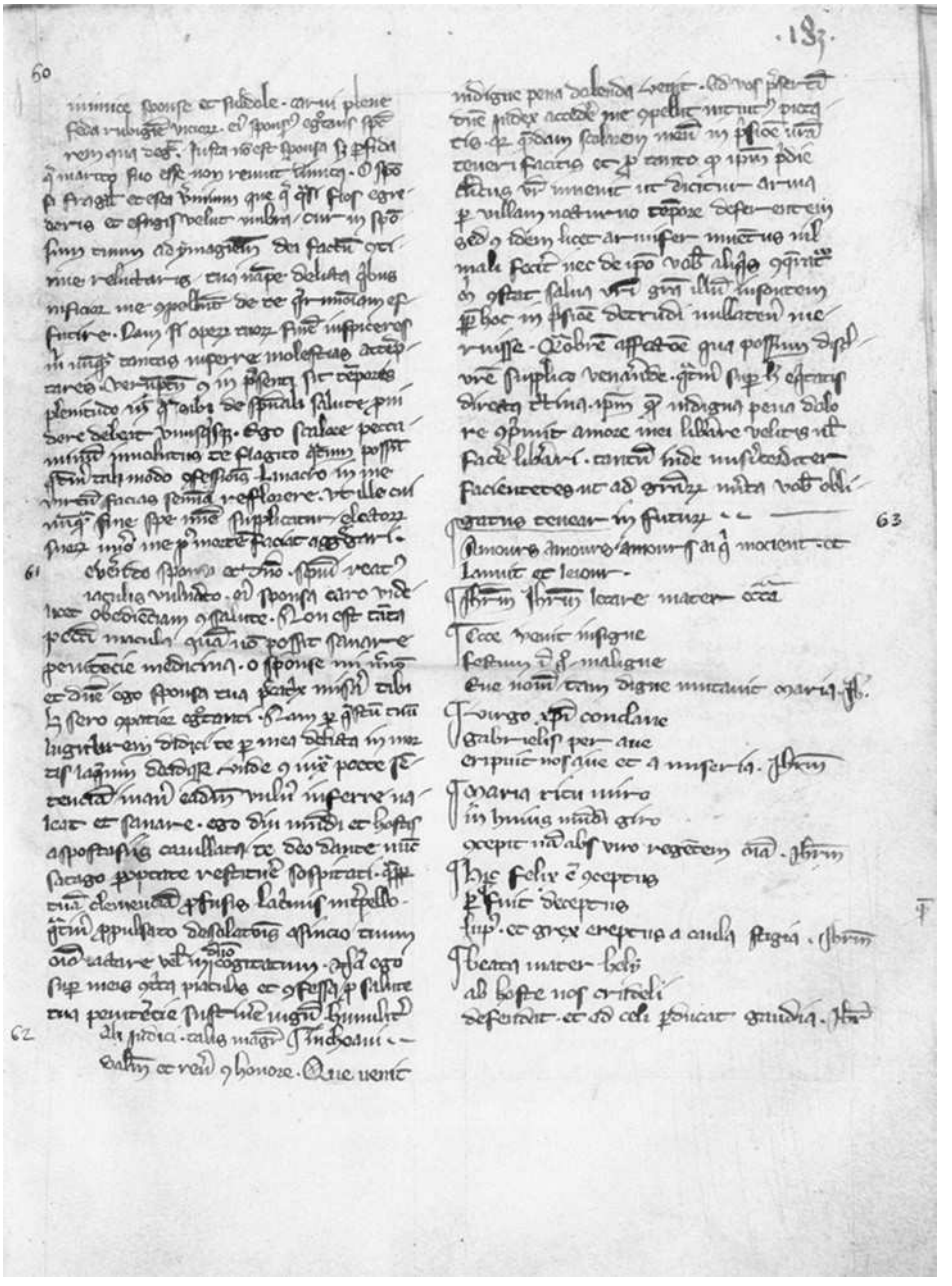


Figure 4. F-Pn fonds lat. 15131, fol. 183r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

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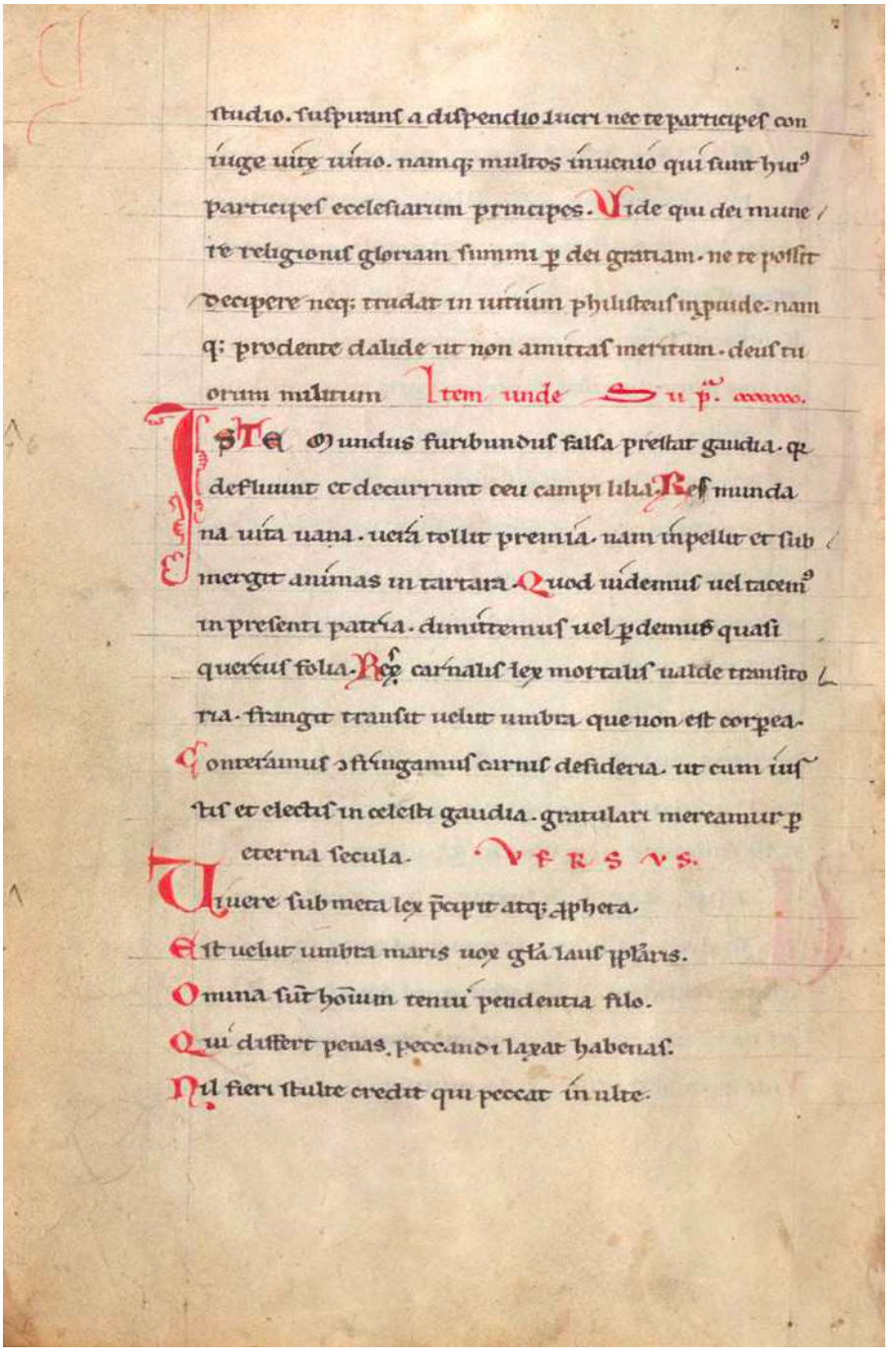


Figure 5. D-Mbs clm 4660, fol. 2ᵛ. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

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layout of the text, but also with the aid of pilcrows or paraphs to organize each strophe (see again Figure 4). The use of both a layout that highlights the poetic form – in this case that of a strophic lyric with refrain – and a visual symbol to clarify the structure further lends the folio a modular and easily navigable appearance. These are but two ways in which Latin lyrics are distinguished from one another as well as from surrounding material; many more strategies are found in both Latin and vernacular sources.[36]

The strophic nature of Latin songs with refrains lends them an appearance on the page comparable to the layout of strophic hymns.[37] The text of the first strophe along with the music shared by all the following strophes is fully written out; subsequent strophes are written, much like the *rithmus* of Figure 5, in prose-like fashion directly following and below the notated verse (see Figure 6). Each of the three conducti found on this folio (in order, following the final tail of *In hac die dei* from fol. 463^{r}: *Filie calvarie*, *Luto carens et latere* and *Vivere que tribuit*) features a refrain of varying length. The refrain is not immediately obvious when scanning the sole system of music and text; only in the following (unnotated) poetic stanzas does the form become obvious. To take *Luto carens et latere* as an example, the second of the four short lines of text following the final system of music includes a truncated word set apart with interpuncts: •tran• (see Figure 7). Scanning each line of text, interpuncts alert the reader/singer to abbreviated or truncated segments of text, from •In trā• to •transit•. Referring back to the notated initial strophe (Figure 6), the word 'transit' occurs twice, first at the end of the first system, in 'Transit Hebreus libere', and then at the beginning of the third system, in 'In sicco mente munda / Transit Hebreus libere / Baptismi mundus unda'. This is, of course, the refrain, whose repetition leads to the following poetic structure (refrain in italics):

Luto carens et latere,	Casting aside bricks and mortar,
Transit Hebreus libere,	*The Hebrews freely crossed,*
Novo novus charactere;	Renewed with a new character;
In sicco mente munda;	*On dry land, with wholesome mind;*
Transit Hebreus libere,	*The Hebrews freely crossed,*
Baptismi mundus unda.	*Cleansed by the waters of baptism.*

The form is the same as the earliest French rondeaux, with the first half of the refrain appearing following the initial line of the verse, and then the entirety of the refrain

[36] For a case study focused on the interpolation of song in F-Pn fonds fr. 146 (*Le roman de Fauvel*), see Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 216–82. See also the works by Butterfield and Deeming cited in note 5 above.

[37] On hymn and sequence layout, see Susan Boynton, 'Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries' (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1997), 44–106, and Lori Kruckenberg, 'Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), 243–317.

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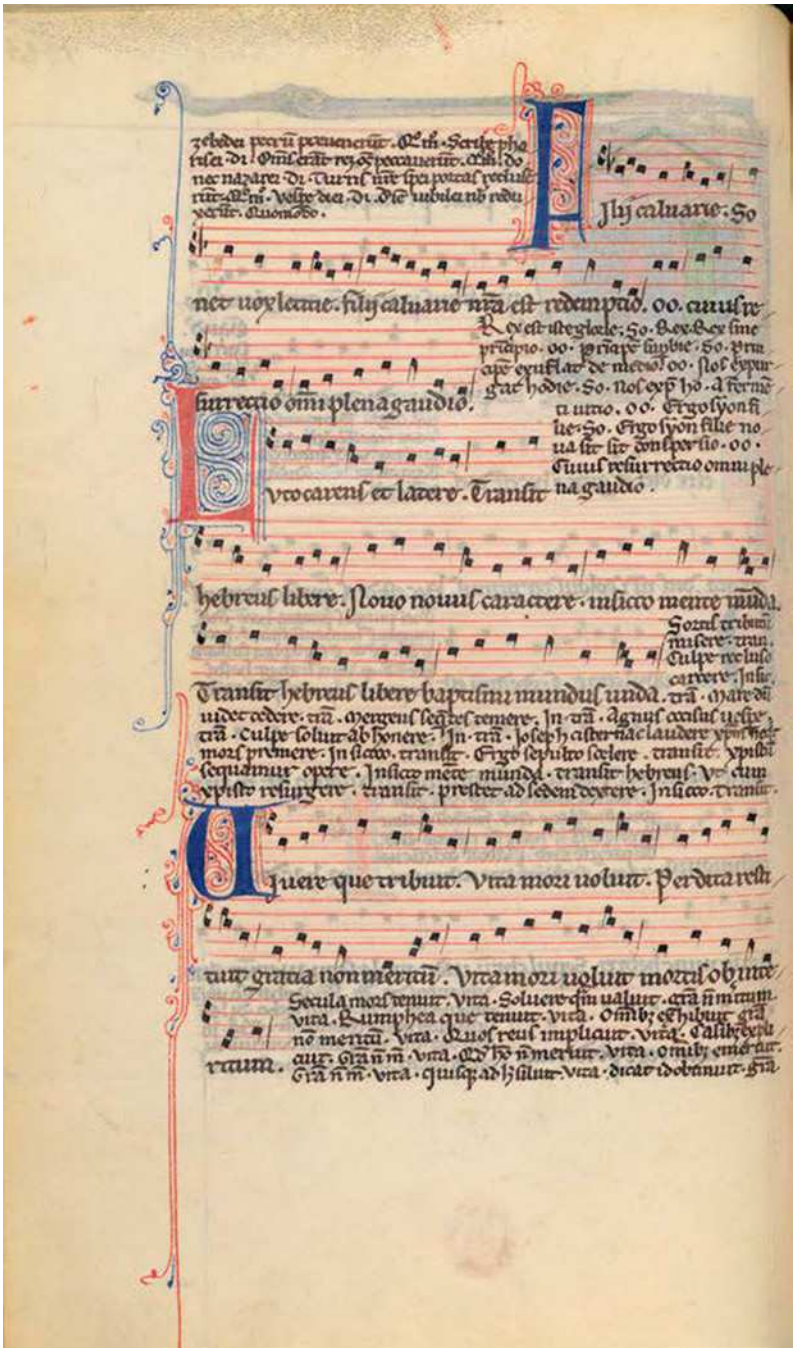


Figure 6. I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 463v. On concession of the MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is forbidden.

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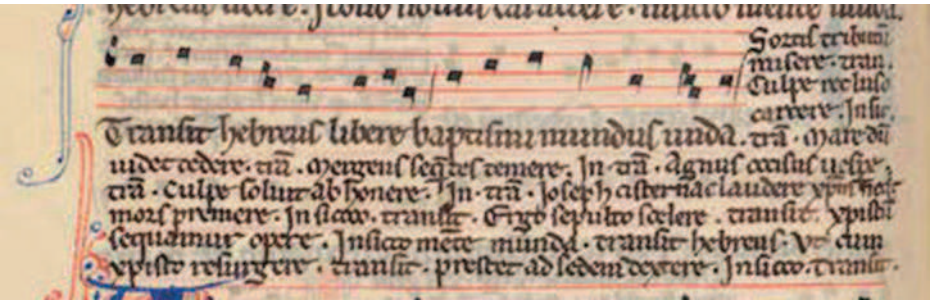


Figure 7. I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 463^{v}, detail of *Luto carens et latere*, strophes 2–7. On concession of the MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is forbidden.

repeated at the end of each strophe (*aAaBAB*).[38] The interpuncts thus signal the interjection of the refrain following the first and third lines of strophes 2–7.

As a counterpoint to the layout of *Luto carens et latere*, a fourteenth-century gradual from Moosburg (D-Mu Cim. 100) includes over two dozen devotional Latin songs with refrains in a *cantionale* located near the end of the manuscript. Here, despite the repetition of music for each strophe and the refrain, the entirety of each poem is notated in full, and interpuncts marking off the refrain are accompanied by additional textual directions (see Figure 8). Large capitals alternately red and blue cue the entrance of each new strophe, with smaller capitals highlighted with red furthering the visual hierarchy of the page. Notably, these smaller capital letters are preceded by an entirely red letter, a capital R with a slash, comparable to the monogram used to indicate responses in liturgical sources. Taking the second song on the page as an example, *Anni novi novitas*, the first slashed red R – bookended by interpuncts – precedes the line 'Gaudeamus et psallamus / novo presuli / ad honorem et decorum / sumpti baculi'. When the red R returns, the line contracts to 'Gaudeamus et psallamus', and then 'Gaudeamus et psall.'; the music similarly contracts. The abbreviation of the poetry and the regular appearance of the R cue clearly identify this as the refrain; the scribe leaves nothing to the imagination here, preferring instead to signal the song's structure explicitly, including moments of repetition.

With these few examples, we begin to gain an impression of the spectrum of cueing practices used in notating Latin songs and their refrains. Particularly significant are the differences between the final two Latin song examples, *Luto carens et latere* and *Anni novi novitas*, and the cueing of French *refrains* in the previous examples; while they share some traits, the cueing of repeated text and music even in these few selected instances demonstrates differences in the move from vernacular to Latin. While there may be many reasons for this – distinctively separate scribal cultures and conventions,

[38] On the development of the *formes fixes*, including the rondeau, see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 273–90. See also, however, Everist, '*Souspirant en terre estrainge*: The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut', *Early Music History*, 26 (2007), 1–42.

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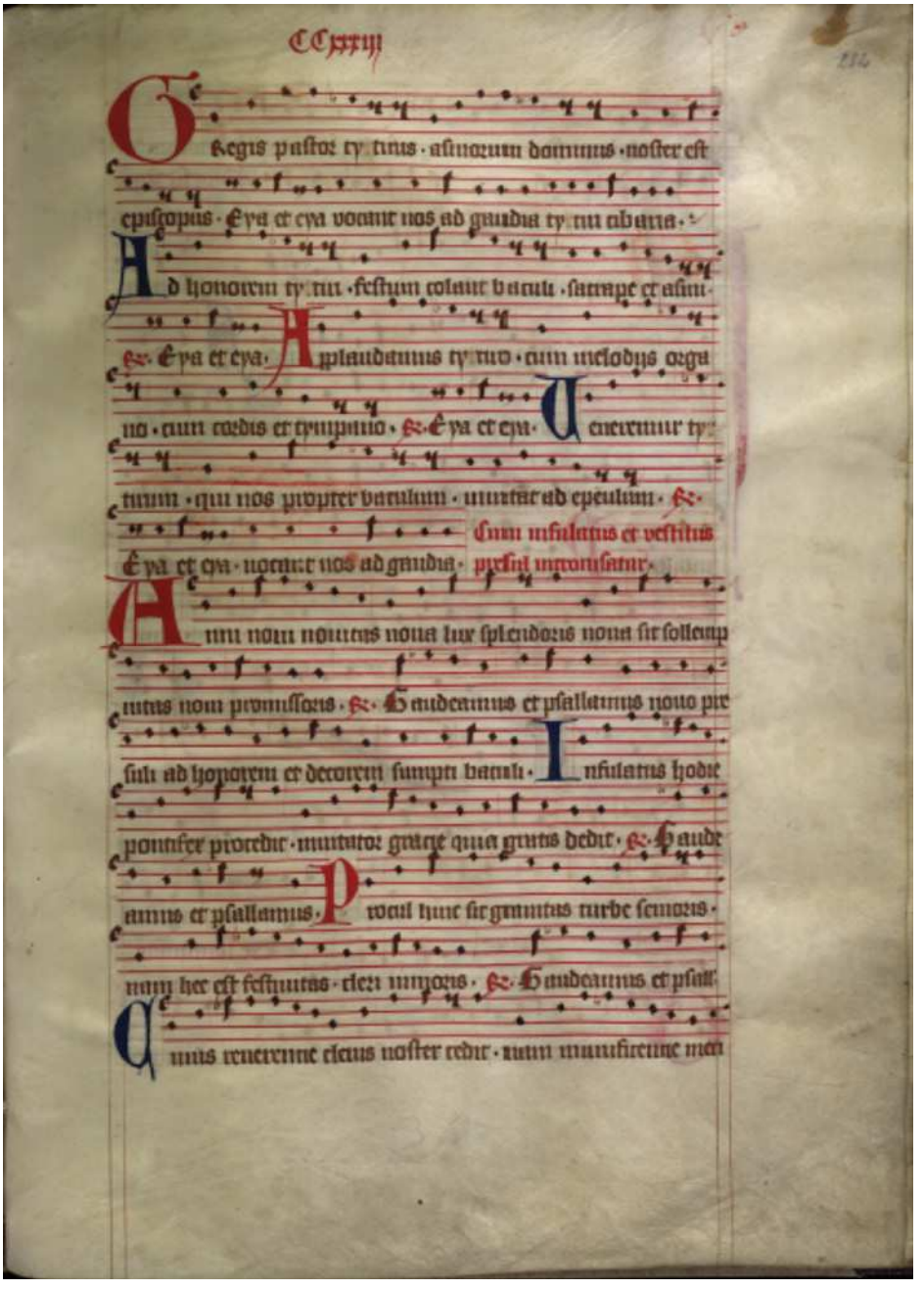


Figure 8. D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. 232r. Public domain.

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different audience/performer demands and so on – a key feature of the Latin conductus is its indebtedness to the liturgy and its manuscript conventions. Specifically, scribal practices in liturgical sources, including the use of rubrics and abbreviations, served as either conscious or unconscious models for the signalling of the repetition in Latin song in a way that does not match the cueing of vernacular *refrains*.

From ritual responses to devotional refrains

When it came to inscribing new genres of poetry and music, scribes permitted themselves a certain flexibility in the *mise en page* by both developing entirely new approaches to layout and freely assigning new uses to old signs.[39] Chief among these 'old' signs were the various abbreviations and cues strewn throughout liturgical sources to indicate the repeated segments in responsorial genres or to indicate a chant that either was familiar enough that it did not need to be written out or else appeared earlier in the same manuscript. In all these cases, we find conventional methods for communicating repetition to singers. While some of these notational conventions occasionally migrated into vernacular contexts, it is in the Latin song repertory that liturgical cueing practices resonate most strikingly. This is not without reason; in contrast to the way in which French *refrains* were preserved in chansonniers and narrative sources, Latin song frequently appeared alongside or within liturgical sources, including tropers, graduals and ornamented festive offices.[40] The proximity of Latin song to the liturgy in terms of physical sources (not to mention language and devotional content) understandably led to shared scribal habits when it came to solving the notational problem presented by refrains.

In the examples of *Luto carens et latere* and *Anni novi novitas* above, two main strategies for refrain cueing are highlighted, both dependent on abbreviation. These strategies survive prior to the cultivation of refrain songs in liturgical contexts, underscoring the relationship between the Latin liturgy on the one hand, and Latin song and its associated scribal culture on the other. The first is a traditional kind of abbreviation, where the repeated text is foreshortened in a number of ways (as in, for example, acronyms). The second strategy is the use of a textual cue, typically a capital 'R' that could represent a variety of Latin nouns and verbs conveying *Re*petition or *Re*turn; this,

[39] See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 189, and Deeming, 'Observations', 59. As Deeming notes with reference to the habits of insular twelfth- and thirteenth-century scribes, 'most striking of all is the flexible approach of these scribes to layout. Those responsible for preparing the music page seem to have been constantly aware of the demands of legibility, elegance and economy of space, and continuously working to resolve them satisfactorily. If a chosen layout presented difficulties, they would adapt it or try out another; within the course of a single musical source, we can see evidence of the scribe experimenting with different design solutions.' See also Deeming, 'Isolated Jottings?'

[40] On liturgical and festive sources for conducti, see Caldwell, 'Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing', 44–53.

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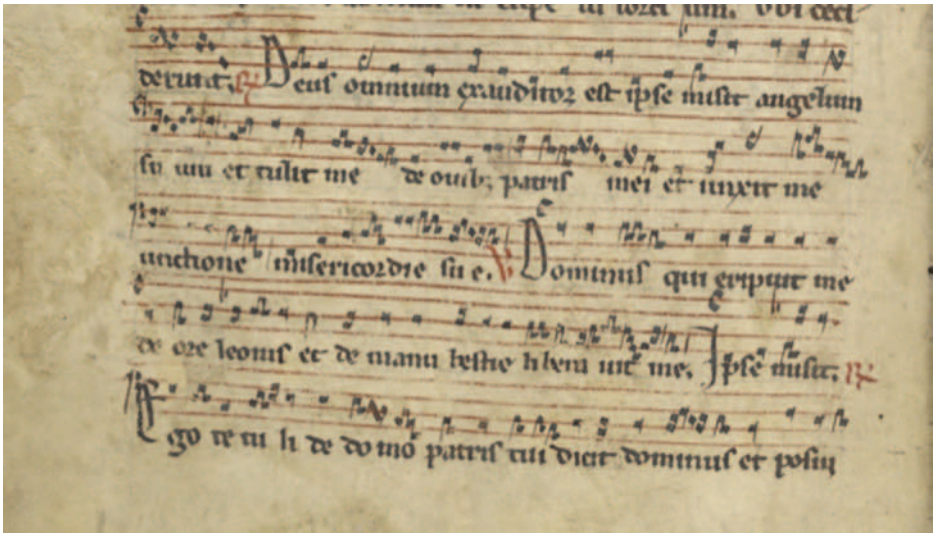


Figure 9. US-PHu codex 1590, fol. 145r, thirteenth-century French antiphonary (?Lyons), verses ('V') with responses ('R'). Reproduced by kind permission of the Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Philadelphia.

too, is a type of abbreviation, albeit of the symbolic kind and based on the addition rather than the subtraction of information (that is, the visual addition of the letter R). Abbreviation and the R cue were the standard methods of notating repeated music and text in liturgical books, and it is these that infiltrate the non-liturgical Latin repertory.[41]

The R cue is the most significant clue in sources of non-liturgical song, since it appears almost entirely within Latin contexts. When the R appears in liturgical books, it typically indicates responsorial performance of antiphons or responsories, genres whose very names are linked etymologically in Greek and Latin, respectively, to repetition and responding.[42] A page from a Lyons antiphoner dating from the thirteenth century shows the alternation of verses and responses, along with their concomitant abbreviations as slashed 'V' and slashed 'R' (see Figure 9). In this and related instances, the R is relatively

[41] More unusual and often unique methods for notating repetition can be found in liturgical books; see, for example, the symbol (more accurately, a stylized abbreviation) , which may mean either 'denuo', 'duplex' or 'dupliciter', used in E-L 8; see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 17, who references Louis Brou, 'L'Alleluia dans la liturgie mozarabe: Étude liturgico-musicale d'après les manuscrits de chant', *Anuario musical*, 6 (1951), 49–52. Rebecca Maloy most recently identifies the symbol as 'dupliciter' in 'Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67 (2014), 1–76 (p. 17 and n. 42). On a related repeat sign in the same repertory which closely resembles a modern 'repeat bar' sign (the second of the symbols on p. 273 above), see Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 114, 206 and 253.

[42] On liturgical refrains, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), §§ 207–8.

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unambiguous, referring to the genre of the chant as well as its structure. The capital letter (depicted here, as in most liturgical books, with a slash on the leg of the letter) aids the singer in navigating a busy page like fol. 145^{r} in US-PHu codex 1590. What the abbreviation in liturgical contexts such as this does not do, however, is indicate repetition; rather, the repetition of the *repetendum* or response is cued with an incipit (here, with the words 'Ipse misit' and its accompanying melodic incipit).[43] The abbreviation is thus textual, not symbolic. This is not always the case; the R can also signify 'repetendum', and therefore a return to a previous segment of the chant.

Removed from the context of chant, the use of R as a cue results in terminological ambiguity. Outside liturgical sources, R does not refer to responsories;[44] at the same time, however, it maintains a link to the responsorial form and repeated *repetendum* by its positioning in relation to the Latin refrain.[45] In a sense, it almost does not matter *what* the letter stands for – in each and every instance, the R cue precedes an identifiable refrain in Latin song repertories. In theoretical terms, given what evidence we have for the etymology of the refrain, the designation 'refrain' virtually always involves the Latin prefix 're-', implying in the construction of the word the element of turning back or *re*peating, much as it does in English (hence *re*turn, *re*iteration, *re*birth and so on). Among the few theorists to label the refrain, Grocheio borrows the liturgical 're-' term ('responsum') while also introducing the term *refractus* (from *refringere*), the latter connoting the idea of 'breaking' into a lyric with the refrain.[46] In

[43] However, in the *Ordo romanus*, rubrics for Introits and Communions include the phrase *versus ad repetendum* to indicate the addition of verses to prolong the chant. It is sometimes seen, too, with hymns that have refrains. Additionally, it is the term used by the editors of the index to *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Reisland, 1886–1922; hereafter *AH*) to indicate texts with refrains. 'Repetendo' also appears in tropes, where it can indicate the return of the original chant text. See, for example, the two Introit tropes for Sts Philip and James (*AH*, xlix (1906), 341); the two texts indicate the repetition of the initial line of the Introit with the phrase 'nunc iterum dulcis repetendo carmina laudis'.

[44] On the use of 'R' to refer to *rithmus* in a medieval drama, for example, see Renate Amstutz, *Ludus de decem virginibus: Recovery of the Sung Liturgical Core of the Thuringian Zehnjungfrauenspiel* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 28–9. Amstutz notes that 'in a non-liturgical context, however, the "stroked" R can stand for several other frequently used words beginning in R', citing the variety of forms in Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane usate nelle carte e codici specialmente del medio-evo*, 6th edn (Milan: Hoepli, 1973), xii–xiv.

[45] Although this is unverifiable, some scholars have suggested that refrain forms including the rondeau originated with responsorial forms in the liturgy, noting structural parallels. See, for example, Marie-Henriette Fernandez, 'Notes sur les origines du rondeau: Le "répons bref" – les "preces" du Graduel de Saint-Yrieix', *Cahiers de civilisation mediévale*, 19/75 (1976), 265–75.

[46] In reference to the refrain in song, Grocheio uses the term *refractus* three times: 'Cantilena vero quelibet rotunda vel rotundellus a pluribus dicitur eo quod ad modum circuli in seipsam reflectitur et incipit et terminatur in eodem. Nos autem solum illam rotundam vel rotundellus dicimus cuius partes non habent diversum cantum a cantu responsorii. vel refractus et longo tractu cantatur velud cantus coronatus' ('But any round or *rotundellus* is called a *cantilena* by many in that it turns back on itself like a circle and begins and is terminated at the same place. We only call it a round or

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an anecdotal rather than a theoretical context, Gerald of Wales likewise struggles to choose between two terms, offering both *refectorium* and *refractorium*.[47] The former denotes the idea of 'refreshing' (thus its more familiar use as the name for the refectory or dining area in monasteries), while the latter derives from the same root as Grocheio's *refractus*, namely *refringere*, to break open or into. As slippery as the terms used for repetition seem to us now, they were clearly equally ambiguous to medieval writers. Also of note is that these terms largely do not explicitly (except by means of their prefix) convey the sense of repetition that the refrain provides in lyrical settings. This seeming disjunction has resulted in the hypothesis that the refrain and its related vocabulary emerged from its functional role as a structural interruption or rupture in song, rather than its inherent repetitiveness.[48]

The question of whether the scribes involved in writing Latin song understood the refrain to be a return or a rupture is partly answerable by considering extant examples where R expands into a decipherable word. In other words, the scribes develop their own terminology for the refrain which, albeit limited, differs from that offered by Grocheio, Gerald of Wales and others. The first example has already been seen in Figure 8 above, with the R cue preceding the refrain of the new year's song *Anni novi novitas* in D-Mu Cim. 100. Although the R is liberally used throughout the *cantionale* (including on the first folio, where it also appears as 'Rep.'), it is not until many folios into the lyrical collection that the R expands outwards into 'Repetitio', preceding the refrain of *Ecce venit de Syon* (see Figure 10).[49] Although three different forms of the same cue are

rotundellus if the parts do not have a *cantus* different from the *cantus* of the response or refrain or if it is sung in drawn-out longs, like the *cantus coronatus*'); 'Cantilena que dicitur stantipes est illa in qua est diversitas in partibus et refractu' ('A *cantilena* which is called a *stantipes* is that in which there is diversity between parts and the refrain'); and 'Partes autem eorum multiplices dicuntur. ut versus. refractorium. vel responsorium. Et additamenta' ('Multiple parts of these are spoken of, such as verse, refrain or response, and supplements'). Grocheio, *Ars musice*, ed. and trans. Crossley *et al.*, 68–9, 70–1. At least twice Grocheio uses *responsorium* rather than *refractus* to refer to the refrain; the first of these is 'Responsorium vero est quo omnis cantilena incipit et terminatur' ('The response is that by which every *cantilena* begins and is terminated'). *Ibid.*, 70–1. On the refrain as a kind of 'rupture' related to the verb *refringere*, see Michel Zink, 'Le lyrisme en rond: Esthétique et séduction des poèmes à forme fixe au Moyen Age', *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises*, 32 (1980), 71–90. For a response to this, see James R. Terry, 'Contingency and Connotation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 2010), 19–21.

[47] The passage is translated in Philip Weller, '*Vox–littera–cantus*: Aspects of Voice and Vocality in Medieval Song', *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence and Alma Santosuosso Bailey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 239–62 (p. 244). The Latin text is edited in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner, 8 vols. (London: Longman, 1861–91), ii (1862), 120.

[48] Zink, 'Le lyrisme en rond', and John Hollander, 'Breaking into Song: Some Notes on Refrain', *Lyric Poetry: Beyond New Criticism*, ed. Chaviva Hošek and Patricia Parker (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 73–89.

[49] While little concrete evidence exists to argue for the choral or responsorial performance of refrains in Latin song, D-Mu Cim. 100 offers some evidence with its use of the rubric 'chorus' in place of 'R' or

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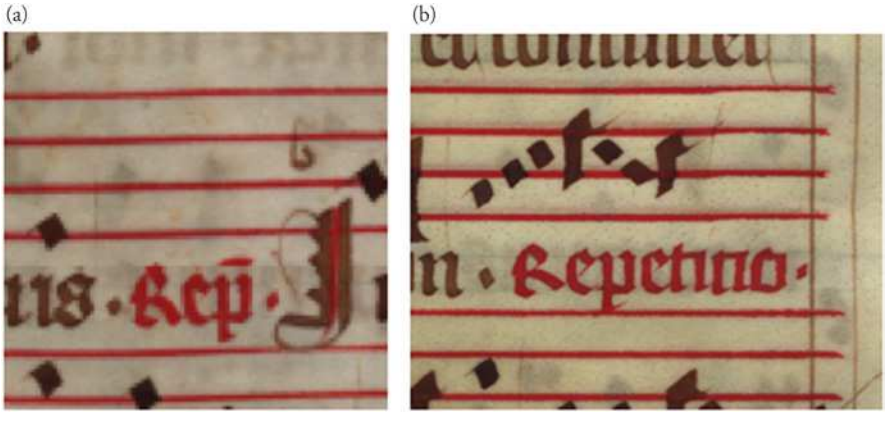


Figure 10. Expanded R abbreviations in D-Mu Cim. 100. (a) fol. 231^{r} (*Castitatis psallamus*); (b) fol. 233^{v} (*Ecce venit de Syon*). Public domain.

used in the *cantionale*, 'R', 'Rep' and 'Repetitio', it nevertheless takes several folios and songs for the full word to emerge. Before reaching fol. 233^{v}, the scribe relies on context and familiarity with the R as it functions in a similar manner within the liturgy to allow for an accurate interpretation of repetition in the songs. Significantly, D-Mu Cim. 100 is not the only source for Latin song in which 'repetitio' or its abbreviation is found. In A-Gu 258, the strophes of the song *Dies ista colitur* are each preceded by a V with a macron (an abbreviation more typically used to signal liturgical verses), while 'repetitio' precedes the refrain (see Figure 11). Here, however, the refrain line following the cue appears only at the end of the entire poem, rather than being inserted after each strophe (a complexity discussed in detail below). Yet, in both D-Mu Cim. 100 and A-Gu 258, the expanded abbreviation 'R' into 'Repetitio' leaves little room for interpretation.

A more ambiguous spelling out of an 'R' cue occurs in D-Mbs clm 4660, where throughout the lyrical collection the abbreviation 'Refl.' alerts singers to the presence of refrains (see Figure 12). Although never fully spelled out, the abbreviation suggests some form of *reflecto*, *reflectere*, to turn back or turn around.[50] Adding further

'repetitio' (see, for example, fols. 249^{v}–250^{r}). See also Figure 18 on p. 311 below, which shows similar rubrics suggesting choral responses in A-Gu 756 and CH-SGs 392.

[50] For this derivation, see Olive Sayce, '*Carmina burana* 180 and the *Mandaliet* Refrain', *Oxford German Studies*, 2 (1967), 1–12 (p. 2); Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina burana: A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992), 22, n. 24; and Charles E. Brewer, '*Vacillantis trutine libramine*: The Problem of Tetrardus Melodies in Latin Cantilene', *Cantus planus: Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993*, ed. László Dobszay, 2 vols. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1995), ii, 799–817 (p. 804). Conversely, Butterfield interprets the abbreviation 'refr.' as 'refractus', the perfect passive participle of *refringo*, *refringere*. Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 187. For a recent reconsideration of D-Mbs clm 4660, including reference to seminal bibliographical items, see Gundela Bobeth, 'Wine, Women, and Song? Reconsidering the *Carmina burana*', *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 79–115.

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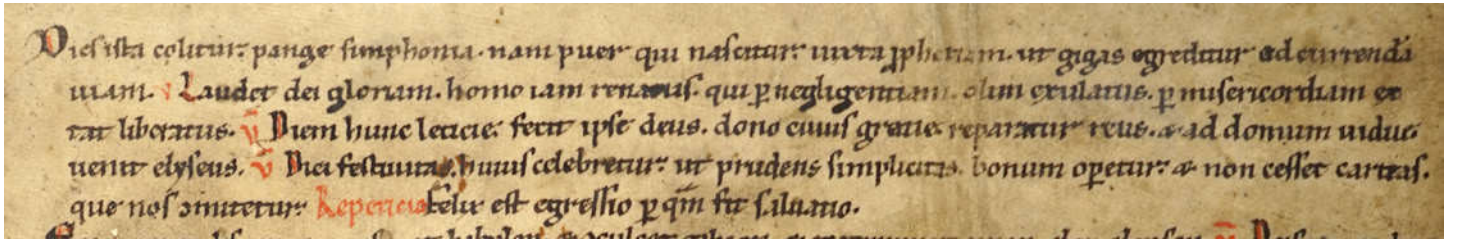


Figure 11. A-Gu 258, fol. 2^{v}, *Dies ista colitur* with 'V' preceding strophes and 'Repetitio' preceding final statement of refrain. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek Graz.

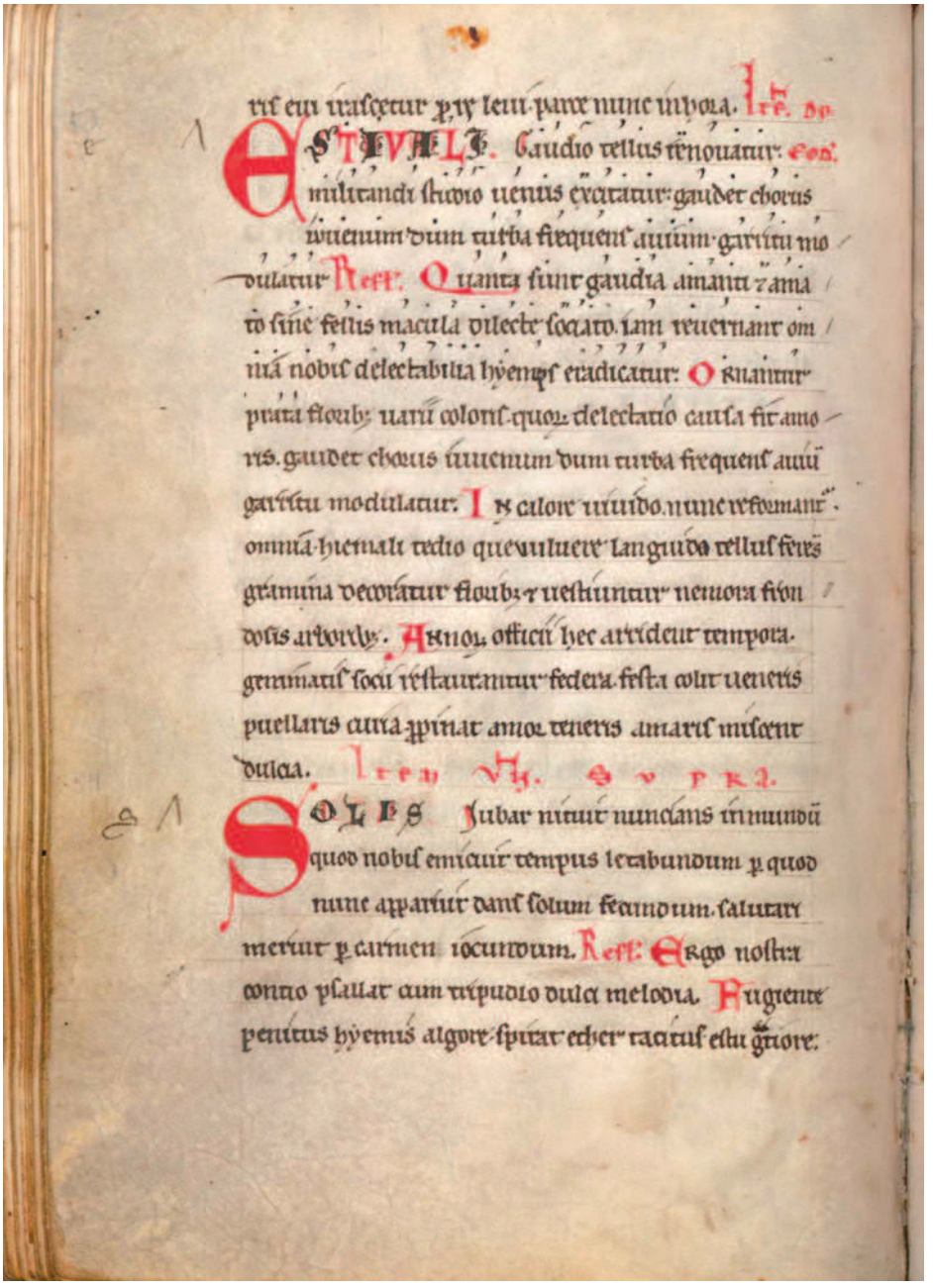


Figure 12. D-Mbs clm 4660, fol. 34^{v}, *Estivali gaudio tellus renovatur* and *Solis iubar intuit*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

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ambiguity, neither 'Refl.' nor the refrain text appears again within individual poems, making its performance after each strophe assumed but not explicit. Resolving such ambiguities, however, are examples like those found on fol. 49^{v}, where three refrain lyrics are inscribed one after the other: *Congaudentes ludite*, *Cur suspectum me tenet domina* and *Juvenes amoriferi* (see Figure 13). In each case, the refrain is treated slightly differently, although all three lyrics utilize 'Refl.' before the first statement of the refrain. In *Congaudentes ludite*, the bilingual refrain beginning 'Audi bela' is initially cued with 'Refl.' and written out in its entirety. Each of the two subsequent strophes are followed only by the two-word incipit 'Audi bela'. The second song, the similarly bilingual *Cur suspectum me tenet domina*, likewise includes 'Refl.' before the written-out French *refrain* 'Torta vers mei dama', but indicates subsequent statements of the *refrain* only with 'T.' Finally, the third song, *Juvenes amoriferi*, indicates the refrain only once with 'Refl.' and thereafter follows the example of Figure 12 by omitting any further cues. The sheer variety and inconsistency in cueing that manifest on a single folio point to the continual labour on the part of the scribe to determine the best way of notating refrains.

The refrains in D-Mbs clm 4660 as well as D-Mu Cim. 100 combine two forms of cueing – the use of textual clues such as 'R' and 'Refl.' and the suspension or contraction of the refrain itself. The latter method of cueing is common throughout vernacular and Latin sources, and finds ample precedent in liturgical books. Suspension generally refers to the use of the first letter of a word or words, and contraction refers to abbreviation down to a few chosen letters.[51] The most plentiful example of the latter is the contraction of the sacred refrain 'Alleluia' down to its constituent vowels, 'AEUIA', paralleling the similar contraction of the lesser doxology 'Euouae' (from the closing 'saeculorum Amen').[52] Instances abound in liturgical books in the pages around Easter

[51] For a recent overview of abbreviations in Latin, albeit with an emphasis on encoding, see Alpo Honkapohja, 'Manuscript Abbreviations in Latin and English: History, Typologies and How to Tackle Them in Encoding', *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English*, 14: *Principles and Practices for the Digital Editing and Annotation of Diachronic Data* (2013), <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/honkapohja/> (accessed 1 May 2018). The standard resource for Latin abbreviations remains (in a variety of more recent editions) Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum*. For a discussion of suspension abbreviations in particular and their function as mnemonic cues, see Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 64–5.

[52] The abbreviation of 'Alleluia' is found both in the liturgy proper and in tropes and devotional songs. See, for example, the two-part *Benedicamus domino* song for Easter in I-AO D16, fols. 68^{v}–69^{r}, which concludes with a fragmented and repeated *Alleluia*: 'Alle, alle, alleluya, / Alle, alle, alleluya'; and a tenth-century sequence (*AH*, vii (1886), 98) that tropes its origins in the liturgical *Alleluia* by beginning the first line with a division of 'Alleluia' into two parts: 'Alle – celeste necnon et perhenne – luia'. The former is transcribed in Frank Ll. Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source', *Acta musicologica*, 37 (1965), 35–47 (p. 45), no. 11. The latter is edited in Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 392–3.

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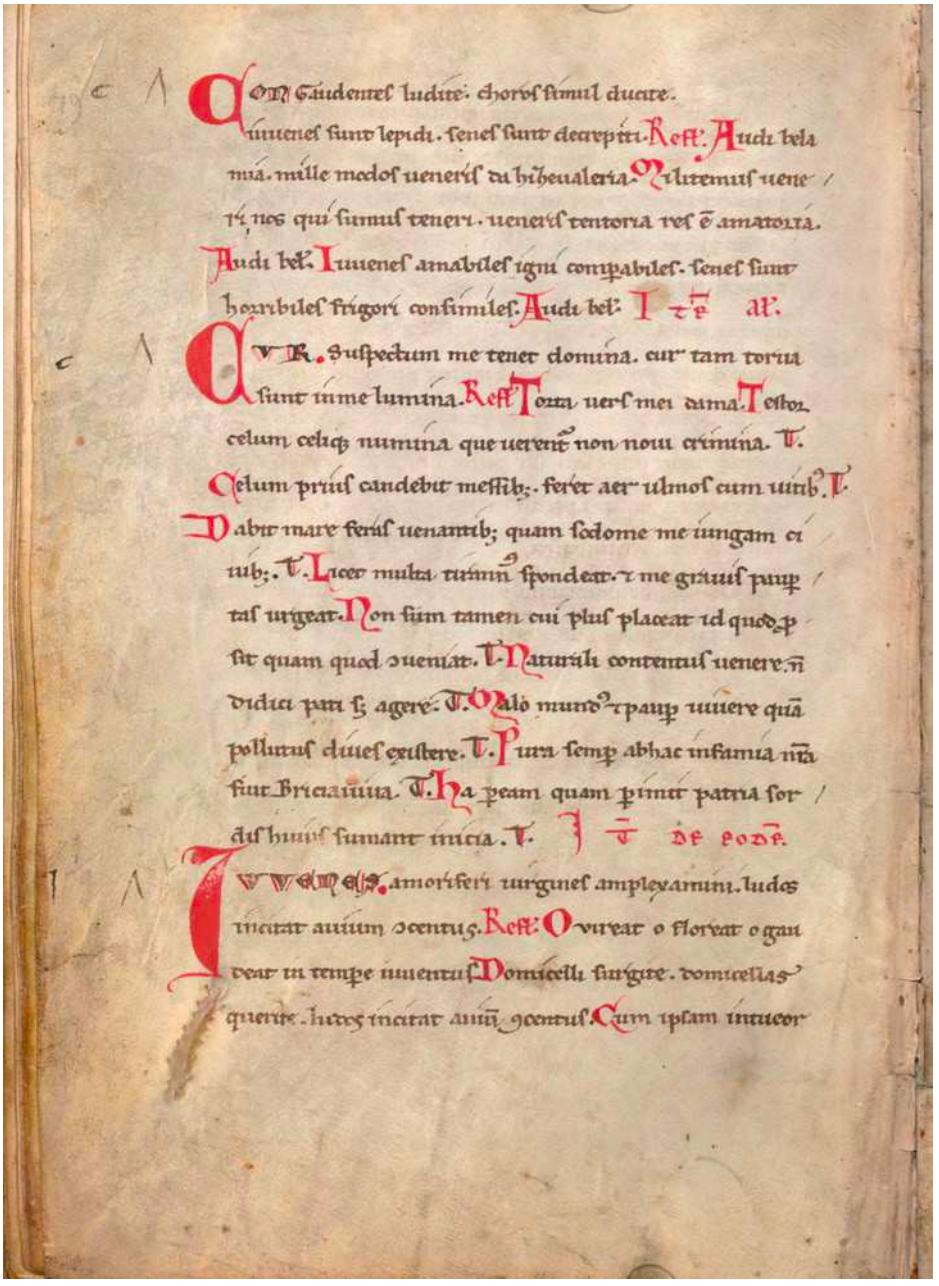


Figure 13. D-Mbs clm 4660, fol. 49^{v}, *Congaudentes ludite*, *Cur suspectum me tenet domina* and *Juvenes amoriferi*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

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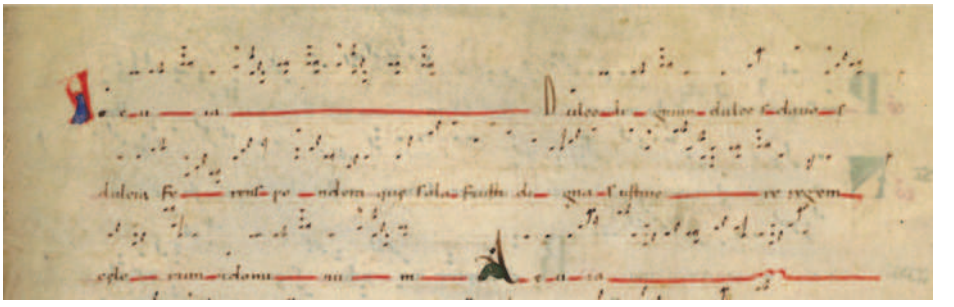


Figure 14. F-Pn fonds lat. 780, fol. 74[r]. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

when the *Alleluia* (bid farewell at the beginning of Lent[53]) is welcomed back into the church. One way of orientating oneself in a liturgical book calendrically is, in fact, to leaf through until abbreviated *Alleluia*s catch the eye. An example from F-Pn fonds lat. 780 demonstrates that even when a scribe has the space to spell out 'Alleluia' fully, the abbreviated form is still preferred (see Figure 14). While a novice to medieval manuscripts may be perplexed by the incessant use of 'AEUIA', for the medieval reader or singer it was utterly commonplace – a musical and textual reflection of a practice that any student would have been familiar with from memorizing the psalter during the initial years of a religious education. The psalms were frequently signalled with abbreviations in the form of suspensions and contractions: Psalm 1, 'Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum', for example, would appear as solely the incipit 'Beatus vir' or 'Beatus vir &c', as well as fully abbreviated to 'b.u.q.n.a.'[54]

This same procedure of suspension and contraction is used to differing effects in notated and unnotated Latin lyrics. In a song such as *Ave Maria virgo virginum* (in I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 469[v]), the two discrete refrains that comprise the repeated portions of the song are presented in similarly abbreviated forms: •Ave• and •ave•m•u•u• for 'Ave Maria virgo virginum', the first refrain, and •arens•, •arēs• and •arens•u•y•f• for 'Arens virgula Yesse floruit', the second refrain (Figure 15). What makes this example unusual is not solely the presence of two refrains (one of only a handful of Latin songs with variable refrains), but also the variety of ways in which the scribe abbreviates the two texts. Although this example survives with notation, the refrain

[53] On the tradition of 'deposing' or burying the *Alleluia*, see Eugène Martin, 'Les adieux à l'Alleluia: Souvenir du moyen âge', *Revue du clergé français*, 9 (1896), 551–3; Martin, 'Les adieux à l'Alleluia', *Revue du chant gregorien*, 16 (1907–8), 130–1; Franz Xaver Weiser, *Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs: The Year of the Lord in Liturgy and Folklore* (New York: Harcourt Brace, [1952]), 157–60; and Michel Robert, 'Les adieux à l'Alleluia', *Études grégoriennes*, 7 (1967), 41–51. See also the warm farewell to the Alleluia advocated in the twelfth century by Durandus in *Rationale*, CC140a, book 6, chapter 24, paragraph 18, trans. in Weiser, *Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs*, 158.

[54] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 106 and 127. Note that 'u' and 'v' are interchangeable, hence 'uir' or 'vir'.

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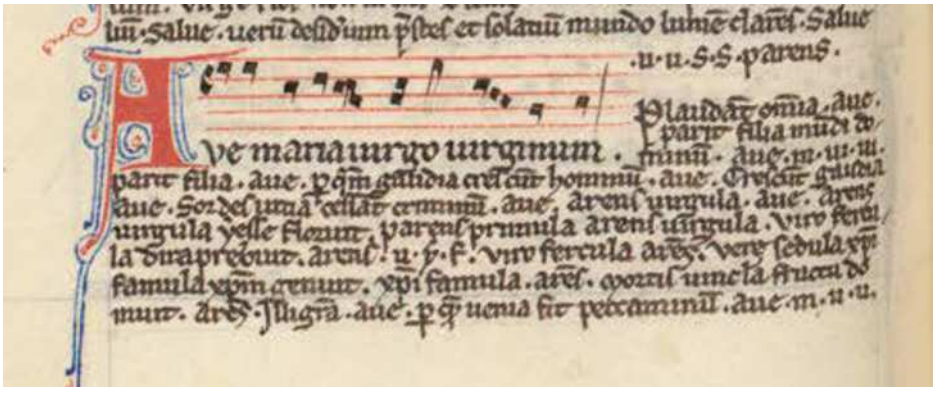


Figure 15. I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 469^{v}, *Ave Maria virgo virginum*. On concession of the MiBACT. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

cues never occur alongside notation, thus resembling the cueing of unnotated sources such as F-Pn fonds lat. 15131. Throughout the lyrical collection of F-Pn fonds lat. 15131, refrain abbreviations are arranged along the right side of the lyric, further underscored by paraphs along the left side, which are used to organize the underlying strophic structure (see Figure 16).[55] The abbreviation of the first word of the refrain to the right of the strophes – from 'Jherusalem' to 'Jhrm' – reveals unmistakably the repetitive form of the lyric. Unlike *Ave Maria virgo virginum*, here the scribe contracts the refrain consistently, echoing the regular treatment of refrain lyrics throughout the collection.

Whether through abbreviated cue words or through abbreviation of the refrain itself, the layout of Latin song owes a debt to cueing practices in liturgical sources. In liturgical and extraliturgical contexts, abbreviations stem from at least two interrelated impulses, the first a practical impulse to value space and labour, and the second, more abstractly, a desire to articulate underlying formal structures visually. In both cases, refrain abbreviation demonstrates reliance on both short- and long-term memory and an expectation of form. In the absence of fully written-out repeats of the refrain, signs, symbols and abbreviations are left to remind a singer what to perform, creating an implicit reliance on previous familiarity with a given text, melody and underlying form.

[55] The use of similar symbols and formatting to indicate refrain forms is found throughout the lyrics of IRL-KEp n.s. (the Red Book of Ossory); see, for example, fol. 70^{v} (*En Christi fit memoria*) and fol. 71^{r} (*Iubila rutila mater ecclesia*). On these symbols and their development beginning in the twelfth century, see Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 41–9 and 305. The ¶ (paraph or pilcrow) is a symbol derived ultimately from 'C' or 'K' indicating a new chapter (*capitulum*), but eventually indicated new sections, paragraphs, stanzas and so on, while § (*paragraphus*) typically indicated the beginning of a new paragraph or section. On the use of paraphs and braces in verse, see *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, ed. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 87–9.

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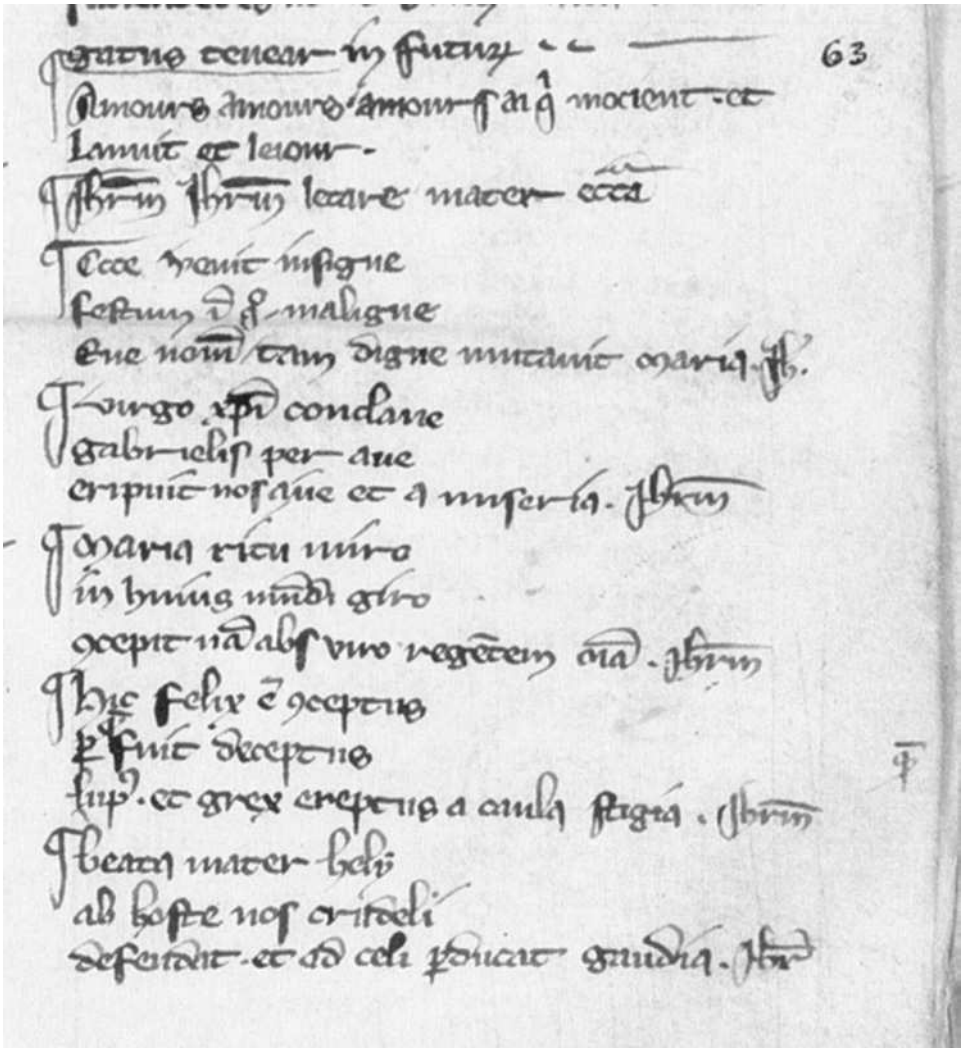


Figure 16. F-Pn fonds lat. 15131, fol. 183r, *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, letare mater ecclesia*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

In deluxe manuscripts such as I-Fl Plut. 29.1, where clarity of presentation was highly valued, refrains and their position in individual songs are virtually always indicated clearly. Yet it is not always true that refrains are consistently and unambiguously cued, and this presents problems for both scholars and performers.[56] So what are the

[56] Chronologically and geographically removed from the repertory of Latin song discussed here is the English carol, whose notational conventions include the burden (the repeated portion of text and music akin to a refrain) notated only once within a given lyric. Its repetition throughout the carol

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implications for performance – and for the status of the Latin refrain more generally – when cueing practices in song alternate between absence and ambiguity?

Unmoored refrains

Two fourteenth-century manuscripts from the Benedictine abbey of St Lambrecht in Austria, now in the University Library of Graz, preserve traces of earlier Notre Dame repertory, specifically conducti: A-Gu 258 and 409.[57] In each of the sources, together containing a miscellaneous combination of practical and liturgical materials, a collection of partly notated Latin conducti with refrains is embedded within a larger collection of 54 conducti and other poetic texts.[58] In A-Gu 258, 8 out of 12 conducti include refrains of varying forms and lengths, and in A-Gu 409 those numbers expand to 32 out of 39. Within this combined total of 40 refrain songs, only six are concordant between the two sources. At least 22 of the refrain-form conducti have concordances outside the Graz sources, although not all concordances have the same, or even any, refrain (see Appendix 2). The strophic lyrics in A-Gu 258 and 409 are clearly unusual: not only do they include a remarkably high ratio of conducti with refrains compared with those without, but also the form and cueing of the

is thus assumed. Occasionally, certain cues will be used, such as '& cetera', to indicate the burden's return throughout a carol. On the English carol burden, see *The Early English Carols*, ed. Richard L. Greene, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), cxxxiii–cxlv.

57 Gordon A. Anderson, 'Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter dicta', *Musical Quarterly*, 58 (1972), 349–64; Walther Lipphardt, 'Zur Herkunft der Carmina burana', *Literatur und Bildende Kunst im Tiroler Mittelalter: Die Iwein-Fresken von Rodenegg und andere Zeugnisse der Wechselwirkung von Literatur und bildender Kunst*, ed. Egon Kühebacher (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik der Universität Innsbruck, 1982), 209–23; Charles E. Brewer, 'In Search of Lost Melodies: The Latin Songs of *Graz* 756', *Dies est leticie: Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei*, ed. David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008), 93–111. On liturgical sources from St Lambrecht, see Stefan Engels, 'Die liturgischen Handschriften aus St. Lambrecht (Steiermark)', *Cantus Planus: Study Group of the International Musicological Society: Papers Read at the 16th Meeting, Vienna, Austria, 2011*, ed. Robert Klugseder (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Musikforschung, 2012), 135–42. The Graz sources are also referenced in Rudolph Flotzinger, 'Non-Mensural Sacred Polyphony (Discantus) in Medieval Austria', *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 43–61 (pp. 47–8).

58 In A-Gu 258 the lyrics are found on fol. $2^{r–v}$; in A-Gu 409 on fols. 1^{r}–2^{v}, 70^{v}–72^{v} and 273^{r}. Many include the rubric 'conductus'. The total of 54 texts includes three sequences; these are not counted as conducti in the discussion that follows. Anderson suggests that the hand might be the same for the lyrics in both sources: 'If the hand which wrote these two appended collections in manuscripts issuing from the same monastery at approximately the same period is not identical, then it is very similar indeed.' 'Thirteenth-Century Conductus ', 356. Anderson also provides a listing of the lyrical additions: *ibid.*, 355–6 and 358–9. CPI contains the most recent updates of these lists, including current accounts of concordances.

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TABLE 1
RECYCLED REFRAINS IN A-GU 258 AND 409

Refrain incipit	*Occurrences in mss*		*Totals*
	258	*409*	
Gaudeat	1	12	13
Apparuit	3	4	7
Eia	2	4	6
Sonet	0	3	3
Felix	1	1	2
Hei [*in*] *ista die*	0	2	2

songs throughout a mere handful of folios in each source represent some of the most ambiguous within contemporaneous Latin repertories. The haphazard cueing in the conducti of A-Gu 258 and 409, however, shines light on practices around the Latin refrain, pointing to both the importance of examining the scribal habits around refrain notation and its implications for performance practice and interpretation.

The lion's share of the refrain-form conducti utilizes only six distinctive refrain incipits, with the majority reusing a mere four refrain incipits (see Table 1).[59] The picture conveyed by this table is far more familiar in the context of the French *refrain*, where concordances and reuse within and among sources are readily anticipated.[60] In Latinate contexts, the sharing of refrains among several works is rare enough to remain virtually unnoticed. Yet in these two 'marginal' sources, refrains freely roam from lyric to lyric, occasionally evolving in length or word order, but always retaining an identical incipit or cue word.

In perusing the collections of conducti, their generic identity is unambiguous, with red rubrics clearly proclaiming (at least in A-Gu 409) the lyrics to be conductus. Refrains are less immediately obvious to the eye in the absence of interpuncts and symbols, and

[59] Since the Graz sources frequently cue the refrain only by means of an incipit, there is some ambiguity concerning how each individual refrain would be expanded. For example, the refrain cue 'Gaud.' (also appearing as 'Gaudeat' and 'Gad.') could refer to either 'Gaudeat omnis homo' or 'Gaudeat, gaudeat, gaudeat ecclesia'. Only in three instances in either A-Gu 258 or 409 is the refrain fully expanded (in *Sancta pia fert Maria* for the former and *Novi partus gaudium* for the latter). None of the other 'Gaudeat' cues is either resolved fully or has concordances that utilize the same refrain. There is at least one concordance for the refrain 'Gaudeat omnis homo' in a versus not transmitted in the Graz sources: *Regi nato domino* (F-Pn fonds lat. 1139, fols. 41^{v}–42^{r}). Two possible forms exist for the 'Eia' refrains, while the remaining refrain families (*Sonet*, *Apparuit*, *Hei* and *Felix*) function more regularly; see Appendix 2.

[60] As scholars have recently observed, however, not all French *refrains* have concordances, nor is their definition completely reliant upon their inclusion in song forms. See, for example, Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 1–4 and 8–29. Boogaard's catalogue of *refrains* and their concordances, *Rondeaux et refrains*, remains the seminal work in this area; it has, however, been updated and expanded in the 'REFRAIN' database referenced in note 12 above.

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abbreviations are utilized throughout the lyrics, and not solely in refrains, furthering the visual complexity of the layout. Similarly, capital letters highlighted with red begin all strophes, as well as refrains and references to the Virgin Mary, making visual distinctions based on colour and letter-case challenging. Further complicating the situation in A-Gu 409 is the fact that refrains are normally cued only once, each time following the ultimate strophe of the conductus; there are only three exceptions where the refrain copied at the end is complemented by internal, typically short, refrains.[61] Essentially, without recourse to concordant sources, the conducti in A-Gu 409 superficially seem to lack refrains. In A-Gu 258, conversely, refrain cues in half of the conducti appear following each strophe, while in the other half the refrain is appended solely at the end, as in A-Gu 409. Likewise, the scribe in A-Gu 258 utilizes the cue word 'repetitio' preceding the refrain of one conductus, *Dies ista colitur* – the only clear reference in either manuscript to repetition; yet here, too, the refrain and its accompanying 'repetitio' cue occur only at the end of the poem (see Figure 11 on p. 297).

Far more frequently in the Graz sources, refrains lack explicit signalling. How, then, are refrains recognized as such? Most of the time, what I label 'refrains' are actually 'tags' ranging from one to several words attached solely to the end of poems (see Figure 17a below). Given this unusual layout, one approach to discerning poetic form is to attend to the disjuncture that the appended refrain creates with the preceding rhymed, rhythmical and symmetrical strophes (see Table 2). As the scansion of *Ave maris stella divinitatis* illustrates, the strophes follow an identical pattern with respect to syllable count, rhyme scheme and accent, and only in the final lines is this interrupted by a move to eight-syllable and three-syllable lines and a proparoxytonic stress. As a whole, the lyrical appendages interrupt the scansion of the poem in some way, demonstrating a break (to echo the theoretical emphasis on *refringere*, 'to break', as the etymology of the refrain) from the preceding context and suggesting instead more independent roles as refrains.

Evidence of refrains far less reliant on the interpretation of lyrical breaks can be found in concordances between and beyond the two Graz sources. Taking a conductus unique to the Graz sources as an example, *Umbram destruxit penitus*, the relative absence of cueing in A-Gu 409 finds clarity in the consistent cueing of A-Gu 258 (see Figure 17). In A-Gu 409, periods punctuate the continuous lines comprising the four strophes, followed after the final strophe by 'Apparuit' with a capital 'A' (capital letters usually indicate the beginning of a new strophe) and a period. Conversely, in A-Gu 258, the first two strophes are followed by 'Apparuit' (both with a capital 'A' and a period after the word), and the second two strophes by the abbreviation 'App.' With the version in A-Gu 258 as an intertext, the appended 'Apparuit' in A-Gu 409

[61] These exceptions, all of which have concordances outside the Graz sources, are *Lux optata claruit* (fol. 2^{r-v}), *Verbum patris humanatur* (fol. 71^{r}) and *Nove geniture* (fols. 1^{v}–2^{r}). One of the few musicologists to consider these two sources in any depth refers to the appended refrains only as follows: 'The acclamations *Gaudeat* and *Sonet vox letitie* [*sic*] frequently occur at the end of these pieces.' Anderson, 'Thirteenth-Century Conductus', 361, n. 318.

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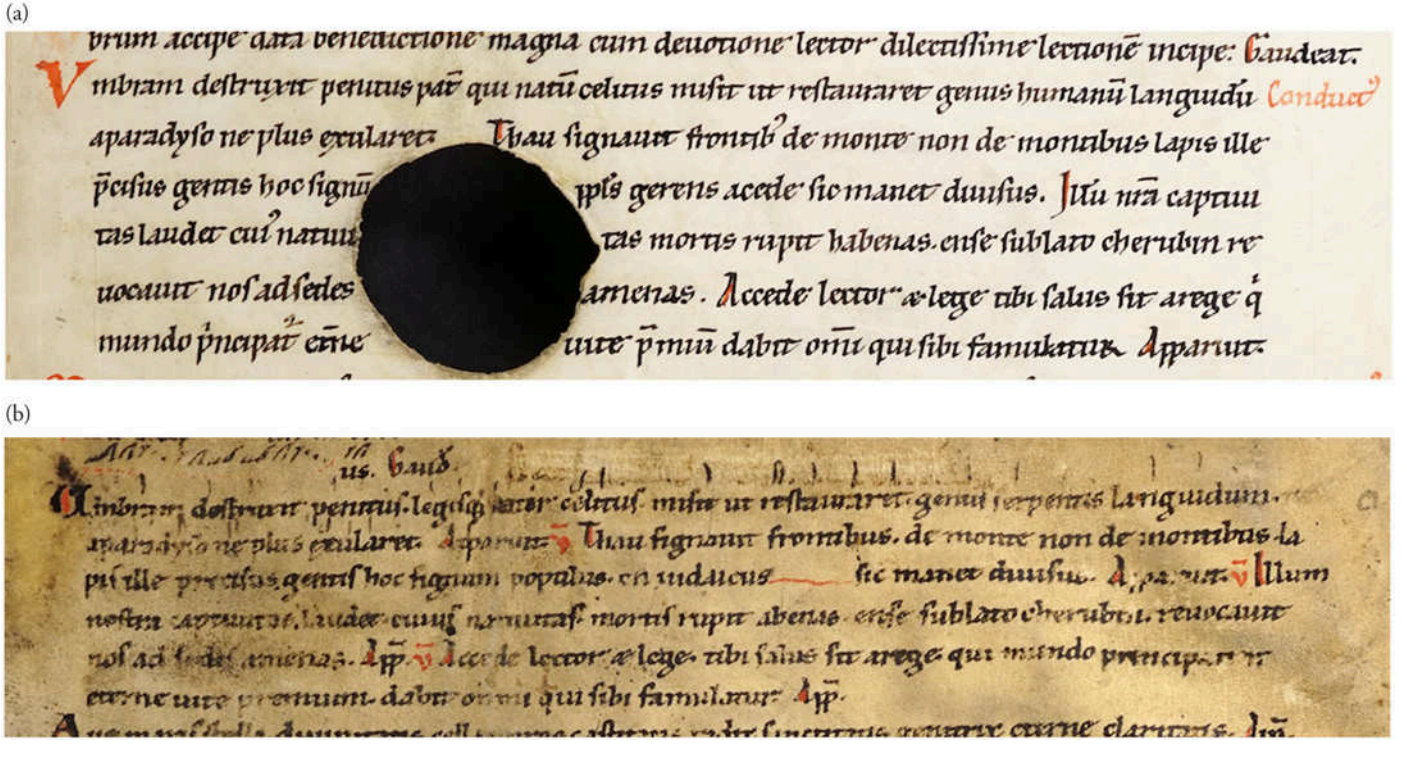


Figure 17. (a) A-Gu 409, fol. 72r; (b) A-Gu 258, fol. 2r. *Umbram destruxit penitus*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek Graz.

TABLE 2

SCANSION OF *AVE MARIS STELLA DIVINITATIS*, STROPHES 1 AND 5 AND REFRAIN (A-GU 258, FOL. 2[R] AND 409, FOLS. 71[V]–72[R])

Lyric	*Syllables*	*Rhyme*	*Accent*[a]
1. Ave maris stella,	6	a	p
Divinitatis cella,	7	a	p
Virgo castitatis,	6	b	p
Radix sanctitatis,	6	b	p
Genitrix eterne claritatis.	10	b	p
[STROPHES 2–4]			
5. Virgo singularis,	6	a	p
Maria stella maris,	7	A	p
Salus in procella,	6	b	p
Regalis puella,	6	b	p
Dominum pro nobis interpella.	10	B	p
REFRAIN			
Apparuit, apparuit,	8	a	pp
Quem virgo pia genuit	8	a	pp
Maria.	3	b	p

[a] 'p' = paroxytonic stress; 'pp' = proparoxytonic stress

emerges more clearly as a refrain that, in performance, would be inserted after each strophe. In both manuscripts, however, only the word 'Apparuit' ('He appeared') is included, suggesting a one-word refrain. Yet Table 1 includes seven instances between the two sources of the 'Apparuit' refrain, and among these, five include only this one-word incipit or, even more troubling, its abbreviation as 'App.' Only once in each source does the refrain expand outwards, becoming the lengthier 'Apparuit, apparuit quem virgo pia genuit Maria' ('He appeared, he appeared, he who was brought forth from the holy Virgin Mary'), in both cases appended to *Ave maris stella divinitatis*. The single word 'Apparuit' seems to function as a cue not only for the refrain within an individual lyric, but also for the longer version of the refrain found elsewhere in each source. Such is the situation, too, for the other shared incipits, although the 'Gaudeat' and 'Eia' refrains vary, making it difficult at times to discern the fully expanded form of the refrain.

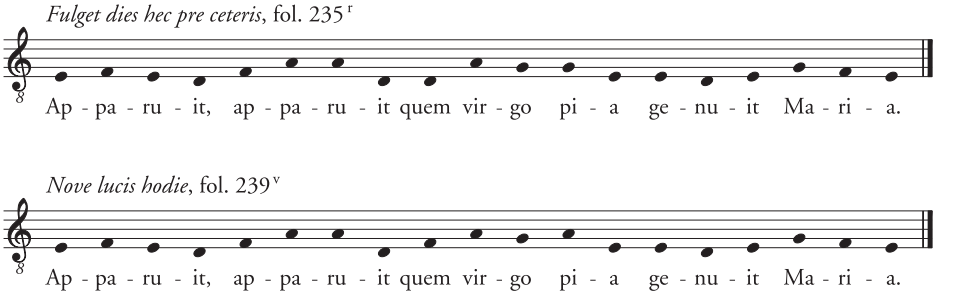
In the case of more variable refrains, as well as the 'Apparuit' complex, external concordances shed light on the situation in the Graz sources. The 'Apparuit' refrain belongs to a complex of Christmas songs known by its Latin incipit *Resonet in laudibus*, with origins in Nativity dialogues.[62] In the Graz sources, 'Apparuit' is unmoored from

[62] On this song and its intricate dissemination, see Konrad Ameln, '"Resonet in laudibus" – "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein"', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 15 (1970), 52–112; Walther Lipphardt, '"Magnum nomen domini Emanuel": Zur Frühgeschichte der Cantio "Resonet in laudibus"', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 17 (1972), 194–204; and Brewer, 'In Search of Lost Melodies', 98.

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its place in any dramatic scene and instead is linked to a series of strophic conducti celebrating Christ's Nativity. This parallels the role of the refrain in D-Mu Cim. 100, where it appears notated in two songs, *Fulget dies hec pre ceteris* (fol. 235^{r}, for Christmas) and *Nove lucis hodie* (fol. 239^{v}, for the Virgin Mary). This source also offers a glimpse into the possible music for the refrain in the Graz sources, where it survives without notation (see Example 1).[63] In D-Mu Cim. 100, unlike in the Graz sources, the 'Apparuit' refrain is clearly cued after each strophe. In *Fulget dies*, the cue 'repetitio' and its abbreviation 'R' precede the refrain, while *Nove lucis hodie* has only the latter abbreviation; in both songs the refrain appears written out fully after the first strophe and thereafter is contracted to a two-word incipit 'Apparuit, apparuit'. The identities of other single-word refrains in the Graz sources are confirmed by similar concordances, although in some cases the concordances either do not have a refrain at all or have a different refrain (for example, *In natali summi regis* in A-Gu 409, fol. 72^{r}, is also transmitted in D-Mu Cim. 100 with a variable refrain and in GB-Cu Ff.1.17(1), fol. 4^{r} without a refrain at all). In other words, the Graz sources at times *add* refrains to songs, elaborating works by 'troping' them with repeated segments of text and music. This is especially striking with respect to conducti such as *Nove geniture*, *Ecce venit de Syon* and *Verbum patris humanatur*, which survive with refrains in other sources; the addition of refrains in the Graz sources represents the doubling of repetitive and structural elements in each conductus.

Example 1. 'Apparuit' refrains in D-Mu Cim. 100 from *Fulget dies hec pre ceteris* (fol. 235^{r}) and *Nove lucis hodie* (fol. 239^{v})



[63] *Ave maris stella divinitas* does appear notated in two later sources, the 1582 and 1625 printings of the *Piae cantiones* (see Appendix 2) with music for the refrain that is related to Example 1. The refrain beginning 'Apparuit' appears also within a *Resonet in laudibus* complex in D-Mu Cim. 100, fols. 246^{r}–247^{r}, albeit without clear indication of the 'Apparuit' text and music as a refrain. *Fulget dies hec pre ceteris* is unique to D-Mu Cim. 100, while *Nove lucis hodie* is also transmitted (with the same refrain) in A-Gu 756, fol. 187^{r} as part of *Resonet in laudibus*, in CH-SGs 1397, p. 22, and in CH-SGs 392, pp. 88–9. A strophic conductus with text also related to *Resonet in laudibus* is transmitted in both I-AO C3 and D16, with the same refrain. On the Aosta sources and their contents, see Kurt von Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts', *Acta musicologica*, 36 (1964), 79–97 (pp. 87–90), and Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol'.

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One possible hypothesis is that the Graz sources reflect a practice of adding, in performance, familiar and communal responses, refrains that the community of singers knew from other songs and could freely tack on to other works. That the refrains in the Graz sources could have been sung chorally is attested in at least two other concordant sources, A-Gu 756 and CH-SGs 392 (see Figure 18).[64] The refrains of both *Stella nova radiat* and *Nove lucis hodie* survive in the Graz sources (although the latter conductus poem does not) with the refrains beginning, respectively, 'Ergo novis' and 'Apparuit'. However, the use of the rubric 'chorus' preceding the refrains in A-Gu 756 and CH-SGs 392 marks these as noteworthy witnesses of performance practice. More descriptive than terms such as *repetitio* and *reflectio*, these choral rubrics emphasize responsorial performance initiated by the entrance of the refrain. Particularly in CH-SGs 392, the monophonic refrain interrupts three-part polyphonic strophes, highlighting the literal and figurative coming together of voices in the response. Considering that concordances for these performative refrains exist in the Graz collections, it is tempting to posit a similarly choral performance practice, one in which a curated collection of responses could serve a range of lyrical settings. Moreover, the ambiguity of refrain cueing in Graz may not be symptomatic of a haphazard scribal approach, but instead an implicit signal of a performance practice involving the interpolation of well-known choral refrains in devotional songs.

Above and beyond hypothetical performance implications, the cueing of refrains in A-Gu 258 and 409 alerts us to new insights into the Latin refrain. Rather than being a static structural feature, the Latin refrain had a more active and itinerant role in song, perhaps bringing it closer in spirit to the intertextual French *refrain*. Although complicated by inconsistent and absent cueing, the movement of refrains between and among songs and sources illustrates the vibrant life of Latin song and highlights the possibility that the Latin refrain was far more pervasive in performance than previously understood. Much of this revised perspective on the refrain derives from the cueing practices in A-Gu 258 and 409, which illustrate a flexible approach to the interpolation of refrains in song and a kind of itinerancy not usually associated with Latin song repertories. Seemingly inconsistent and even insufficient, the cueing of the Graz refrains may also reflect the needs of the manuscript's users; as Malcolm Parkes observes: 'The way in which a text was presented on the page had to be appropriate not only to the needs of these readers but also to the content of the text.'[65] To put it another way, approaches to cueing repetition convey something about the performers and their understanding of song.[66] Layout, including the use of signs, symbols and

[64] On the songs in A-Gu 756, see Wolfgang Irtenkauf, 'Das Seckauer Cantionarium vom Jahre 1345 (Hs. Graz 756)', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13 (1956), 116–41, and Brewer, 'In Search of Lost Melodies'.

[65] Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 55.

[66] As Deeming and Leach likewise note: 'These manuscript witnesses both strongly suggest that the gatherers of song took care to avoid redundancy in the form and extent of their musical inscriptions, and were acutely aware of the degree of musical knowledge (or foreknowledge) they could expect of those using the books that they assembled […]. Numerous other cases of musical notations that seem – from

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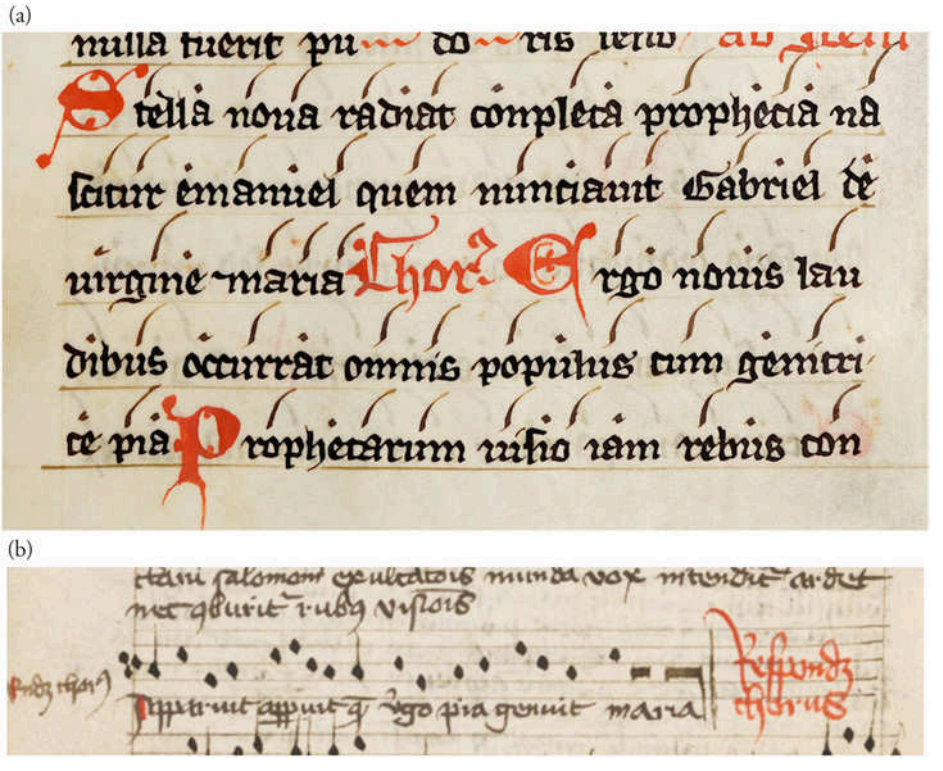


Figure 18. (a) A-Gu 756, fol. 186r, *Stella nova radiat*; (b) CH-SGs 392, p. 89, *Nove lucis hodie*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek Graz and the Stiftsbibliothek St Gall.

abbreviations to indicate the return of text and music, 'predispose[s] the reader to *react* to the text in a particular fashion'.[67] The cueing of refrains initiates a reaction by prompting the memory and by creating an expectation of form.

Sing it again

The cueing of Latin refrains is embedded in a specific cultural and material moment when innovations in the layout of the manuscript book were rapidly proliferating.[68] As

our perspective – to be incomplete, partial, or inadequate, can be shown instead to represent scribes inscribing only so much as was required for a given purpose.' Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Songs, Scattered and Gathered', *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*, ed. Deeming and Leach, 271–85 (pp. 273–4).

67 Edward A. Levenston, *The Stuff of Literature: Physical Aspects of Texts and their Relation to Literary Meaning* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 108.

68 'Innovations in layout of the manuscript page are surely the most highly visible of all the twelfth-century aids to study – such techniques as running headlines, chapter titles in red, alternating red and

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increased attention was paid to the visual presentation of texts (musical and otherwise), scribes necessarily sought ways of inscribing song and its constituent parts which reflected form, genre and even performance. As the examples in this article witness, no single system for notating repetition dominated. Instead, borrowing methods from liturgical manuscripts and building on conventions of abbreviation, the scribes of medieval song, and especially the conductus, experimented with ways of cueing refrains and marking out repeats by means of signs, symbols and abbreviations. One of the distinguishing factors is not so much genre as language – cueing practices in Latin songs were more deeply indebted to and linked with the conventions found in liturgical books. Yet the distinction between refrain signalling in Latin and that in vernacular contexts is far from sharp; in addition to telling us about shared authorship and a porous scribal culture, the notation of refrains in both linguistic realms tells us something about the songs and their performers. Moreover, by considering the marking off of repetition on the page, we gain a fuller understanding of the lives of refrains beyond their structural function. This is particularly significant in consideration of the Graz sources, where the static nature of the Latin refrain is upended and a revised vision of Latin refrains as moveable, circulating and evolving modules of text and music emerges.[69]

Ultimately, the performance of these refrains – both then and now – is at stake. As Bent writes: 'There is obviously a special relationship between the work and its physical presentation both in sound and in notation. The appearance of the notation affects the way one reads the music.'[70] Although Bent may not have been envisioning here the twelfth- and thirteenth-century flourishing of songs with refrains, her emphasis on the link between appearance and performance is vitally important. The physical layout of songs and refrains, and perhaps most importantly the variability of that layout, sheds light on questions of genre and form, scribal habits and influences, and performance. Specifically, the *mise en page* of song reveals assumptions about what a refrain *is* and what it *does* in song, assumptions that we have little access to without close reading of the manuscript page. With the Graz sources as a particularly striking intervention in the historiography of the Latin refrain, an unknown performance practice reveals itself through cueing, a practice in which Latin refrains break free from individual works and circulate among songs, all while maintaining their role as structural responses. Since critical engagement with Latin song and its layout is still in its infancy, with hundreds of Latin songs still in need of close analysis, a

blue initials and gradation in the size of initials, paragraph marks, cross-references, and citation of authors quoted. One cannot give a precise *terminus ante quem* for general acceptance of the individual elements, save to say that by about 1220 they were all standard.' Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, '*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. Rouse and Rouse (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 191–220 (p. 198).

69 This adds a third possible interpretation of refrains in Latin song to Haug's two-part categorization of 'real' and 'virtual' refrains; see Haug, 'Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter' and 'Ritual and Repetition'.

70 Bent, 'Editing Early Music', 392.

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wealth of information undoubtedly remains to be unveiled which will amplify our understanding of medieval song, its transmission and its performance.

ABSTRACT

As lyrical refrain forms flourished beginning in the twelfth century and increased attention was paid to the *mise en page* of song in manuscript sources, scribes faced the dilemma of how to cue frequent repetition of poetry and music. Owing to a lack of shared conventions among these scribes, the signalling of repetition varied greatly among sources, the resulting inconsistencies furnishing what Ardis Butterfield calls 'glimpses of scribal thinking'. Nowhere is this more evident than in approaches to notating the Latin refrain, a structural feature in a range of genres and an inexact yet related parallel to the French *refrain*. I argue in this article that the graphic treatment of refrains in Latin song exposes assumptions that both scribes and performers made about form, genre and the realization of song in performance. Attending to the visual cueing of refrains clarifies textual and musical ambiguities arising from the simultaneously oral, written and performative milieu within which Latin song was cultivated and disseminated.

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APPENDIX 1

CITED SOURCES

Siglum	*Manuscript*	*Digital link (where available)*
A-Gu 258	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 258	http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0200-0399/Ms.0258/index.html
A-Gu 409	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409	http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0400-0599/Ms.0409/index.html
A-Gu 756	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756 (Seckauer Cantionarium)	http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0600-0799/Ms.0756/index.html
A-Ks Perg. 7	Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Perg. 7	
A-SP 13	St Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, HS 13	http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=show_tei_digidoc&docId=set20100208_76_7&client=
A-Wn 4494	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, 4494	
A-Wn Fragm. 660	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragm. 660	
B-Br MS 5649–67 (*olim* 5651)	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 5649–67 (*olim* 5651)	http://uurl.kbr.be/1559694
CH-EN 102	Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 102	http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/0102
CH-SGs 383	St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383	http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0383
CH-SGs 392	St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 392	http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/csg/0392
CH-SGs 1397	St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1397	
CH-Zz C.58	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Musikabteilung, C.58	

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CZ-Pu XIII.H.3c	Prague, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, XIII.H.3c	http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=show_tei_digidoc&docId=rec1327315339_48&client=
D-B Phill. Ms. 1996	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phill. Ms. 1996	
D-LEu 225	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 225	http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31561625
D-Mbs clm 4660	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660 (Codex buranus; Carmina burana)	http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00085130/images/
D-Mbs clm 16444	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16444	http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00069136-0
D-Mu Cim. 100	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 100 (Moosburger Graduale)	https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11079/
D-SI HB I Asc. 95	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95 (Stuttg)	http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf[id]=96&tx_dlf[page]=1&tx_dlf[pointer]=0&tx_dlf[double]=0&cHash=4cd64b0a5825bae37411b8591721d24c
D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst.	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst. (W^1)	http://diglib.hab.de/mss/628-helmst/start.htm
D-W Guelf. 1099 Helmst.	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (W^2)	http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/1099-helmst
E-BUlh 9	Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de las Huelgas, 9 (Hu)	
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APPENDIX 1 (continued)

Siglum	*Manuscript*	*Digital link (where available)*
E-Mn 20486	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (Ma)	http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000005661
E-TO Cód. 97	Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cód. 97 (Tort)	
F-CO 187 (?lost)	Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, 187	
F-CV 190	Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale, 190	
F-G 4413	Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, 4413 (Bozolari; Le Puy A)	
F-LA 263	Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 263	http://manuscrit.ville-laon.fr/_app/visualisation.php?cote=Ms263&vue=1
F-LPsem n.s.	Le Puy, Bibliothèque du Grand Seminaire, n.s. (*olim* A V 7 009) (Le Puy B)	
F-MOf H. 196	Montpellier, Université Montpellier 1, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H. 196 (Mo; The Montpellier Codex)	https://manuscrits.biu-montpellier.fr/vignettem.php?GENRE%5B%5D=MP&ETG=OR&ETT=OR&ETM=OR&BASE=manuf
F-Pn fonds fr. 146	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g.r=roman%20de%20fauvel%20146?rk=64378;0
F-Pn fonds fr. 837	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 837	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9009629n.r=francais%20837?rk=21459;2
F-Pn fonds fr. 19152	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 19152	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9062193k.r=francais%2019152?rk=64378;0
F-Pn fonds fr. 24391	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 24391	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60003637.r=francais%2024391?rk=21459;2

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F-Pn fonds fr. 25566	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 25566 (Chansonnier of Adam de la Halle; Trouvère MS W)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b54002413d.r=25566?rk=21459;2
F-Pn fonds lat. 780	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 780 (Graduale Narbonense)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000736q.r=Graduale%20Narbonense?rk=21459;2
F-Pn fonds lat. 1139	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139 (St-M A)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000946s.r=latin%201139?rk=107296;4
F-Pn fonds lat. 1154	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1154	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798.r=latin%201154?rk=85837;2
F-Pn fonds lat. 1351	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1351	
F-Pn fonds lat. 3719	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3719 (St-M C)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52502489w.r=3719?rk=107296;4
F-Pn fonds lat. 4880	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 4880	
F-Pn fonds lat. 15131	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 15131 (St Victor Miscellany)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90679007.r=latin%2015131?rk=21459;2
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F-Pn n.a.f. 13521	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521 (La Clayette Manuscript)	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530121530.r=13521?rk=21459;2
F-SEm 46	Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 46	
F-SM 'Hortus deliciarum' (destroyed)	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (Hortus deliciarum)	

(continued)

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APPENDIX 1 (continued)

Siglum	*Manuscript*	*Digital link (where available)*
F-SOM 351	Saint Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 351	
F-TOm 927	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 927	
GB-Ctc R.9.11	Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.9.11	http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1661
GB-Cu Ff.1.17(1)	Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.17(1) (Later Cambridge Songs)	https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00017-00001/1
GB-Lbl Egerton 2615	London, British Library, Egerton 2615	http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_2615
GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI	London, British Library, Royal 7.A.VI	
GB-Ob Add. A .44	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional A.44 (Bekynton Anthology)	
GB-Ob Douce 308	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308 (Trouvère MS I)	http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/637930c2-4d46-4616-8980-6c16717d5268
GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. poet. C510 (ORawl)	
I-AO C3	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Biblioteca, C3 (*olim* 9-E-17)	
I-AO D16	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Biblioteca, D16 (*olim* 4; 9-E-19)	
I-Fl Plut. 29.1	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (F)	
IRL-KEp n.s.	Dublin, Representative Church Body, Library, n.s. (Red Book of Ossory)	https://issuu.com/churchofireland/docs/redbookossory

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I-Tn F.1.4	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F.1.4 (Bobbio)	
Piae cantiones (1582)	*Piae cantiones: A Collection of Church and School Song, chiefly Ancient Swedish, originally published in A.D. 1582 by Theodoric Petru of Nyland*, ed. George Ratcliffe Woodward (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1910)	
Piae cantiones (1625)	*Cantiones piae et antiquae: veterum episcoporum & pastorum in inclyto regno Sveciae, praesertim in Magno Ducatu Finlandiae usurpatae, & primum operâ viri nobilis Theodorici Petri Rwtha, anno 1582, typis commissae* (Rostock, 1625)	
US-PHu codex 1590	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS codex 1590	http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/4961311

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APPENDIX 2

CONCORDANCES FOR CONDUCTI WITH REFRAINS IN A-GU 258 AND 409[a]

Incipit	*Refrain in Graz sources*	*A-Gu 258*	*A-Gu 409*	*Concordances*	*Concordant refrain*[b]
Ave maris stella divinitatis	Apparuit apparuit quem virgo pia genuit Maria	2[r]	71[v]–72[r]	*Piae cantione*s (1582), pp. 45–6 *Piae cantiones* (1625), no. 11	Yes
Dies ista dies pretiosa	Apparuit	2[r]	273[r]	CH-Zz C.58, fol. 148[v]*	No
Mirabatur antiquitas	Apparuit	—	72[r]		
Umbram destruxit penitus	Apparuit	2[r]	72[r]		
Nos respectu gratie	Audi audi audi nos, audi audi audi nos, audi audi audi nos, rex eterne salva nos	—	71[v]	A-SP 13, fol. 12[r–v] A-Wn 4494, fol. 68[r]* CZ-Pu XIII.H.3c, fols. 262[v]–264[v] F-CO 187* (?lost) F-LA 263, fol. 141[r–v] [c]	Mixed (with variants)
Ruga dure vetustatis	Domine dominus noster quam admirabile[d]	—	1[r]		
Ecce venit de Syon	[258] Eia et eia iubilando resonet ecclesia. Gaudet[e] [409] Gaudeat	2[v]	71[v]	A-SP 13, fol. 11[r–v] CH-EN 102, fol. 139[r] CH-SGs 1397, p. 21 D-Mu Cim. 100, fols. 233[v]–234[r] D-SI HB I Asc. 95, fol. 25[r–v] F-SM 'Hortus deliciarum', fol. 27[r]* (destroyed)	Mixed (all exclude 'Gaudet'/ 'Gaudeat')
Nuntio dum credidit	Eia et eia iubilando resonet ecclesia	—	71[r]		
Primus homo cum pro pomo	Eia	—	2[r]	F-G 4413, fols. 65[r]–66[r], 166[r–v] F-LPsem n.s., fol. 36[v]*	No
Salve maris stella	Eia et eia	—	72[v]		

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Tres signatas calculo	Eia, dicit canticum, baculum per typicum mundi transit per lubricum durus ferens dura	2^{v}	—		
Stella nova radiat	Ergo novis laudibus occurrat omnis populus cum genitrice pia	—	72^{r}	A-Gu 756, fols. 186^{r}–187^{r} A-SP 13, fols. 14^{r}–15^{r} D-Mu Cim. 100, fols. 245^{r}–246^{r}	Yes
Ecce novus annus est	Exultandi tempus dies est venit lex venit rex venit fons gratie	—	2^{v}	A-SP 13, fols. 7^{v}–8^{r} D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. $244^{r–v}$ F-G 4413, fols. 53^{r}–54^{r}	Mixed
Dies ista colitur	Felix est egressio per quam fit salvatio	2^{v}	273^{r}	A-SP 13, fols. 8^{r}–9^{r} A-Wn Fragm. 660, fol. 1b D-LEu 225, fol. 178^{v} D-Mu Cim. 100, fols. 236^{v}–237^{r} D-SI HB I Asc. 95, fols. 25^{v}–26^{r} (neumed); $81^{r–v}$ (text) F-CO 187* (?lost) F-Pn fonds lat. 1351, fols. 42^{r}–44^{r} F-SEm 46, pp. 33–4 GB-Lbl Egerton 2615, fols. 18^{r}–19^{v} I-Tn F.1.4, fol. 334^{v}	Yes (minor variants)
Sol sub nube latuit	Gaude nova nupta fides est et veritas, quod a carne deitas non fuit corrupta	—	1^{r}	CH-SGs 383, pp. 169–70 D-B Phill. Ms. 1996, fol. 292^{v} D-LEu 225, fol. 178^{v} D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst., fols. 119^{v} (110^{v})–120^{r} (111^{r}) F-Pn fonds lat. 4880, fols. 83^{v}–84^{r} F-SOM 351, fol. $20^{r–v}$* GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI, fol. 107^{v} GB-Ob Add. A .44, fol. $80^{r–v}$ I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols. 354^{v}–355^{r}	Mixed
Agnus pugnat cum dracone	Gaudeat	—	71^{v}	B-Br MS 5649–67 (*olim* 5651), fol. 7^{v}	No

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APPENDIX 2 (continued)

Incipit	*Refrain in Graz sources*	*A-Gu 258*	*A-Gu 409*	*Concordances*	*Concordant refrain*[b]
De sinu patris verbum emicuit	Gaudeat	—	1[v]		
Glomerat in aula	Gaudeat	—	72[v]		
In natali summi regis	Gaudeat	—	72[r]	D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. 238[v] GB-Cu Ff.1.17(1), fol. 4[r] (as *In natali novi regis*)	No
Iubilemus cordis voce	Gaudeat	—	2[r]	F-LA 263, fol. 123[r–v f]	No
Lac de silice	Gaudeat	—	1[v]	(all as *Latex silice*) D-SI HB I Asc. 95, fol. 30[v] D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst., fol. 81[r–v] (74[r–v]) GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510, fols. 240[v]–241[r] (11[v]–12[r]) I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols. 230[v]–231[v]	No
Novi partus gaudium	Gaudeat gaudeat gaudeat ecclesia	—	1[r]	F-CV 190, fol. 158[v]* F-Pn fonds lat. 4880, fol. 83[r] F-SOM 351* GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510, fol. 241[v] (12[v])	No
Rimetur mens hominis	Gaudeat	—	2[v]		
Sata tria fert Maria (Sancta pia fert Maria in A-Gu 258)	Gaudeat omnis homo	2[r]	273[r]		

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Stupeat natura	Gaudeat	—	2[r]	D-Mbs clm 16444, fol. IIa[v] (fragmentary) D-W Guelf. 1099 Helmst., fols. 177[v]–178[r] [motet] E-TO Cód. 97, fol. 140[r] GB-Ob Add. A .44, fol. 129[r–v]	No
Verbum patris humanatur	Gaudeat gaudeat gaudeat ecclesia	—	71[r]	A-SP 13, fols. 13[v]–14[r] D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. 238[v] F-Pn fonds lat. 3719, fol. 91[r] F-Pn fonds lat. 4880, fol. 84[v] GB-Cu Ff.1.17(1), fol. 4[r]	No
Deinceps ex nulla	Hei in ista die meta prophetie partus est Marie	—	71[r–v]	D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. 238[r–v]	Yes
Paris [Parit] preter morem	Hei ista die	—	72[r–v]	E-BUlh 9, fols. 103[v]–104[v] E-Mn 20486, fols. 123[r]–124[r] GB-Ob Rawl. poet. C510, fol. 245[r] (16[r]) I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols. 232[r]–233[r]	No
Pater filie	Hinc concinere est et nova psallere letitia	2[r]	—	F-G 4413, fols. 144[v]–145[r g] F-LPsem n.s., fol. 89[r]	?No
Lux optata claruit	Hoc in hoc, hoc in hoc, hoc in hoc solempnio, concinat hec contio	—	2[r–v]	A-Ks Perg. 7, fol. 6[r] F-Pn fonds lat. 1351, fols. 48[r]–50[r] F-SEm 46, fols. 17[v]–18[r] GB-Lbl Egerton 2615, fols. 29[v]–30[v]	Yes
Novi partus gratia	Laudet ecclesia quem parit conscia castitatis	—	71[r]		
Gaude Syon iubila	Sonet vox leticie in gloria nova sint ecclesie tripudia. Virginis honorem frequentemur et laudemur gratie et venie datorem	—	2[v]	A-SP 13, fols. 12[v]–13[v]	Yes (minor variants)
Hostis perfidus et invidus[h]	Sonet vox leticie	—	2[v]		

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APPENDIX 2 (continued)

Incipit	*Refrain in Graz sources*	*A-Gu 258*	*A-Gu 409*	*Concordances*	*Concordant refrain*[b]
Nove geniture	Sonet vox leticie	—	1[v]–2[r]	D-Mu Cim. 100, fol. 233[r–v] D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst., fol. 117[v] (108[v]) E-TO Cód. 97, fol. 81[v] GB-Ctc R.9.11, fol. 152[v] I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 355[r]	No

[a] The table is organized alphabetically by refrain in order to allow comparison between works sharing identical (or nearly identical) refrains. The refrain as it appears in the context of each individual work is included, with the longest version indicated here only if it is cued more than once. Asterisks in the 'Concordances' column indicate sources I was unable to verify (most of which are cited in either CPI or in Gordon A. Anderson, 'Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica*, 6 (1972), 153–229, and 7 (1973), 151–81). Abbreviations are expanded without notice.

[b] This column indicates only whether the concordant sources transmit the refrain indicated in the second column, 'Refrain in Graz sources', not whether the conductus itself has a refrain prior to the addition of the one found in the second column.

[c] *Nos respectu gratie* also appears in a late thirteenth-century ordinal from the cathedral of Metz, where it was sung as a trope at the beginning of Mass for Epiphany, introducing and interpolating the Introit antiphon *Ecce advenit dominator dominus*; see Michael McGrade, 'Enriching the Gregorian Heritage', *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 26–45 (p. 45). In A-SP 13 and F-LA 263, rubrics and position also indicate performance on the Feast of Epiphany, albeit during the Hours of the Divine Office rather than at Mass.

[d] This refrain was inserted in a different hand (and different ink) at the conclusion of the conductus.

[e] 'Gaudet' in A-Gu 258 was written in the same hand as the added refrain in *Ruga dure vetustatis* in A-Gu 409.

[f] In his study of F-LA 263, Robert Lagueux refers to this as a 'rare sequence'; according to the *Analecta hymnica* (and reiterated by Anderson and in CPI) it appears to be transmitted as a sequence in two later sources, the 1497 *Breviarium tornacense* and the 1519 *Missale nidrosiense*. See Lagueux, 'Glossing Christmas: Liturgy, Music, Exegesis, and Drama in High Medieval Laon' (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2004), 363. Lagueux also cites Fassler's identification of the melody of *Iubilemus cordis voce* as that of a conductus in the Daniel play in GB-Lbl Egerton 2615, fol. 96[v], *Iubilemus regis nostro*; see Margot Fassler, 'The Feast of Fools and *Danielis ludus*: Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play', *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65–99 (pp. 88–9).

[g] Fol. 144 is missing, although no refrain appears at the conclusion of strophe 3 on fol. 145[r].

[h] Text is related to *Pater filie* (A-Gu 258, fol. 2[r])