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**Oral tradition of cantiones in Czech lands
and its imprint in late medieval manuscripts**

Ústní tradice cantiones v českých zemích
a její otisk v pozdně středověkých rukopisech

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Prague, 30 July 2021

Pavel Kodýtek

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Abstract

The sources extant in the Czech lands transmit a vast body of cantiones, i.e., Latin spiritual monophonic or polyphonic songs that provide a rich basis for research into their tradition and transmission during the late Middle Ages. Though they have been subject of scholarly study for a century and a half, much of the literature is limited by the approach employed, be it the philological method, which saw a cantio's extant sources a tool for deriving its archetype and in its variants merely errors to be emended (Mužík, Černý), or a nationalistic bias (Nejedlý). In the case of chant, scholars have suggested that the tradition of medieval music was strongly impacted by oral transmission (Treitler, Hucke) and hence should be looked at from a different perspective, one close to that of ethnomusicology (Jeffery). Though some recent papers reflect this approach (Gancarczyk), it has not yet been tested on a larger body of songs, nor its implications systematically outlined.

My study of several dozen songs recorded around 1410 in CZ-VB 42 that survived and thrived—as evidenced by a selection of sources—well into the following century demonstrates the diversity of the genre and the continuing dominance of monophonic pieces despite the advent of polyphony. Most importantly, it demonstrates that the tunes of the songs were routinely memorized. The second part of my thesis, a case study of *Cedit hiems eminus*, a cantio transmitted in several musical and textual settings, shows that it was only its polyphonic setting that was copied from source to source, though sometimes text and notation were derived from different models. The older, one- or two-voice versions of the song, however, appear to have been transmitted predominantly orally. In contrast to the philological approach, I propose that individual copies of such songs be interpreted as imprints of the underlying oral culture of late medieval cantiones from which we can draw meaningful inferences about them.

Key words

Cantio; song; Late Middle Ages; manuscript; oral transmission; Vyšší Brod 42; musical culture

Abstrakt

Prameny dochované v českých zemích nabízejí rozsáhlý soubor cantiones, tj. latinských jednohlasých nebo vícehlasých duchovních písní, které poskytují bohatou základnu pro výzkum jejich tradice a transmise v pozdním středověku. Ačkoli jsou předmětem vědeckého studia již půldruhého století, velkou část literatury limituje použitý přístup, ať už jde o filologickou metodu, která v dochovaných pramenech cantia spatřovala prostředek k nalezení jeho archetypu a ve variantách zápisu pouze chyby k emendaci (Mužík, Černý), nebo o nacionalistickou předpojatost (Nejedlý). V případě chorálu badatelé ukázalo, že tradice středověké hudby byla silně ovlivněna ústní transmisí (Treitler, Hucke), a proto by se na ni mělo nahlížet z perspektivy jiné, blízké etnomuzikologii (Jeffery). Ačkoli některé práce z poslední doby tento přístup reflektují (Gancarczyk), nebyl dosud ověřen na větším souboru písní ani nebyly systematicky nastíněny jeho důsledky.

Má studie několika desítek písní zaznamenaných kolem roku 1410 v rukopisu CZ–VB 42, které, jak dokládám na vybraných pramenech, přežily a vzkvétaly i v následujícím století, ukazuje rozmanitost žánru a také to, že navzdory nástupu polyfonie nadále převládaly jednohlasé skladby. A co je nejdůležitější: dokládá, že melodie písní se běžně učily zpaměti. Druhá část mé práce, případová studie *Cedit hiems eminus*, cantia tradovaného v několika hudebních a textových úpravách, ukazuje, že z pramene do pramene se kopírovala pouze jeho polyfonní verze, ačkoli někdy text a notace pocházely z různých předloh. Zdá se však, že starší jednohlasé nebo dvojhlasé verze písně se předávaly převážně ústně. Na rozdíl od filologického přístupu navrhuji, abychom na jednotlivé opisy takových písní hleděli jako na otisky výchozí orální kultury pozdně středověkých cantiones, ze kterých o ní můžeme vyvozovat relevantní závěry.

Klíčová slova

Cantio; píseň; pozdní středověk; rukopis; ústní tradice; Vyšší Brod 42; hudební kultura

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Motto

“His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor, gathering his wheat into the barn and burning up the chaff with unquenchable fire.”

Matthew 3:12¹

1. New International Version. “Matthew 3:12 Parallel Verses,” <https://www.bibleref.com/Matthew/3/Matthew-3-12.html>.

Introduction: The culture of the late medieval cantio

As scribes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were writing down the words and music of sacred songs in manuscripts, they did so for several reasons, none of which included the provision of a representative and comprehensive overview of contemporary musical culture for future scholars. Since we now use them for that purpose, we should take care in interpreting all of what they wrote down and be cognizant of the contexts, in which the songs were recorded.

In this text, I will propose some new approaches to the late medieval cantio, among which the question of the means of their transmission, together with its implications, is likely the most significant. I will present evidence that at least in the fifteenth century, a large part of the songs was well known (or to be more precise their tunes were) and many variations between recorded instances can be attributed to changes introduced in oral transmission. I will also show that the more complex, polyphonic pieces composed in the second half of the fifteenth century were more likely copied from models. This distinction has an immense impact on how we compare the extant copies of a song and how we deal with any variants among them. I will also suggest that the sources can tell us much about their origin, designation and use that we should keep in mind as we evaluate the songs recorded in them. Some of the observations on the sources and the contexts of the entries will hopefully enrich our current view of the culture of the late medieval cantio.

Because what we call “cantio” is rarely labeled as such in extant sources, I cannot start this text otherwise than by defining the genre. Jaromír Černý in his entry in the MGG cites Ewald Jammers’ earlier definition of cantio: “a monophonic medieval Latin song, usually of spiritual content,” and adds to it several characteristics.² Firstly, he asserts that the song is not a mandatory part of the liturgy, although it is often found in it. Secondly, it is a short composition with a clear formal design, strophic structure, and usually a refrain. He also deems the song to be characterized by “symmetry and marked repetitiveness, as well as variation and repetition of short, syllabically texted motifs (but not infrequently with a melismatic introduction, interlude or conclusion), regular meter and uncomplicated, isochronous or (in the broadest sense of the word) mensural rhythm.”³ Thirdly, he asserts that

2. Černý, “Cantio”. “[...] das einst. lat. Lied des MA., zumeist geistlichen Inhalts.” The translation is mine.

3. Černý, “Cantio,” “symmetrische und ‘ansehnliche’ Wiederholungen, Variationen und Wiederholungen kurzer,

polyphonic cantiones do not occur in insignificant numbers and are not always adaptations of monophonic songs.⁴

One can see that the more characteristics Černý offers, the more he feels the need to qualify them with words such as “often,” “usually,” and “not infrequently,” and even those that he does not qualify could be disputed in the case of individual pieces. Robert Curry goes as far as saying that “[a]s applied to East Central European sources the term [cantio] is something of a catch-all for a range of highly variegated repertoires,”⁵ adding that it “awaits systematic study.” Ciglbauer confirms this indirectly as he looks at two antiphons and demonstrates their formal similarity to cantiones; he raises a pertinent question as to whether it is the form or the function of the piece that should take precedence in determining the genre.⁶ John Caldwell in *Grove Music Online* combines a definition based on form, “strophic and usually with a refrain,” with one based on function, “sacred, non-liturgical Latin song,” thus ignoring the fact that cantiones were at times part of liturgy. He also mentions another way of defining them, namely as “songs of the kind collected in *cantionalia* (and books denoted by equivalent vernacular terms).”⁷ To me, the last mentioned approach appears problematic at least in relation to sources extant in the Czech lands, where Latin sacred songs occur in many different types of sources, including several graduals. Moreover, quite a few of the volumes were designated as “cantonale” long after their creation, many times contrary to their content.

Reinhard Strohm offers a more general definition of *sacred song*, wherein by a song he understands “a melody with a poetic text in a strophic or patterned form, a piece that can be isolated, transferred, and reworked.”⁸ He also adds that “the sacred songs [...] were supernumerary to church ritual and increasingly regarded as independent in performance, function, and style.”⁹ Of the many qualities listed by Černý, Strohm thus brings the role of the cantio in the liturgy, but also its gradual independence, and its malleability—qualities that describe the formal and functional transformations the pieces underwent or, we could say the

syllabisch textierte Motive (aber nicht selten mit melismatischen Einleitung, Zwischensetzung oder Abschlüssen), eine regelmäßige Metrik und unkomplizierte, isochrone oder (in weitesten Sinne) mensurale Rhythmik.” The translation is mine.

4. Černý, “Cantio.”

5. Curry, “Music east of the Rhine,” 177-8.

6. Ciglbauer, “Antiphon oder Cantio?” The topic is covered in much broader terms in Ciglbauer’s dissertation.

7. Caldwell, “Cantio (Lat.: ‘song’).”

8. Strohm, “Sacred song in the fifteenth century,” 755.

9. Strohm, 755.

culture of the medieval cantio, rather than any particular quality that a given piece displayed at any point in time.

It is this “dynamism” that has been attached to the songs from the very start, as they arose from “attachments” to plainchant, like sequences and tropes. Their transformation into the new genre would have happened over time—this may explain why Černý places the origins of sacred song back to the twelfth century and Strohm as far back as the ninth, and it may account as well for their enormous diversity.¹⁰ This malleability pertains to notational representation as well as to the text of the song—and the appearances of many *contrafacta*, including in vernacular languages. Since the *cantiones*, or more precisely, their text and music, were not regulated by the Church, they provided ample space for the display of human musical creativity. In contrast to the secular music of the time, their inclusion in the liturgy ensured their survival to our times in numerous sources. That the *cantiones* survive not only in extant sources can be documented by a characterization of the *cantio* from Strohm’s recent article: “a flexible genre that has survived until the present day and is the oldest music of the Middle Ages that is still commonly known.”¹¹ I argue, therefore, that the extant body of *cantiones* can tell us much about the musical culture and human creativity of the Late Middle Ages that is paralleled by few other genres.

The process cannot, naturally, be studied other than through the songs themselves and their “imprints” in extant sources. It may seem that a large part of their early life will remain forever hidden from us, as it was only in the middle of the fourteenth century that collections of sacred songs started appearing in Central Europe.¹² (These early sources are of monastic provenance, but over time schools and the laity, including literary brotherhoods, started playing a more significant role.) I believe that the answer as to how we can uncover at least part of what preceded these sources has already been suggested by the chant scholars. By referencing their work—and that of ethnomusicologists—we can attempt to outline a new approach to the study of the medieval *cantio*. This thesis is an attempt to make one step in this direction.

One point that I will make repeatedly, and will attempt to support with evidence, is that the philological approach applied to *cantiones* by scholars in the second half of the twentieth century has led them to overlook some important evidence. With a little bit of literary license, I could draw a parallel between the philological approach and the separation of the wheat from

10. Černý, “Cantio”; Strohm, “Sacred song in the fifteenth century,” 756.

11. Strohm, “Das lateinische geistliche Lied des späten Mittelalters,” 377.

12. Strohm, “Sacred song in the fifteenth century,” 758.

the chaff as referred to in the citation from the Gospel of Matthew I selected as my motto. The wheat here stands for what previous generations of scholars deemed to represent the “actual song,” while the chaff stands for everything else. Wheat can metaphorically be represented by the archetype of a piece as reconstructed by a scholar, and the chaff by all the (presumed) errors that the scholar corrected in the process. I will try to show that it is both “the wheat and the chaff” of cantiones that we should be looking at in the future.

To be sure, I do not mean to belittle the work of previous generations of scholars who worked with philological methods. These scholars have laid the foundation for my work, many of their observations are inspiring and pertinent, and they deserve due respect, especially given that they worked mostly with pen and paper. Thus, the many attributes of cantiones that listed by Černý, are, indeed, characteristic of some of the cantiones’ subgroups, though the list is far from complete. One example among many is that scholars have typically split songs into two piles: the monophonic and the polyphonic, often focusing primarily on the latter pile. Sacred songs as a genre, however, “present an embarrassment to the historical narrative because they do not fully belong to either plainchant or polyphony,”¹³ as Strohm points out, and this holds true even for individual pieces that have been recorded both monophonically and polyphonically—this division can thus obscure some important qualities that exist across these two groups and takes the focus away from the continuing transformation of the genre and of individual pieces. Only when we look at monophony and polyphony together, can we start to draw a bigger picture of the life of cantiones.

I realize that until a comprehensive catalogue of the body of songs (that would also cover some of the attributes that were previously considered to be “the chaff”) is created, we cannot map the landscape of the songs in a way that would provide a basis for looking at their overarching characteristics and to propose their further classification. In the absence of such a catalogue, we can only offer partial observations that come from an investigation into a small percentage of the large body. In this text, I aim to make such a small step.

After I discuss the literature on cantiones in the Czech lands, I will present a study of several dozen songs recorded around 1410 in CZ-VB 42 that thrived well into the following century, in which I will demonstrate the diversity of the genre and that, despite the advent of polyphony, monophonic pieces continued to dominate. What is more important, the recorded cantiones show that their tunes songs were routinely memorized. The second part of my thesis

13. Strohm, “Sacred song in the fifteenth century,” 755.

presents a case study of *Cedit hiems eminus*, a cantio transmitted in several musical and textual settings. Leveraging studies from the field of ethnomusicology and music psychology, I will demonstrate that the rhythmical and melodical structure of the one- or two-voice versions of the song facilitates its oral transmission and that the variances in their extant copies are consistent with changes arising in oral transmission. I will further show that it was only the songs's polyphonic setting that was copied from source to source, though sometimes the text and notation came from different models. My study of the dozens of extant textual variants reveals that the textual variants stabilized at about the same time as the polyphonic setting of the song was created, in the second half of the fifteenth century, as the later copies can be divided into a small number of textual groups and subgroups, with just a handful of outliers. I will close my thesis with discussing the implication for further study of cantiones.

Literature on the cantio in the Czech lands

Central European sources, as Strohm puts it, “provide an almost unbroken overview of the development of the cantio in that area until the late sixteenth century” and are therefore invaluable for the study of the tradition of Latin song and its dissemination.¹⁴ It is thus no surprise that Latin sacred song in the Czech lands has been the subject of scholarly attention already in the nineteenth century, though initially interest was mainly in their texts—Guido Maria Dreves devoted several volumes to Bohemian Latin songs in his monumental series *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, providing transcriptions that are routinely referenced even today. Earlier, Czech scholars studied Latin- as well as Czech-texted songs, though the latter were of higher interest to them due to their nationalist element; as in other countries, some of the studies from this time bear the imprint of nationalistic bias.¹⁵ This bias informs the work of Zdeněk Nejedlý, the first professor of music at Charles University, who published *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu* [History of Pre-Hussite Chant], *Počátky husitského zpěvu* [Beginnings of Hussite Chant], and *Dějiny husitského zpěvu za válek husitských* [History of Hussite Chant during the Hussite Wars] in the early twentieth century. Despite numerous imperfections, which to date have unfortunately not been systematically inventoried, it was the first

14. Strohm, “Sacred Song in the fifteenth century,” 759–60.

15. Dreves, *Cantiones Bohemicae*; Blume and Dreves; *Cantiones et muteti*; Karel Konrád, “*Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského*,” in two volumes.

comprehensive study of the topic and set the foundation for future discourse on cantiones in the Czech lands.¹⁶

A contemporary of Nejedlý, Dobroslav Orel published a book on the *Codex Franus*, truly groundbreaking for its time (1922): covering plainchant, as well as monophonic and polyphonic cantiones, in which he discusses the history of the codex, the various types of notation used, lists existing contrafacta, and provides many transcriptions; he also offers the earliest observations regarding variances in the repertory as recorded in the various extant manuscripts.¹⁷ In his *Počátky umělého vícehlasu v Čechách* [Origins of Artistic Polyphony in Bohemia] from the same year, he surveys polyphony recorded in Bohemian sources in white mensural notation.¹⁸

Two figures shaped musicological discourse in the second half of the twentieth century: František Mužík and Jaromír Černý. Mužík adapted the philological approach of the German “Musikwissenschaftler” to the Czech environment, and provided some pertinent observations on the rhythmic aspects of the songs;¹⁹ Černý published multiple studies on cantiones that are geared towards polyphony;²⁰ some of his insights are fresh and inspirational, but parts of his output suffer from applying the technique that Mužík developed where I consider it unsuitable (more on that later). In recent years, studies have been published by Martin Horyna, Jan Ciglbauer, Lenka Hlávková, Paweł Gancarczyk and others, which I will discuss later in this text.

Over the years, notational transcriptions of the songs have been published in many scholarly papers and several books, to which I refer elsewhere in this text, but several more that I do not deserve mention here: the songs included in the *Codex Speciálník* (CZ–HKm II A 7) were published in an edition by Dagmar Vanišová;²¹ and among the anthologies, Pohanka’s *Dějiny české hudby v příkladech* [History of Czech Music in Examples] and, in particular, *Historical anthology of music in the Bohemian lands (up to ca 1530)* by Černý et al. provide useful representations of the songs.

16. Vlhová-Wörner discusses Nejedlý’s role in “Historical Narrative and Ideological Construction” and tests his observations tongue-in-cheek against the current state of knowledge in “Jak číst Nejedlého Dějiny dnes?” [How to Read Nejedlý’s History Today?].

17. Orel, *Kancionál Franusův*.

18. Orel refers to the pieces recorded in white mensural notation as “artistic” polyphony and situates them in opposition to “primitive” polyphony, which was, as a rule, recorded in black notation. See Orel, *Počátky umělého vícehlasu*, 146.

19. Mužík, *Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu*; Mužík, “Systém rytmiky české písně 14. století.”

20. Černý, “Středověký vícehlas”; Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu”; Černý, “Vícehlasý repertoár v graduálu z Českého muzea stříbra v Kutné Hoře.”

21. Vanišová, “Codex Speciálník.”

Much research on cantiones is included in student theses that I cite or refer to later in this text. Ciglbauer's 2017 dissertation stands out as it offers a detailed review of the literature as well as a comprehensive list and discussion of available sources.

As I reiterate the need for a comprehensive catalogue of the Central European cantio, I should clarify that current scholars are not left completely in the dark. There are several databases accessible online that strive to cover the cantiones in Bohemian sources, namely "Melodiarium Hymnologicum Bohemiae (MHB)", "LIMUP," and "Clavis nigra", which provide a useful starting point for any research. Unfortunately, they omit some sources from this region (e.g. CZ-KUčms 88/85 and CZ-Pu 59 R 5116 are not included in MHB, the latter is listed in LIMUP but no inventory is provided) and also ignore most of the relevant sources from Germany and Poland. Finally, their use poses a challenge to the researcher: each of the databases does, inevitably, include errors, and because they appear to be dormant, scholars must identify the errors on their own and correct them in their own records.²²

Question of oral transmission

Outside of the discourse on cantiones, the so-called "New Historical View" developed in the second half of the twentieth century by Helmut Hucke and Leo Treitler proposed that the extensive body of Gregorian chant first emerged in oral tradition and that we can leverage written sources to understand what preceded them.²³ As transmission in the early period of Latin songs would have been oral as well, I believe that a lot of what these scholars say applies to cantiones as well.

The previous generations of scholars were very much aware that these songs were, at some point in time, transmitted orally, and that later on this medium of transmission intertwined with written one. Both Mužík and Černý explicitly acknowledged this fact,²⁴ but they never attempted to date this process, and more importantly, did not consider its full implications in their methodological approach, which was philological in nature.²⁵ Their main

22. LIMUP explicitly dates its website to 2009, Clavis nigra to 2002. MHB does not give any date, but neither does it provide a tool to report any errors in the data, except to the software developer.

23. See the collection of Treitler's writings in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; and Hucke, "Toward a New Historical View." While these two scholars accentuated orality in the early transmission of chant, others claimed that its broad uniformity must have arisen predominantly through written transmission. László Dobszay presents a summary of these two views, together with an overview of the literature and an attempt to reconcile, them in Dobszay, "Two Paradigms of Orality."

24. Černý focused primarily on repertory that in his view reflected the style of French conductus. See Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 9, 61n179; and Černý, "Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu," 51n27.

25. František Mužík adapted Friedrich Gennrich's work to the Czech environment. Mužík's approach is succinctly characterized in the summary: "the majority of musical monuments of Czech origin have been preserved in corrupted texts," and "[i]t is the special task of historical criticism to ascertain which form is closest to the original." See Mužík, *Úvod do kritiky*

aim was to get to the original version of a piece (its archetype), at times via constructions which seem as elegant as they are daring. They would typically consider the extant copies as if they were the result of written transmission and explain most variances simply as “corruption”.²⁶ Both Mužík and Černý treat some rhythmically challenged renditions, by default, as transcriptions from an older type of notation, though both presuppose that such entries may have also resulted from the scribe writing down a known song from memory.²⁷

Another limitation of this literature is that some scholars have focused primarily on the polyphonic part of the repertory, although the majority of extant copies of cantiones is monophonic. Černý in his 1975 text also addressed simple two-voice compositions, asserting that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, “polyphony was nothing more than a set of practices enabling improvisation over a monophonic chant or [...] over a given model of voice-exchange composition.”²⁸ A decade later, he went on to reconstruct the two-voice archetype of *Cedit hiems eminus*, emending on the way what I believe may have been variants of the song.²⁹ This later text by Černý is of special interest, as it covers a handful of the songs and many of the sources that I am looking at here, and although its methodology is dated, it still offers some valuable insights. His observation that “it is [the] fluid transformations, the proven and hypothetical reworkings of the songs under discussion, that prove their durability and rootedness in our medieval musical culture” resonates today even more.³⁰

It seems that the previous generations of scholars have often interpreted the surviving manuscripts as the manifestation of a predominating literacy and thereby confused a “written” tradition with a “literate” one, to use Treitler’s terms.³¹ It is unfortunate that musicology has not progressed much to date in gaining insight into the means of transmission of these songs. Although some scholars have touched on the topic, their main interests lay elsewhere. Horyna, for example, followed the tradition of the polyphonic repertory as it pertains to

hudebního zápisu, 97. Nicholas Cook has expertly summarized the history of this approach and its implications in just three paragraphs. See Cook, “Changing the Musical Object,” 777.

26. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu.”; Černý, “Středověký vícehlas.”

27. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu,” 51n27; Mužík, *Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu*, 25.

28. Černý, “Středověký vícehlas,” 25. See also my later discussion of the term “cantus mensuratus binatim” proposed by Hlávková and Kodýtek in the forthcoming “Manuscript Vyšší Brod 42.”

29. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu,” 91–93. See my discussion of this song in the final part of this text.

30. Černý, 101.

31. Treitler, “Oral, Written, and Literate Process,” 238. Treitler describes the “literate” tradition as one that *depends* on writing and reading.

individual liturgical feasts rather than of individual songs.³² He recognizes that some of the repertory of instrumental and secular music could have been transmitted orally, but does not discuss oral transmission when dealing with the songbooks.³³

There is also conflicting evidence: if we apply to cantiones the timeframe recently agreed by historians “that oral and written traditions complemented one [an]other to varying degrees from the ninth through the twelfth centuries” as summarized by Susan Boynton (she looks at office hymns), it would seem that sources from the fifteenth century did in fact arise in literate communities.³⁴ On the other hand, Paweł Gancarczyk has suggested in a recent article that CZ–Pu 59 R 5116 (the “Prague Speciálník”) “could have been used often more for remembrance and archiving than for performance,” which leads him to conclude that “written transmission overlapped with an oral transmission” and that “the dependencies between particular copies cannot be reduced to any form of *stemma codicum*.”³⁵ This perspective not only interprets the entries as more than just corrupted or uncorrupted renditions of a song, but also considers them in the context of the particular source. And, perhaps more importantly, it implies that the songs were routinely memorized, and that the intertwining of these strands of transmission continued well into the sixteenth century, when the source under discussion was created.

In the remainder of this text, I will attempt to start closing what I see as a gap in research on cantiones originating from the Czech lands. I will make manuscript VB–CZ 42, the oldest manuscript in our region to present a body of cantiones recorded in mensural notation, the basis for my investigation. I will look for evidence that the pieces therein were transmitted orally, or indeed for any evidence as to how they were transmitted.

I will begin by briefly introducing the data I have collected, and then I will highlight evidence that monophonic cantiones, or more precisely their tunes, were routinely memorized at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century. I will propose that written transmission was triggered by the advent of more complex polyphonic pieces at the end of the fifteenth century, together with the emergence of made-to-order codices written by professional scriptoria.

32. Horyna, “Die Kompositionen von Peter Wilhelmi.”

33. Horyna, “Vícehlasá hudba v Čechách v 15. a 16. století.”

34. See Boynton, “Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation,” 99. Her sources come predominantly from France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Switzerland.

35. Gancarczyk, “Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz,” 15. Italics original. Gancarczyk bases his conclusion on the “numerous uncorrected errors (e.g. in the Prague Speciálník), sometimes repeated in several sources (such as the endings with fifths), [that] suggest that the source could have been used often more for remembrance and archiving than for performance.”

The songs and sources at a glance

I limited my scope to three dozen songs from CZ–VB 42 (also “Vyšší Brod 42”) that also appear in later sources (see **Table 1**). Though some of them are recorded in earlier sources, albeit only in text, I have opted not to inventory these prior occurrences. I examined copies of each of the three dozen songs in sources originating before 1540, with the exception of prints and sources predominantly focused on Czech contrafacta (among them, CZ–KOLrm 80/88, “Kolín Hymnbook”³⁶). These choices were necessary to ensure that my work remains manageable in scope.

Even now, with facsimiles of many sources as well as several databases of songs accessible online, there is much information that has not yet been systematically catalogued, or even considered.³⁷ For example, a database might tell us that a particular rendition of a piece is notated, sometimes giving the number of voices, but one usually must go to the facsimile to find out whether the notation is complete or fragmentary. Moreover, none of the databases cover all currently known sources and, naturally, they often include errors. Thus, for any picture one attempts to draw of the lives of cantiones one would need to verify the available data points one by one, supplement them with more variables from previously catalogued sources and collect the data anew for sources that have previously been neglected. This is exactly what I undertook to do in this study.

36. CZ–KOLrm 80/88, “Kolín Hymnbook” is covered in depth in Baťová, *Kolínský kancionál z roku 1517*.

37. I have drawn data from the following sources: “Melodiarium Hymnologicum Bohemiae,” <http://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/index.php>; “LIMUP,” <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/>; Mjachká, “Analýza Rukopisu 59 Rs1”; and Adamová, “Vyšehradský sborník V Cc4” but I have individually verified all the relevant datapoints I used in my analysis on the basis of facsimiles of the sources. Any mistakes that have remained in the data are, clearly, fully my responsibility. For reproductions of some of the sources are not available publicly, I would like to thank individuals who helped me obtain them, above all Mr. Štěpán Kafka for providing access to the facsimile of CZ–KUsoka Ms. sine sign.

Table 1 Cantiones included in scope with details as recorded in CZ-VB

No.	Textual incipit	Format [#]	Folio	Scribe ^s
9	Wstal jest buoh z mrtwych	SN	E ^r	D ₁
10	Jezu Krysste styedry knyzeze	SN	E ^v	E
12	Laus domino resonet	1v	F ^r	I + N4
13	Salve regina glorie	SN	F ^v	D ₁
14	Nunc festum celebremus	SN	G ^r	J ₁
15	Imperatrix gloriosa	SN	G ^r	J ₂
16	Ad honorem et decorem	SN	G ^r	K
18	Quidam triplo metro	SN	G ^v	J ₃ , K
79	Dies est leticie in ortu regali	1v	53 ^v –59 ^r	B ₂ + N1
153	Iam prestolantes gloriam	SN	143 ^v	M
156	Ave yerarchia	1v	145 ^r	D ₂ + N2
157	Mittitur archangelus	1v	145 ^v –146 ^r	D ₂ + N2
158	Candens ebur castitatis	1v	146 ^r –147 ^r	D ₂ + N2
159	Gaude regina glorie	1v	147 ^r	D ₂ + N2
161	Ave Maris stella lucens	2v	148 ^{r-v}	D ₂ + N2
162	Ave rosa in yericho	1v	148 ^v –149 ^r	D ₂ + N2
163	Ave trinitatis cubile	1v	149 ^{r-v}	D ₂ + N2
164	Ex legis observancia	2v	149 ^v –150 ^r	D ₂ + N2
165	Dyvo flagrans numine	2v	150 ^{r-v}	D ₂ + N2
166	E morte pater divinus	1v	151 ^r	D ₂ + N2
168	Resurrexit dominus	2v	152 ^r	D ₂ + N2
169	Stupefactus inferni dux	1v	152 ^{r-v}	D ₂ + N2
170	Sampsonis honestissima	2v	152 ^v –153 ^r	D ₂ + N2
171	Veni dulcis consolator	1v	153 ^{r-v}	D ₂ + N2
173	Puer nobis nascitur	1v	154 ^{r-v}	D ₃ + N3
174	Cum gaudio concurrite	1v	154 ^v	D ₃ + N3
175	Pueri nativitatem	1v	155 ^r	D ₃ + N3
176	Sol de stella	1v	155 ^v	D ₃ + N3
178	Ursula speciosa	1v	156 ^v –157 ^r	D ₃ + N3
184	Stalat' se jest	1v	161 ^v –162 ^r	D ₄ + N ₇
185	Prima declinacio	SN	162 ^r	K
190	Ihesus Christus nostra salus	1v	169 ^v –170 ^r	D ₆ + N3
192	Constat ethereis	1v	170 ^v –171 ^r	D ₆ + N3
193	Cedit yemps eminus	1v	171 ^v	D ₆ + N9
196	Felici peccatrici	1v	172 ^v –173 ^v	G + N11
198	Omnes attendite	CANSIC	174 ^r	F ₂

Notes

See Table 2 for glossary of terms.

\$ Following Ciglbauer, "The Hohenfurt 'Song book' VB 42 and its Scribe(s)," forthcoming.

Before I present my thesis, I hope that the reader will not mind a small diversion in which I briefly introduce the body of songs and sources I worked with. An overview of the concordances of songs in CZ–VB 42 with this body of sources can be found in **Appendix 1**; **Table 2** introduces the terms I will use in the rest of this chapter.

Table 2 Glossary

Term	Meaning
sine notis	Entry with no musical notation, nor an indication of the tune to which the song is to be sung.
canitur sicut (CANSIC)	Entry that does not provide musical notation but, usually in its rubric, refers to the tune to which the text is to be sung.
(musical) incipit	No more than a dozen notes accompanying a text.
(notational) fragment	More thorough representation of the tonal and rhythmic component of a piece that is, however, incomplete and requires certain familiarity with the song so that it can be “reconstructed”.
version(s)	Renditions of a song that are clearly distinguishable from one another—either through their affiliation a particular textual group or though the number of voices.
instance(s)	The occurrences of (the same version of) a song as recorded in different manuscripts or on different folios within the same manuscript.
occurrence, entry, copy, or rendition	A particular realization of a song on a given folio in a given manuscript without any value judgment attached to it.

The variety of these songs in terms of scope is well illustrated in **Figure 1**. It shows the number of concordances by cantio (i.e., the song as recorded in Vyšší Brod 42 and all its contrafacta), with the darker column indicating the overall number of sources transmitting the song, and the lighter column depicting the total number of its copies recorded across all sources. The pieces most often recorded are *Salve regina glorie*, *Imperatrix gloriosa*, *Ad honorem et decorem*, *Dies est leticie*, *Ave yerarchia*, *Ave maris stella lucens*, *Veni dulcis consolator*, *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*, and *Cedit hiems eminus*—with an arbitrarily selected threshold of at least sixteen sources.

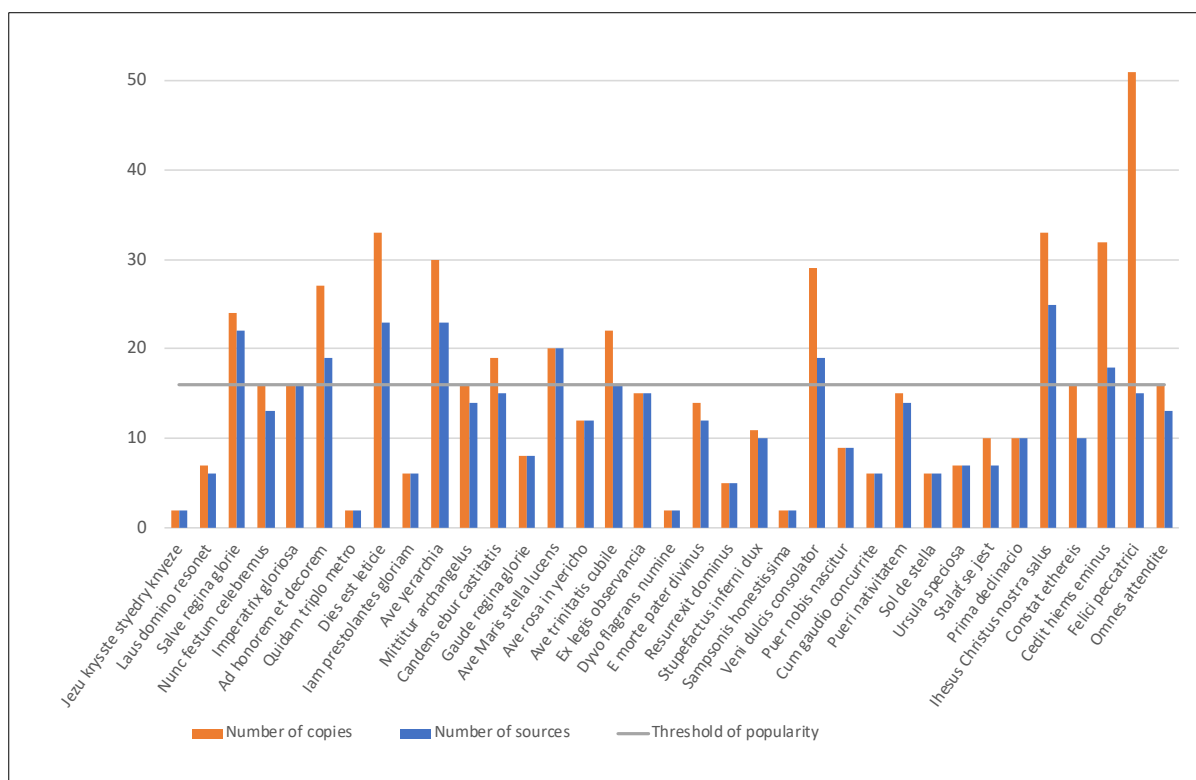


Figure 1 Concordances by song

One can surmise that there is a high correlation between the popularity of a cantio and the number of surviving manuscripts that transmit it. Not surprisingly, the songs that became the most popular were generally also the ones that were most often reworked as contrafacta. The obvious example here is *Felici peccatrici*. This song has an interesting life in that, as early as around 1460, CZ–Pa 376 transmits five contrafacta (one of them in Czech) in addition to the original text,³⁸ and some half a century later CZ–KUčms 88/85 includes thirteen(!) of them, this time all in Latin.³⁹

In general, contrafacta range from slight yet pronounced modification of the text of the original cantio, through its translation into a vernacular language (Czech or German), to a completely new text in either Latin or the vernacular. This can be illustrated by the variants of *Veni dulcis consolator*. There are three different Czech contrafacta, each of which appears just once: *Dnes hodu tak přesvatého* and *Pane bože, my k tobě voláme* (both in CZ–Pn II C 7), as well as *Zavítaj skladký těšiteli* (in CZ–KUčms 88/85), the last of which is the only one that is

38. As the rubric in four of them provides the instruction “canitur sicut Felici peccatrici” and *Felici peccatrici* itself is included sine notis, it must have been well known and presumably the oldest.

39. A similar case is *Cedit hiems eminus*, which I discuss in the final part of this study.

a translation of the original cantio. Two more Latin contrafacta, *Caro Christi vita vivens* and *Abiit virgo in montana*, can also be found in the sources.

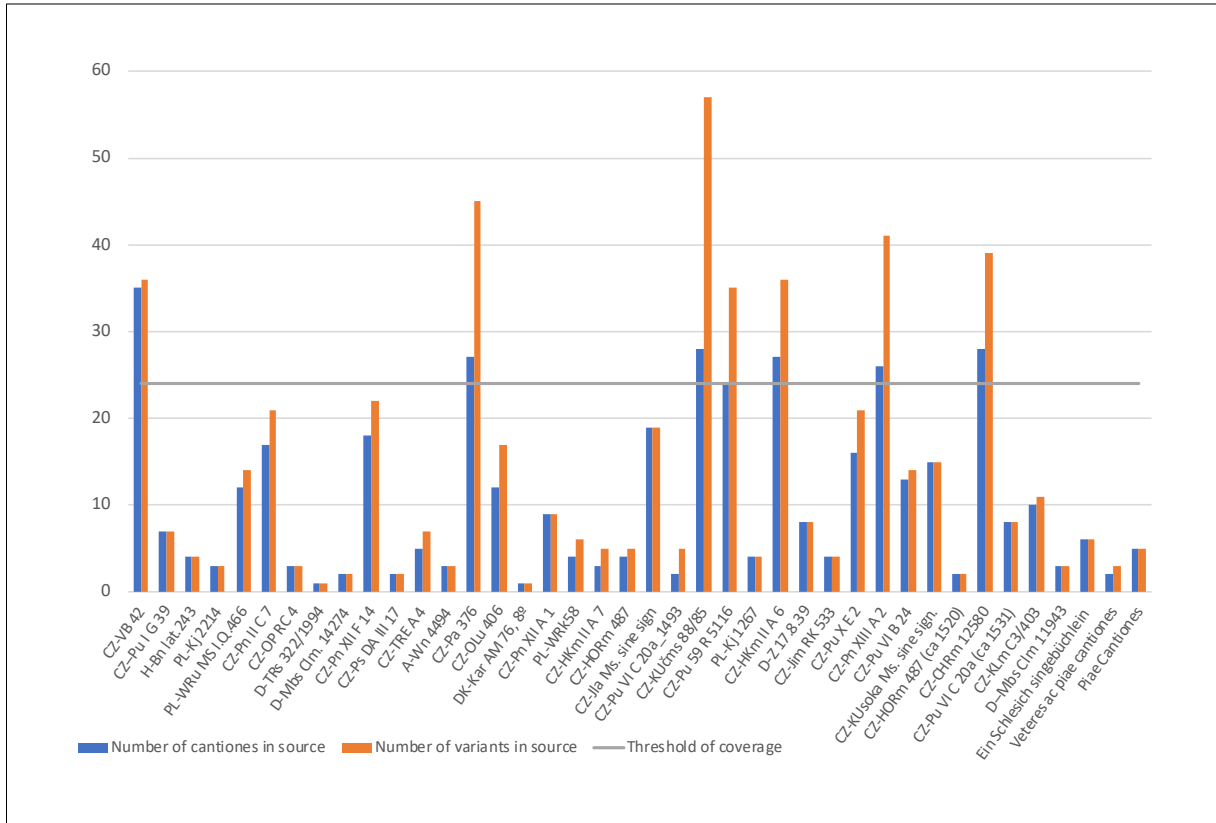


Figure 2 Concordances by source

When we chart the entries by source (see **Figure 2**), we can see the differing reception of these songs over time. With the dashed line representing twenty-four songs, an admittedly arbitrary number, we can see that in the fifteenth century (roughly the left half of the figure), the only source transmitting this number of songs is CZ–Pa 376, whereas there are five such sources originating around year 1500 and thereafter: CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, CZ–KUčms 88/85, CZ–HKm II A 6, CZ–Pn XIII A 2, and CZ–CHRm 12580. One may argue that since we do not know how many manuscripts have not survived to the present day, this does not tell us much. What we *can*, however, see is that these six sources have something in common: they transmit some of the songs in multiple copies, and it is not the inclusion of differing numbers of voices that drives this, so much as the songs’ many contrafacta. None of the other sources approach this group in including so many different textual variants. In addition, three of these later sources (CZ–HKm II A 6, CZ–Pn XIII A 2, and CZ–CHRm 12580) represent made-to-order codices.

As **Table 3** shows, the extant copies are predominantly monophonic, even in sources from the early sixteenth century. Only a few of the original songs were later “upgraded” to a polyphonic version and, from among these, just three songs made it “big” in the world of composed polyphony: *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*, *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Felici peccatrici*. If we adjust for the obsession with the third song of the author(s) of CZ–KUčms 88/85—in which it is recorded ten times (in full notation!)—we are left with two polyphonic hits: *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*.⁴⁰ I cover the former at length in the final part of my text and will briefly discuss the latter here.

The first recorded polyphonic copy of *Ihesus Christus nostra salus* dates as early as the 1430s (in CZ–OP RC 4), while a different setting is transmitted in CZ–Ps DA III 17 some three decades later.⁴¹ CZ–HKm II A 7, the *Speciálník* (which is the earliest source to offer polyphonic settings of three more songs from the list), includes two three-voice versions—again, new pieces—and one for four voices. Another documented occurrence of a polyphonic version of the song comes around the turn of the century in CZ–Pu 59 R 5116. What is striking is that there is almost no single polyphonic setting of *Ihesus Christus nostra salus* that seems to have survived through the decades, but rather several attempts to redress the popular piece in a newer costume, none of which caught on.⁴²

In summary, many the pieces that we see in *Vyšší Brod* 42 remained popular more than a century later; some of them were reworked as *contrafacta*, but the vast majority retained their original musical setting.

40. Eva Vergosová has made a paleographic analysis of manuscript CZ–KUčms 88/85 and concluded that the words to all the songs that are in my purview were written by the same scribe. She was unsure whether the same scribe had also written the music notation. She speculates that the scribe might have been the cantor, as suggested earlier by Černý. I would like to thank Eva Vergosová for sharing this information with me.

41. Šimon Hrábek maps the song part of CZ–Ps DA III 17 in his bachelor thesis. The song *Ihesus Christus nostra salus* is discussed in Gancarczyk and Watkowski, “Gdański Przekaz Wielogłosowej Pieśni.”

42. The exception is represented by a three-voice version in CZ–HKm II A 7 and CZ–Pn XIII A 2, but this version is not based on the original tune.

Table 3 Number of copies by source and number of voices

Cantio	Number of voices					Total
	SN, CS, MI	1v*	2v	3v	4v	
Jezu krysste styedry knyzeze	1	1				2
Laus domino resonet	1	5			1	7
Salve regina glorie	8	13		2	1	24
Nunc festum celebremus	8	5	1		2	16
Imperatrix gloriosa	4	9		3		16
Ad honorem et decorem	9	12	1	4	1	27
Quidam triplo metro	2					2
Dies est leticie	10	20	1	1	1	33
Iam prestolantes gloriam	1	5				6
Ave yerarchia	7	18	2	2	1	30
Mittitur archangelus	3	9	1	1	2	16
Candens ebur castitatis	4	13	1		1	19
Gaude regina glorie		8				8
Ave maris stella lucens	6	11	1	2		20
Ave rosa in yericho	5	6	1			12
Ave trinitatis cubile	4	14	1	2	1	22
Ex legis observancia	2	8	4	1		15
Dyvo flagrans numine		1	1			2
E morte pater divinus	4	9	1			14
Resurrexit dominus		4	1			5
Stupefactus inferni dux	3	8				11
Sampsonis honestissima		1	1			2
Veni dulcis consolator	12	14	1	1	1	29
Puer nobis nascitur	3	5		1		9
Cum gaudio concurrite	1	3	1	1		6
Pueri nativitatem	3	12				15
Sol de stella	1	5				6
Ursula speciosa	1	4	2			7
Stalat' se jest	5	4	1			10
Prima declinacio	3	6	1			10
Ihesus Christus nostra salus	7	18	4	4		33
Constat ethereis	6	7	2	1		16
Cedit hiems eminus	5	21	3	2	1	32
Felici peccatrici	13	29	3	4	2	51
Omnnes attendite	7	8		1		16
Total	149	316	36	33	15	549

Notes

* Includes also fragments of the one-voice version.

Tracing the oral transmission

Oral tradition (or ‘aural’ tradition as some, more accurately call it) of a song naturally presumes that a person has committed it to memory.⁴³ If this process of a song’s transmission were to become visible to us – as it is whenever it is inscribed into a surviving source – this would mean that the song must have been recorded at some point in time within this process, whether by the listener himself or by any other listener several degrees of oral transmission later. In fact, it is probable that the listeners were getting to know the song over an extended period and over the course of multiple performances.⁴⁴ Therefore, if we are to talk about the oral tradition of cantiones, we need to be able to show that they were, indeed, commonly known and memorized by performers.

One can envision two paths that one can take to uncover evidence that a particular piece was already known by its performers and thus could have been circulating initially through oral transmission. Firstly, one can look at what *was* written down in various sources. The obvious course to take here is to analyze the musical and textual differences of individual renditions of a song, in a manner similar to the philological approach, albeit looking for the degree of variability rather than a particular filiation among the sources. This is the approach that we will take in the case study of *Cedit hiems eminus* that closes this paper. Secondly, one can look at what was *not* written down, and specifically at what was missing that would hinder a performance of the piece from the source. This is the perspective we will take in the following paragraphs as we look at the body of cantiones from CZ–VB 42. In this latter case, it will be the musical notation of the cantiones that will interest us, as this was generally recorded less often than text, or at least not in its entirety (see the first column in **Table 3**). The extent to which it was recorded would have been determined by the skills of the scribes (not all scribes were able to write down music notation) and the mutual complexity of both components (the texts of multi-strophic songs set to repeating and often simple tunes).

In the body of sources we are looking at here, we find copies of songs written down with only an incipit or a fragment of notation, others that come without notation but point to the tune that is to be used (typically in the rubric reading “canitur sicut [sung to the tune of]”),

43. See, for example, Treitler, “Oral, Written, and Literate Process,” 236. and Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 48.

44. It does not make much difference here whether it was only the listener who relied on memory in the oral/aural transmission or whether the performer did as well. Oral transmission, by definition, represents a “re-encoding” of the textual and musical information and whether this happens on both ends or just on one has no impact on the current discussion. This listener needed to become a new performer at some point anyway—whether by singing out loud or just in his or her head—for the piece to be written down, and hence we will focus on *performance* from memory and the knowledge of *performers*.

and finally instances that provide no hint at all as to the music that goes with the text (we will refer to these as *sine notis* or text-only).⁴⁵ The *contexts* in which such items appear, nevertheless, need to be carefully evaluated as only through them can we correctly interpret the inclusion or omission of notation.

Firstly, we need to ensure that there was no other obvious reason for which the scribe would have decided to omit the music notation: if he was recording, say, an alternative text for a piece already in the manuscript, there would have been no need to reproduce the notes, as long as the future performer was told where to look or knew where to find them. Most commonly, this second textual version would follow the notated song, or a rubric would indicate to which tune it was to be sung. However, sometimes the link is much weaker, and we had to apply judgment in deciding if the evidence was strong enough to suggest that the tune was presumed to be known. In those cases where such information was available, we sought to assess separately the different layers of a manuscript, i.e., those that clearly arose at different points in time (such is the case for the sources CZ–Pu VI C 20a⁴⁶ and CZ–HORm 487, the so-called “Prácheň Cancionale”), and we also considered the proximity of the pieces within the manuscript as well as the continuity of its content. If two instances of the piece appeared to be contemporary, we cautiously presumed that the notated piece was already present when the text-only one was being added. After all, my goal is not to reconstruct the sequence in which the individual songs were added to a particular manuscript, but rather to uncover evidence that points to pre-existing knowledge of a particular cantio. When something was doubtful, I considered it better not to factor it in.

Secondly, if we see evidence suggesting that the melody of a song would have been known, we need to be able to show which text (or texts) would customarily have been attached to it. In other words, if we find a contrafactum of a cantio from CZ–VB 42 included *sine notis* in another source, and we therefore assume that the melody to which the piece was to be sung was known, we need to decide if this provides evidence for the knowledge of the original CZ–VB 42 piece or that of the contrafactum itself. And more substantially, we need to decide whether this *sine notis* rendition, that, by definition, in no way indicates what music it goes with, can be considered a contrafactum of the song in CZ–VB 42 in the first place. For

45. See Table 2 for a glossary of terms. Though both the last two categories *could* technically be referred to as “*sine notis*,” as there is, indeed, no notation in either of them, we will limit the use of this term solely to entries in which the source is completely silent on the notational component of the cantio.

46. See Hlávková, “An Inconspicuous Relative of the Speciálník Codex,” for an overview of the layers in CZ–Pu VI C 20a.

that, we would typically turn to other instances in other, preferably contemporary manuscripts to determine with which music this presumed contrafactum is connected.

Refer to the box of page 36 for an example of the considerations in the case of one cantio. The data that I have collected are summarized in **Table 4**. Several songs, for which evidence is particularly strong that their tunes would have been widely memorized throughout the period under review, include *Salve regina glorie*, *Dies est leticie*, *Ave maris stella lucens*, *Veni dulcis consolator* and *Pueri nativitatem*. I do not consider it coincidental that these songs also appear in the list of the most frequently recorded cantiones provided above, save for the last one (which ended up just below my arbitrary threshold). The reader may set criteria of their own and look at subsets of the period we have covered, to conclude that, say, the tune of *Imber nunc celicus* was well known in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷

Now, what do the data tell us overall? The table shows altogether 119 instances in which a song is less than completely notated. If we add up all the copies of songs that are included in each of the manuscripts listed in the table (excluding, for now, those with only polyphonic settings), we get 355. Hence, if we pick a manuscript and then a piece from the list at random, every third one would have required the singer to know the tune to perform it. If that number appears too low, we would like to point out that the remaining two-thirds, i.e., cases where the notation *was* captured in full within the manuscript, do not imply that the song was *not* familiar (the inference works only in the other direction) as there may have been reasons to record the pieces in full, as would have been the case for polyphonic pieces, while monophonic pieces might have been recorded, for example, for presentational purposes (e.g., Codex Franus) or as a sign of veneration.

The data we have gathered confirm on a broader scale what Gancarczyk implies: that many of the copies of songs were written down in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century under the assumption that the song, or at least its tune, was known to the performer. This does not, on its own, prove that the songs were largely transmitted through oral means, but it shows that such a tradition was certainly possible. With the cantiones continuing to circulate predominantly as monophonic songs throughout this period, this should not be a surprise. Composed polyphony represented only a minor portion of the total recorded instances, and only for a select few of the cantiones did these versions catch on.

47. Nechutová and Mezník, “Das antihussitische Lied ‘Omnes Attendite,’” present the fascinating history of the contrafactum that appears in CZ-VB 42.

Table 4 Occurrences of the songs pointing to their familiarity and memorization

#	Manuscript Textual incipit /	CZ-Pu I G 39	H-Bn lat.243	CZ-VB 42	CZ-Pn II C 7	PL-WRu I.Q.466	CZ-OP RC 4	CZ-Pn XII F 14	CZ-Ps DA III 17	CZ-TRE A 4	CZ-Pa 376	CZ-OLu 406	CZ-HORm 487	CZ-HKrm II A 6	CZ-Pu X E 2	CZ-Pn XIII A 2	CZ-Pu VI B 24	CZ-KUsoka Ms. sine sign	CZ-HORm 487	A	B
10	Jezu Kriste štědrý kněže			SN																1	2
13	Salve regina glorie	SN	SN	SN	CS	SN ¹					SN, CS						FR	FR	SN	8	19
14	Nunc festum celebremus	SN		SN		SN	SN				SN, CS	SN ²			SN					7	9
15	Imperatrix gloriosa plena			SN	CS								SN		³		FR	FR		5	13
16	Ad honorem et decorem			SN	CS	SN					⁴				MI					4	16
18	Quidam triplo metro	SN		SN																2	2
77	Dies est leticie		SN			SN		⁵			SN, CS, FR ⁶	SN ²			SN	FR ⁷		FR ⁸		7	20
153	Iam prestolantes gloriam			SN																1	6
156	Ave yerarchia									SN, CS	SN, CS				MI			FR		4	19
157	Mittitur archangelus														MI		FR	FR		3	11
158	Candens ebur castitatis	SN				SN					SN			SN		FR	FR		SN	7	14
159	Gaude regina glorie																FR			1	8
161	Ave maris stella lucens	SN	SN			SN	SN				SN				MI	FR	FR			8	16
162	Ave rosa in yericho							FR		SN	SN									3	11
163	Ave trinitatis cubile	SN			CS						SN				MI ⁹			FR		5	16
164	Ex legis observancia				CS			FR			SN				SN			FR		5	9
166	E morte pater divinus										SN, FR ¹⁰				SN			FR		3	11
169	Stupefactus inferni dux			¹¹							SN			FR				FR		3	10
171	Veni dulcis consolator				CS ¹²	SN ¹³		SN			¹⁴	SN ²	SN		SN, MI ¹⁵			FR		7	17
173	Puer nobis nascitur		SN							SN										2	7
174	Cum gaudio concurrite					SN														1	4
175	Pueri nativitatem					SN		FR			SN			FR	SN			SN		6	14
176	Sol de stella										SN									1	6
178	Ursula speciosa	SN																FR		2	5
184	Stalat se jest					SN		¹⁶			¹⁷									1	6
185	Prima declinacio			SN																1	9
190	Ihesus Christus nostra salus										SN	SN ²	SN		SN			FR		5	18
192	Constat ethereis														MI			FR		2	8
193	Cedit hiems eminus												SN ¹⁸		MI			FR		3	13
196	Felici peccatrici					SN					SN, CS, FR ¹⁹	SN ²			SN ²⁰					4	13
198	Omnes attendite (Imber nunc celitus)			CS ²¹	CS ²¹			FR		SN, CS ²²	FR									5	12
	Total	7	4	10	7	11	2	4	1	4	16	5	4	3	15	3	6	15	2	119	355

Legend

Number of the piece in CZ–VB 42 per Ciglbauer, “The Hohenfurt ‘Song book.’”

A Number of sources evidencing knowledge of the tune

B Total number of relevant sources

Table 4 Occurrences of the songs pointing to their familiarity and memorization

(continued)

The relevant sources are defined as those which include entries sine notis or with incipits, fragments, or monophonic tunes in full. Songs with no instances pointing to the knowledge of the tune, namely *Laus domino resonet*, *Dyvo flagrans numine*, *Resurrexit dominus*, and *Sampsonis honestissima* are excluded.

Notes to individual occurrences of the cantiones

- (1) In addition to the Latin song on fol. 30^{r-v}, the source includes the contrafactum *Zdráva, Králevno slavnosti* on fol. 29^v. Both are sine notis.
- (2) The source includes text-only versions of the songs on fols. 344^r-347^v and notated ones on fols. 347^v-351^v (usually no more than one strophe). The texts in the two sections are in different hands, from which one may assume that the scribe who wrote the pieces sine notis knew the tunes.
- (3) A musical incipit is included, but it refers to the melody of another piece with the same two-word textual incipit "Imperatrix gloriosa". Presumably a mistake of the scribe.
- (4) Includes the original Latin cantio sine notis under the rubric "Beata Maria" (on fol. 42^r) and twice more as "canitur sicut," one with the text *Wenceslao duci claro* and referring to the tune of "Ad honorem et decorem" (fol. 26^v), the other with the text *Ad honorem et decorem* referring to the tune of "Dorothea, Beata Maria" (fol. 54^r).
- (5) Includes the Latin original sine notis (fols. 211^r-212^r) and the notated contrafactum *Nastal nam den vesely* on fol. 223^{r-v} (with the tune corresponding to that of *Dies est leticie* in other sources).
- (6) Includes the Latin *Dies est letitiae in ortu regali* sine notis (fols. 56^v-57^r) followed by the alternative Latin text *Dies est letitiae in festu regali* (fol. 57^{r-v}), which follows the rubric "canitur sub illa nota," both suggesting knowledge of the tune. Separately offers *Nastal nám den vesely* with a fragment of notation (fol. 137^v).
- (7) Next to the one-voice fragment of Latin song (fol. 179^{r-v}), an extra sheet has been pasted in, which contains a three-voice version of the same piece with only one strophe of text (fol. 178^v).
- (8) Includes three staves of music on fols. 213^v-215^r, and though the song is not recorded in full, anyone familiar with its repetitions would have been able to reproduce it from the source.
- (9) Contrafactum *Candor claritatis aeternae* on fol. 30^v.
- (10) Apart from the Latin cantio sine notis (fol. 24^v) is the contrafactum *Od smrti otec nebeský* with one staff of notation on a separate folio (fols. 49^v-50^r), which appears to have been added subsequently.
- (11) The contrafactum *Wstal jest bůh z mrtvých* is found sine notis on fol. E^r, but the original cantio is notated on fol. 152^{r-v}.
- (12) Two different contrafacta are included: *Pane Bože, my k tobě voláme* (fol. 48^r) and *Dnes hodů tak přesvatého* (fol. 48^{r-v}); both referring to the tune of "Veni dulcis consolator".
- (13) Included twice (fols. 29^r and 34^v) with original text.
- (14) The rubric for *Caro Christi vita* on fol. 28^{r-v} provides the instruction "canitur sicut Veni dulcis consolator," which is, however, included as a two-voice piece on fols. 50^v-51^r.
- (15) Cantio provided sine notis on fols. 21^v-22^r; the contrafactum *Caro Christi vita* with an incipit on fols. 22^v-23^r.
- (16) Fol. 224^v includes the Czech-texted song, but its Latin version *Patrata sunt miracula* is on the preceding fol. (224^r), hence use of the same melody might have been implied.
- (17) *Stalat se jest věc divná* is included as a fragment on fol. 89^r, but the Latin version *Patrata sunt miracula* is notated on fol. 91^v. In addition, the contrafactum *Jam virtus almi numinis* is found under the rubric "canitur sicut Patrata [sunt miracula]" on fol. 67^r.
- (18) The source includes the Latin *[C]edit hyems eminus* sine notis (fol. 219^r) and the notated three-voice contrafactum *Zpívaj každý vesele* (fol. 220^{r-v}). The polyphonic piece appears, however, in a different hand.
- (19) The original cantio presented sine notis on fol. 48^v. Of the five contrafacta added, four are provided with the rubric "canitur sicut" referring to "Felici peccatrici" and one is accompanied by a fragment of notation (fol. 49^r). The latter is on a folio that appears to have been added subsequently.
- (20) Apart from the entry with the original text, there are three more contrafacta, all sine notis. There is no rubric suggesting which tune to be used, but all four pieces are recorded in proximity.
- (21) A rubric provides the instruction that the tune of "Imber nunc celitus" is to be used; fol. 174^r in CZ-VB 42 and fol. 48^r in CZ-Pn II C 7.
- (22) *Imber nunc celicus* is included twice. First sine notis (fol. 396^r), then beneath a rubric with the instruction to sing it to the tune of "Divná milost boží" (fol. 401^r).

Example of analysis of tradition of cantio

The considerations that I made when determining whether the melody of a cantio can be deemed to have been widely known is best illustrated on the example of *Vstal jest bůh z mrtvých*. This song appears in the opening pages of CZ–VB 42 under the rubric *De Resurreccione* but its tune is no way indicated there. We know from the notated entry in the near-contemporary CZ–Pn II C 7 that the Czech text was sung to the melody of *Stupefactus inferni dux*, which itself appears notated in CZ–VB 42. Should we therefore conclude that the Vyšší Brod scribe deemed the Czech-texted contrafactum well known but not its Latin version?

To answer this question, we need to consider the piece in its context. Outside of CZ–VB 42, the Czech contrafactum only appears (in the period under review) in CZ–Pn II C 7, where it is *fully* notated. As this source contains many other text-only Czech contrafacta of cantiones with the rubric “canitur sicut,” why would an exception have been made in this instance, had the cantio’s tune been widely known? The Latin song appears *sine notis* just once (in CZ–Pa 376) and two more times in fragmentary notation (CZ–HKm II A 6 “Franus” and CZ–KUsoka Ms. sine sign). The remaining five manuscripts (CZ–Jla Ms. sine sign, CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, CZ–KUčms 88/85, CZ–Pn XIII A 2 and CZ–CHRm 12580) transmit the piece fully notated. This is not the place to describe these sources in detail, but it suffices to say that they too often transmit fragmentary entries or include the rubric *canitur sicut*.

Going back to CZ–VB 42, Ciglbauer concluded that the same scribe wrote the text of both the Latin and the Czech versions. Moreover, as he notes, only one of the ten pieces included in the first gathering is notated, which, I add, really stands out in the context of the manuscript as a whole.* Most likely, the scribe decided to utilize the few empty pages following the index and felt no need to reproduce the music notation, cognizant that he had written the Latin cantio earlier. He may have found the contrafactum’s rubric to be sufficiently clear as a reference (there are just four pieces on fols. 151–2 with this rubric). After all, the manuscript was to be used by him or his successors, not by a stranger six centuries later. Thus, we should not read the evidence here as proof that the tune of the song would have been well known in the early fifteenth century.

As we have seen, such an analysis requires a detailed investigation of the underlying facts on a case-by-case basis, and the facts rarely speak for themselves.

* See Ciglbauer, “The Hohenfurt ‘Song book’,” forthcoming, particularly table “CZ–VB 42 – Structure and Contents,” and the related discussion.

***Cedit hiems eminus*: the life of one cantio**

In the earlier part of my text, I presented the rich oral tradition of songs that, as far as I can tell, first appeared in mensural or semi-mensural notation in manuscript CZ–VB 42. I also pointed out that some pieces were recorded in both monophonic and two-voice settings, and that some of them were later reshaped into what I propose to call composed polyphony, while the older versions continued to live alongside these new ones and, in fact, continued to predominate, at least when it comes to the number of extant copies, well into the early sixteenth century. In the following part, I will supplement this general overview with a focused case study of one of the songs, *Cedit hiems eminus*. This piece serves as a useful representative of the popular cantiones that we can find spread across late medieval Bohemian sources. It is also one of several that can be found in sources outside the lands of the Bohemian Crown.

The rich life of this cantio is demonstrated in **Figure 3**, which presents the textual as well as musical transformations that it underwent (for transcripts of texts of all copies see **Appendix 2**). The original Easter variant, *Cedit hiems eminus*, was modified, at the latest, around the middle of the fifteenth century for the feast of Corpus Christi, with the same textual incipit but newly reworked lyrics. Before the century ended, another textual variant suitable for Christmas appeared, *Cedit merror eminus*, as well as the first Czech contrafactum, followed by a German one in the second quarter of the next century. The piece was musically redressed, presumably to suit the modern ear, shortly before the end of the fifteenth century by means of a newly composed four-voice version (sometimes presented in three voices). As I will demonstrate, this “composed polyphony” is based on the song’s tenor but rather freely reworked. From that moment on it is found coexisting in Bohemian sources alongside the original piece. This was, however, not the only attempt to turn the original piece into a truly polyphonic composition. The cantio established an international footing and several more polyphonic variants arose, including those in Valentin Triller’s *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* in 1555⁴⁸ and the 1582 *Piae Cantiones* of

48. Triller has based his *Singet fröhlich alle gleich* on the two-voice *Cedit hiems eminus*, with the main melody placed in the tenor (retaining the leap of a major seventh). See Triller, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*; and Triller, *The Polyphonic Hymns of Valentin Triller’s*.

Theodoricus Petri Nylandensis.⁴⁹ Before then, the song appeared in 1531 in Michael Weisse's *Ein New Gesengbuchlen* in a monophonic setting as *Weltlich Ehr und zeitlich Gut*.⁵⁰

Jaromír Černý analyzes the one- and two-voice instances⁵¹ of *Cedit hiems eminus* in CZ-VB 42, CZ-Pa 376, and CZ-HKm II A 6 in a paper from 1984, where he concludes that the piece had been originally composed for two voices.⁵² He also reconstructs its archetype—the presumed original composition.⁵³ But this raises an interesting question: if the piece were in fact composed for two voices, why then does it not appear as such in CZ-VB 42, the oldest notated source? This manuscript shows that the scribe knew how to notate an additional voice (laying it over the first one in ink of a different color) as can be seen in six of the cantiones. Jan Ciglbauer's study suggests that it was the same hand that wrote down the music notation of these six songs and that of *Cedit hiems eminus*.⁵⁴ Therefore, why not record both voices here as well? Two explanations seem most likely: either the scribe knew only one of the voices, the tenor, or he assumed that the second voice need not be written down. In either case, this would point to a more complex picture of the early tradition of the cantio than what existing studies have implied.

49. *Piae Cantiones* (PC), published in Greifswald, now in northeastern Germany, uses only the text of the first strophe and adds four new ones. Musically, as Timo Mäkinen points out, the three-voice arrangement is based on the older, two-voice version rather than the newer four-voice composed polyphony, adding that the tenor of the two-voice version is placed in the bass of PC. We may add that the discant of the two-voice version is used as a basis for the tenor of PC but is largely reworked, presumably to suit the three-voice arrangement, and that the discant of PC appears newly composed. Mäkinen also describes the rich tradition that the PC pieces have had in Finland up to the current time. Mäkinen, *Die aus frühen böhmischen Quellen überlieferten Piae Cantiones-Melodien*, 104–11. For the original collection, see Nylandensis, *Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et Scholasticae Veterum Episcoporum*, 105–8. More accessible is Woodward, *Piae Cantiones*, who revised and re-edited the collection. While it provides some helpful commentary, it needs to be used with caution as it diverges from the source in musical orthography and includes errors.

50. The song texted *Weltlich Ehr und zeitlich Gut* is monophonic, with a leap of an octave rather than a major seventh (see the discussion later). Also, certain passages are significantly reworked. See Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, K9v–10v. or Weisse, *Gesangbuch der Böhmischen Brüder 1531*.

51. This may be a good moment to refer to Table 2 and clarify the terminology as applied to the cantio. I refer to any and all versions of *Cedit hiems/merror eminus* as “the song”. Variations of that song that are clearly distinguishable from one another—primarily by their affiliation to one of the two groups that we define in this article, but occasionally also just by the number of voices—I call “versions.” What I call “instances” are the occurrences of (the same version of) the song as captured in different manuscripts or on different folios within the same manuscript. Any other word—e.g. rendition, occurrence, entry, or copy—simply refers to a particular realization of the song on a given folio in a given manuscript without attaching any value judgment to it.

52. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu.”

53. Černý, 92.

54. Ciglbauer, “The Hohenfurt ‘Song book,’” forthcoming.

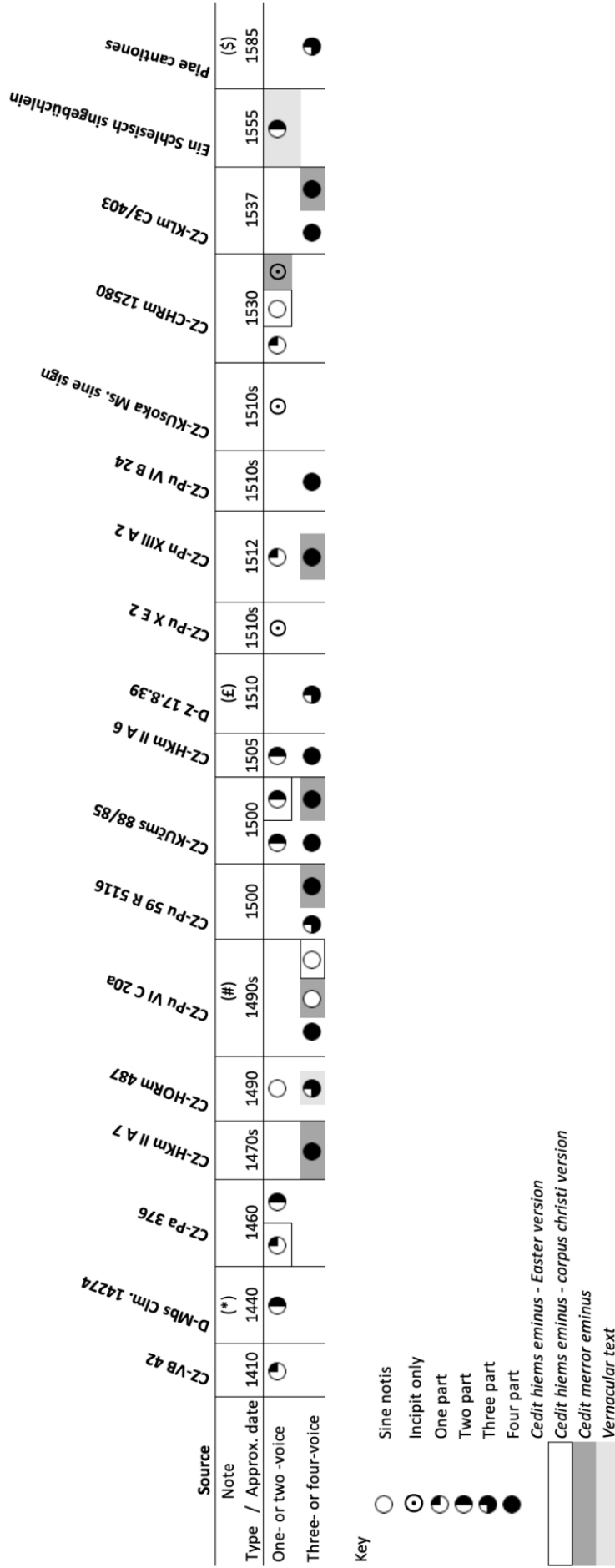


Figure 3 Concordances of *Cedit hiems eminus* in European medieval sources

In addition, as I will show, Černý's claim rests upon questionable emendations that he himself made. I have instead chosen to pursue an argument put forth by some musicologists that, in Peter Jeffery's words, "variants in music manuscripts need not be errors or even deliberate revisions—they may instead be important clues to the processes of transmission, reception, and performance that were active in the milieux from which the manuscripts came."⁵⁵ When one considers these copies as snapshots of the rich and varying tradition of a cantio, then there are no errors to be emended and no archetypes to be philologically derived. Next, I will present evidence to support my claim as I review the many copies of the song, starting with the oldest of the sources, CZ–VB 42.

The song in CZ–VB 42

The rendition of *Cedit hiems eminus* found in CZ–VB 42 provides evidence for the cantio's origin. Firstly, its rubric reads "In resurrectione Domini super gloria in excelsis cantio," implying it must have originated, as Černý says, as a Gloria trope and must have had a rich tradition predating CZ–VB 42.⁵⁶ Secondly, its notation (see **Example 1**) consists almost exclusively of one symbol: ◆, which can be read either as a punctum or a semibrevis. I choose to label this semi-mensural notation, as the scribe was trying to capture mensural rhythm.⁵⁷ One instinctively assumes that two neighboring notes of the same pitch underlaid to one syllable represent a note of a double duration (what some call a "bistropa"). The notation includes clefs, which even some later sources omit, and thus I know that the piece is in C. In addition, the vertical lines in red pigment that separate the notes are aligned with individual words. Other than the longa at the end, the only notes that required special treatment were the minims in measures three and five—a mere rhomb would fail to communicate that these are anacruses.⁵⁸

55. Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 43.

56. Černý, "Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu," 92.

57. I prefer this term to "modified Mensuralnotation" as proposed by Rumbold in his discussion of the St Emmeram Codex. Rumbold, *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram*, 92. I would like to thank Lenka Hlávková for proposing that I use this term and for drawing my attention to the literature.

58. Three more notes regarding my transcriptions: 1. I have interpreted the "double punctum" at the ends of all phrases (except the penultimate) as a breve, not as a semibrevis, since otherwise the next phrase would start at the middle of the measure. 2. The scribe of CZ–VB 42 added a cauda to notes in measures three and six where he, apparently, wanted to indicate that the notes should be even shorter, and in effect should not count toward the total duration of the measure. In my transcription, I have opted to treat it, as is customary, as an anacrusis and shortened the preceding note(s). 3. I have decided to honor the durations of the notes of the melisma on the syllable "-nus" in (my) measure six, and added an extra measure here not found in newer sources, which feature three notes instead of five here. Note that for the sake of compatibility, I have opted to *not* include this extra measure where multiple versions are compared in one figure.

Example 1 *Cedit hiems eminus* as recorded in CZ-VB 42 (diplomatic transcription and author's reading)

5
Ce-dit y-emps e-mi-nus sur-re-xit Chri-stus do-mi-nus - tu-li-tque gua-di-a

10
Ter-ra no-stra flo-ru-it re-vi-vi-scunt a-ri-da

15
po-stquam ver-in-te-pu-it re-ca-le-scunt fri-gi-da

Ciglbauer assigns the notational script of this one piece into a category of its own (N9) and refers to it as “semi-mensural,” but adds that the clefs and custodes correspond to script N3, which is used in more than a dozen cantiones.⁵⁹ But if N3 and N9 is the work of the same scribe, then why would he have used this semi-mensural notation for *Cedit hiems eminus*, while using the mensural one, which provides a significantly more concrete reading of the rhythm, for most of the other songs?⁶⁰ One explanation would be that the scribe was copying the cantiones from an earlier source and honored the original’s notational orthography. This would mean that the scribe was treating the piece as a museological item rather than a living thing. Could this really be the case? Elsewhere, I point out that the scribes were experimenting with notation or attempting to compose a second voice on the spot. I consider it more likely that the lengths of the notes were meant to be read in relative rather than absolute terms (for example, the double rhombs in the opening measure may sound shorter than those that end the phrases, etc.). By creating a transcription in modern notation, I need

59. See Table 1 for the scribes of cantiones.

60. Ciglbauer, “The Hohenfurt ‘Song book,’” forthcoming.

to supplement some of the information that is *not* included in the musical text. I am doing this solely to facilitate a side-by-side comparison with later renditions of the song and in no way mean to suggest that this is how the notation *would* have been read.

What I will argue here is that earlier monophonic instances of the piece are snapshots of an existing and developing oral tradition at a particular moment and place.⁶¹ This statement may sound obvious: a written copy of a musical piece is by necessity a snapshot, but my questions are to what extent the underlying tradition is shifting and therefore how diverse the snapshots are. I will show that just a century later, the monophonic version becomes much more stabilized—all that differs are just three individual notes in three different measures. I could interpret this either as the result of a shift towards a more “literate” tradition or as the result of a stabilization in the song’s tune and text, as well as a development in the scribes’ abilities in notating music. What I am working with here is what one would call a statistically insignificant sample size of four cases, but when considered in conjunction with the evidence presented in the following paragraphs, I believe that one can demonstrate some apparent patterns of transmission.

Features of the oral tradition and the uses of memory

Before we immerse ourselves in the many copies of the cantio and dissect their many commonalities and deviations to determine whether there are imprints of oral transmission, it is important to document what I am looking for. As Peter Jeffery points out, one cannot directly observe the culture of (early) Middle Ages and therefore needs to “make use of generalizations or posited universals” on the ways in which the oral tradition works.⁶² The obvious starting point is the vast body of work that has been done by ethnomusicologists.

I will begin, perhaps unexpectedly, with a text that is almost a century old. In her 1920 research on a Jamaican population with “the favorable features of primitiveness, comparative isolation, and the natural inclination to turn everything into song”—some of the language has admittedly not dated so well—Helen H. Roberts focused both on variations introduced over time in the performances of a single person as well as on variations between performances of different people.⁶³ As to the former, she commented that “very few individuals were able to reproduce strict

61. This is analogous to Leo Treitler calling the notation of a piece “a protocol of a performance” heard by the scribe (and, I can add, a piece that he played out in his head in those cases where he was already familiar with it) and that he “translates into writing.” Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 88.

62. Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 53.

63. Roberts, “A Study of Folk Song Variants,” 150.

repetitions of their tunes time after time. There would be minor shifts in rhythm, melody and words, and even phrases, and sometimes relative order.”⁶⁴ The minor variations “were not considered to affect the identity of the tune in any way and were of minor importance, while the thread of the tune was the distinguishing feature.”⁶⁵ The “thread of the tune” is an emic term that she describes as the “bare outline” of the tune without embellishments.

Roberts uncovers that the Jamaicans did not aspire to avoid variations, but rather that “the changes in detail were welcomed with delight and it was in these that the individual expressed his own self, they were his ‘interpretations,’ so to speak.”⁶⁶ She situates this in contrast to other cultures and circumstances where conformity to a song’s model is wished for or even required, particularly if it is part of a ceremony.⁶⁷ One needs to ask where on the spectrum of musical performance, with rigidity on one end and creativity on the other, would medieval cantiones stand. Though also part of a ritual, I would place them closer to the latter end. In fact, I would argue that the flexibility in performance they provided was an important stimulus for their popularity. Viewed in this light, this means we may have been misreading the music writing in such early sources as a note-for-note representation of the song, whereas all the scribes needed to write down was the “thread” or outline of the tune. The notation at their disposal, however, did not equip them with the tools to do *just* that.

There is another path one can take to uncover the traits of oral tradition: musical psychology. Bob Snyder has recently summarized the prevailing view on how melodies are stored in the brain:

[...] memory encoding of familiar melodies is not an exact (episodic) copy of particular pitches and time intervals, but a higher-order abstraction (schema) of particular features of the melody.

Possible features of pitch encoded in memory include interval, contour, and scale-step context (position in a scale).⁶⁸

John A. Sloboda experimented with the immediate recall of simple new melodies, concluding that it “is never note-for-note perfect” and that commonly “subjects make small variations on the original melody that are harmonically and metrically consistent.”⁶⁹ In his interpretation of the

64. Roberts, 214.

65. Roberts, 215.

66. Roberts, 215.

67. Roberts, 215.

68. Snyder, “Memory for Music,” 171.

69. Sloboda, “Immediate Recall of Melodies,” 88–89.

results of this study, Snyder asserted that “episodic memory for melody typically consists of an underlying abstract schema in which not all surface detail is retained,” which is very consistent with what Roberts observed a century ago. He adds, referring to the research of Serafine, Glassman and Overbeeke, that “the proposed deep structural events occur on metrically strong beats, are of longer duration, and are located on an important scale degree.”⁷⁰

Recent work by Berit Janssen et al. on a vast body of Dutch folk songs suggests that phrases that show lower variance are “rather short, contain highly expected melodic material, occur relatively early in the melody, and contain small pitch intervals.”⁷¹

The melodic and rhythmic structure of the cantio

Next, I will attempt to derive the stable component of the song. I have selected the copy in CZ–Pnm XIII A 2 to construct the contour of the melody, which I will argue was the stable part of the tune as it circulated in oral transmission (see **Figure 4**). I chose this later source over CZ–VB 42 as it communicates the rhythm unambiguously and bears the least number of variances to other renditions.

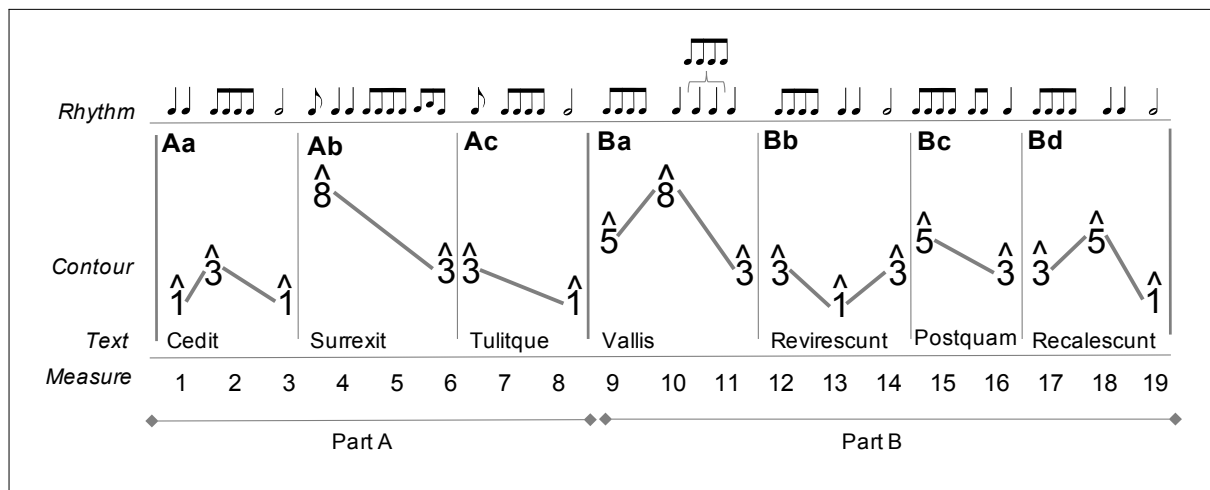


Figure 4 The rhythmic and melodic schema of *Cedit hiems eminus*

I have divided the piece into two main parts, *A* and *B*, each of which closes on the finalis, and subdivided each section into three and four segments, respectively. This may seem arbitrary, as, for example, segment *Aa* itself ends on the finalis, but I believe the segments in parts *A* and *B* share some common characteristics. This division into segments respects the

70. Snyder, “Memory for Music,” 173.

71. Janssen, Burgoyne, and Honing, “Predicting Variation of Folk Songs,” 621.

structure of the text, with each segment corresponding to one verse, which is, in my view, quite closely reflected in the music as well. Rhythmically, segment *Aa* opens with two semibreves followed by four minims and a breve. This rhythmic structure is carried over into the second segment, *Ab*, except that an anacrusis is added, and the final note is replaced with a short melisma. The following phrase, *Ac*, which is in substance an add-on to the previous one, opens with an anacrusis followed by four minims and a long final note (notated as two puncta, or a bistropha). In the following *B* section, the core rhythmic building block from the preceding part—two semibreves and four minims—is inverted and appended with a closing note, as seen in *Bb* and *Bd*. The remaining segments of this part introduce modifications thereof—*Ba* replaces the final note with two, and *Bc* diminishes the two semibreves and the final longa by a half.

This musical analysis may appear on first consideration simplistic, anachronistic, and superfluous, but I will argue that it is this very structure that the piece retained (with small deviations that I will also discuss) throughout its tradition. The execution of a phrase may change as the piece was transmitted from one person to another, but its contour would almost always stay the same. In this regard, not all phrases and rhythmical components were “created equal”. There are those that undergo significant transformations and those that remain unchanged. A good example is the phrase *Ba*, which accompanies the words “vallis nostra floruit” in the first strophe (see Table 5 for an overview of the tenor in various copies). The first two words are sung the same way in all the one- and two-voice copies (except for the one in *Piae Cantiones*, where the phrase sounds a third lower), but the third word acquires multiple settings. The first two words are sung syllabically as the phrase ascends from a fifth to the seventh, preparing for the octave that follows. Provided that the singer would have remembered that the opening two notes are a unison—and one can see that a unison also reopens segment *Bd*—there would have been basically one option to execute the phrase with the remaining two notes and two syllables. For the third word, however, the melody descends from the octave to the third over three syllables, represented in my transcription by four beats, thus offering multiple options as made evident in the monophonic variants. Interestingly enough, all two-voice copies transcribe the same solution, in which a stepwise ascent consists of four minims surrounded by a semibrevis on either side.⁷² Two explanations are possible: either the tenor needed to be aligned rhythmically with the discant, or, more convincingly, the two-voice copies are linked to a particular exemplar of the monophonic tradition, which was

72. The exception is CZ-KUčms 88/85 fol. 227^r, which, however, appears to include an error. See below.

close to the variant captured in CZ–Pa 376 and more stable in its transmission. Only through the detailed study of the one- and two-voice copies of the song that follows may I find evidence in support of either of these explanations.

Table 5 Variants of the contour

Source	Year	No. of voices	Segment Aa		Ab			Ac		Ba			Bb			Bc			Bd				
			1	4	1	7-8	8	3	3	x	1	5	8	3	3	1	3	5	6	3	3	5	1
CZ-VB 42	1410	1	*	*	*	8-8	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	4	*	*	*	*	*	4	*	*	
D-Mbs Clm. 14274	1440	2	*	*	*	*	*	2	2	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
CZ-Pa 376	Cca 1460	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CZ-Pa 376	Cca 1460	2	*	*	*	5-6	6	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
CZ-KUčms 88/85 (f. 227v)	Cca 1500	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
CZ-KUčms 88/85 (f. 266v)	Cca 1500	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
CZ-HKm II A 6	1505	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
CZ-Pn XIII A 2	1512	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
CZ-KUsoka Ms. sine sign.	1510s	1	*	*	*	*	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CZ-CHRm 12580	1530	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	*
Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein	1555	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Piae Cantiones	1585	3	*	*	*	5-6	6	*	*	x	*	3	5	*	*	*	*	2	*	*	*	3	*

Legend

- # Degree of scale
- ## Two notes in a row
- * Same as the contour
- x Not applicable due to the shape of the melody
- n/a Data point not available in the source

As shown in **Table 5**, the variants rarely resort to degrees of the scale on the “contour notes” other than those derived from CZ–Pnm XIII A 2. I will not investigate each of these “discrepancies” in the present article, but will only mention that some of them can be explained rather easily (in *Piae Cantiones*, the tune was moved to the *bass* voice for a new three-voice composition, which necessitated some modifications to it) and some others do not appear to break the contour in any significant way (CZ–VB 42 opens segment **Bd** not on the third degree the preceding segmented ended on, but rather moves upward one degree in the direction of the coming melodic peak).⁷³ I should add that in my interpretation of the oral tradition, a change to the tune would likely not have been considered a “corruption of an earlier text” to use Mužík’s words,⁷⁴ but rather “an individual expressing his own self” to use Roberts’ description of the Jamaican tradition of songs.⁷⁵ After all, my contour is an attempt toward a post-factum reconstruction. Exactly where the line would have been drawn between the “identity of the song” and the personal expression of the performer is difficult to say, nor

73. See the subchapter on two-voice copies of the song for a discussion of the leap of a fifth that appears in segment **Ab** in CZ–Pa 376 and *Piae Cantiones* rather than a leap of a seventh.

74. Mužík, *Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu*, 97.

75. Roberts, “A Study of Folk Song Variants Based on Field Work in Jamaica,” 150.

can I conclude that pieces that allow more space for personal expression must necessarily have been preferred. The extent to which individual performers could modify their voices was limited in a composed polyphonic setting, which may explain why a newer polyphonic setting often coexisted side by side with an earlier version, with some sources even presenting both (CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, CZ–KUčms 88/85, CZ–HKm II A 6, and CZ–Pn XIII A 2). I would argue that by providing space for personal expression, simpler settings of cantiones stood in contrast to the more regulated performance of chant rather than to their polyphonic versions.

Comparison to other monophonic copies

What interests me here is both *which* musical aspects, i.e., which notes and pauses, the scribe wrote down and *how* he did it, for either of these can provide clues as to whether the surviving copies are linked by a literate rather than an oral tradition. The music notation in these four manuscripts is transcribed in **Example 2**. I have opted to overlay the transcriptions in modern notation (on the staves) with diplomatic transcriptions of the notes' durations (above the staves). In other words, the former presents *my* readings of the song, i.e., the pitch and rhythmic content, whereas the latter overlays it just with the durations of the notes as written down by the original scribes.

When we put the second-oldest copy in CZ–Pa 376 next to the older one, we at once notice how much it differs in pitch, rhythm, and musical orthography.

Starting with the musical orthography, it is what appears to be an instance of mensural notation, albeit not a very “stable” one. This entry opens with two breves followed by four minims and a breve, thus deviating substantially from the rhythmic structure witnessed in CZ–VB 42. Zdeněk Nejedlý went so far as to declare that “the variants cannot be securely distinguished from writing errors.”⁷⁶ But if one accepts this position, one disregards an important source that can provide valuable insight into the life of the cantio in the fifteenth century. What I prefer to do instead is isolate those aspects of the copy that I believe *can* be transcribed reliably, and I will argue that it *is* the pitch of the notes but *not* (always) the rhythm, for the rhythm as written in CZ–Pa 376 renders the copy unsingable. Starting with the second staff (our measure ten), the music is recorded in nothing but minims, but even in the first staff where different note lengths are used, any verbatim interpretation would come out clumsy at best, if only because the cantio speeds up in segment *Aa* then slows down

76. Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu*, 361n.

surprisingly in segment *Ab*. I believe that it is more the relative than the absolute duration of the notes that the performer would follow. In my reading, the entry provides evidence of the desire to record the piece despite the challenges in notating it, and that regardless of its imperfections, the entry would nevertheless have been considered a worthwhile undertaking.

Example 2 Overview of one-voice copies of the song *Cedit hiems eminus*[§]

The image displays a musical score for the song *Cedit hiems eminus*, presented in four systems. Each system consists of four staves, representing different manuscript copies: CZ-VB 42*, CZ-Pa 376, CZ-Pn XIII A 2, and CZ-CHRm 12580. The notation is mensural, with notes and rests on a five-line staff. Vertical arrows are placed below the notes to indicate rhythmic divisions. The first system covers measures 1 through 10, and the second system covers measures 11 through 15. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). In the second system, the CZ-Pa 376 staff has a note at measure 14 that is greyed out, with the text "Entry in Vs. (1v) breaks off here as the scribe ran out of space." written below it. The notation uses a mix of black and grey ink to highlight differences between variants.

* CZ-VB 42 music originally in C, here transposed into F to facilitate comparison.

§ The sources are presented top-to-bottom chronologically. The notation of the first variant is entirely in black, but starting with the second one, the notes that are identical *in pitch and duration* with the preceding variant are notated in grey, while those that are different are in black. As the mensural notation, and thus the depiction of rhythm in different copies is executed differently, my color-coding is based on differences in my transcriptions rather than in the original sources. This way we are focusing on what we consider to be differences in substance but not on those that may represent errors or different musical orthographies.

After all, the scribe may have switched to a uniform duration of notes when he recognized that what he had written down until then was rhythmically inaccurate. It surely must have been better to have *something* written down for future reference than nothing. A performer would have needed to rely on memory to provide the rhythmic structure, as he would need to sing the piece to the end—the last four measures are missing. Hence, one can also read the unstable rhythm as evidence that the cantio would have been known and transmitted mostly through oral means in the fifteenth century.

The scribe's lack of command in mensural notation did not stop him from recording the melody correctly. The pitches of the notes can be read quite reliably, even though neither of the staves has a clef (or a key signature). The only major inaccuracy appears to be the *custos* at the end of the first staff, which is a third too low relative to other records of the song (emended in my transcription). When the source is placed side by side with other renditions, one finds some pitch variance throughout. The anacrusis in measure three is an octave leap rather than a seventh, the phrase in measures eight and thirteen is executed differently, and measures eleven and twelve are more ornamented than in the earlier copy. I believe these to be consistent with the kinds of changes introduced in oral transmission, not least because the openings and endings of phrases and thus the phrase contours remain stable.

The remaining two monophonic copies (in CZ-Pn XIII A 2 and CZ-CHRm 12580) come from the beginning of the sixteenth century, when, as I will show in my discussion of the polyphonic versions, transmission had begun to turn more towards a literate one. What I see in these two sources is a more secure command of mensural notation as well as a certain "stability" that the piece had achieved in the new century—both are rhythmically almost identical, save for the penultimate measure. Differences in musical orthography are limited to the shapes of ligatures and the (missing) key signature. In terms of pitch, the older occurrence in **CZ-Pn XIII A 2** tracks the melody in CZ-Pa 376 closely: I see the same major seventh leap in measure three, and the phrases in measures eight and thirteen are identical. I believe that these two copies likely belong to the same tradition, which, for the following two reasons, would likely be oral. Firstly, as I will present later, they belong to two different textual groups. Secondly, and more importantly, though the limited number of variances would point to a written source as the origin, it could *not* have been CZ-Pa 376 with its rhythmic disorder and missing measures. Rather, these two copies must have been written down independently of

each other. Therefore, we have in total at least three different written accounts of an oral tradition of this monophonic cantio.

The last source, **CZ–CHRm 12580**, transmits minor differences in rhythm to CZ–Pn XIII A 2, namely, the shape of the ligature in measure six and the voice leading in the penultimate measure, and thus poses the question as to whether they belong to the same *written* rather than oral tradition. The pitches are also almost identical: the only dissimilarities come in measures two and eighteen, neither of which would have been forced by the text (the two occurrences are textually identical in the first strophe) nor sound better to my ears. These divergences can be explained either by changes introduced when copying the music from one source to another or, if they are taken to represent snapshots of the oral tradition, the stabilization of this tradition at this later stage.

To sum up, the two earlier sources of the monophonic cantio display greater variability in terms of the music recorded as well as its orthography, which is in one case semi-mensural notation, and in the other an attempt at mensural notation, although rhythmically unstable. I believe that at least three of the four extant copies show variances that I deem consistent with changes introduced in the oral tradition. In my view, variations in musical orthography demonstrate not only that writing mensural music was a skill acquired only gradually, but also that the entries with what appears to be a “faulty” rendering of rhythm were nevertheless deemed worthwhile, presumably because they served simply as *aides-mémoires*. The monophonic setting enabled the singer to apply his own finishing touches in shaping the rhythm of the composition, as would have been the case at the time of the piece’s origin as a Gloria trope. In contrast to the older sources, the two that originated in the sixteenth century are much more closely aligned melodically and rhythmically, though they do exhibit some variances in notation, musical orthography, and their texts, which suggests that they are not directly affiliated.

Two-voice version

There are five copies in four manuscripts (see **Appendix 3**), of which the one in D-Mbs Clm. 14274 (“St. Emmeram Codex”) is an outlier in all regards. The upper voice is more ornamented than in all other copies and both voices are underlaid with the text of the first strophe. This suggests that the scribe may have been more interested in the music than the words, or that the music was performed instrumentally rather than vocally. This source is

connected to the University of Vienna and, as some scholars have suggested, students commonly practiced keyboard music.⁷⁷ As in CZ–VB 42, the piece is in C (clefs are included), but in contrast to that copy, the notation in the St. Emmeram Codex is unambiguous in regard to rhythm and pitch—something that can hardly be taken for granted even in later sources.

The lower voice of D–Mbs Clm. 14274 does not, as a whole, match any of the monophonic tunes discussed in the preceding paragraphs, but it is apparently related to them. Measure two is identical to the copy in CZ–CHRm 12580, measures eleven and thirteen to the one in CZ–Pa 376, and measures seventeen to eighteen (with a change in one minim) match the entry in CZ–VB 42. At the same time, a portion of the phrase in measures five through seven sounds a second lower in the St Emmeram Codex than in any of the other sources, and one note in measure sixteen has no equivalent in any monophonic copy. It is, however, possible that some of these variants resulted from the scribe’s own doing. The scribe may have felt the need to adjust the tenor in order to generate the best possible consonance with the upper voice. A closer look at the first variance (measures five to seven) shows indeed that the different voice leading of the tenor was necessary to avoid both a perfect and an augmented fourth, provided we accept that it was the *tenor* that needed to be changed here rather than the discant. And while the second variance (measure sixteen) does not have an equivalent among the monophonic versions, it does have one in the tenor of three of the later two-voice versions. Therefore, most of what differentiates the tenor of D–Mbs Clm. 14274 from the other versions may have been simply changes introduced in its oral transmission before the piece was recorded in this source.

If the tenor of D–Mbs Clm. 14274 fits well into the tradition, the same cannot be said of its discant. It is even difficult to tell whether it is the same voice with modifications or a newly composed one, as Černý asserted.⁷⁸ In the latter case, someone, possibly the scribe himself, would either have been acquainted just with the monophonic piece, or perhaps both voices, but for some reason decided to drop the original discant in favor of one newly composed. As **Example 3** shows, even when one limit her investigation to the first eight measures, she finds some peculiarities that cannot be found elsewhere. Firstly, the one-

77. See Rumbold, *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram*, 23, 88–89 and 124. On the repertory originating in Bohemia or Silesia see Ward, “A Central European Repertory in Munich.” On music at universities, see Ciglbauer, *Septem Dies*, 11–12, and 17.

78. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu,” 92.

measure voice exchange (“Stimmtausch”) seen in other sources is introduced in D-Mbs Clm. 14274 asymmetrically: the tenor leaps up an octave over the span of one measure, while the discant needs one measure more to make the same descent. Secondly, the phrase ends in measure eight on the interval of an octave, whereas in the other sources the measure also opens on an octave, but then the discant slides down to a fifth. Similarly, in measure fourteen (refer to **Appendix 3**) the phrase ends on an octave whereas other sources consistently conclude on the fifth. None of the other sources divert from the “established” closing tones of the phrases outlined above, and that holds true for all variants. There is nevertheless an apparent kinship (the similar melodic contour) of the discant to the other two-voice copies, unless one were to attribute it to the application of contemporary compositional principles made independently to the (same) tenor. Could this mean that while the tenor of the song would have naturally been considered more stable, the top voice could have displayed more variability? It will be interesting to see whether there is more variability in the top voice than there is in the lower voice as I present the other copies.

Example 3 Dissimilarities of D-Mbs Clm. 14274 to other versions (measures 1-8)

Turning now to CZ-Pa 376, the first extant manuscript to include both one- and two-voice versions, several interesting questions arise. Firstly, what led the scribe(s) to write down two copies of the song? Secondly, is the tenor of the two-voice song simply a copy of the monophonic variant? Thirdly, what do these different renditions tell us about the rhythm

of the song and its means of transmission? This source has not yet been thoroughly studied codicologically and so we do not know how many different hands wrote down the many dozens of cantiones. My research, however, suggests that the texts and, even more likely, the music notation of the two variants I am presenting here are to all appearances in the same hand.⁷⁹ In that case, the varying command of mensural notation and rhythm can be attributed either to the developing proficiency of the scribe or, in the case of the two-voice version, to a possible written model.

Example 4 Comparison of one-voice version with tenor of two-voice version⁸⁰

15
Entry in Vs. (1v) breaks off here.

When the tenor of the two-voice song is placed next to the monophonic tune (see **Example 4**), the pitch content appears to be rather similar, but the rhythm and texts are different. The incipit is “Cedit yemps eminus” in both cases, but the wording and rubric of the monophonic version suggest that it was intended for the feast of Corpus Christi. This explains why two versions were needed: they are for two liturgical occasions. The inclusion of both in

79. The two renditions of *Cedit hiems eminus* in CZ–Pa 376 appear on fols. 91^v–92^r (the two-voice entry) and fols. 132^v–133^r (the monophonic song). The ruling of the two sets of folios is different. In the latter, both music and text are written on a unified system of lines/staves; in the former, music staves are drawn only where needed. The text itself demonstrates some similarities, particularly in the letters “d”, “e”, and “g”, but the notation is even closer, which is, after all, what is more important here. Both copies lack clefs. The semibreves and the body of minims open with pronounced strokes placed perpendicularly. Their stems are wobbly, slightly tilted to the right, often with a small hook pointing in the same direction at their end. The custodes are pipe-like, mostly with a down-turning stem. The heads of semibreves and minims have the same ductus, as does the punctum of the rhombs, an uncinus. Chances are that they are both in the same hand. (The author would like to thank Jan Ciglbauer and Lenka Hlávková for their input.)

80. See note to Example 2 for a key to the color-coding.

the same manuscript corresponds to what we find in some later sources. It would be more natural to assume that this “less perfect” monophonic version came first, and was later supplemented by the two-voice version, which records the rhythm more reliably and, perhaps more importantly for the performers, aligns both voices most of the time.

In contrast to the rhythm, the pitch content is almost identical, with the only significant difference represented by the seventh vs fifth leap at the transition from measure three to four. Černý presumed that the song originated for two voices, arguing that the octave leap in the tenor indicates that it was intended as a voice-exchange (Stimmtausch) at its birth. But it may equally well just be word-painting, for how else to set to music the joyful words of “Christ the Lord has risen”? He also points to the similarity of the phrases in the upper voice at measures one to two and in the lower one at measures four to five to support his claim.⁸¹ True, the measures are similar in several of the sources, but *not* in CZ–Pa 376, the source with which Černý works. He extends the leap of a fifth upwards by a third following the monophonic variant and the two-voice copy in the later CZ–HKm II A 6.⁸² One must ask why, if this is obviously a Stimmtausch, it does *not* appear as such in the earliest surviving source with both voices. Admittedly, the scribe may have made an error of transposition just there and then, and given that a page break follows, he might have failed to notice it. However, Černý overlooks the fact that in addition to CZ–Pa 376, the three-voice setting in the *Piae cantiones* of 1585 also features a leap of a fifth here. He would likely point out that the transposition in *Piae cantiones* pertains to four notes, not three as in CZ–Pa 376, and probably explain it as a change introduced upon resetting the tune for three voices. But then there are other songs where such melodic dichotomies appear, for instance *Felici peccatrici*, where different sources notate either a fifth or a seventh early on in the tune.⁸³ The agreement in the tune and disagreements in the rhythm point, in my view, to someone attempting to write down the music of the one-voice piece from memory (either the scribe of CZ–Pa 376 himself or through his use of another written source for the song, if he had one, that had itself been copied from memory) and not being able to “get it right”. It may not have mattered so much anyway: I have alluded to the prevalence of text-only versions of these cantiones earlier,

81. Černý, “Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu,” 92.

82. Černý, 85n.

83. CZ–VB 42 has an ascending leap of a seventh between the third and fourth notes, while all later notated sources in my purview (CZ–Pn XII F 14, CZ–Pa 376, CZ–OLu 406, CZ–Jla Ms. sine sign, CZ–KUčms 88/85, CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, CZ–HKm II A 6, CZ–Pn XIII A 2, CZ–CHrm 12580, *Veteres ac piae cantiones*) feature a fifth.

and this fragment might have sufficed to support the singer's memory. As for the fifth instead of a seventh, I believe that this may represent a variant introduced in oral transmission and not necessarily a mistake.

The next manuscript, CZ–KUčms 88/85, offers two separate copies of the two-voice version, one with the more frequent Easter text and the second with the “Corpus Christi” (CC) variant. Both the musical notation and texts of these two entries appear to be in the same hand. The tenors are practically identical, save for an uncorrected error⁸⁴ and the last minim in the seventeenth measure, but the discants exhibit a higher degree of variances, be it errors or substantive differences.⁸⁵ If I presume for now that a written model existed, it appears that the musical notation of these two entries could not have been derived from the same one.⁸⁶ The Easter version exhibits several uncorrected mistakes that do not occur in the other, but this on its own does not prove anything, as the mistakes could have been introduced during a sloppy copying process rather than emanating from the model.⁸⁷ A stronger argument in my view is that the phrase in measure eighteen of the discant in the CC version is executed in an ornamented manner (in semi-minims), while the Easter one sticks to minims. As both versions have three syllables here (an-ge-lo-rum vs fri-gi-da), this deviation cannot arise from differences in text. I consider it unlikely that the scribe would have decided to decorate the tune in just one measure and only in one of the two copies he was making. Moreover, when one looks at the two-voice entry in the contemporary CZ–HKm II A 6 (here it appears with the Easter rather than the CC text), one finds the same ornament there. Consequently, the two copies in CZ–KUčms 88/85 come with different texts and differing realizations of the discant, and thus there were likely two different models. “Models” imply written transmission, which is corroborated by the lower variability in text and notation when compared to older exemplars.

84. The second minim in measure eleven of the tenor, which can be found in other sources, is missing on fol. 227^{r-v} of CZ–KUčms 88/85. This appears to be simply an oversight, as no compensation is made in the duration of other notes.

85. The rhythm long-short-short-long in measure eight is swapped between the versions, and thus a syncopation (short-long-long-short) appears on fol. 227^{r-v}. Another difference is the ornamentation in the penultimate measure, which is discussed in the main text.

86. One may ask here why we would even consider a common (written) original for two versions that bear different texts. Later in my text, I will present evidence that the musical and textual components of the songs could at times be coming from different sources.

87. The Easter version (on fol. 227^{r-v}) provides five minims in measure three of the discant where the other version notates (what appears rhythmically more sensible) three minims and two semi-minims. The tenor is almost identical, except that in the Easter copy one minim has been (mistakenly) omitted from measure eleven.

I alluded to a similarity in the ornaments of the CC versions in CZ–KUčms 88/85 and in CZ–HKm II A 6 (“Codex Franus”)⁸⁸ in the earlier paragraph. If we ignore the musical orthography, the tenors of the two copies are identical, whereas the discants deviate from one another. That on its own, however, does not preclude any direct (or indirect) relationship between them, because the music notation in the Codex Franus, as in the previous source, transmits multiple mistakes. With these obvious mistakes in both sources, it is possible that some of what appears to be variances are, indeed, also errors. Therefore, all I can say is there is evidence that the two copies may be linked, perhaps through written transmission.

To summarize, what I have demonstrated in the two-voice version is that the tenor was the more stable voice compared to the discant. I have also shown that there is a higher degree of similarity in the tenors than there is in the monophonic variants, which may be attributable to the stronger reliance on oral transmission in the early period, lower proficiency in using mensural notation, and, finally, the longer timespan that separates these copies (some hundred and thirty years for the monophonic version in contrast to some seventy years for the two-voice). I have demonstrated that some variants are so close to each other that they may be linked by written transmission, although this is in some cases difficult to tell given the prevalence of errors in the writing of music notation. I also provided evidence that copies of different variants of the same piece in one source may come from two different models, which is important if we wish to consider or analyze them as independent in their transmission. Finally, I have demonstrated that the tenor of the two-voice version comes from the monophonic source and that the one- and two-voice versions circulated alongside one another; Hlávková and Kodýtek propose to call this practice “*cantus mensuratus binatim*.”⁸⁹

88. A transcription of this version can also be found in Orel, *Kancionál Franusův*, 97–98. He apparently emends errors but unfortunately does not provide a critical report.

89. As they explain, the term—inspired by “*cantus planus binatim*” as introduced by Alberto F. Gallo—describes monophonic songs that embody the potential to improvise a second voice. See Gallo, *Cantus planus binatim*; and Hlávková and Kodýtek, “Manuscript Vyšší Brod 42,” forthcoming.

Polyphonic version

What I will focus on in this section are any signs that the source was used for the performance or study of the song. I also attend to the (dis)similarities between copies, for these may point to their means of transmission and potentially give evidence on how and why the manuscripts were put together.

My first stop will be with the composition itself. The three-voice version of the song is a textbook example of the late fifteenth-century Central European (in the broader sense) approach to counterpoint. In fact, I could cite several fifteenth-century treatises to describe how the piece was put together. I will limit my references to two of them, one originating in northern Italy, which was cited not long ago in *Musica Disciplina*,⁹⁰ and one by the Bohemian priest and musical theorist Wenceslaus Philomathes (first published in 1512).⁹¹

The composition is built on the tenor voice. Interestingly, this polyphonic tenor is not an exact replica of either of the voices from the two-voice composition, but rather represents their amalgamation and modification in terms of both pitch and rhythm. The meter remains duple, but the rhythmic patterns of the version I categorized earlier as *cantus mensuratus binatim* have been altered, since there is no need to retain them in a composition that was not to be stored entirely in one's memory. The polyphonic tenor starts with a phrase taken from the *discantus* of the earlier setting (see **Example 5**), though modified in terms of rhythm as well as melodic voice leading. Despite these modifications, anyone who had heard the earlier song would surely have recognized it here. Anyhow, as soon as the second phrase begins its course, the tenor commences the familiar melody of the lower voice of the old *cantio*. That this is not a coincidence can best be seen in measures nine through fourteen, which are identical in the two versions. In my view, the composer decided to "untangle" the exchange of voices to avoid large leaps in the tenor, which would have either pushed the outer voices out of a practicable gamut or led to more voice-crossings. The other voices of the new piece are derived from the tenor. The *discantus* and bass open and close on either a unison or an octave above/below it. The melody of the *discantus* is built predominantly by laying sixths, thirds, and octaves on

90. Stoessel, "The Making of Louise Hanson-Dyer Manuscript 244," 84–85.

91. Philomathes, *Musorum libri quattuor*.

top of it, and the bass by laying thirds, fifths, and octaves below it.⁹² This very closely follows what is described in the treatise of the Louise Hanson-Dyer Manuscript.⁹³

Example 5 Comparison of composed polyphony to the two-voice version⁹⁴

The altus follows contemporary rules of composition as well: it is, as Philomathes recommends, built on the bass by laying octaves, fifths, thirds, or sixths over it (apart from short moments when the two voices are exchanged). The altus appears in most but not all copies of the composed polyphony (it is not found in CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, CZ–HORm 487, or D–Z 17.8.39, where only three voices were recorded), and in those sources where it is

92. All intervals are listed in the order of their relative frequency.

93. The treatise recommends basing the top voice on the interval of a sixth, and the bottom voice on a fifth, followed by a third. See Stoessel, “The Making of Louise Hanson-Dyer Manuscript 244,” 85.

94. The composed polyphony follows the entry on fol. 223^v in CZ–HKm II A 7 and the two-voice version on fol. 274^v in CZ–HKm II A 6. The notation of the latter has been spaced out to correspond to the rhythm of the polyphonic piece. The notation has been color-coded to highlight the common notes between the voices in the two versions—commonalities with the tenor are set in magenta, those with the discantus in blue.

included, it is not necessarily the case that all voices would have been performed. In CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, there is a three-voice (Easter) version alongside a four-voice (Christmas) one, but this latter song may have been performed only by three voices. Originally, only the discant carried the text, which was later added (in a different hand) to the tenor and bass, but not to the altus. Naděžda Mjachká dated the paper in their two respective gatherings to around 1500 and concluded that both were written by the main scribe.⁹⁵ It is clear that the four-voice entry was recorded later, for it is not, in contrast to the other one, included in the index (its pages are not even foliated) and is ruled differently. As the scribe wrote down four voices but only three seem to have been performed, it is possible that the fourth one did not sound entirely satisfactory. This would explain its variability among the sources, which is significantly higher than it is for the other voices.

When I list all dissimilarities in pitch and rhythm among the entries with composed polyphony (see **Appendix 4**), one immediately sees that they are considerably less in number than those found in the versions for one or two voices. There are so few of them that one can even trace individual modifications from one copy to another. What is more, several of the sources are identical, if not so much in musical orthography as in rhythm and pitch, including the Christmas copy in CZ–Pu 59 R 5116 just mentioned and the oldest extant exemplar in CZ–HKm II A 7.⁹⁶ These two sources are the so-called “Speciálníks,” that is, manuscripts that transmit a selected, particularly polyphonic repertory, and hence it would not be surprising to find out that one (or at least a portion of it) would have been copied from the other. The entry in CZ–Pu VI C 20a is also (notationally) identical. Two more sources, CZ–Pu XIII A 2 and CZ–HKm II A 6, are very close as well, except for the execution of the last note (the voice prescribes either one or two final notes). Consequently, there are five copies that are musically almost identical. One cannot imagine that such a low degree of variability, in fact their near complete absence, could be the result of oral transmission. Rather, here we are likely looking at scribes copying music from sheet.

In the remainder of this section, I will focus on one divergence, which in my reading suggests a filiation of sources that otherwise seem rather removed from one another and

95. As both entries were made by the main scribe, we believe they can be securely dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century. See Mjachká, “Analýza Rukopisu 59 Rs1,” 14–15, 18, 28, and 32.

96. The research that Lenka Hlávková and I made, redated the oldest gatherings of CZ–HKm II A 7 about a decade earlier, to the 1470s. The watermark from this particular gathering (anchor in a circle) is very similar to Piccard No. 118888 (dated to 1471 in Venezia) with the paper of matching “Großregalformat”. See <https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE8100-PO-118888>.

presents the song as analogous to a living organism. It occurs on the second minim in measure nineteenth, where the discantus and the tenor form an interval of a minor second. No big deal for Philomathes, per whom “[t]he seventh confuses and the second disturbs, so it is not appropriate for it to be placed on the tactus, but around it, and let it not sound strong, but rather dissipate quickly,” and thus it has remained mostly untouched in later copies.⁹⁷ Two sources, CZ–Pu VI B 24 and CZ–KLM C3/403, “rectified” this spot by adjusting the pitch upward from *e*’ to *f*’ to form a unison between the two voices (this is the case in the copy of *Cedit hiems minus* in CZ–Pu VI B 24, and in both copies of *Cedit hiems minus* and the *Cedit meror minus* in CZ–KLM C3/403). Could this mean that one source is a copy of the other? These sources have much in common, as both can be linked to Utraquist literary brotherhoods:⁹⁸ CZ–Pu VI B 24⁹⁹ seem to come from the Church of St. Castulus in Prague’s Old Town;¹⁰⁰ and the scribe of CZ–KLM C3/403, Jan Táborský, resided in Prague at the time he finished the volume, and thus could have had access to the earlier source or a filiated copy.

Hence, it is possible that these copies are related. Can one find evidence proving or rebutting filiation in the entries of the songs they transmit as well? For that, the first thing to compare would be the songs’ words, but as I will discuss in the next subchapter, we are out of luck: the song was originally recorded in CZ–Pu VI B 24 with only one strophe, such that there is not enough material to compare. When we turn to the musical notation, we may be tempted to rule out any relation between this source and CZ–KLM C3/403, for there are multiple divergences (see **Appendix 4**). One in particular is striking: the semibreve opening measure seventeen in the discant of CZ–Pu VI B 24 reads *e*’ rather than *d*’, which would yield a dissonance of a minor second between the top voice and the tenor on the downbeat. Hardly an intentional modification but almost certainly a mistake. The notation in this copy does not facilitate reading from the score, as can be seen in the execution of the dotted notes and the misalignment of the text underlay. Nevertheless, there is evidence that performers were

97. “Septima confundit viciatque secunda, proinde non valet in tactu poni, sed circiter illum, nec resonet valide, cursu tamen effluit acri.” Philomathes, *Muscorum libri quattuor*, 90. The translation is mine.

98. Regarding CZ–KLM C3/403, see Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 233. The connection between CZ–Pu VI B 24 and an Utraquist literary brotherhood is implied by the church to which the manuscript is linked (see also note 100).

99. There is no colophon and Graham does not date the paper. Lenka Hlávková and I have succeeded in tracing its watermark to paper used in Rattenberg around year 1513. (Heraldic double-headed eagle with crown above, Piccard No. 162340. See <https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/?ref=AT3800-PO-162340>. Identified on fol. 157.)

100. The rubric on fol. 225^v reads “de sancto Castulo martire et patrono,” and the church itself is depicted in the initial on fol. 260^v, unmistakably recognizable even today.

indeed able to use the notation in the manuscript, either in performance or rehearsal. This is suggested by the soiled bottom corners of the pages and several instances where the note durations were corrected (minims were changed to semibreves by crossing the caudae, rather than scraping them out), and while one cannot discern whose hand it was, these corrections show that someone made an effort to indicate the correct rhythm. The strongest argument for its use in performance comes, however, from the text later added with the incipit “Cedit meror eminus”: it is scribbled in and hardly legible, but evidently good enough for the person who wrote it. This text was clearly added to the book to enhance not its presentability but its utility, and thus if it could serve the purpose, it did not matter how clean it looked or how accurately the music had originally been written down. And when we look closer, we can even see that the sloppy mistake of the “introduced minor second” at the start of measure seventeen has been addressed by means of inconspicuous correction marks. This implies that the copy continued to be used for some time, and the imperfections that mattered to the performers were somehow rectified. The remaining differences between the two renditions seem quite inconsequential, save for the changes to the altus in measures seventeen to eighteen, where adjustments were made to prevent it from descending too low to *c*. This is a matter of practicality and hence the change could have been introduced at any point in time by anyone, even by Táborský himself, who, as Graham notes, was likely an active musician (organist).¹⁰¹ What I am trying to demonstrate is that the entry in CZ–Pu VI B 24 and those in CZ–KLM C3/403 are very close musically, and it is conceivable that the two manuscripts may have been directly filiated.

To summarize, the composed polyphonic setting of the songs that is first recorded in the 1470s in the *Speciálník* is a new composition that represents a successful attempt to modernize the older song to suit current fashion. The number of notational divergences among the sources is so low that it seems likely they were copied from source to source. Moreover, there are indications that some of the existing variants were introduced consciously during the copying process, during which a knowledgeable scribe may have attempted to correct some imperfections or make the voices more suitable for the available performers or their number.

101. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 23.

Textual analysis

The textual variants of the song that survive, which total more than three dozen, can be divided into three main groups: *Cedit hiems eminus*, the Easter version (marked “CH” in this text); *Cedit hiems eminus*, the Corpus Christi version (marked “CC”); and *Cedit meror eminus*, the Christmas version (marked “CM”); Henry Howard kindly translated one text from each of the three groups into English—see **Appendix 6**. Within these groups, there are differences at several levels, from varying numbers of strophes to the replacement of whole strophes by different ones, differing individual verses within the same strophes, and, finally, different words within those verses. I believe that all of these can help uncover some relations between the extant copies. Clearly, there are also differences in textual orthography, which may, however, be misleading given the varying practices that coexisted during the Middle Ages¹⁰² and the general inclination of textual “accidentals” to become ingrained in the writing habits of individual scribes, to paraphrase W. W. Greg.¹⁰³ That a certain phrase or word would serendipitously enter the text of several copies and replace another one in the same verse of the same strophe, I deem unlikely. That the same spelling of a word would be introduced independently, I do not.

What is likely the newest version of the text, *Cedit meror eminus*, first appears in CZ–HK II A 7, where it accompanies the composed polyphonic setting. In fact, so do all copies but one, which may indicate that the polyphonic version was from its inception connected with the Christmas text. This group can be further broken down into two subgroups (see **Figure 5**), differentiated by the wording of the opening two verses of the second strophe. In the first, labeled **CM1**, they read “Deus homo factus est / Prostratus relevatus est” and appear in three sources: in each of the two so-called “Speciálníks,” CZ–HKm II A 7 and CZ–Pu 59 R 5116, as well as in CZ–Pn XIII A 2. Musically, these renditions are virtually identical. I consider it improbable that someone would first learn the piece orally then write it down in a way that all four voices, with more than four hundred notes combined, in addition to the full set of strophes would have remained unaltered. Hence, I can conclude that these instances are likely filiated.

102. See, for instance, Elliott, “A Brief Introduction to Medieval Latin Grammar,” 1–51.

103. Greg defines substantive readings of text as “those namely that affect the author’s meaning or the essence of his expression” and accidentals as “spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation.” See Greg, “The Rational of Text-Copy,” 21–22.

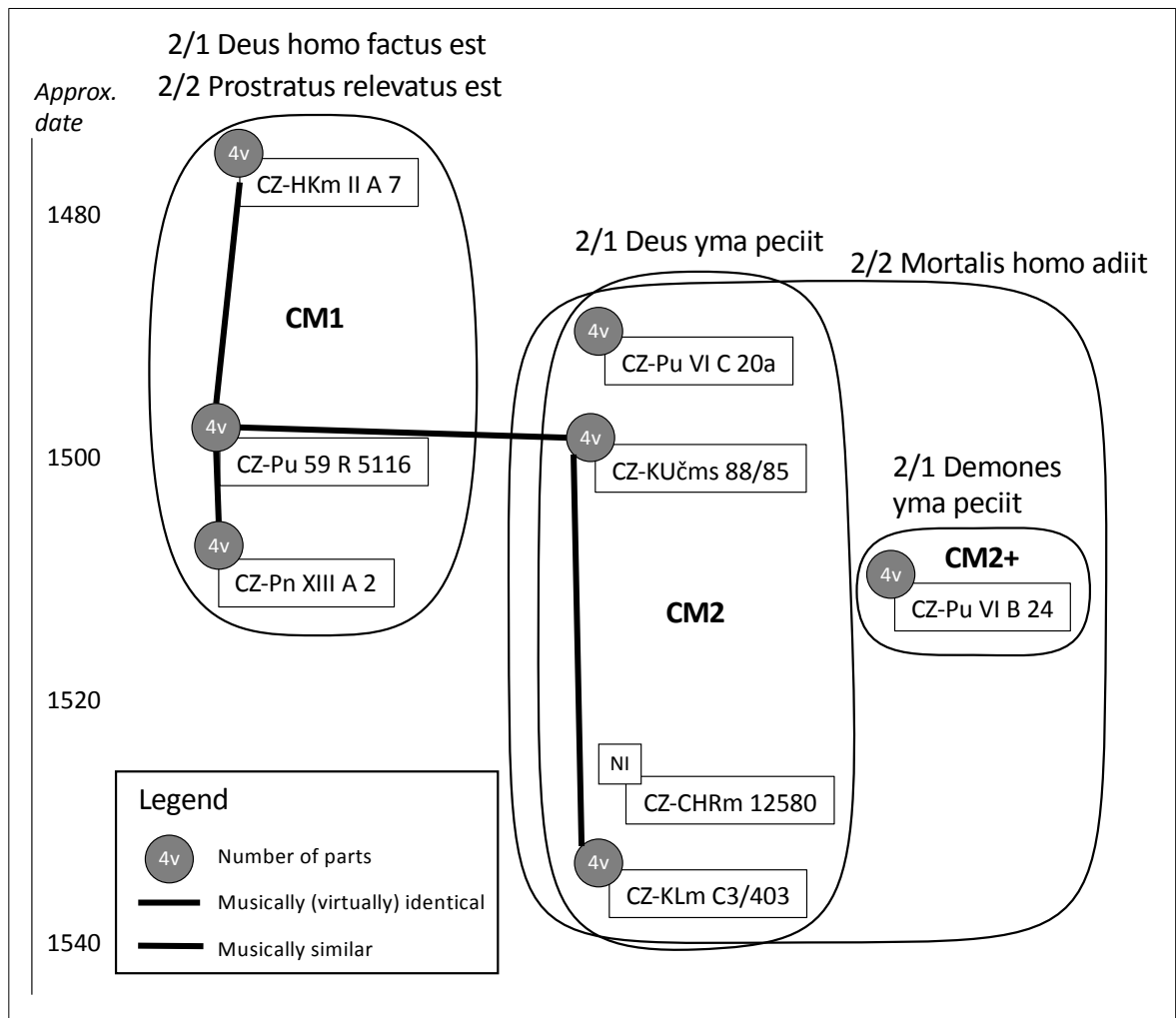


Figure 5 Textual variants of *Cedit meror eminus*

In the other subgroup, labeled “**CM2**”, the second strophe begins with the verses “Deus yma petiit / Mortalis homo adiit”. It occurs in CZ–KUčms 88/85 and CZ–KLm C3/403, as well as in CZ–Pu VI C 20a.

Outside this second subgroup, but very close to it, is the alternative rendition (labeled “**CM2+**”) that someone tried to fit within the remaining space under the staves of the four-voice *Cedit hiems eminus* in CZ–Pu VI B 24. The primary change to **CM2** is that “Deus” in the first verse of the second strophe is replaced by “Demones,” likely a conscious modification, for the difference in meaning and number of syllables is such that it would very unlikely arise otherwise. The writing is very cursive, slapdash, and marred by ink blots, the work of someone who was very likely writing it down for personal use.

Before I discuss the other text groups, I will briefly look at whether a similarity in text is also accompanied by a similarity in notation (refer to the table in **Appendix 4**). I will not consider the entry in CZ–Pu VI B 24, as it has been added subsequently, nor that in CZ–Pu VI C 20a, where **CM2** appears as the first of two alternative texts and hence may not have been copied together with the notation.¹⁰⁴ The **CM2** copy in CZ–KUčms 88/85 is similar notation-wise to that in CZ–Pu 59 R 5116 (with the exception of two small deviations that appear to be edits made during the copying process), even though the latter source is texted with **CM1**. The last source with a **CM2** entry, CZ–KLm C3/403, offers two polyphonic copies, one with **CM** and the other with **CH**, which are, surprisingly, identical in notation. When compared to the entries I have just reviewed, it is a further step removed from them, with deviations primarily in the notation of the altus but also one in the discantus that appear to be intentional improvements of the piece.

What we see is that there is a high degree of similarity in the texts as well as a high degree of similarity in notation, but that these similarities do not necessarily overlap. Quite the opposite, one finds the texts migrating between differently notated versions and variants in the text and/or the notation consciously introduced by the scribe during the copying process—the two verses that differentiate one subgroup from the other are most likely to have arisen precisely for this reason.

For the second group, the **Corpus Christi version (CC)** of *Cedit hiems eminus*, there are only four extant copies (see **Appendix 5**), the oldest appearing in CZ–Pa 376, but if Hana Vlhová–Wörner is right that the source is a collection of retrospective repertory, it may be even older.¹⁰⁵ The existence of this version provides proof of the popularity of the song in the first half of the fifteenth century when it was adopted for another feast. The texts of the three oldest copies (chronologically, in CZ–Pa 376, CZ–Pu VI C 20a, and CZ–KUčms 88/85) are remarkably different from one another in that they are comprised of five, four and six strophes (respectively). This, together with the nature of some of the variants in wording of the strophes that occur in all three, points more towards oral transmission of the text. The remaining fourth variant (in CZ–CHRm 12580) is almost identical to the newest of the three in the number of strophes as well as its text and suggests a written transmission.

104. This one entry on fols. 80^v–81^r of CZ–Pu VI C 20a includes in total three different texts: the notation is underlaid with the Easter version, followed by two alternative texts, in order of appearance, for Christmas and Corpus Christi.

105. See Vlhová–Wörner, *Tropi ordinarii missae*, 27.

The last group, the Easter text *Cedit hiems eminus* (“CH”), is by far the largest. The first time it is recorded, in CZ–VB 42, it comprises only four strophes. At the bottom of the folio, however, one can find what appears to be an additional strophe, written apparently in a different hand.¹⁰⁶ Its opening incipit is “Per idem reformatur” and the third verse is missing, although some space has been left empty (demarcated by two slashes). This could be the result of either a momentary lapse in memory, in the case that the scribe was trying to recall preexistent wording, or a lack of inspiration, were he attempting to craft a new one. This fifth strophe works well with the text metrically but resurfaces *nowhere* in any of the later sources. The later CZ–Pa 376 reproduces the same four strophes (and not the fifth), but separately includes another version, the **CC**, whose joyful final strophe beginning “Alleluia canentes” was later adopted (and adapted) for **CH**.

Two main subgroups of this version can be distinguished (see **Figure 6**). The larger one, **CH1**, reads “Manuque reformaverat” in 2/2¹⁰⁷ and it is found in sources originating in the two decades around the turn of the century. The other subgroup, **CH2**, whose 2/2 reads “Manuque reparaverat,” occurs in sources stemming from the second decade of the sixteenth century.

The remaining copies of **CH** cannot be placed in either subgroup, as they either do not provide enough textual information or differ in regard to multiple words or lines. Among those that do not provide enough text for analysis, there is one that nevertheless deserves our attention: the oldest copy of the song documented outside of Bohemia, as found in D-Mbs Clm. 14274. I already pointed out earlier that some of the notational idiosyncrasies of this variant are nowhere to be found in later Bohemian sources, as holds true for portions of its text: the time conjunction in “Postquam ver intepuit” (1/6) is changed to “Quando”. This proves that this Bavarian variant could not have been a model for later Bohemian copies. In light of this, it is interesting that another departure from the text of CZ–VB 42—the replacement of the noun in “terra nostra floruit” with “vallis”—appears afterwards in all other extant CH versions and thus *must* have existed as a textual variant already in Bohemia. This proves that there were varying texts circulating with this song in the Czech lands as early as the first half of the fifteenth century.

106. Compare Ciglbauer, “The Hohenfurt ‘Song book,’” forthcoming, particularly table “CZ–VB 42 – Structure and Contents”.

107. The former numeral represents the number of the strophe, the latter indicates the number of the verse.

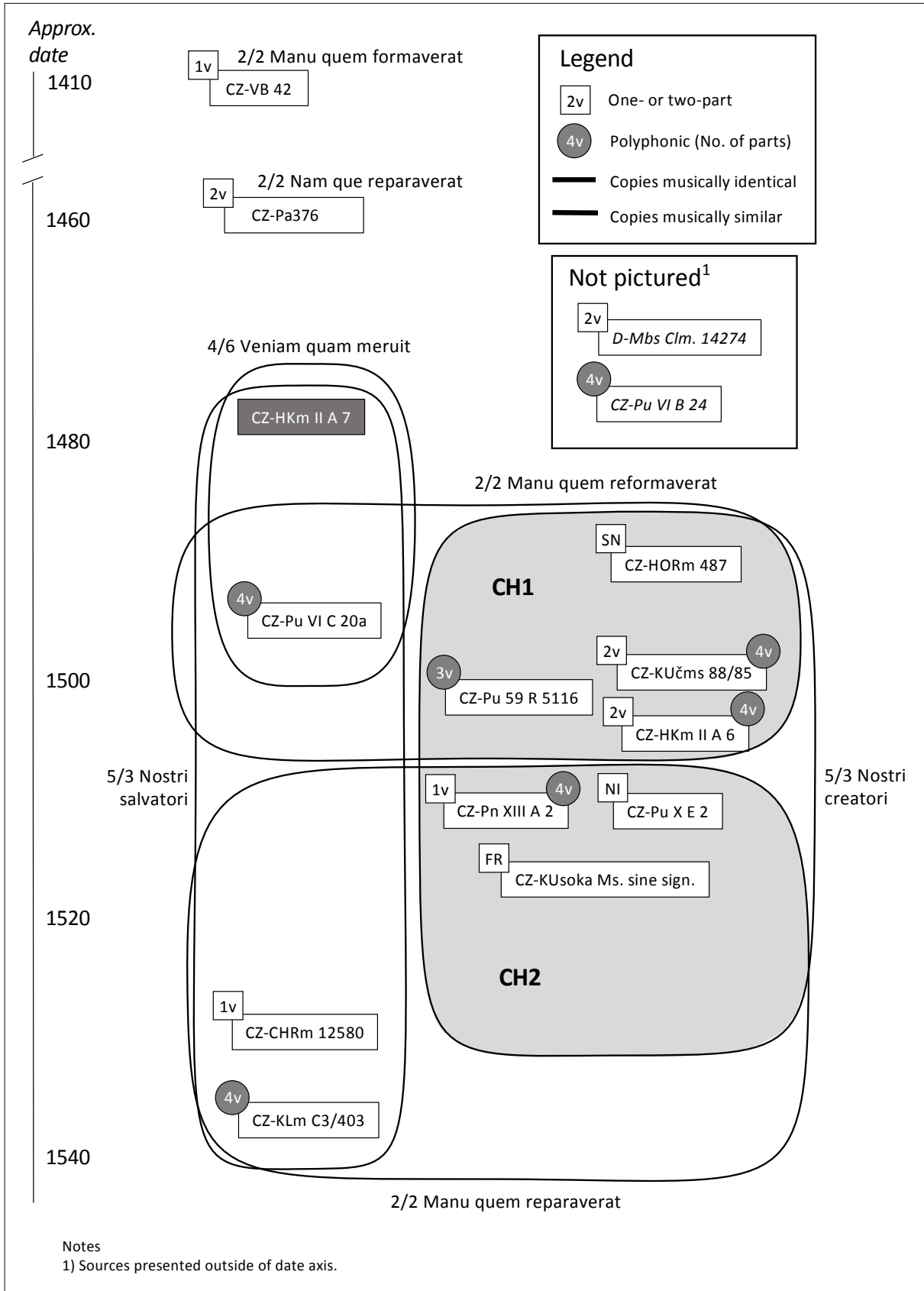


Figure 6 Textual variants of *Cedit hiems eminus* (Easter version)

In regard to the other copies that stand outside the main subgroups, multiple changes at the level of individual words suggest oral transmission. Thus, the phrase “Mortis nobis intulit” (3/4) found in CZ–VB 42 turns into “Mortem nobis intulit” in *all* renditions that follow, while its “Veniam, quam noluit” (4/6) becomes “Veniam, que/quod voluit” in most of the later versions. These words have the same number of syllables and often *sound* similarly, but their meaning is shifted, occasionally even negated. I imagine that one hears the word and misunderstands it (“voluit” for “noluit”), or hears the word and only its sound is etched in memory, with the result that the word is replaced with another that has a similar sound and meaning (“mortem” for “mortis”), or the word is forgotten entirely and then replaced with one that the scribe believes fits the text. One more example is found in verse 1/5 of CZ–Pa 376, which reads “Requirescunt arida” in the discant and “Revirescunt arida” in the tenor. Although this could also have been a copying error, it is just as likely that it slipped in as the scribe was writing down the text from memory.

The remaining three instances of **CH**, in CZ–Pu VI C 20a, CZ–CHRm 12580, and CZ–KLM C3/403, also exhibit various deviations from the two subgroups, mainly in that they reintroduce the word “salvatori”, which is typical for **CC** and **CM** and most likely a contamination. The latter two sources are almost certainly related: they both were compiled in the 1530s and appear to be the work of Jan Táborský,¹⁰⁸ while the copy in CZ–Pu VI C 20a represents what is likely the oldest version.¹⁰⁹ Táborský, a student in Prague and later resident of the city,¹¹⁰ could have used this very codex, which Hlávková links to Prague’s Lesser Town,¹¹¹ or a filiated source as his model.

It is trickier to perceive a potential overlap between the notational and textual variants of **CH** than it is for **CM**, since the CH entries range from those with just incipits, to those in one voice, two voices, three voices or four voices. Given that I have attributed variability in the notation of the one-voice and two-voice copies to oral transmission, any overlap in their case would be futile to posit, leaving only the polyphonic copies in question. However, even these prove problematic. As the table in **Appendix 4** shows, the **CH** entry in CZ–Pu VI C 20a is

108. The authorship of CZ–KLM C3/403 is explicitly stated; that of CZ–CHRm 12580 is implied by Táborský’s monogram on fol. 2^r. See Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 153.

109. Hlávková dates the paper in the respective gathering (No. XI) to 1493. The codex consists of multiple layers that originated over an extended period, and hence the dating of any particular entry can only be approximate. See Hlávková, “An Inconspicuous Relative of the Speciálník Codex,” 440.

110. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 88–89.

111. Hlávková, “An Inconspicuous Relative of the Speciálník Codex,” 449.

identical, notation-wise, to the **CM** copy in CZ–HKm II A 7; therefore, as early as in the fifteenth century, there is text and notation migrating between versions (again, assuming that such a perfect match would not occur were the piece transcribed from memory). Besides, there are more polyphonic versions with (nearly) identical notation but different texts. The notation of the **CH1** and **CM2** variants in CZ–Pn XIII A 2 is indistinguishable, as is the differing notation for the two texts in CZ–Klm C3/403, save for the shape of the ligature in measure fourteen. Therefore, the text in CZ–Pn XIII A 2 was likely also copied from a different source than the music. Naturally, the polyphonic version, whose music notation would have primarily been copied from source to source, would have been a major stimulus for this sort of “cross-breeding.”

The last copy of **CH** to be discussed stands out in that it is set to a different, chanson-like melody (hence not covered earlier), a combination of text and notes that seems to appear only in its one source: the *Speciálník*.¹¹² This melody is either newly composed or, more probably, a pre-existing secular one. Additionally, the *Speciálník* transmits the oldest extant copy of the composed polyphonic setting (texted **CM**). Given the source’s contents—more than 90% of the pieces are for three or more voices—it is difficult to imagine that the scribe would have turned to the pre-existing “simple” setting of the song for inclusion in this “specialized” source. It thus seems fair to surmise that at the time that the *Speciálník* was compiled, or not long before then, a need arose to have this favored text set according to contemporary taste. One solution was to compose a new polyphonic setting, based on the old tenor; another was to set it to a pre-existing (chanson-like) melody. Although both settings are to be found in the *Speciálník*, only the former one, the newly composed polyphonic setting, continued to find favor and begin circulating with both main texts in later sources.

This chanson-like setting of **CH** also suggests that the migration of texts and notation would have been common: its musical setting reappears nowhere else but its text is almost identical to the one recoded in the later CZ–Pu VI C 20, and there are more such examples to be found, irrespective of the number of voices each of the copies has. For example, the scribe of CZ–Pn XIII A 2 included two different musical settings, one monophonic and the other for four voices, which, however, bear the same text (**CH2**), identical to the letter. The same holds true for the two-voice and the four-voice versions in CZ–KUčms 88/85 (**CH1**). These

112. Hlávková points out similarities in some of the notation in CZ–HKm II A 7 and CZ–Pu VI C 20, which suggests another link. Further research is needed to cover this topic more systematically. See Hlávková, 445–46, and 448.

are, in effect, equivalent to what the scribe of CZ–HKm II A 6 did with strophes two through five of the four-voice version, which he cross-referenced to the folio with the two-voice setting. Were he, instead, to have copied the text of the remaining strophes from within the manuscript, one may have been misled to interpret the musical notation and text of the entry as having originated from one model. Consequently, scribes would have been combining the notation from one model and the text from another as a rule rather than as an exception.

This leads us to a summary of the main points arising from my study of the song:

1. The earliest copies of the song, originating in the first six decades of the fifteenth century, show higher variability from both a notational as well as textual perspective. These differences seem consistent with oral transmission.

2. The composed polyphony, first documented in the 1470s, displays remarkably low variability in music notation between manuscripts, which would rather presume a written transmission from source to source. Some of these changes can be explained as conscious alterations to make the piece suit the presumed performers better, or as attempts to improve some of its imperfections.

3. The transmission of the texts and music notation may need to be looked at separately, particularly in the later period when many of the copies are transmitted with composed polyphony.

4. Though two main clusters of textual versions of the predominating Easter variant are apparent in sources created from the last quarter of the fifteenth century onward, they are never exclusive—some sources of a later date point at times to features of the earlier variants.

5. Some sources display a high level of similarity (though not necessarily full agreement) in the textual variants for both Easter and Christmas, though they were written in different decades.

Because the song was very widespread across Europe and circulated in many forms and variants, I believe my findings may have more general validity. I also hope that they will inspire others to research the repertory of cantiones.

Conclusion

The point that I made at the beginning of my thesis is that only a comprehensive catalogue of the large body of cantiones, which will hopefully arise in the near future, can provide the data necessary to answer some basic questions, including what characterizes the body as a whole, and provide a basis for its further classification. But I believe that it is not only the songs that need to be looked at again, but also the manuscripts. In the rest of my text, I would like to not only bring back some of the main points I have made, but also provide some food for thought to future researchers. I will outline several aspects of the songs and the sources, which I believe should be considered when such a catalogue is compiled and perhaps raise some provocative questions worthy of further research.

My main thesis is that the late medieval cantio was very much shaped by oral tradition. Previous generations of scholars have generally acknowledged that orality played a role at some point in time, yet working mainly with philological methods, they viewed the records of cantiones predominantly as copies arising in written transmission. My research shows that this assumption holds true for examples of composed polyphony that, in the sample of songs I look at here, started appearing in the second half of the fifteenth century, but I would argue that even there its dogmatic application treats the songs, anachronistically, as ready-made products. Dozens of older cantiones, included among those that appear in CZ–VB 42, continued to thrive well into the sixteenth century, and, as I have shown, their music was widely memorized and transmitted orally—every third copy of the songs in my selection of sources appears without full notation.

I have illustrated the rich life of the Latin song using the example of *Cedit hiems eminus*, originally a trope that expanded over time into three main textual versions and two musical settings that coexisted side by side. My thesis is that its early copies represent “snapshots” of an oral tradition captured at various levels of proficiency by the scribes in the fifteenth century. Moreover, simply classifying as either monophonic or polyphonic will not do, as the older setting is recorded sometimes for one voice, but at other times for two voices, and is therefore exemplary of what Hlávková and Kodýtek propose to call “cantus mensuratus binatim,” a simple two-voice contrapuntal practice.¹¹³

113. See note 89.

In the citation from the Gospel of Matthew I chose as my opening motto, John the Baptist declares that the future Messiah will discern the wheat from the chaff, or those who follow Christ from those who dismiss him, and will save only the former.¹¹⁴ I would argue that we should not treat the surviving entries of cantiones with the same severity, saving what we *believe* represents the wheat, or the “correct” version of the piece, and burning what we think of as chaff, that being all the variations as well as errors attached to the piece as it circulated, together with any other characteristics of how the entries were recorded in the sources. For one, we are not the Messiah and can never tell with absolute certainty which is which, and for two, even the “chaff” can tell us much about the culture of medieval cantiones. My approach to cantiones thus foregrounds the variation process they were subject to in their transmission rather than any particular “correct” or archetypal version as scholars did in the second half of the twentieth century. To be sure, the “chaff” does include many actual errors arising as a song was copied from a model by a scribe who was not a musician, but even that tells us something about the culture of medieval manuscripts: that professional scribes were commissioned to produce the volumes. The question we should be asking is, therefore, how did performers deal with the errors? If they never attempted to correct them, can we take it as a sign that the pieces may not have been performed (or at least not from the source)? We can find such corrections and additions elsewhere (see my earlier discussion of CZ–Pu VI B 24), so why are they absent in other sources?

And finally, is the default assumption that the songs in these extant volumes were *performed* really justified? Can we assume that the one who commissioned the made-to-order codices in the sixteenth century would have kept control over what was in? Or that the singers would be able and willing to perform whatever the volume ended up including? These codices often subordinate their contents to their visual aspects, for example, by defaulting to one staff per song, thus dictating how much of the musical notation is recorded regardless of the complexity of the song (with some exceptions). These fragments of notation presume knowledge of the tunes and are, in my reading, functionally equivalent to the short incipits recorded, say, in CZ–Pu X E 2. While in the case of this source we can assume—for the reasons explained in the main text—that the scribe knew (and hence would or could perform) all the pieces, can we assume the same for the codices created by professional scribes?

114. The verse is discussed, e. g., in “BibleRef” at <https://www.bibleref.com/Matthew/3/Matthew-3-12.html>.

Orel suggested that the contents of the Codex Franus may not have been planned in detail from the start: he noticed the inconsistent alphabetical ordering of songs and asserted that it “seems as if the scribe found other songs or motets to supplement his writings in the midst of his work.”¹¹⁵ As I have demonstrated, some entries in these sixteenth century codices appear to be copies of what other sources include—this would imply that the professional scribe would “collect songs” that he could later use in books commissioned from him. There is even evidence suggesting that codices could have been sold off-the-shelf: in 1565, the Kutná Hora city council called in Jan Táborský (the scribe of CZ–CHRM 12580) to discuss the gradual that the city had commissioned from him. The council pointed out the numerous errors in the books he submitted, and refused to accept them, since it “would be ridiculed by those to come and by this city.” After some back and forth, Táborský agreed to take the books back, sell them elsewhere and within two years produce new ones for Kutná Hora, a time the council cut down to a year and a half.¹¹⁶ My point is that even these later sources, which tend to be looked at as products of literary tradition, provide plenty of material on the musical culture of the period whose more systematic evaluation may change our reading of their contents.

And plenty of material can also be found in earlier sources, which, as I have shown, include pieces written (to a large extent) from memory. The imperfections found in these earlier sources, like CZ–VB 42, previously viewed mostly as corruptions, provide, in my reading, evidence for the scribes’ openness to new things and their desire to better capture the rhythms of the tunes they must have known very well.

Many of these qualities have been discussed in the studies of individual sources, but they ought to be collected and organized, so that meaningful observations can be made from them as a whole. To these, some less obvious and not always discussed characteristics should be added, including the completeness of the notation, the occurrence of corrected or uncorrected errors, traces of use, etc. These may need to be tracked at the level of individual pieces, especially where the source consists of several layers (as is the case of CZ–Pu VI C 20a).

115. Orel, *Karcionál Franusův*, 136. “Zdá se, jakoby písař mezi práci našel ještě jiné písňe nebo moteta, kterými doplňoval své zápisy.”

116. See Hejnic, “Příspěvky k životopisu humanisty a iluminátora,” 159: “[...] neb by to budoucím i tomuto městu k posměchu býti mělo.” Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 77–8 cites this text but unfortunately grossly misinterprets what happened.

Briefly, having shown that traces of the oral transmission of cantiones can be found in sources originating as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that some characteristics of these sources and of records in them can tell us much about the culture of the late medieval cantio, I believe that future research should augment its toolkit with methods suitable to tackle these topics. These may go beyond those of ethnomusicology and the “New Historical View” of chant that I discuss in my text. A comprehensive catalog of the sources and instances of songs within them would provide an excellent basis for testing the many theories and would help us agree on how best to characterize the cantio in the first place.

List of sources

Manuscripts

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| CZ-CHRM 12580 | Chrudim, Regionální Muzeum v Chrudimi, Ms. 12580
Graduale – Cationale
Chrudim, 1530 |
| CZ-HKM II A 6 | Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Ms. II A 6 (Codex Franus)
Graduale – Cationale
Hradec Králové, 1505 |
| CZ-HKM II A 7 | Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Ms. II A 7 (Codex Speciálník)
Mensural codex
Prague, 1470s–1500 |
| CZ-HORM 487 | Horažďovice, Městské Muzeum, Ms. 487
Graduale - Cationale (Prácheň Cationale)
Prácheň, ca 1490 |
| CZ-Jim RK 533 | Jindřichův Hradec, Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Ms. RK 533
Graduale - Cationale
Jindřichův Hradec, ca 1510 |
| CZ-Jla Ms. sine sign | Jindřichův Hradec, Státní okresní archiv, Ms. sine sign.

Graduale – Cationale
Jindřichův Hradec, 1491 |
| CZ-KLM C3/403 | Klatovy, Vlastivědné muzeum Dr. Hostaše, Ms. C3/403
Graduale – Cationale
Klatovy, 1537 |
| CZ-KOLrm 80/88 | Kolín, Regionální muzeum, Ms. 80/88
Cationale
Kolín, 1510s |
| CZ-KUčms 88/85 | Kutná Hora, České muzeum stříbra, Ms. KH 88/85
Graduale – Cationale
Bohemia, ca 1500 |

- CZ-KUsoKa Ms. sine sign. Kutná Hora, Státní okresní archiv, Ms. sine sign.
Graduale – Cationale
Bohemia, 1510s
- CZ-OLu 406 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, Ms. M I 406
Sermones, tractatus, carmina
Moravia, 1465
- CZ-OP RC 4 Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, Ms. RC 4
Miscellaneous collection
Silesia (?), 1430s
- CZ-Pa 376 Praha, Národní Archiv, Ms. K Vš. 376, olim. Vyšehrad V/Cc 4
(Vyšehrad Cationale)
Miscellaneous collection
Bohemia, ca 1460
- CZ-Pn II C 7 Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, Ms. II C 7 (Jistebnice
Cationale)
Graduale – Antifonale – Cationale
Praha (?), 1420–1434
- CZ-Pn XII A 1 Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, Ms. XII A 1
Gradual
Prague, St Vitus's Cathedras, 1380s and 1473
- CZ-Pn XII F 14 Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, Ms. XII F 14 (Jistebnice Gradual)
Graduale – Cationale
Bohemia, ca 1450
- CZ-Pn XIII A 2 Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, Ms. XIII A 2
Graduale – Cationale
Kolín, 1512
- CZ-Ps DA III 17 Praha, Knihovna Kláštera premonstrátů (Strahovská knihovna),
Ms. DA III 17
Missale
Bohemia, ca 1460
- CZ-Pu 59 R 5116 Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. 59 R 5116 (Prague
Speciálník)
Graduale – Mensural codex
Bohemia, ca 1500
- CZ-Pu VI B 24 Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, Ms. VI B 24
Graduale – Cationale
Prague, 1510s
- CZ-Pu VI C 20a Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. VI C 20a
Miscellaneous collection
Prague, ca 1460–1550

- CZ–Pu I G 39 Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. I G 39
Miscellaneous collection
?, late 14th century
- CZ–Pu X E 2 Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. X E 2
Cantionale
Bohemia, ca 1510
- CZ–TRE A 4 Třeboň, Státní oblastní archiv, zámek, Ms. A 4
Collection of Crux of Telč
Bohemia, ca1460
- CZ–VB 42 Vyšší Brod, Klášterní knihovna, Ms. 42 (Hohenfurter
Liederhandschrift)
Processionale - Graduale – Cantionarium
Vyšší Brod, 1410
- D–Mbs Clm. 14274 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm. 14274 (Codex St
Emmeram)
Mensural codex
Vienna, ca 1430–1450
- D–TRs 322/1994 Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach, Ms. 322/1994
Miscellaneous collection
Germany, 2nd quarter of 15th c.
- D–Z 17.8.39 Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. 17.8.39 (olim 84.2, LXXXIV, 2)
Collection of Stephan Roth
Zwickau (?), 1510
- H–Bn lat.243 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. lat.243 (Trnava
Manuscript)
Miscellaneous collection
Central Europe, ca 1400
- PL–Kj 2214 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms. 2214
Miscellaneous collection
Poland?, early 15th century
- PL–WRk 58 Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne i Biblioteka Kapitulna, Ms. 58
(Neumarkter Cantionale)
Cantionale
Neumarkt, 1474 and 1484

PL-WRu I.Q.466 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms. I.Q.466
Collection of Nicolaus Cosel
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1555

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Appendix 1 Overview of concordances of CZ-VB 42 songs

# Cantio	Manuscript/Print	Late 14th Cent		Early 15th Cent		After 1430	D-Mbs Cim. 14274	D-Trs 322/1994	2nd qtr. of 15th Cen		Approx. 1450-9	Approx. 1460	1440-60	1465	1465-1475		1473	1474	1470s	Approx. 1490	Approx. 1491	1490s	
		Approx. 1400	Approx. 1410	1416-23	1416-23				1420s	1420s					1465-1475	1465-1475							
10 Jezu Kriste středný kněže	CZ-Pu IG 39																						
12 Laus domino resonet	CZ-VB 42																						
13 Salve regina glorie	H-Bn Ibr 243																						
14 Nunc festum celebremus	PL-Wru MS I.Q.466																						
15 Imperatrix gloriosa	CZ-VB 42																						
16 Ad honorem et decorem	CZ-VB 42																						
18 Quidam triplo metro	PL-Kj 2214																						
79 Dies est leticie	CZ-VB 42																						
153 Iam prestolantes gloriam	CZ-VB 42																						
156 Ave yerarchia	CZ-VB 42																						
157 Mittitur archangelus	CZ-VB 42																						
158 Candens ebur castitatis	CZ-VB 42																						
159 Gaudet regina glorie	CZ-VB 42																						
161 Ave maris stella lucens	CZ-VB 42																						
162 Ave rosa in yericho	CZ-VB 42																						
163 Ave trinitatis cubile	CZ-VB 42																						
164 Ex legis observancia	CZ-VB 42																						
165 Dyvo flagrans numine	CZ-VB 42																						
166 E morte pater divinus	CZ-VB 42																						
168 Resurrexit dominus	CZ-VB 42																						
169 Stupefactus inferni dux	CZ-VB 42																						
170 Sampsonis honestissima	CZ-VB 42																						
171 Veni dulcis consolator	CZ-VB 42																						
173 Puer nobis nascitur	CZ-VB 42																						
174 Cum gaudio concurrite	CZ-VB 42																						
175 Pueri natiuitatem	CZ-VB 42																						
176 Sol de stella	CZ-VB 42																						
178 Ursula speciosa	CZ-VB 42																						
184 Sialaf se jest	CZ-VB 42																						
185 Prima dedinacio	CZ-VB 42																						
190 Ihesus Christus nostra salus	CZ-VB 42																						
192 Constat ethereis	CZ-VB 42																						
193 Cedit hiems eminus	CZ-VB 42																						
196 Felici peccatrici	CZ-VB 42																						
198 Omnes attendite	CZ-VB 42																						
Total		7	4	36	14	3	21	3	2	1	22	2	7	45	3	17	1	6	5	5	19	5	

Legend

- sine notis or with a musi ○
- 1 part (incl. fragments) ●
- 2 part ●
- 3 part ●
- 4 part ●
- ★ The song comes in the source with empty staves.

Appendix 1 Overview of concordances of CZ-VB 42 songs (continued)

# Cantio	Manuscript/Print	Approx. 1500		Approx. 1510		Approx. 1510		Approx. 1510		Approx. 1520		Approx. 1531		1537		1546-53		1555		1561		1585		Total
		Dating	Approx. 1500	Approx. 1500	Approx. 1510	Approx. 1510	Approx. 1510	Approx. 1510	Approx. 1510	Approx. 1520	Approx. 1520	Approx. 1531	Approx. 1531	1537	1546-53	1555	1561	1585						
10	Jezu Kriste štědrý kněže																							2
12	Laus domino resonet																							7
13	Salve regina glorie																							24
14	Nunc festum celebremus																							16
15	Imperatrix gloriosa																							16
16	Ad honorem et decorum																							27
18	Quidam triplo metro																							2
79	Dies est leticie																							33
153	Iam prestolantes gloriam																							6
156	Ave yerarchia																							30
157	Mittitur archangelus																							16
158	Candens ebur castitatis																							19
159	Gaude regina glorie																							8
161	Ave maris stella lucens																							20
162	Ave rosa in yericho																							12
163	Ave trinitatis cubile																							22
164	Ex legis observancia																							15
165	Divo flagrans numine																							2
166	Emorte pater divinus																							14
168	Resurrexit dominus																							5
169	Stupefactus inferni dux																							11
170	Simpsonis honestissima																							2
171	Veni dulcis consolator																							29
173	Puer nobis nascitur																							9
174	Cum gaudio concurrite																							6
175	Pueri nativitatem																							15
176	Sol de stella																							6
178	Ursula speciosa																							7
184	Stalat se jest																							10
185	Prima declinacio																							10
190	Ihesus Christus nostra salu																							33
192	Constat etheris																							16
193	Credit hiems eminus																							32
196	Felici peccatrici																							51
198	Omnis attendite																							16
	Total		57	35	4	36	8	4	4	21	41	14	15	2	39	8	8	11	3	6	3	5	549	

Appendix 2 Overview of concordances of *Cedit hiems eminus*

Source	Approx. dating	Piece	Fols./Page	Voice(s)	Note
CZ-VB 42	1410	<i>In Resurreccione domini super Gloria in excelsis cancio</i> Cedit yemps eminus	171v	1v	
D-Mbs Clm. 14274	1440	[C]edit iems eminus	44	2v	
CZ-Pa 376	1460s	Sedit[!] yemps eminus	91v–92r	2v	
CZ-Pa 376	1460s	<i>de corpore christi</i> Cedit hyems eminus	132v–133r	1v	
CZ-HKm II A 7	1470s	Cedit meror eminus	223v (446)	4v	
CZ-HKm II A 7	1470s	Cedit yemps eminus	236r (471)	n/a	Different music (in 3v)
CZ-HORm 487	1490s	[C]edit hyems eminus	219r	SN	
CZ-HORm 487	1490s	Zpívaj každý vesele	220rv	3v	White mensural notation
CZ-Pu VI C 20a	1490s	[C]edit yemps eminus	80v–81r	4v	
CZ-Pu VI C 20a	1490s	[C]edat meror eminus	80v–81r	TEXT	
CZ-Pu VI C 20a	1490s	[C]edit yemps eminus	80v–81r	TEXT	Alternative text under notated song
CZ-Pu 59 R 5116	1500	Cedit yems eminus	430–432	3v	
CZ-Pu 59 R 5116	1500	<i>Nativitatis Christi</i> Cedit meror eminus	634–635	4v	
CZ-KUčms 88/85	1500	Cedit meror eminus	181v–182r	4v	
CZ-KUčms 88/85	1500	Cedit yems eminus	227r–v	2v	
CZ-KUčms 88/85	1500	Cedit yems eminus	266v–267v	2v	
CZ-KUčms 88/85	1500	Cedit yems eminus	316v–317r	4v	
CZ-HKm II A 6	1505	Cedit yems eminus	274v–275r	2v	
CZ-HKm II A 6	1505	Cedit hyems eminus	335v	4v	Strophes 2-5 referred to fol. 274v
D-Z 17.8.39	1510	<i>Introitus de resurrectione domini</i> Cedit hyems eminus	149–151	3v	
CZ-Pu X E 2	1510s	Cedit yems eminus	16r–v	NI	
CZ-Pn XIII A 2	1512	Cedit yems eminus	184v–185r	1v	
CZ-Pn XIII A 2	1512	Cedit meror eminus	357v–358r	4v	
CZ-Pn XIII A 2	1512	Cedit yems eminus	366v–367r	4v	
CZ-Pu VI B 24	1510s	Cedit yems eminus	167v–168r	4v	
CZ-Pu VI B 24	1510s	Cedit yems eminus	167v–168r	TEXT	Alternative text under staves; CM version
CZ-KUsoKa Ms. sine sign.	1510s	Cedit yems eminus	218r	1v; fragment	One staff only
CZ-CHRM 12580	1530	Cedit meror eminus	265v–266r	1v; incipit	
CZ-CHRM 12580	1530	Cedit yems eminus	275v	1v	
CZ-CHRM 12580	1530	Cedit yems eminus	284r–v	SN	
CZ-KLm C3/403	1537	<i>de nativitate Christi</i> Cedit meror eminus	457v–458r	4v	
CZ-KLm C3/403	1537	<i>Paschales</i> Cedit hyems eminus	470v–471r	4v	
Ein Schlesich singebüchlein	1555	<i>Volget ein Gesang auff die noten Cedit hyems eminus.</i> Singet fröhlich alle gleich	L1r	2v	
Piae Cantiones	1585	Cedit hyems eminus	105–108	3v	

Appendix 3 Comparison of two-part versions of *Cedit hiems eminus* (Measures 1–9)

The image displays a musical score for Appendix 3, comparing two-part versions of "Cedit hiems eminus" (Measures 1–9). The score is organized into two systems. The first system includes: [Discantus] D-Mbs Clm. 14274*, CZ-Pa 376, CZ-KUčms 88/85 227r, CZ-KUčms 88/85 266v, CZ-HKm II A 6, and Triller\$. The second system includes: [Tenor] D-Mbs Clm. 14274*, CZ-Pa K Vs. 376, CZ-KUčms 88/85 227r, CZ-KUčms 88/85 266v, CZ-HKm II A 6, and Triller. Each staff shows musical notation with various ornaments and performance markings.

* D-Mbs Clm. 14274 music transposed from the original key of C to the key of F to facilitate comparison.

§ Triller originally in C. See Triller, *The Polyphonic Hymns of Valetin Triller's*, 58.

Appendix 3 Comparison of two-part versions of *Cedit hiems eminus* (Measures 10–14)

10 [D.] Mbs* p

10 Pa 376

10 KUčms 227r

10 KUčms 266v

10 HKm

10 Tr.

10 [T.] Mbs*

10 Vs.

10 KUčms 227r

10 KUčms 266v

10 HKm

10 Tr.

Appendix 3 Comparison of two-part versions of *Cedit hiems eminus* (Measures 15–19)

15

ID.1 Mbs*

15

Pa 376

15

KUčms 227r

15

KUčms 266v

15

HKm

15

Tr.

15

[T.] Mbs*

15

Vs.

15

KUčms 227r

At this point the entry in KUčms 227r breaks off.

15

KUčms 266v

15

HKm

From here on, emended down by a third

15

Tr.

Appendix 5 Textual variants of *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Cedit meror eminus* (continued)

Manuscript ff/pp	CZ–Kčms 88/85 181r–182v	CZ–CHRm 12580 265v–266r	CZ–KLM C3/403 457r–458r	CZ–Pu VI B 24 167v–168r
Approx. dating Voices	1500 4v	1530 1v; incipit	1537 4v	1510s 4v TEXTZ
Strophe Verse				
1.				
1	Cedit meror eminus,	Cedit meror eminus,	Cedit meror eminus,	Cedit yems eminus
2	Natus est Christus Dominus	Natus est Christus dominus	Natus est Christus Dominus	natus est Christus dominus
3	Tullitque gaudia,	Tullitque gaudia,	Tullitque gaudia,	Tullitque gaudia
4	Ingens iubar micuit,	Ingens iubar micuit,	Ingens iubar micuit,	Ingens iubar emicuit,
5	Achiron contremuit,	Achiron contremuit,	Achiron contremuit,	Achiron contremuit,
6	Filium dum genuit,	Filium dum genuit,	Filium dum genuit,	Filium dum g[en]uit,
7	Virgo illibata.	Virgo illibata.	Virgo illibata.	Virgo illibata.
2.				
8	Deus yma peciit [!]	Deus yma peciit [!]	Deus yma peciit [!]	Demones yma peciit
9	Mortalis homo adit	Mortalis homo adit	Mortalis homo adit	Mortalis homo adit
10	Missa donaria	Missa donaria	Missa donaria	Missa donaria
11	Nobis vita redditur,	Nobis vita redditur,	Nobis vita redditur,	Nobis vita redditur,
12	Mortis ius repellitur,	Mortis ius repellitur,	Mortis ius repellitur,	Mortis vis repellitur,
13	Dum in cruce moritur,	Dum in cruce moritur,	Dum in cruce moritur,	Dum in cruce moritur
14	Per quem cuncta vivunt.	Per quem cuncta vivunt.	Per quem cuncta vivunt.	Per quem cuncta vivunt.
3.				
15	Datur pax hominibus,	Datur pax hominibus,	Datur pax hominibus,	Datur pax hominibus,
16	In terris habitantibus	In terris habitantibus	In terris habitantibus	In terra habitantibus
17	Bone voluntatis,	Bone voluntatis,	Bone voluntatis,	Bone voluntatis,
18	In excelsis gloria	In excelsis gloria	In excelsis gloria	In excelsis gloria
19	Cum omni victoria	Cum omni victoria	Cum omni victoria	Cum omni victoria
20	Pro tanta clemencia	Pro tanta clemencia	Pro tanta clemencia	Pro tanta clemencia
21	Deo persolvatur.	Deo persolvatur.	Deo persolvatur.	Deo persolvitur.
4.				
22	Eviterne regnanti,	Eviterne regnanti,	Eviterne regnanti,	Eviterne regnanti,
23	Polum terramque regenti,	Polum terramque regenti,	Polum terramque regenti,	Polu terramque regenti,
24	Nostro salvatori,	Nostro salvatori,	Nostro salvatori,	Nostro salvatori,
25	Sit laus Dei filio,	Sit laus Dei filio,	Sit laus Dei filio,	Sit laus Dei filio,
26	Qui in hoc exilio	Qui in hoc exilio	Qui in hoc exilio	Qui in hoc exilio
27	Declivi presepio	Declivi presepio	Declivi presepio	Declivi presepio
28	Fuit reclinatus.	Fuit reclinatus.	Fuit reclinatus.	Fuit reclinatus.
5.				
29				
30				
31				
32				
33				
34				
35				
6.				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				
41				
42				

Appendix 6 Translation of *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Cedit meror eminus*

CZ–KUčms 88/85 fol. (227^{r-v})

Cedit yems eminus
Surrexit Christus dominus
Tulitque gaudia
Vallis nostra floruit
Revirescunt arida
Postquam ver intepuit
Recalescunt frigida

Winter departs far off,
Christ the Lord has risen
and brought us joys;
the vale of our earth has burst into flower,
barren places grow green again,
after spring has thawed
and what was cold has warmed once more.

Adam qui dum viderat,
Manu que reformaverat
Ipsum trinitatis
Innuebant veteris
Opus deitatis
In annosis ceteris
Summe caritatis

When he had beheld Adam
and refashioned him with his hand:
these things showed
this matter of the Trinity
is the work of the old Godhead,
on top of the other ancient [gifts]
of love most high.

Dragmam, quam perdiderat,
In ligno reformaverat
Pari racione;
Mortem nobis intulit
Pomi fraccione,
Pater vitam retulit
Christi passione.

The coin which he had lost
he restored on the cross
as part of the same design:
he brought death to us
by the breaking of the apple,
the Father brought life back to us
by the passion of Christ.

Parens nostra docuit,
Satanicis quod nocuit
Factis traditoris.
Cui el condoluit
Sprevit creatoris
Veniam, que voluit
Sui genitoris.

Our mother has taught
that we hurt him with the satanic
deeds of a traitor.
He for whom God felt compassion
scorned the forgiveness of his
creator father, who willed it.

Alleluia canentes,
Iubilose referentes
Nostro creatori,
Voce incessabili
Debet adorari,
Singulis ac vocibus
Pre omnibus laudari.

Singing alleluia,
joyously giving thanks
to our saviour
with unceasing voice;
he must be adored
and by every voice
praised above all others.

Translation of all versions by Henry Howard.

Appendix 6 Translation of *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Cedit meror eminus* (continued)

CZ–KUčms 88/85 (fol. 266v–267v)

Cedit yems eminus
Surrexit Christus dominus
Tulitque gaudia
Caro eius floruit
Nec unquam contabuit,
Ipse regum Dominus
Est cibus angelorum

Winter departs far off,
Christ the Lord has risen
and brought us joys;
his flesh has burst into flower
and has never wasted away:
he is the Lord of kings,
and the food of angels.

Corpus, quod pependerit,
In cruce dum aruerat,
Nunc stat in altari,
Deitate parili
Debet adorari,
Singulis ac vocibus
Pre omnibus laudari.

His body which had hung
as it withered on the cross
now stands upon the altar
in equal Godhead;
he must be adored
and by every voice
praised above all others.

Vita nostra deficit
nihil penitus sufficit
In intuendo angeli
Contremiscunt assistentes
glorioso corpori
dominico sic mire
ire! fulcito

Our life is deficient:
It is wholly insufficient
to consider these things: angels
tremble, standing by
the glorious body
of the Lord, thus wondrously
supported.

Mens humana nimium
vertitur in obtabilimam
affectans rimari corporis
misteria labitur
in declivia involvitur
tenebris
ac erroribus nocivis

The human mind is too much
given to what is longed for most:
attempting to comprehend
the mysteries of the divine body, it falls
headlong and is enveloped
in shadows
and damaging errors.

Nunc lete referramus
grates corpori
omnes humiliter
non plus sapiendo
quam oportet sapere
adonay laudando
eius corpus adorando

Now let us joyfully give
thanks to the [Lord's] body,
all of us, and humbly too,
understanding no more
than it is right for us to understand,
praising the Lord Adonai,
and worshipping his body.

Appendix 6 Translation of *Cedit hiems eminus* and *Cedit meror eminus* (continued)

CZ–KUčms 88/85 (fol. 266v–267v) (continued)

Alleluia canentes,
Iubilose referrentes
Nostro salvatori
Voce incessabili,
Patri ac Ihesu filio,
Spirituique sancto,
uni et simplici deo.

Singing alleluia,
joyously giving thanks
to our saviour
with unceasing voice,
to the Father and the son, Jesus
and to the Holy Spirit,
the one and single God.

CZ–Pu VI C 20a (fol. 80v–81r) TEXT2

Natus est Christus Dominus
Tulitque gaudia,
Ingens iubar micuit,
Achyron contremuit,
Filium dum genuit.
Virgo illibata.

Let grief depart far off:
Christ the Lord is born,
and has brought us joys:
a great radiance shone forth,
Hell quaked in fear,
when the inviolate virgin
gave birth to her son.

Deus yma peciit
Mortalis homo adiit
Missa donaria
Nobis vita redditur,
Mortis vis repellitur,
Dum in cruce moritur,
Per quem cuncta vivunt.

God sought out the depths:
he came as mortal man;
a gift sent to us,
he restores life to us,
when he dies on the cross
by whom all things have life.

Datur pax hominibus,
In terris habitantibus
Bone voluntatis,
In excelsis gloria
Cum omni victoria
Pro tanta clementia
Deo persolvatur.

Peace is given to men
of goodwill
living upon earth,
let glory be accorded to God
in the highest
with every victory
for such a mercy.

Eviterne regnanti,
Polum terramque regenti,
Nostro salvatori,
Sit laus Dei filio,
Qui in hoc exilio
Declivi presepio
Fuit reclinatus.

To the one who reigns forevermore
as king over heaven and earth,
our saviour,
be praise to the Son of God,
who in his exile here
was laid
in a lowly manger.