Multilingual networks in twelfth- and thirteenth-century song

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The medieval genres of polytextual motets and chansons – that is to say, pieces of music for several voices in which each individual voice sings a different text at the same time – make it abundantly clear that music makes possible connections between texts.[1] In presenting two or more texts simultaneously, music may allow links between them to be forged and drawn attention to, even permitting the texts to engage in critical 'reading' of one another. This paper argues that such possibilities also reside in contrafacta: in other words, songs whose original texts were later replaced with alternative ones (or, in some cases, songs that were provided with several alternative texts right from the outset). In such cases, two or more texts are brought into association successively, rather than simultaneously, through a common musical setting. When a song's text is substituted for another, although they are not literally heard simultaneously, resonances of sound or sense between them may still be apparent to the performer, listener, scribe or reader who knew both texts: in this way, contrafacta may form a kind of 'virtual polyphony' (or 'virtual sounding together') of two texts.[2] Though the practice of contrafactum, or song-text substitution, was widespread across numerous medieval musical genres from different times and places, here I focus on examples of the phenomenon from among the songs of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, for the striking reason that the majority of

[1] For some of the relevant bibliography on polytextuality, see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet* (Cambridge, 1997); Christopher Page, 'Around the Performance of a Thirteenth-Century Motet', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 343-57; Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002); Suzannah Clark, ''S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 16 (2007), 31-59; Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Music and Verbal Meaning: Machaut's Polytextual Songs', *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 567-91.

[2] Yolanda Plumley makes a similar point about citation in song-texts: 'By evoking other known texts familiar to the reader or listener, the poet could open a window onto the contemporary poetic scene and implement a kind of commentary or gloss on the subject being treated and on other works on related themes. Such intertextual play could add, in effect, an extra dimension of discourse beyond that appearing on the page'; 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson', *Music & Letters*, 84 (2003), 355-77, at p.355.

these cases involve the substitution of a song-text in a different language.[3] Such multilingual contrafacta create their own networks of cross-lingual discourse, and do so in ways – I will argue – that are specific to their nature as pieces for musical performance.

It is not far-fetched to claim that musicians engaging with contrafacta were conscious of the multi-text encounters they evoked: indeed, scribes very often labelled the new songs with the incipits of their original texts, forcing the recollection and thus the connection in the reader's or singer's mind. In certain manuscript situations, the original incipits apparently substituted for musical notation, effectively providing the instruction to 'sing it to the tune of *such-and-such*'.[4] These cases make it clear that the original texts of contrafacted songs did not disappear completely when new texts were substituted, but on the contrary continued to form a part of the new song's reception and transmission.

Given this, some consideration of the ways in which multiple texts might resound across the intratextual space occupied by their common musical setting seems worthwhile. The multilingual contrafacta among English twelfth- and thirteenth-century songs invite us to listen for unexpected echoes between texts in different languages, to examine the processes of textual translation and paraphrase when they occur within the constraints of a given musical setting, and to consider the significance of the different kinds of manuscript presentation that often draw attention to the songs' multi-text status even in the face of intense scribal challenges. My work here is a complement to the studies of tri-lingual lyric manuscripts, such as BL Harley MS 978, discussed by Neil Cartlidge elsewhere in this volume: the contrafacta that I will discuss are found sometimes within the same manuscript and sometimes in separate places, their connection identified by a rubric, or occasionally not at all

[3] Much of the music (and some of the texts) of the insular song repertory of this period has remained unedited until recently, and thus has been neglected in both scholarly literature and modern performance: all the songs are now, however, available in Helen Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources, c.1150-1300*, Musica Britannica, vol.95 (London, 2013).

[4] As in the Red Book of Ossory, whose Latin devotional texts are prefixed with scraps of French and English verse, and elsewhere a rubric appears to clarify their purpose as indicators of suitable tunes: 'et cum sint cantatores provideant sibi de notis convenientibus secundum quod dictamina requirunt' ('and when there be singers, let them provide themselves with suitable tunes, according to what the poems require'); R. L. Greene, *Early English Carols*, second edition (Oxford, 1977), iii-iv.

(though musicians familiar with the song-repertory of which they form part would probably have had no difficulty in recognising the musical association on hearing the song or reading its musical notation). In total, seventeen groups of song-contrafacta are known from twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, and of these, nine are multilingual. These nine groups can be divided into three categories, according to how their texts are preserved in the manuscript witnesses (Tables 1, 2 and 4), and since these three types of manuscript transmission raise slightly different questions, I will begin by discussing each of these in turn.

Table 1: Multi-lingual contrafacta copied together below their shared music

1	a. Eyns ne soy ke pleynte fu b. Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non (London, Corporation of London Records Office, MS Cust.1, ff.160v-161v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 92a and 92b) *see also Table 4, group 1b for further contrafactum found elsewhere*
2	a. Stabat iuxta Christi crucem b. Stand wel moder under rode (Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.8, f.106v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 66a and 66b) *see also Table 4, group 2b for further contrafacta found elsewhere*
3	a. Flos pudicitie b. Flur de virginité (London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, f.153v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 69a and 69b) *rubric identifies both as 'post cantum Aaliz'*
4	a. Angelus ad virginem b. Gabriel fram evene king (London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, f.154; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 70a and 70b) *see also Table 4, group 4b for further contrafactum found elsewhere*
5	a. Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris b. Duce creature virgine Marie (London, British Library, Harley MS 978, ff.9v-10; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 83a-d)

6	a. Sumer is icumen in b. Perspice Christicola (London, British Library, Harley MS 978, f.11v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 85a and 85b)

It is striking among English manuscripts how often pairs of contrafact texts are preserved together, laid out beneath a single copying of their music (shown in Table 1). This layout draws attention to the practice of renegotiating songs using different texts, highlighting the melody's lack of fixed relationship with one text or another. But this layout is far from straightforward in a practical sense: the musical staves must be ruled further apart than usual to make room for two lines of texts beneath each instead of the usual one, and it was very difficult for scribes to copy both texts in such a way that both could be properly aligned with the musical notes (in fact, they rarely managed this, or even attempted it). Where the two texts were in different languages, scribes usually found that one text occupied more horizontal space than the other, making alignment with the music particularly difficult. In Plate 1, a song with Latin and English texts underlaid to the music, it is evident that the lower text (in English) takes up more room than the one above (in Latin), spilling further into the margin at the end of the line. Moreover, whereas the Latin text is well aligned to the music, its syllables written immediately below the notes to which they are to be sung, the English text is written without any such correspondence of syllables and notes. Since the scribe copied each new stanza on a new line, however, it was possible to preserve the correspondence of text and music at the level of the stanza, by spilling out into the margin at the end of each as necessary. In the song copied in the right-hand column of Plate 2, by contrast, the scribe has not laid out each new stanza on a new line, and hence had no space to accommodate overspill in the second text (see Table 6 for both texts and their modern translations). Probably because constrained by the two-column format, he wrote out the Latin text continuously, indicating the starts of stanzas with slightly enlarged initials wherever they occurred in the line. On adding the French text immediately below, the scribe was forced to compress his script and spill out into the margin, but even so, he was eventually unable to align the starts of the French stanzas with those of the Latin (this is apparent from the end of the tenth line of the column onwards, where the initials marking the starts of the French stanzas appear well to the

right of the initials for the corresponding Latin stanzas). At the ending of the song, the scribe made use of the previously blank staves at the foot of the left-hand column, writing the last line of music right across both columns and the space in between. Even with this extra space, however, the French text is one whole stanza shorter than the Latin, perhaps because there was simply no more space left to accommodate it.[5]

Table 2 lists a single contrafact-group whose two songs are copied adjacently in the same manuscript but each with its own music written out in full (Plate 3). The Latin song, *Salve virgo virginum*, occupies the second line of music on the folio, its beginning marked with a large red initial S at the left margin.[6] The French *Veine pleine de duçur* begins at the start of the next line of music, but spreads across two lines, before another song, unrelated to these two, begins with the large initial B on the lower half of the page. *Salve virgo virginum* and *Veine pleine de duçur* each have three stanzas underlaid to their music, and at the end of each stanza is a refrain: for *Salve virgo virginum*, the refrain text 'nostra spes in te' appears at the end of the first stanza only, and the blank space left in the text at the end of the second and third stanzas merely implies that the singer should repeat those words on reaching that point, whereas for *Veine pleine de duçur*, the refrain text 'Ave Maria' is written out at the end of each of the three stanzas. Closer inspection reveals that the structure of the two texts varies by the addition of an extra couplet in the French before the refrain. Musically, this change is accommodated easily: as shown in Table 3, the Latin setting involves a single passage of music repeated three times (X) followed by a contrasting passage for the refrain (Y); for the longer French text, the music simply repeats the musical passage one further time before proceeding to the refrain's music. It is interesting that this variation caused the scribe to write out the music twice, even though the musical adaptation needed for the French text would be relatively easy to deduce from the structure of the two texts. Though their shared music immediately identifies them as contrafacta, this pair of texts demonstrates the degree of variation – even to the overall structure – that could be tolerated without damaging the fundamental relationship.

[5] However, see the discussion below on the textual relationship of these two contrafacta.
[6] The first line of music at the top of the page is the ending of an English song, *Jesu Cristes milde moder*, unrelated to the Latin-French pair that begins on the second line, but discussed below.

Plate 1: A song with Latin and English texts underlaid to the same music. Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.8, f.106v. Reproduced by kind permission of St John's College, Cambridge

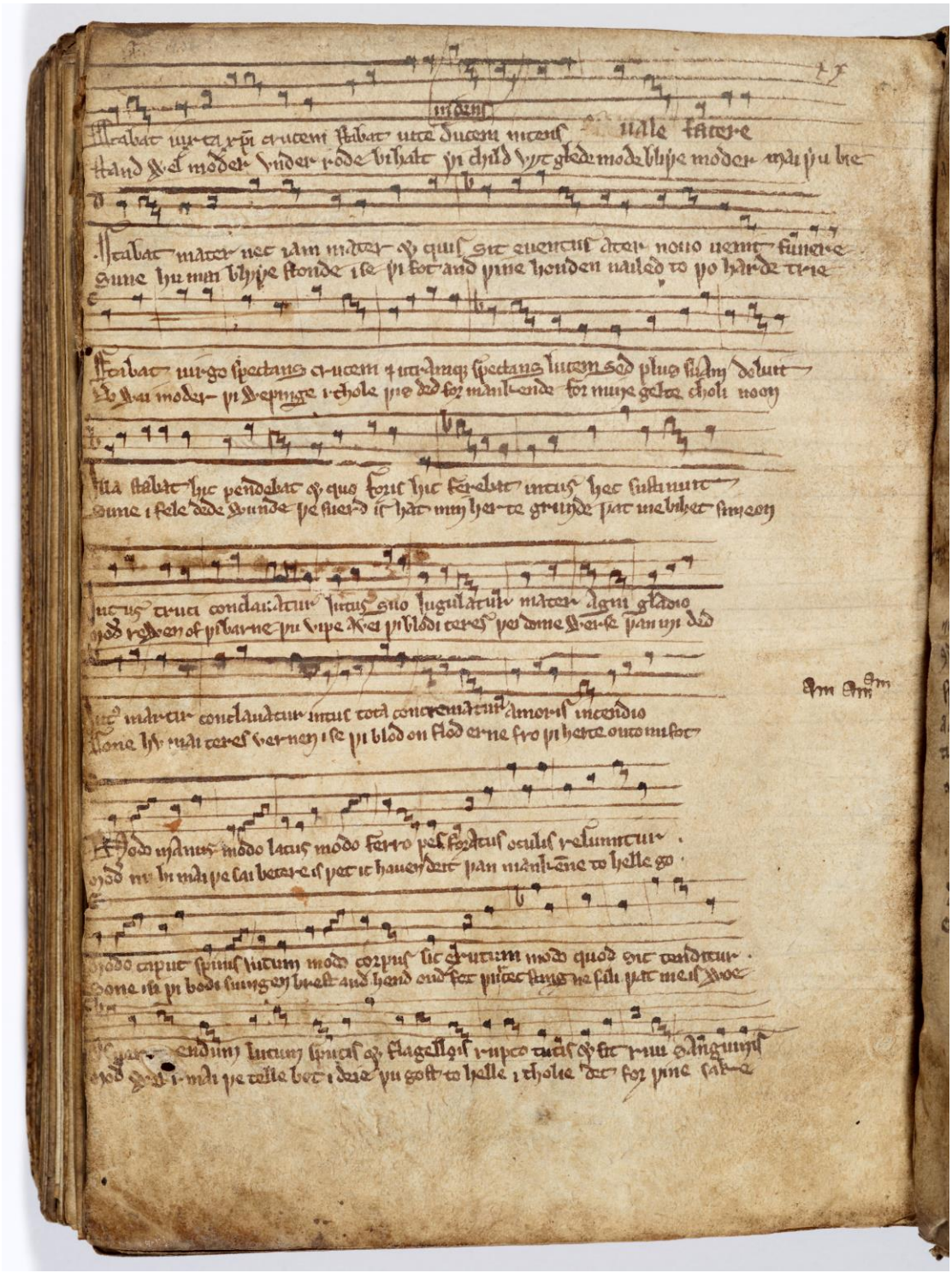


Plate 2: A song with Latin and French texts underlaid to the same music (right-hand column) and a Latin song with a rubric indicating the tune to which it should be sung (left-hand column). London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, f.154r © The British Library Board

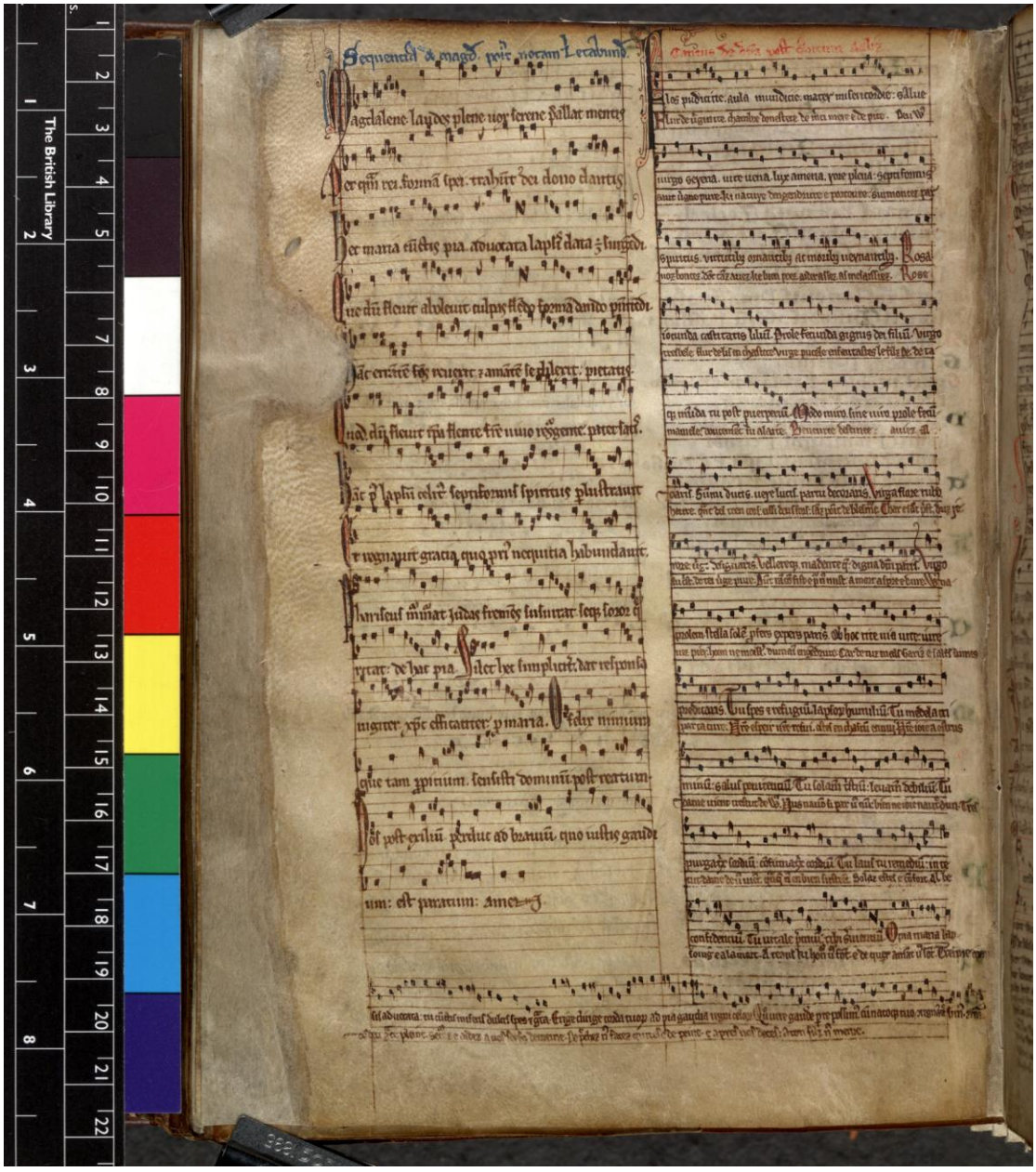


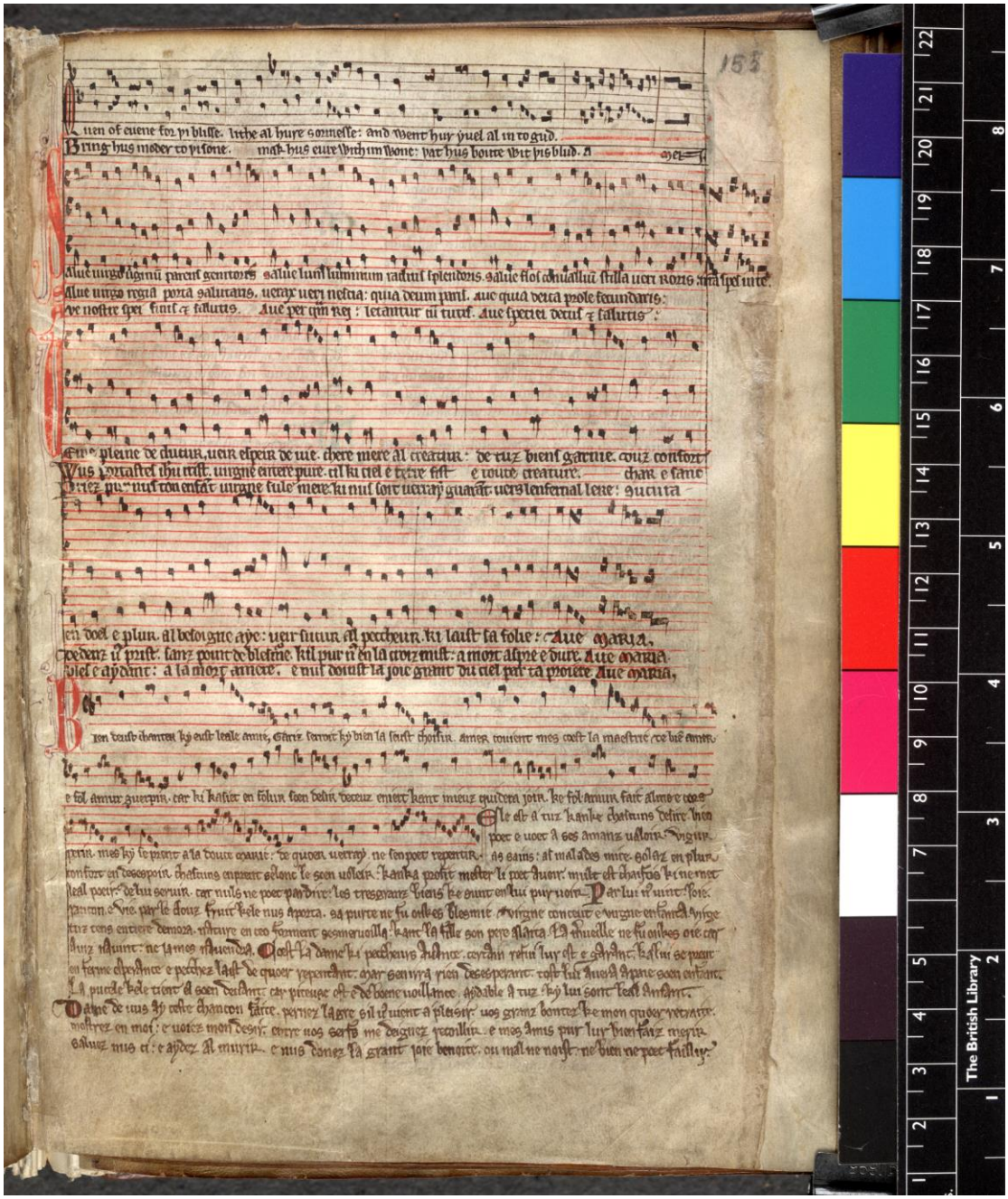
Table 2: Multi-lingual contrafacta copied adjacently in one manuscript, but separate music written out

7	a. Salve virgo virginum b. Veine pleine de duçur (London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, f.155; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, nos 75a and 75b)

Table 3: The first stanzas of *Salve virgo virginum* and *Veine pleine de duçur*: textual structure and musical setting

Salve virgo virginum	**musical setting**	**Veine pleine de duçur**	**musical setting**
Salve virgo virginum, parens genitoris	**X**	Veine pleine de duçur, veir espeir de vie,	**X**
Salve lumen luminum, radius splendoris,	**X**	Chere mere al creatur, de tuz biens garnie,	**X**
Salve flos convallium, stilla veri roris,	**X**	Duz confort en doel e plur, al besoigne aye,	**X**
Nostra spes in te.	**Y**	Veir sucur al peccheur, ki laist sa folie,	**X**
		Ave Maria.	**Y**

Plate 3: Songs in English, Latin and French. London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, f.155r © The British Library Board



In the third category of contrafact-groups (listed in Table 4) are those that are spread across separate sources, including, to begin with, three further contrafacta of songs found in Table 1.[7] The songs here labelled 1b and 9 are each found in an English manuscript but were also widely transmitted across Europe: the two songs listed in group 1 of Table 1 are the only known contrafacta of *Planctus ante nescia*, but *Ave gloriosa virginum* engendered the four French contrafacta listed in group 9, none of which appears in an English manuscript. The songs in the group labelled 2b are related to those in group 2 of Table 1: the first is another manuscript witness to *Stand wel moder*, and the second is a further, incomplete English contrafactum using the same melody. Item 4b is a rather special case: John Audelay's poem, constructed using the same, unusual verse-form as *Angelus ad virginem*, seems to have been deliberately composed to fit to the older tune, and the wide transmission of the Latin song in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, as well as references to the song in literature such as Chaucer's Miller's Tale, may indicate a special popularity that endured even until Audelay's time.

Table 4: Multi-lingual contrafacta found in separate manuscripts

1b	Planctus ante nescia (many ms witnesses, including the insular source Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 2, ff.3v-4v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no. 22) *melody shared with Table 1, group 1*
2b	a. Stond wel moder under rode (*another witness to Table 1, group 2 above*; London, British Library, Royal MS 12 E i, ff.193-194v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no. 90) b. [...] stod ho þere neh (incomplete at start; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 169*, p.175; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no. 110) *melody shared with Table 1, group 2*

[7] On *Dic qui gaudes prosperis* and its French contrafacta, see Gordon A. Anderson, 'Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 6 (1971), 153-229, at p.221 (no. L147); on *Ave gloriosa virginum*, see ibid, p.201 (no. K75).

4b	The angel to the vergyn said, by the fifteenth-century author John Audelay (*written to the music of Table 1, group 4*)
8	a. Dic qui gaudes prosperis (Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 2, f.2v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no. 19) b. Li dous termines m'agree, by Moniot d'Arras c. Li dous termines m'agree (motet) d. Thumas Herier j'ai partie, by Guillebert de Berneville *these three French contrafacta only found in mss of French origin*
9	a. Ave gloriosa virginum regina, by Philip the Chancellor (many ms witnesses, including London, British Library, Harley MS 978, ff.7-8v; Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no. 82) b. Virge glorieuse c. L'autrier chevauchoie d. Lonc tens m'ai teu e. Amours m'a au las pris *these four French contrafacta only found in mss of French origin*

The unilingual contrafacta among the insular song repertory of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show a similar pattern of presentations, some preserved with both texts underlaid to the music, others divided between different manuscripts.[8] Of these contrafacta – all but one group in Latin – one is labelled with a rubric identifying the source melody, and this instance occurs on the same page of BL Arundel MS 248 as the pair *Flos pudicitie / Flur de virginité* that has already been mentioned (see Plate 2). In the left-hand column, the single-texted song *Magdalene laudes plene* is prefaced with a rubric that reads 'Sequentia de Magdalena post notam Letabundus' ('A sequence of the Magdalene, after the tune of *Letabundus*'), referring to a very

[8] More information on these songs may be found in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources* (see especially the Table of Contrafacta on p.xxxix and the individual entries on those songs in the volume's Textual Commentary). Two uni-lingual contrafact groups form the subject of Helen Deeming, 'Music, Memory and Mobility: Citation and Contrafactum in Thirteenth-Century Sequence Repertories', in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, volume 2: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture*, ed. Giuliano Di Bacco and Yolanda Plumley (Liverpool, 2013), 67-81.

well-known liturgical song, *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus*. In the right-hand column, the double-texted Latin-French contrafact pair is also rubricated, here 'Cantus de domina post cantum Aaliz' (or, 'Song of our Lady, after the song *Alice*'). In this case, the source-melody has not been traced by scholars, but numerous secular songs of the period refer to 'la bele Alis', giving a hint of the type of lyrical environment from which this now lost song probably hailed.[9]

Within this single page of Arundel MS 248, a high proportion of the possibilities for contrafacta are represented: multilingual and unilingual, a pair of texts copied together beneath their shared music, and contrafacta indicated by means of a rubric that identifies, without writing out in full, the text of the original song whose text is being substituted. Though the scribe of this manuscript seems to have had a particular enthusiasm for contrafacta (and in other sorts of musical and textual connections between songs that go beyond the scope of the present discussion), his various scribal approaches are mirrored in other contemporary manuscripts, and would seem to reflect a more widespread interest in song-text substitution among musicians in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

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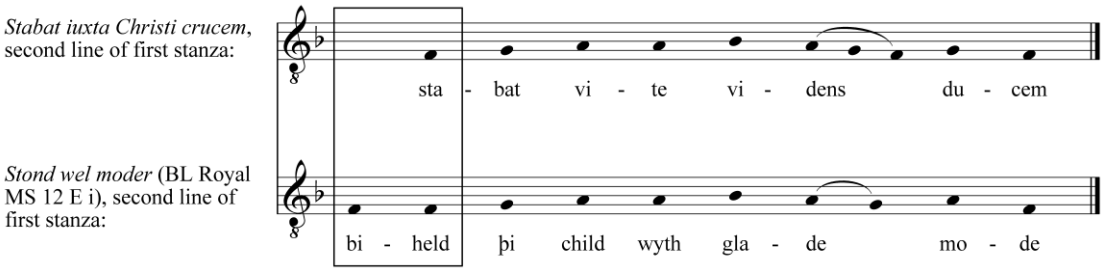
Of the multilingual contrafacta listed in Tables 1, 2 and 4, most involve some relationship of translation or at least paraphrase of the other text. To identify the substituted texts as categorically 'translations' or not is no simple matter, for the principal reason that the necessity for the new text to fit to the music of the old imposed considerable constraints on the second poet, who had to match the line-lengths and structure of the first text to a great extent. These criteria frequently took precedence over the fidelity of any translation: maintaining a close translation but sacrificing the poetic structure would mean destroying the contrafact relationship and preventing the second text from being sung to the same music. Nonetheless, the manuscript witnesses to these songs suggest that certain liberties could be taken in order to negotiate the conflicting demands of a translation and a prescribed poetic

[9] For discussion and further references, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050 – 1350* (Cambridge, 1986), 80–83 and 178, n.54, and Ann Buckley, *Lyric Lais* (Newton Abbot, 1992), ii, pp.I, V and 8.

structure. In *Stand wel moder*, a loose English translation of the Latin *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, the existence of two manuscript copies allows us to see this process at work. In the manuscript from St John's College, Cambridge (Plate 1), the English text is copied out with the Latin below the music, although its line-lengths are not identical. The English poet regularly adds an additional syllable to the second, and sometimes also the third, line of each stanza, but the melody in the St John's manuscript is designed to fit the Latin text and gives no indication of how these extra syllables in the English might be fitted in. But the British Library copy of the English poem – which is recorded without the Latin text – gives the answer: its melody has been adapted to accommodate these longer lines by repeating the first note of the musical phrase each time they occur (see the boxed notes in Example 1 below).

Example 1: Musical adaptation to accommodate textual variation in the first stanza of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and *Stond wel moder*



This is a very minor musical change, and there is no great metrical disruption either, since the additional syllable is unstressed, and therefore simply adds an anacrusis to the existing pattern. It seems likely that, rather than copy the melody twice to make such a slight variation explicit, the scribe of the St John's manuscript was content to leave this simple adaptation up to singers in performance. In the British Library manuscript, where there was no need to reconcile the demands of two different texts, this simple mental alteration was transferred into written form. The St John's manuscript thus seems to indicate that a precise correspondence of words and notes was not always necessary in written copies of songs such as these: where differences arose between two contrafacta underlaid to the same music, medieval singers arrived at suitable solutions without recourse to writing them down.

It might be argued, of course, that the scribe of the St John's manuscript was simply unaware or unconcerned that the English text he was copying did not

correspond to the music, and indeed others have argued that this scribe's work shows signs of corruption of linguistic forms and other errors.[10] But corroborating evidence that it was not always necessary for scribes to inscribe the precise co-ordination of texts and music is provided by the much more careful scribe of British Library manuscript Arundel 248. This evidence appears in the contrafact-pair *Salve virgo virginum* and *Veine pleine de duçur*, which – as mentioned earlier – exhibit a major divergence of structure that caused the scribe to write out the music for each song separately (Plate 3). Each song has three stanzas to be sung to the same music (repeated three times), and the scribe has written all three stanzas beneath the stave. But the third stanza of *Salve virgo virginum* varies in line-length from its other stanzas: Table 5 shows the third stanza compared to the first, with its first, third and fifth lines one syllable shorter. Nothing in the manuscript copy indicates what the singer should do with the music in the face of this poetic difference, and I would suggest that this cannot be attributed to sloppiness, laziness or unwillingness to use up more parchment, since the very same scribe was evidently happy to copy out all the music again for the French contrafactum that follows. It seems much more likely that the scribe was content to leave this dilemma in the hands of the singers, who could have generated an appropriate response (leaving out a note in these lines, perhaps, or singing one syllable across two notes) with scarcely a moment's thought. I would argue, then, that studying contrafacta such as these sheds light on a subtle interplay of oral and written processes in the transmission of medieval lyric.

[10] See, for example, Eric Dobson's remarks in his textual commentary to no.11 in *Medieval English Songs*, ed. E.J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison (London, 1979).

Table 5: Stanzas 1 and 3 of *Salve virgo virginum* compared

stanza 1	**syllable count**	**stanza 3**	**syllable count**
Salve virgo virginum, parens genitoris,	**7** **6**	Ave nostre spei finis et salutis,	**6** **6**
Salve lumen luminum, radius splendoris,	**7** **6**	Ave, per quam rei letantur cum tutis,	**6** **6**
Salve flos convallium, stilla veri roris,	**7** **6**	Ave, speciei decus et salutis,	**6** **6**
Nostra spes in te.	**5**	*[Nostra spes in te].*	**5**

To return to the *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* group (Table 1, group 2 and Table 4, group 2b), its English versions are also interesting from the point of view of translation. Whilst the version in the St John's and British Library manuscripts is close to the Latin in terms of structure (with the exception of the extra syllables) it introduces to the text a dialogue between Mary and her crucified son that is not present in the Latin poem. Another English version that begins incompletely at *…stod ho ƿere neh* is a much more faithful translation of the Latin, but its poetic structure is more variable, with even internal differences of line-length between verses that should match one another.[11] One further English translation of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* exists: this one, *Jesu Cristes milde moder*, includes some stanzas that are strikingly close to the Latin in terms of content, and the poem as a whole matches the poetic structure of the Latin almost perfectly.[12] Yet, although it would work as a contrafactum of the tune, and would do so rather better than either of the other two English versions, it is in fact preserved with totally different music (hence why it does

[11] Other editors, including Carleton Brown in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), no.4, and Dobson and Harrison in *Medieval English Songs*, no.10(ii), have read the first letter of the third surviving word as þ (thorn) rather than ƿ (wynn), but for reasons discussed in Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, p.220, I believe wynn to be the correct reading.

[12] London, British Library, Arundel MS 248, ff.154v-155; edited in Deeming (ed.), *Songs in British Sources*, no.74.

not appear in the lists of contrafacta in Tables 1, 2 and 4). That the poet of *Jesu Cristes milde moder* had *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* in mind when writing is undeniable, because of the close translation of many of its textual images and the matching of its structure. The prevalence of cross-lingual contrafacta within the English repertory makes it possible that this English version was originally intended to be sung to the same tune, and only later acquired another musical setting. If so, it is yet another example of the fluidity with which melodies and texts shifted in relation to one another in this lyric repertory.

The Latin-French pair *Flos pudicitie* and *Flur de virginité* (Table 1, group 3) are closely matched in terms of the fine detail of structure: despite the song's very irregular verse-form, each line of the French has precisely the same number of syllables as its Latin equivalent. In fact the only divergence between the two is the apparently missing final stanza of the French that I suggested earlier may have been a practical expedient when the scribe was running out of space (see Table 6 for both texts and their English translations). On the other hand, the French text does seem to reach a satisfactory conclusion at the end of the text that is preserved (stanza 7), drawing on the frequently-used closing gesture of invoking Mary's help and intercession with Christ. At times in this song, the two texts are a close translation of one another, but towards the end they diverge somewhat: the Latin text closes – across its two final stanzas – with a similar appeal to Mary as advocate for sinners, but in terms that are quite different from those used by the French text. The translation is perhaps most faithful right at the start (stanza 1), and at isolated moments later in the song: in the fourth stanza, the phrases 'Rosa iocunda, castitatis lilium' / 'Rose tres belle, flur de lis en chasteté' and 'gignis Dei filium' / 'enfantastes le filz Dé' are extremely close, while the other lines are more distinct. It could be argued that the final line on stanza 4 in the Latin, 'virgoque munda tu post puerperium', is encapsulated in the French 'virge pucele', but the reference at the end of the French to Mary's suckling of Christ is entirely absent from the Latin text in this or adjacent stanzas.

Table 6: *Flos pudicitie*, *Flur de virginité* and their translations

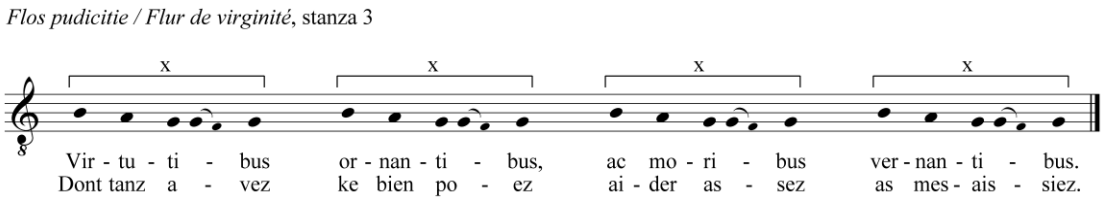
1. Flos pudicitie, aula mundicie, mater misericordie.	1. Flower of chastity, court of purity, mother of compassion.
2-3. Salve virgo serena, vite vena, lux amena, rore plena, septiformis spiritus, virtutibus ornantibus, ac moribus vernantibus.	2-3. Hail serene virgin, vein of life, pleasant light, filled with the dew of the sevenfold spirit, with distinguished virtues and with verdant ways.
4. Rosa iocunda, castitatis lilium, prole fecunda, gignis Dei filium, virgoque munda, tu post puerperium.	4. Pleasant rose, lily of chastity, fertile with child, you bear the son of God, and pure virgin you [remain] after childbirth.
5. Modo miro, sine viro, prole fecundaris, summi ducis, vere lucis, partu decoraris : virga flore, rubo rore, virgo, designaris, vellereque, madenteque, digna Deum paris : virgo prolem, stella solem, profers expers paris, ob hoc rite via vite iure predicaris.	5. In marvellous fashion, without a man, you have begotten a child, you are graced by the birth of the greatest leader, of the true light: by the flower on a branch, by the dew on a bush, you are signified, virgin, and by the fleece, and by its drenching, worthy, you beget God: virgin lacking equal, you bring forth a son, a star, [you bring forth] the sun, by reason of this you are foretold rightly, in truth the way of life.
6. Tu spes et refugium lapsorum humilium: tu medela criminum, salus penitencium: tu solamen tristium, levamen debilium: tu purgatrix sordium, confirmatrix cordium: tu laus, tu remedium in te confidencium: tu vitale premium tibi servientium.	6. You the hope and lowly refuge of the fallen: you the remedy for sins, salvation for the penitent: you the solace of the sorrowful, consolation for the infirm: you the purger of stains, strengthener of hearts: you the glory, you the remedy of those trusting in you: you the vital reward of those in your service.
7. O pia Maria, lapsis advocata, tu cunctis miseris dulcis spes et grata: erige, dirige corda tuorum ad pia gaudia regni celorum.	7. O holy Mary, advocate for the fallen, you the sweet hope and mercy for all the wretched: raise up, guide the hearts of your people towards the holy joys of the kingdom of heaven.
8. Quo vere gaudere per te possimus, cum natoque tuo conregnantes simus. Amen.	8. In which truly through you may we be able to rejoice and may we be co-rulers with your son. Amen.

1. Flur de virginité, chambre d'onesteté, de merci mere et de pité.	1. Flower of virginity, chamber of honesty, mother of mercy and of pity.
2-3. Deu wus saut, virgne pure, ki nature d'engendrure e porteure surmontez par voz bontez, dont tanz avez ke bien poez aider assez as mesaissiez.	2-3. God save you, pure virgin, who rise above nature in your progeny and offspring through your virtues, of which you have so many that you can certainly help greatly the suffering.
4. Rose tres belle, flur de lis en chasteté: virge pucele, enfantastes le filz Dé: de ta mamele doucement fu alaité.	4. Most beautiful rose, lily in chastity: virgin maiden, you gave birth to the son of God: by your breast he was sweetly suckled.
5. Beneuree destinee aviez al heure, quant del toen cors eissi Deus fors sanz point de blesmure: char e sanc prist duz Jesu Crist de tei, virge pure, dunt rançon fist e pur nus mist a mort aspre e dure: wus n'avez pier, hoem ne moiller, d'umain engendrure, car de tuz mals gariz e salfs sumes par ta cure.	5. You had a blessed destiny at that time, when from your body the mighty God emerged without spot of blemish: sweet Jesus Christ took flesh and blood from you, pure virgin, by which he made redemption and [which] he put to grievous and harsh death for us: you have no equal, man nor woman, of human begetting, since from all ills we are cured and safe through your care.
6. Nostre espeir, nostre refui estes en chascun ennui: nostre joie a estrus, dame, vient trestut de wus: nus n'avon, si par vus nun, bien ne joie n'autre dun: trestut, dame, du vus vient quanque nus en bien sustient: solaz estes e comfort al besoing e a la mort, a ceaus ki honor vus font e de quer amant vus sont.	6. You are our hope, our refuge in every trouble: our joy for sure, lady, comes completely from you: we have not, except through you, goodness nor joy nor any other gift: everything which keeps us in good comes from you, lady: you are solace and comfort in need and in death to those who honour you and love you wholeheartedly.
7. Tres pie Marie, de Deu grace pleine, secorez e aidez a vos serfs demeine : de pechez nus facez quites e de pleine, e aprés nos deces, a ton fils nus meine.	7. Most holy Mary, full of the grace of God, succour and help your own servants: from sins make us free and from punishment, and after our death, lead us to your son.

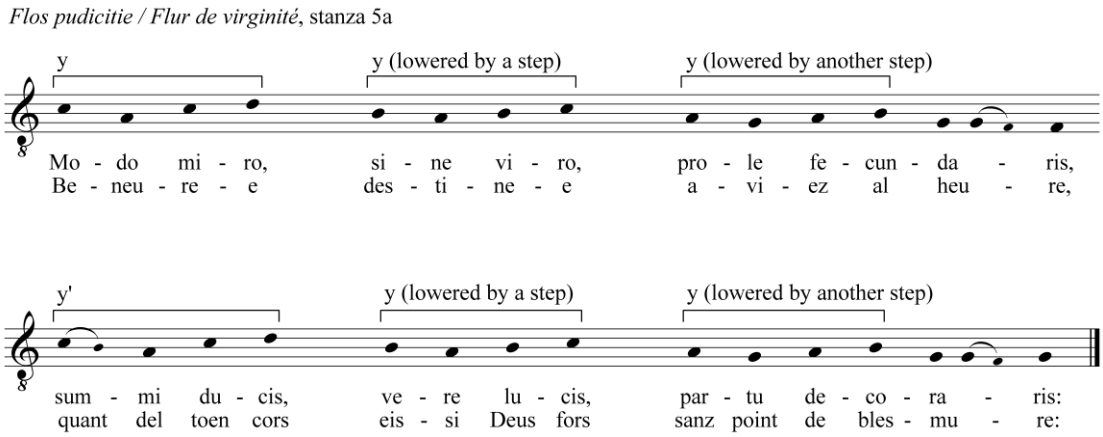
The moments of fidelity in translation seem to imply that there was an intention on the part of the poet to attempt a close connection of content between the poems, wherever this was compatible with his evident desire to match the line-lengths of the two precisely. Even more interesting, though, is how frequently the texts exhibit sonic reminiscence – the sharing of sounds – even where their verbal meaning is quite distinct. The first stanza shares the same rhyme-sound in the Latin and the French, and they additionally resonate with their shared opening sound 'fl', and the repeated 'm' sound in the third phrase ('mater misericordie' / 'merci mere'): in sung performance, these shared sounds are audibly prominent. Stanzas 2 and 3, despite a lack of shared rhymes between the Latin and French, nonetheless both subdivide the lines into short rhyming segments ('-ena' and '-ibus' in the Latin, '-ure' and '-ez' in the French), which creates a marked sonic effect that both have in common.

The effect is particularly marked in stanza 3, because the rhyming segments correspond to a repeated musical figure (labelled 'x' in Example 2 below), thus anchoring the sonic effect of the words closely to that of the music. Stanza 5 does something equivalent, once again subdividing the lines with rhyming segments in both the Latin and French. This too is tied to an aspect of the musical design, here a melodic unit that is repeated, but moving down by a step each time (labelled 'y' in Example 3).

Example 2: Musical repetition reflecting rhyme pattern in the third stanza of *Flos pudicitie / Flur de virginité*

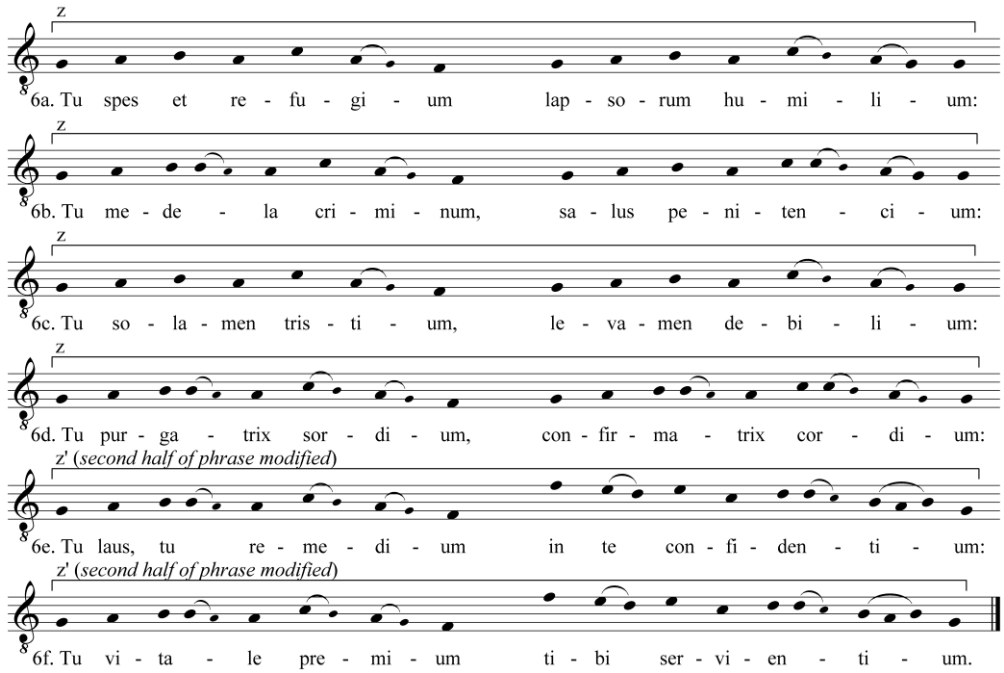


Example 3: Varied musical repetition reflecting rhyme pattern in the fifth stanza of *Flos pudicitie / Flur de virginité*



Stanza 6 of the Latin uses a single rhyme-sound throughout, both mid-line and at the line-ends, totalling twelve occurrences. This was something the French poet did not match, perhaps because the highly inflected nature of Latin makes this sort of repetition much more feasible. Together with its anaphora ('Tu') at the starts of lines, the sonic effect of the Latin is of a densely integrated whole, reinforced by the six-fold musical repetition, labelled 'z' in Example 4 (which is, however, modified slightly in the fifth and sixth lines).

Example 4: Density of rhyme and musical repetition in the sixth stanza of *Flos pudicitie*



The sonic rapport between the Latin and French returns in the seventh stanza (the last in the French poem), with some shared rhyme-sounds ('erige – dirige' / 'pechez – facez'), though this is not consistent throughout the stanza. But the high level of sonic reminiscence across the song, despite the difficulties of arriving at a paraphrase and partial translation that retains precisely the same poetic structure, suggests that – intentionally or not – retaining sonic aspects of one text in the other was more straightforward than replicating sense.

Further examples of this phenomenon can be found in the French-English contrafact pair, *Eyns ne soy* and *Ar ne kuthe* (Table 1, group 1). The melody for this pair of songs derives from parts of the Latin lament *Planctus ante nescia* (Table 4, group 1b). Textually, the two vernacular texts are unrelated to the Latin, except that both share the general theme of lamenting: the French and English songs, sometimes referred to nowadays as 'The Prisoner's Song', lament the narrator's wrongful imprisonment, whereas *Planctus ante nescia* describes in the first person the grief of Mary at the foot of the Cross. Beyond the opening rhetorical figure, shared by all three texts, 'previously unacquainted with lamenting', there are no further resonances either of sense or of sound between the vernacular versions and the Latin original.[13] But both the sonic and the semantic relationship between *Eyns ne soy* and *Ar ne kuthe* is much closer: the translation is at times extremely close, diverging only in some lines. Stanza 2a below is an example of close correspondence between the two: the use of much shared vocabulary and a closely-matched grammatical structure leads to the sharing of many sounds, including the similar end-rhymes.

[13] In this case it is possible to be reasonably certain that the Latin predated the vernacular versions, as it is associated with the twelfth-century author Godefroy of St Victor, and appears in many manuscripts some dating back to the twelfth century (see Janthia Yearley, 'A Bibliography of Planctus', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society*, 4 (1981), 12-52, no. L123), whereas *Eyns ne soy/Ar ne kuthe* appear uniquely in a late thirteenth-century ms, and there is a suggestion that they may be linked to the manuscript's owner, Arnold Fitzthedmar, who was himself falsely imprisoned; a critical edition of the entire contents of Fitzthedmar's book is currently in preparation by Ian Stone at King's College, London.

Eyns ne soy, stanza 2a:	*Ar ne kuthe*, stanza 2a:
Jesu Crist, veirs Deu, veirs hom,	Jesu Crist, sod God, sod man,
prenge vus de mei pité,	Loverd, thu rew upon me,
jetez mei de la prisun	of prisun thar Ich in am,
u je sui a tort geté.	bring me ut and makye fre.

Similar rhyme-sounds are also shared – for the most part – in stanza 4 below, although interestingly the two texts diverge somewhat in sense during this stanza. Most interesting is the use of the words 'blesce' and 'blisce' – with highly contrasting meanings in the two languages (the French meaning 'wound' and the English 'joy') the sound of the word in one text surely prompted the use of the similar word in the translation. The treatment of this word represents – microcosmically – the procedure throughout this stanza, namely of sound-relationships coming to the fore as sense-relations appear to recede.

Eyns ne soy, stanza 4:	*Ar ne kuthe*, stanza 4:
Fous est ke se afie	Ne hope man to his live,
en ceste morteu vie,	her ne mai he bilive,
ke tant nus contralie,	highe thegh he stighe,
e u n'ad fors boydie:	ded him felled to grunde:
Ore est hoem en leesse,	Nu had man welle and blisce,
et ore est en tristesce,	rathe he shal tharof misse,
ore le garist, ore blesce,	worldes wele, mid ywisse,
Fortune k'ele guie.	ne lasted buten on stunde.

These two texts do not exhibit the same density of sonic links apparent in *Flos pudicitie / Flur de virginité*, and they additionally include some instances where the two texts diverge in terms of line-length. But once again, their relationship on the level of sound as well as sense is undeniable, and that relationship – primarily appreciated by the ear – is especially apparent when the poems are sung. There could be several explanations for these inter-textual (and in these cases, multilingual) echoes: perhaps the poets set out consciously to mirror the sounds as closely as possible, but it seems likelier to me that they result from a more subconscious experience. Recalling a melody, in order to create a text to fit it, may often inevitably involve recalling some of the sounds of the text originally associated with it, particularly those elements of the text's sounds that are sonically marked out through

repetition, position at the close of lines or stanzas, and so on. Hence such sonic features may be especially likely to suggest themselves to the creator of a contrafactum, and find their way into the substitute text as well. In this way, even where the translation is loose, the new text often remains closely bound to the original, and the combination of this with scribes' apparent preference for copying pairs of contrafacta together wherever they could serves to reinforce the enduring relationship between two texts through their shared music.

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The multilingual networks of song to which these contrafacta bear witness prompt a number of observations concerning oral and written transmission, the operation of musical memory, and the nature of authority in respect of songs at this period. Despite their anonymous transmission, that these songs are literate – and literary – products is certain, but at the same time, we have seen that the written witnesses to song are not always – and perhaps never claim to be – complete blueprints recording every detail for future reproduction. Similarly, the composition of a song's text and music, and its copying into manuscripts, clearly need not represent the end of the creative process relating to it, as re-compositions in words and notes were evidently both commonplace and celebrated. The poets of contrafacta frequently drew attention to their models through rubrics, and by imitating aspects of the original songs' sounds and sense wherever they could. In doing so, they paid both conscious and – probably – subconscious homage to the original songs' creators, drawing on their musical memories that retained tunes not simply as music divorced from words, but rather as combined musico-verbal entities, whose most prominent sonic features lodged firmly in the mind and were readily transferred into the new context of a contrafactum.