

A new source for the polyphonic conductus: MS 117* in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge*

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The extent to which the surviving sources can demonstrate the cultivation and consumption of the music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries differs for each of the genres represented in them. Thus although the versions of the so-called *Magnus liber organi* contained in the three principal 'Notre-Dame' sources are sufficiently different to suggest that in a critical edition they should be edited separately, they are similar enough to allow us to infer a certain amount about the origins and cultivation of the music.¹

To shift our gaze to the *conductus* is to witness something rather different. *F* contains a large number of polyphonic *conducti* in two and three parts organized into groups: the three-part works in the sixth fascicle of the manuscript, and the two-part works in the seventh (the two four-part *conducti* in *F* are placed with the other four-part compositions). *W*₁ and *W*₂ are much less well defined codicologically, for although the *conducti* are found in specific parts of those manuscripts, they are often mingled with motets and other genres. The same

* I am grateful to Christopher Page, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College and Keeper of the Manuscripts, who first brought these fragments, and their importance, to my attention, and to the archivist Nicholas Rogers for giving so freely of his time and expertise while I was working on the fragments in August 1993. I would also like to register my thanks to Christopher De Hamel of Sotheby's for giving me valuable information concerning the history of the manuscript during the 1960s to 1980s. This article is an extended version of a paper read at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC, on 21 September 1993.

¹ The principal 'Notre-Dame' sources are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (*F*); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 677 (*W*₁); *ibid.*, 1099 (*W*₂). The other sources discussed in this article, given here with the *sigla* used, are Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1 (*GB-Cjc* QB 1); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117* (*S*); Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm.lat.VI.41 (*D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41); London, British Library, Egerton 2615 fols. 79r–94v (*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2)); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (*Ma*); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.VI.Q.3.17 (*GB-Ob* Auct.VI.Q.3.17); and Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S.231 (*CH-Sz* S.231). The probably Parisian provenance of *F* is discussed in Rebecca Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18; the appearance of Parisian music in *W*₁ at St Andrews is explained in Mark Everist, 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of *W*₁', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), 1–42; and the most recent account of *W*₂ is *idem*, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 99–110.

is true of *Ma*.² There seems therefore to be only one Parisian source, *F*, that preserves reasonable numbers of *conducti* in continuous sequence. The Parisian provenance of GB-Lbl Egerton 2615(2) has been argued elsewhere, and this source also contains some three-part *conducti*.³ But in comparison with *F* it preserves only a tiny number of compositions. No other manuscript seems to preserve the serried ranks of two-part *conducti*, for example, that we find in the seventh fascicle of *F*.

A glance through any of the bibliographical guides to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *conductus* suggests that many of the sources seem to stem from outside the Ile de France, and that many are not only later in date than the principal sources but also preserve the music in a mensural notation not found in earlier manuscripts.⁴ The latter have been given a special importance by those who seek to impart a modal interpretation to the *cum littera* sections of polyphonic *conductus*. The wide range of provincial – for want of a better word – sources has been relegated to tables of concordances in studies of the repertory. These manuscripts, and the music contained therein, still await the investigation they deserve.⁵

F tells us a great deal about the textual and musical structure of the works it contains, and for that reason would provide the most satisfactory basis for

² The organization of the major Notre-Dame sources is laid out in Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th – Early 14th Century)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV₁ (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), *passim*.

³ Mark Everist, *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79–94v)* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1988), 54–5.

⁴ Inventories of the polyphonic *conductus* are found in Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939); Gordon Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica*, 6 (1972), 153–229; 7 (1975), 1–81; and Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981).

⁵ Anderson was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the view that *cum littera* sections of polyphonic *conductus* were subject to the principles of modal rhythm, and he used such later sources as the basis for his arguments. See his 'Mode and Change of Mode in Notre Dame Conductus', *Acta musicologica*, 40 (1968), 92–114; 'The Rhythm of *cum littera* Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26 (1973), 288–304; 'The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 480–9. Anderson's comments must be read in conjunction with E. Fred. Flindell, 'Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode', *Acta musicologica*, 39 (1967), 21–34; 'Puncta equivoca and Rhythmic Poetry: A Reply to G. Anderson', *Acta musicologica*, 42 (1970), 238–48; 'Syllabic Notation in Isolated Voices', *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen 1972*, ed. Henrik Glahn, Søren Sørensen and Peter Ryom, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen etc., 1974), I, 378–84; and 'Conductus in the Later Ars Antiqua', Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): *In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), I, 134–204. More measured discussions of the rhythm of the polyphonic *conductus* are Janet Knapp, 'Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre-Dame Conductus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), 383–407; and Ernest Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), 439–69.

any edition.⁶ But by itself it can say rather little about the environment that produced such works. The manuscript is an anthology, and contains not only *conducti* and *organa* but also *clausulae* and motets. Its compilation seems to stem from an ability to collect together a large amount of music, and also from an interest, on someone's part, in owning copies of that music. In bibliographies of the subject, it stands as the only reasonably secure and extensive witness to a Parisian tradition of copying *conductus*. Much attention has therefore been given to the internal structuring of the contents of the manuscript – especially that of the *conductus* fascicles – in an attempt to come to terms with the types of sources and repertoires that might have given rise to such a collection.⁷

Some healthy scepticism about the Parisian origins of the polyphonic *conductus* is justifiable. Certainly, *F* is a powerful and voluminous witness to it. The polyphonic *conductus* is, however, much less clearly tied to Paris than is, for example, the *organum* of the *Magnus liber organi*.⁸ The assumption that Paris was the primary centre for the composition and cultivation of the polyphonic *conductus* depends to a much greater extent on concordances than is the case with other polyphonic genres. We could place more trust in the assumption if there were more manuscripts that reflected a Parisian interest in this type of music.

Two sources that have been discussed in the last decade, and that postdate the last wave of research into the *conductus*, are worth reconsidering here before turning to the principal subject of this enquiry. These are the set of fragments CH-Sz S.231/GB-Ob Auct.VI.Q.3.17, and D-F Fragm.lat.VI.41.

Gilbert Reaney's entry for GB-Ob Auct.VI.Q.3.17 and Jürg Stenzl's description of CH-Sz S.231 give the impression that these are two fragmentary sources for the polyphonic *conductus* that betray little of their origins.⁹ In fact, these two

⁶ The question of what constitutes a 'base-text' for a polyphonic *conductus* is a vexed one. Ethel Thurston's edition (*The Conductus Collections of MS Wolfenbüttel 1099*, 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 11–13 (Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 1980)) uses *W*₂ as a base-text presumably because this was the subject of her 1954 dissertation and because the text-critical background to the edition was predicated on this fact ('The Conductus Collections in Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1206: Edition of Music and Text', Ph.D. diss., New York University (1954)). Janet Knapp (*Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium Musicum 6 ([New Haven]: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965), and still the most attractive extended edition of the genre) follows *F* as the base-text. Judging the editorial criteria on which Gordon Anderson's edition (*Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 10 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vol. 7 have appeared]) is based is less than easy. See, for a not particularly sympathetic account from a broadly modalist perspective, Hans Tischler, 'Gordon Athol Anderson's Conductus Edition and the Rhythm of Conductus', *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), II, 561–73.

⁷ See especially Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 10–102.

⁸ The version of the *Magnus liber organi* preserved in *F* has been relocated within the confines of the liturgy of Notre Dame by Craig Wright (*Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 243–58).

⁹ Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, 527; Jürg Stenzl, 'Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle: die Solothurner Fragmente', *Die Musikforschung*, 26 (1973), 311–21.

sets of fragments come from the same manuscript, one that was broken up in the fifteenth century to be used as binding material for printed books. In addition to the works listed by Reaney in *GB-Ob* Auct.VI.Q.3.17 there are a number of additional items, which extend the fragments' repertory from six to thirteen compositions. More important is the fact (unmentioned by Reaney) that among these binding strips are fragments of monophonic *conducti*.¹⁰ Monophonic *conducti* are found in the tenth fascicle of *F*, neatly separated from their polyphonic counterparts, but the interspersing of monophony and polyphony is not characteristic of Parisian books of music. The composite set of fragments in *CH-Sz* S.231/*GB-Ob* Auct.VI.Q.3.17 is dissimilar to *F* in its organization, and this reinforces the suggestion that the original manuscript may have come from the Cistercian Abbey of Morimond. Although this is an important addition to our knowledge of the *conductus*, particularly in eastern France, the fragments say nothing about the cultivation of the *conductus* in Paris.

The *conductus* fragments in *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 seem to come from a more clearly central tradition.¹¹ They preserve parts of three three-voice pieces, all known from *F* and other sources. And although they seem to have been broken up in Frankfurt in the later fifteenth century to be used as binding material for a printed book – much like the fragments just discussed – they seem originally to come from a manuscript, like *F*, with a section devoted to three-part *conducti* only. In his report on these fragments, Martin Staehelin was unable to judge the provenance of *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41, although he clearly favoured a Parisian origin on the basis of the fragments' contents.¹² Informal comment by Michel Huglo, however, suggests that the handwriting of *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 is characteristic of a scribe in the Parisian chancery.¹³ These leaves would seem to come from a Parisian manuscript of uncertain size but similar to *F* in the arrangement of its contents. This observation will prove a useful point of comparison with the newly discovered fragments now to be discussed.

The fragments now preserved as Sidney Sussex College MS 117* (S) consist of parts of two leaves that served as a wrapper for a fifteenth-century book of hours (Plates 1–3). Although it is possible to be sure which are rectos and which are versos, it is not entirely certain which of the two leaves preceded the other. They contain parts of four two-part Parisian *conducti*, known from *F* and other manuscripts. Table 1 lists these and the way in which they are distributed over the leaves. It is an open question as to whether the two leaves were part of a

¹⁰ See Mark Everist, 'A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus', *Gordon Athol Anderson* (1929–1981): *In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), I, 97–118.

¹¹ Facsimile, inventory and discussion of these fragments is in Martin Staehelin, 'Conductus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift in Frankfurt a. M.', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 1: *Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1987* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1987), 179–92.

¹² *Ibid.*, 191–2.

¹³ Personal communication, April 1985.

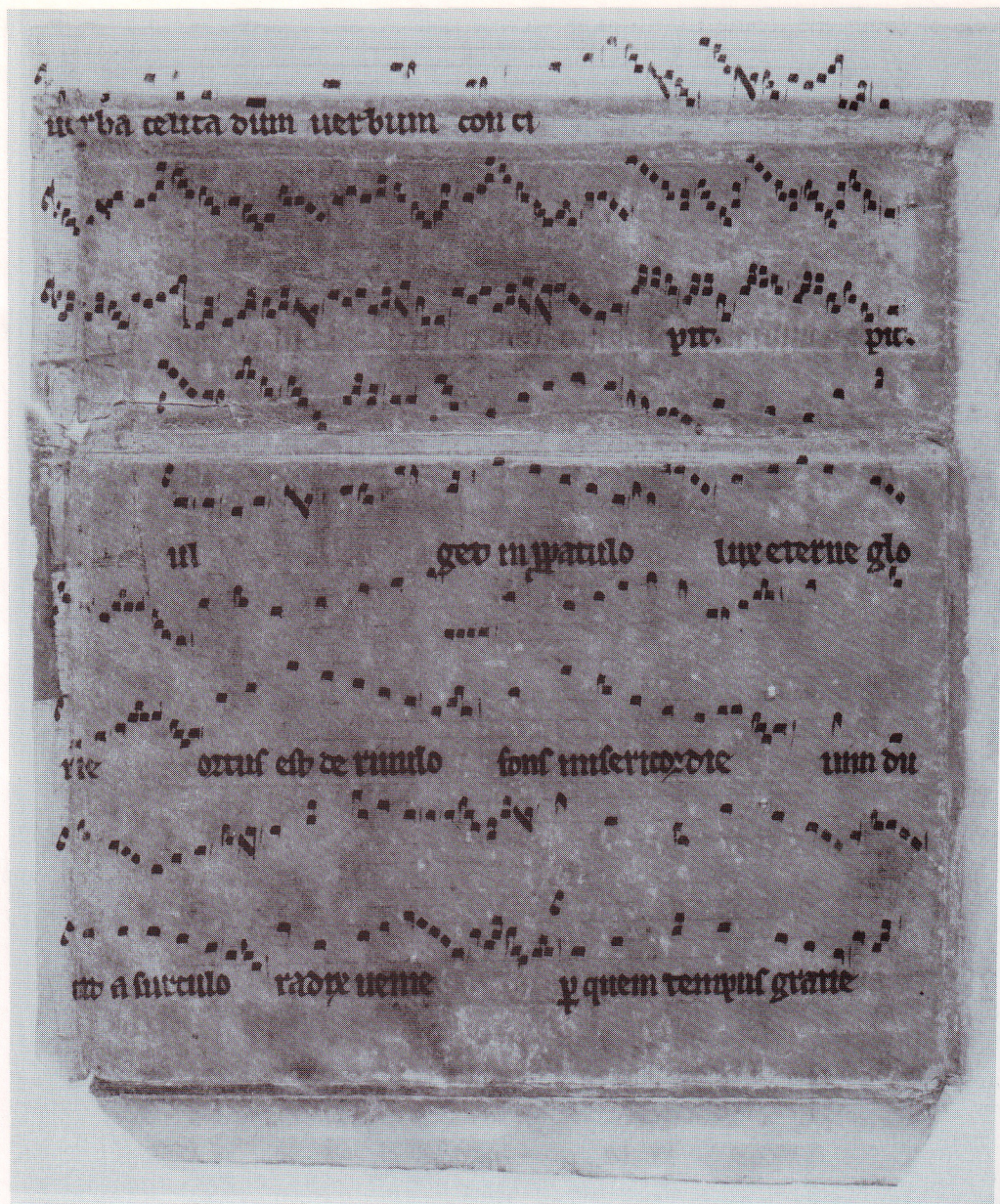


Plate 1 Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117* (Fol. 1r), reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.



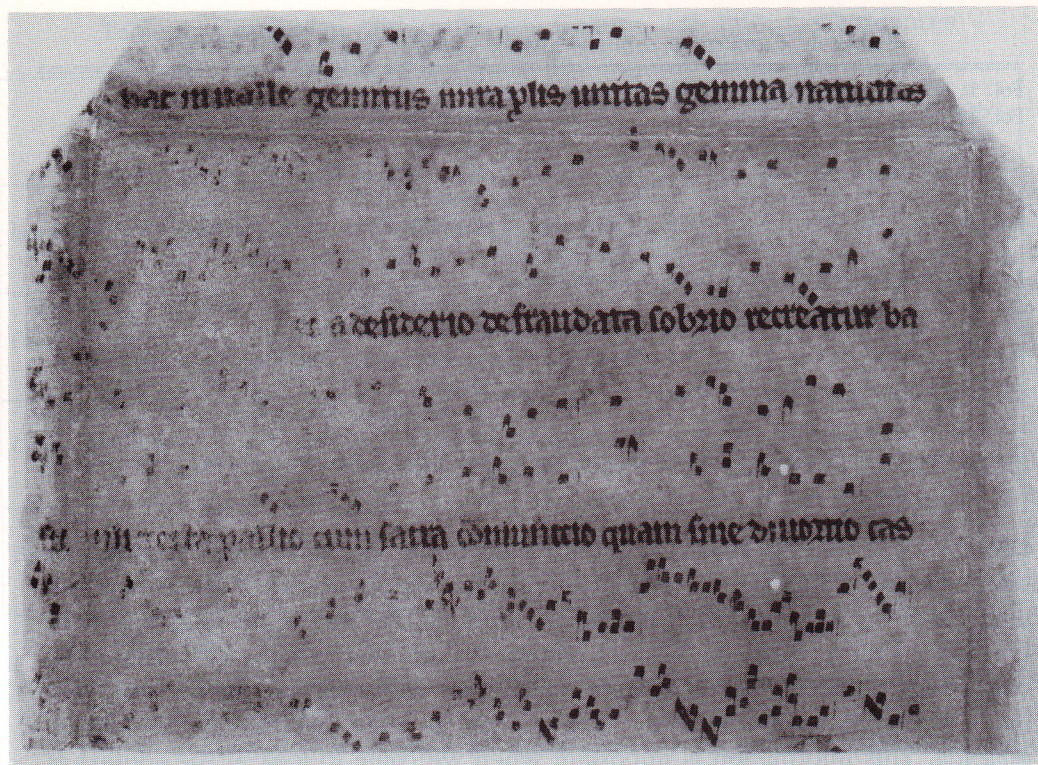
Plate 2 Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117* (Fol. 1v), reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

1984), 1, 97–118.

¹¹ Kessmille, inventory and discussion of these fragments is in Martin Schenck, 'Vandellus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame-Handschrift in Frankfurt a. M.', *Neue Mitteilungen der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I: Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1987* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1987), 179–92.

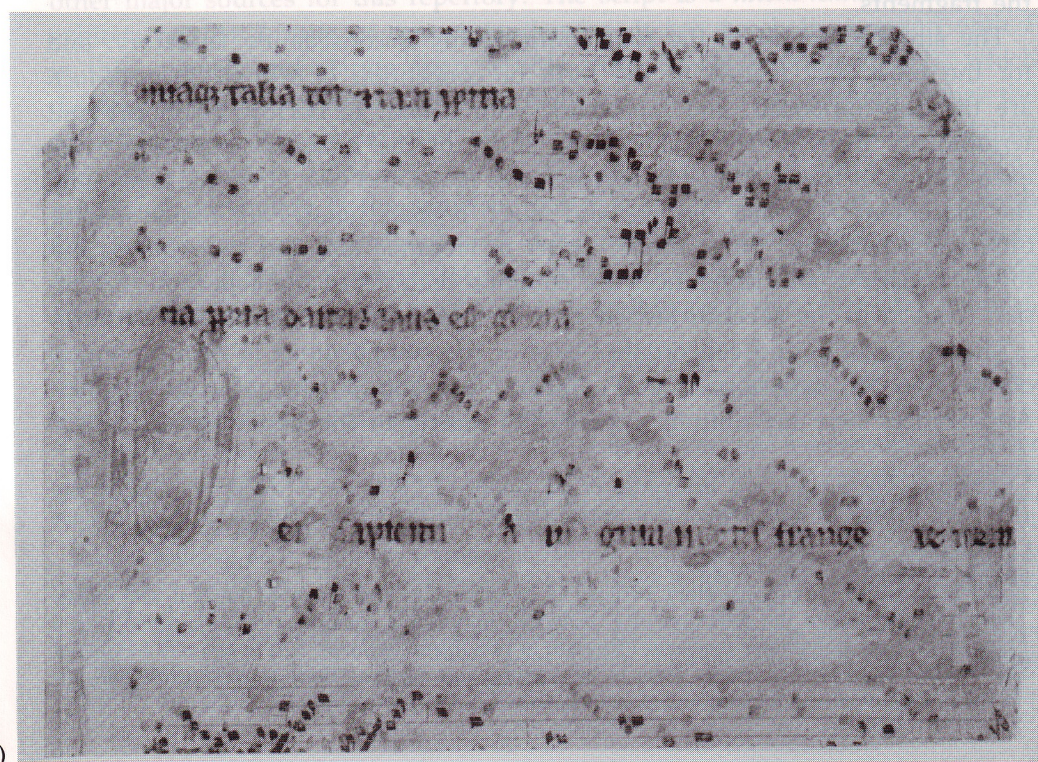
¹² *Ibid.*, 191–2.

¹³ Personal communication, April 1985.



a)

other major sources for this repertory. The script is a *littera textualis media* that



b)

Table 1. *Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*: Contents*

Fol. 1: Lowest nine staves of twelve (staves 4–12)	
Fol. 1r:	End of <i>Iam vetus littera</i> '... verba ... concipit'
:	Beginning of <i>Fulget in propatulo</i> 'Fulget ... gratie ...'
Fol. 1v:	Continuation of <i>Fulget in propatulo</i> '... plena ... syde[re]'
Fol. 2: Lowest seven staves of twelve (staves 6–12)	
Fol. 2r:	Continuation of <i>Genitus divinitus</i> '... Hac in valle ... Ad'
Fol. 2v:	End of <i>Genitus divinitus</i> '... [pre]miaque ... gloria'
:	Beginning of <i>Dei sapientia</i> 'Dei ... [quam alvo]'

bifolium. The content makes it certain that, if the two leaves did constitute a bifolium, they could not have been the central one in a quire. Furthermore, an analysis of the worm holes in the leaves suggests that they were originally close together in the original manuscript, either as parts of the same gathering or in contiguous quires.¹⁴ There can, however, be no doubt that *Iam vetus littera* and *Fulget in propatulo* were adjacent compositions, as were *Genitus divinitus* and *Dei sapientia*. This information is important when we come to look at the context of the fragments.

The strophic poetry of the four compositions is consistently laudatory, and for the most part related to the birth or conception of Christ. The *conducti* are through-composed, and melismatic with *caudae*, to borrow taxonomy and terminology from Robert Falck's 1981 study of the *conductus* repertory.¹⁵ An examination of the relationship between *sine littera* and *cum littera* passages, and the placement of *caudae*, *neumae* and *puncti organici*, shows up many stylistic differences between, for example, *Fulget in propatulo* and *Iam vetus littera*. But these similarities and differences are common features of the collection of two-part *conducti* in the seventh fascicle of *F* in which all four works are found.¹⁶

The distribution and concordance-base of the compositions is entirely typical of the two-part repertory from *F*. Table 2 presents a table of concordances. Appearances here are entirely predictable, mostly in the better-known central

¹⁴ Comparing the entrance-exit trajectories of the worm(s) in both leaves shows no signs of any changes of angle or enlargement that might suggest that the leaves were found some distance apart.

¹⁵ Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 139.

¹⁶ Falck's taxonomy is unsatisfactory because it oversimplifies the range of musical and poetic resources available to the composer of a *conductus*. Anderson's attempt to come to terms with a typology for the polyphonic *conductus* ('Rhythm of *cum littera* Sections', 301) is severely hampered by the fact that his only criteria seem to be notation and rhythm. There is great scope here for a fuller account of the musical and poetic characteristics of the polyphonic *conductus*.

Table 2. Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*: Concordances

	S	F	W ₁	Ma	GB-Cjec	GB-Ob/ CH-Sz
<i>Iam vetus littera</i>	1r	272v–273v	142r–143r (151r–152r)	47r–48v		1r–v
<i>Fulget in propatulo</i>	1r–v	285r–286r	133r–134r (142r–143r)	51r–52v		
<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	2r–v	291r–292r	158r–159r (167r–168r)		8v	
<i>Dei sapientia</i>	2v	295v–296v				

sources, with one concordance in *GB-Ob* Auct.VI.Q.3.17, and one in the English collection, *GB-Cjc* QB 1.¹⁷

The handwriting and notation of the fragments are entirely consistent with other major sources for this repertory. The script is a *littera textualis media* that exhibits neither *formata* or *currens* tendencies. It has much in common with *F* in this respect, and stands apart a little from *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), which displays some examples of *littera textualis currens*. But in general terms, the handwriting is of a similar style to many of the sources of polyphony dating from the period *c.* 1225 to *c.* 1275.¹⁸ The same is true of the notation. The notational vocabulary is the same as that of *F* or *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), both for passages in *cum littera* and *sine littera* notation. Again, it is a little more formal than *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), with descending strokes more nearly approaching the vertical and solid shapes resembling squares more than rhombs.

¹⁷ See, for a description and partial facsimile of this manuscript, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Jesus College, Binding Fragments from MS QB 1', *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 47–51.

¹⁸ Standard accounts of Gothic bookhands are G. I. Lieftinck, 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique: essai s'appliquant spécialement aux manuscrits originaux des Pays-Bas médiévaux', *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du ix^e au xv^e siècle: premier colloque international de paléographie latine*, Paris 28–30 Avril 1953, no ed., *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: sciences humaines* 4 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), 15–34, summarized in James R. John, 'Latin Paleography', *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1976), 24–33. See also Bernhard Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1979; 2/1986), trans. Dáibhí O Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 127–36.

Table 3. *Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*: Comparative table of patterns of decoration*

Source	Beginning of composition	Subsequent stanzas
<i>F</i>	Minor initial (+gold leaf)	Calligraphic initial
<i>W</i> ₁	Minor initial	Painted monochrome letter
<i>W</i> ₂	Minor initial	Calligraphic initial
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 2615(2)	Initiale champie	Calligraphic initial
<i>Ma</i>	Minor initial	Calligraphic initial
<i>GB-Ob</i> Auct. VI.Q.3.17 CH-Sz S.231	Minor initial	Calligraphic initial
<i>S</i>	Minor initial	Painted monochrome letter
<i>D-F</i> Fragm.lat.VI.41	?	Calligraphic initial

The decoration of the manuscript consists of minor flourished initials for the beginnings of the pieces; these are in a decayed red and blue. Painted monochrome letters are provided for the beginnings of stanzas. Normally it is possible to isolate the decorative elements in the minor initials and to use them to get some grip on date and provenance.¹⁹ But the condition of the decoration is so poor that this option is not available here. This is unfortunate because this sort of analysis has been proved a powerful tool in the past.²⁰ Again, however, these types of initials are characteristic of most of the sources for this repertory (Table 3). Artists usually decorated the beginning of the piece with a minor initial, as is the case in *S*, and continued by illustrating the individual stanzas with a calligraphic initial. Here we have a painted monochrome letter, which is also the practice in *W*₁. Note that the two manuscripts with an identical page layout – *F* and *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) – have radically different ways of decorating the leaves that contain *conducti*. This suggests that *S* falls within the same Parisian orbit as most of these other sources.

The table of concordances for *S* shows that not only were *Iam vetus littera* and *Fulget in propatulo*, and *Genitus divinitus* and *Dei sapientia*, copied together, but also that the four pieces appear in the same order in *F* as they do in *S*. The adjacent works in *S* are, in *F*, separated by a number of pieces. This might offer some clues as to the size of the original manuscript from which *S* comes, assuming that the works come from a manuscript not dissimilar to the seventh fascicle of *F*. This may best be illustrated graphically (Fig. 1). A part of the seventh fascicle of *F* is represented by a horizontal line, to which are appended the folio numbers and the position of the *conducti* that are also preserved in *S*. Each *conductus* in the seventh fascicle of *F* takes up the recto

¹⁹ See Sonia Patterson, 'Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century', B.Litt. diss., University of Oxford (1969), partially published as Sonia Scott-Fleming (née Patterson), *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); *idem*, 'Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts', *The Library* ser. 5, 27 (1972), 23–30; *idem*, 'Minor Initial Decoration Used to Date the Propertius Fragment', *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), 235–47; 'An Attempt to Identify Matthew Paris as a Flourisher', *The Library* ser. 5, 32 (1977), 367–70; Johan Peter Gumbert, 'Et si on dessinait des fioritures?' *Gazette du livre médiéval* (Spring 1983), 9–12.

²⁰ For example Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews', 4–5.

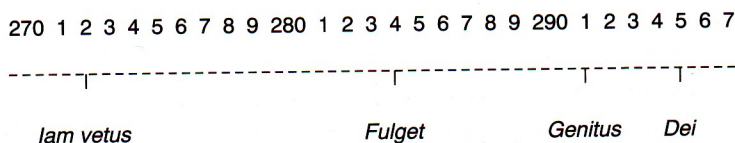


Fig. 1

and verso of one leaf; one leaf in this diagram therefore approximately equals one *conductus*. Inspection shows that between each of the two pairs of contiguous compositions in *S*, there are ten and three compositions respectively in *F*. Furthermore, between the two pairs of *conducti* in *S* are four works in *F*. This picture of the seventh fascicle of *F* encompasses about a quarter of the fascicle; we might therefore be tempted to conclude that the original manuscript, of which *S* is the only surviving relic, included a fascicle consisting of a minimum of sixteen two-part *conducti*. This figure assumes that the two leaves in *S* formed part of a single bifolium; if this were not the case, the number may well have been even larger.

Although it was left unsaid in Staehelin's description of *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41, the three-part works in that source also appear in the same order as they do in *F*; this may be illustrated in a similar way (Fig. 2). The three compositions in *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 are separated by three and four pieces respectively in *F*, and, since Figure 2 shows only a third of the sixth fascicle of *F*, it might be suggested that *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 originally gave a home to nine three-part *conducti*. These comments are based on an assumption that these compositions were routed through the 'Notre-Dame' and related manuscripts without reordering, an assumption that should not be allowed to pass unquestioned.²¹ Nevertheless, these sorts of enquiries give a useful sense of the possible scope of both *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 and *S*, even if more remains of the manuscripts are uncovered that lead to modification of these results.

The three-part *conducti* in *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 are worthy of mention alongside *S* because the sorts of observation that can be made about one apply equally to the other. If the two sources originally contained compressed versions of respectively the sixth and seventh fascicles of *F*, they may both have formed

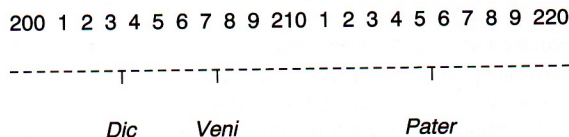


Fig. 2

²¹ This is, however, the clear basis on which Falck's conclusions rest: 'By studying concordance patterns, it has been possible to isolate a number of smaller repertories within each of the larger repertories, and to arrive at a fairly good estimate of the rôle in each repertory played by the *Magnus liber* and the Notre Dame school' (*Notre Dame Conductus*, p. 1).

parts of larger books that may have contained monophonic works – as does *F* – and motets, *clausulae* and *organa* – as do all three so-called ‘Notre-Dame’ manuscripts (*F*, *W*₁, *W*₂). This is important, because we can begin to make some speculative judgements not just about their contents, but also their quality, destination and cultural significance.

It is often possible to trace the history of a manuscript of thirteenth-century polyphony back as far as the mid- or late fifteenth century, before which evidence is simply not forthcoming. This is true of *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 and GB-Ob Auct.VI.Q.3.17/*CH-Sz* S.231, and even of *F*.²² In the case of *S*, it is impossible to trace the history of the manuscript back beyond the nineteenth century. The recent history of the fragments is straightforward. In the 1960s the host manuscript (now Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117) was in the hands of an unidentified English owner from Bognor Regis. The book was shown to the staff of the Bodleian Library, and the art historian Jonathan Alexander gave a brief description of the manuscript in a letter to the owner at that time. The letter is now lost. The manuscript came up for sale at Sotheby’s in the late 1980s,²³ and was purchased by an anonymous Belgian collector who put the book on the market again in 1992.²⁴ At this point it was bought by Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in whose Muniment Room it now resides. Nothing about its recent history before the 1960s is known.

The book of hours for which the *conductus* fragments served as a wrapper was copied and decorated in the Low Countries, probably Bruges or Ghent, in the early fifteenth century: the 1420s or 1430s.²⁵ It was destined for use, perhaps by a Dominican, within the archdiocese of Cologne.²⁶ The binding was put together only in the nineteenth century, and that is when the *conductus* fragments were first associated with the book.²⁷ The book of hours may have remained in the Rhineland from the early fifteenth century at least until its binding in the mid-nineteenth century. The *conductus* leaves may well have been appropriated

²² See the sources cited in notes 9–11 above.

²³ [Christopher de Hamel], ‘Book of Hours, of Dominican Use, in Latin, Illuminated Manuscript on Vellum (Flanders, First Half of Fifteenth Century)’, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* [Catalogue of Sale, 23 June 1987] (London: Sotheby’s, 1987), 203.

²⁴ [Christopher de Hamel], ‘Book of Hours, of Dominican Use, in Latin, Illuminated Manuscript on Vellum (Southern Netherlands, First Half of Fifteenth Century)’, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures including Illuminated Manuscripts formerly in the Collections of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart (1792–1872), Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), Major J. R. Abbey (1894–1969) and from the Estate of the Late J. A. Dortmund* [Catalogue of Sale, 7 December 1992] (London: Sotheby’s, 1992), 63.

²⁵ Its style of decoration is very close to that in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 241/127. See Nicholas Rogers, ‘The Miniature of St John the Baptist in Gonville and Caius MS 241/127 and its Context’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1992), 125–38.

²⁶ The Calendar is Dominican with SS Peter Martyr and Dominic. Also included are the Feast of 11,000 Virgins and St Severinus which suggest Cologne (de Hamel, ‘Book of Hours’ (see note 24), 63).

²⁷ The book has now been rebound and much of the original binding material is lost. One fragment of the nineteenth-century binding shows that a piece of mid- to late nineteenth-century Rhenish journal was cannibalized. All that is legible on this paper fragment is ‘...den und freuden rhenischer Missionare 18. . .’.

simply because some old pieces of parchment would have been thought suitable for binding a Gothic book of hours. There is nothing in the previous history of the host manuscript that can throw any light on the origins of the *conductus* fragments themselves.

Although such questions as those of date and provenance are clearly problematic, the nature of the fragments – the fact that they so clearly resemble other sources related to *F* – means that a date and origin similar to that of *F* probably will not be far wrong. Since the argument depends on *F*, its evidence is worth review. First, *F* was produced in tandem with at least one other book with which it shares its *mise-en-page*: *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2). Second, it was decorated, along with a large number of other manuscripts, in what has come to be known, slightly idiosyncratically, as the Johannes Grusch Atelier.²⁸ On the basis of the former evidence, it is reasonable to assume that both *F* and *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) were copied in an environment in which the multiple copying of music books was possible and necessary, and on the basis of the latter, that the books were decorated between 1245 and 1255. No one has successfully challenged this date.²⁹ But inferences about the Parisian origin of *F* are a little dangerous. Especially difficult is the assumption that, because the book was decorated in Paris, it was produced for a Parisian commission. In many respects, the content of *F* – especially the redaction of the *Magnus liber organi* which it contains – seems to point towards Paris. But as we make analogies with such sources as *S*, we need to exercise caution. A book could be produced in Paris for use outside the city, and evidence of this sort is common.³⁰ The style of production of *F*, and especially its connection with *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), seem to reinforce Paris as the origin for the book, but the inadequacy of our knowledge of the multiple production of any sort of book – let alone music books – before the establishment of the *pecia* system at the end of the thirteenth century rather reduces the value of this evidence.³¹ It is possible to assign a date to *S* that, by

²⁸ Robert Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24–30.

²⁹ Staehelin ('Conductus-Fragmente', 13–14 and note 15) has correctly pointed out that the colophon in Sarnen, Collegium, MS 16 was misinterpreted by Branner ('Johannes Grusch', 24 and 30). However, the erroneous date of 1267 hardly effects the issue since so many of the members of this group support mid-century datings. Two years later, Branner dropped the date from his description of the manuscript (*Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St Louis: A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1977), 223).

³⁰ Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 10 and note 45.

³¹ These considerations are discussed in Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 154–70, and, more generally, in Richard and Mary Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca.1250–ca.1350', *La Production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: exemplar et pecia*, ed. Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyet and Richard H. Rouse (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988), 41–114. In his reviews of *Polyphonic Music*, Huglo misunderstands the context in which my comments concerning the multiple production of music books in a world that preceded the *pecia* were set. He writes: 'Everist évoque . . . le système de production du livre universitaire connu sous le nom de *pecia*: à vrai dire, je n'ai rencontré qu'un seul bréviaire dominicain . . . qui utilise un tel procédé' (*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 36 (1993), 88; *Scriptorium*, 46 (1992), 149–50). This is hardly surprising

analogy with *F*, places it perhaps ten years either side of 1250. A search for its geographical origin demands a little more caution, and it is difficult to make any watertight claims regarding its provenance. Suggestions that these fragments offer any witness to the consumption of *conducti* are hampered by the absence of any clear sense of place.

The four *conducti* preserved in *S* exhibit a striking consistency both in their music and poetry. Although differences in transmission between this source and others are typical of the repertory in general, they may prompt some further thoughts. Four examples of differences between the versions of the *conducti* in *S* and those in concordant sources are instructive. Two of these concern the music, one the poetry, and one the text underlay. We may begin with the last of these.

Example 1 gives the last quarter of the final *cauda* of *Iam vetus littera*. In terms of notation, all sources agree, with the exception of some insignificant ligature groupings. The version of *S*, however, presents a variant in its text underlay. The *cauda* sets the middle syllable of the word 'concipit', and the final syllable appears under the final note in all sources. But in *S*, this syllable appears twice, and its additional appearance is marked in parentheses in Example 1. While some may see this as an indication that syllables may have been repeated during the course of these long melismas, it could also be explained in simple text-critical terms as a *saut du même en même*.³² In this type of error, two similar passages appear on the same leaf, and the scribe mistakes the first for the second. In

Example 1 shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff contains a melisma with a '5' above it. The bass staff contains the text '[conci -]' followed by a series of dashes and then '(- pit.) -'. The second system also consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff contains a melisma with '10', '15', and '20' above it. The bass staff contains a series of dashes followed by 'pit.'

Ex. 1

since the passage to which he alludes discusses only the position *before* the *pecia* system had been established and depended heavily on a pre-publication copy of Rouse and Rouse, 'Book Trade'. No attempt was made to ally the production of *F* and GB-Lbl Egerton 2615(2) with the *pecia*, as Huglo alleges.

³² Martin West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 24–5.

Example 1, this is transparent. There are four phrases that divide into an ABAB' pattern, laid out in the example with A and B on the upper staff, and A and B' (with its cadential extension) on the lower. More simply, the passage could be viewed as two identical two-phrase units, the second of which is cadentially varied. The extra syllable in *S* comes at the end of the first of these two units. Mistaking it for the second (a classic *saut du même en même*), the scribe added the final syllable of 'concipt' to the end of the first unit. Realizing his error, he correctly copied the second of the two-phrase units, and of course added the final syllable again. If he had not realized his error, the *cauda* would have ended after the second phrase and not the fourth – at perfection 8 rather than perfection 20. In fact, the only relic of the correction of his error is the fact that he forgot to erase the first underlaid syllable after he had realized his mistake.

The second example of a variant in *S* concerns two versions of the first stanza of the poem of *Genitus divinitus*. This is given below with, on the left, the version from *F* and, on the right, what is left of the version from *S*, the one other source that preserves the last line of the stanza.

<i>F</i>	<i>S</i>
Genitus divinitus,	[. . .
Idem, quod ingenitus,	. . .
Editus humanitus,	. . .]
Hac in valle gemitus.	Hac in valle gemitus.
Mira prolis unitas,	Mira prolis unitas,
Germinat nativitas.	Gemina nativitas.

The textual differences appear in the last line: 'Germinat nativitas' in *F* and 'Gemina nativitas' in *S*. Both readings are grammatically possible.³³ That of *F* means 'Wonderful unity of offspring, / Nativity flourishes', while *S* has 'Wonderful unity of offspring, / Two-fold nativity'. In many respects, the version of *S* makes more sense of the structure and content of the poem. The stanza closes with a pair of syntactically identical declarations that both end in *-itas*; this new rhyme marks off the last two lines from the four previous ones ending *-itus*. The reading in *S* elegantly summarizes the content of the rest of the stanza in a way that the version in *F* does not. The first part of the stanza in all sources identifies the divinely begotten and humanly unbegotten nature of Christ as one and the same, and stresses this correspondence with *genitus–ingenitus* at the beginning of the first and end of the second lines respectively. The last two lines in *S*, unlike those in *F*, contrast the singleness of the offspring with the twofold aspect of the nativity. It further sets up an assonance with *gemitus* in the fourth line, as well as *genitus* in lines 1 and 2. The reading in *S* is no less authoritative than that in *F*, and may carry even more textual significance. Thus it could be argued that the reading in *S* suggests a proximity to a central *milieu* at least as much as the one in *F*.

³³ No attempt was made to interfere with the readings of the poem by Guido Maria Dreves in his edition (*Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 20–1 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895), I, 70).

This claim may be supported by a third example that illustrates the musical tradition of *Fulget in propatulo*. Example 2 gives four readings of the same short passage from this *conductus*. They are taken, in order, from *F*, *W₁*, *Ma* and *S*. Two places in this extract call for comment. They are numbered with arrows in the example. The first of these variants – numbered 1 – simply concerns a change of pitch. The upper-voice ligature reads *f-e* in *F* and *S*, and *f-d* in *W₁* and *Ma*. This does nothing beyond suggesting a stemmatic tradition that separates the two pairs of manuscripts on the basis of a single variant. The second difference – numbered 2 – is more complicated. Note, first of all, the fact that the versions in *W₁* and *Ma* again agree with each other, in every respect except patterning

The image displays four staves of musical notation, each representing a different manuscript tradition (F, W₁, Ma, S) for a short passage from the *conductus* *Fulget in propatulo*. Each staff consists of a treble clef and a bass clef, with lyrics written below. The lyrics for F, W₁, and S are "Lux e - ter - ne glo - ri - e", while the lyrics for Ma are "Pax e - ter - ne glo - ri - e".

Two specific variants are highlighted with numbered arrows:

- Variant 1:** Indicated by an arrow pointing to the upper voice ligature in the first staff (F). The ligature reads *f-e* in F and S, and *f-d* in W₁ and Ma.
- Variant 2:** Indicated by an arrow pointing to the lower voice ligature in the second staff (W₁). This variant is more complicated, involving a change in the lower voice ligature.

The staves are numbered 5, 10, and 15, indicating the measure numbers. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ligatures.

Ex. 2

of ligatures and ornamentation – which are of course related. More interesting is the fact that *S* seems to be lacking a *longa* and a *brevis* when compared to *W₁* and *Ma*; this is marked with square brackets. Most interesting is that *F* lacks this music *in one voice only* – the *duplum* (again marked with square brackets). The *F* reading is in fact unperformable.

Despite their non-Parisian origins, *W₁* and *Ma* seem to preserve the version of variant 2 that most likely accords with the original form of the work, while *S* and *F* represent various stages of textual disturbance. These relationships are represented stemmatically in Figure 3. Conventional text-critical terminology is used in referring to the archetype as Ω , and to inferred sources as α , β and so on. Figure 3 implies that source α must have introduced some sort of variant into the copying tradition – perhaps just leaving out the *duplum* ligature. *F* then copied the variant and *S* registered the error, but instead of replacing the missing notes in the *duplum*, omitted the corresponding notes in the tenor. Alternatively, α may have had the *S* reading and dropped a passage in both parts; *F* may then have garbled the passage further by attempting to reinstate the passage. Of the two alternatives, the first is the simpler and consequently the more plausible. What is unlikely is that *F* and *S* independently introduced a textual disturbance in exactly the same place. It is also possible that α included the *f-e* ligature of variant 1, whereas Ω and its direct copies – *W₁* and *Ma* – had the version using *f-d*. This, however, would depend on which of these two readings was ‘correct’ – an impossible decision – and it might be that variant 1 should not after all be considered a significant error.

The final *cauda* of *Genitus divinitus* is the site of the fourth variant of significance. There are three sources for this work – *S*, *W₁* and *F* – and again *F* and *S* agree against *W₁*. The type of difference, however, cannot be attributed to copying or scribal error, but is a clear case of conscious editorial activity.

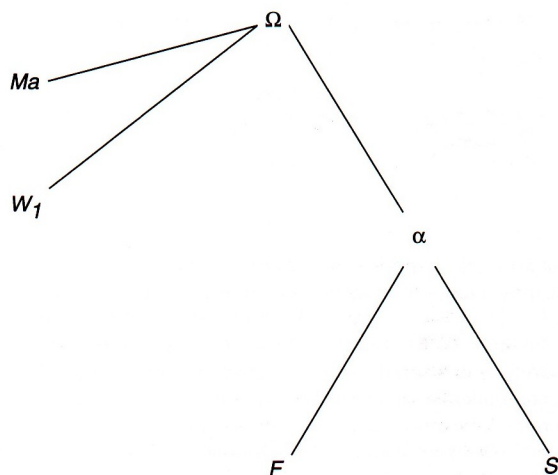


Fig. 3

Example 3 displays the ending of *Genitus divinitus*, from W_1 , F and S . This *conductus* closes with a *cauda* in the first rhythmic mode. It begins with an instance of *fractio modi* and decorates with *plicae*. The W_1 version includes a cadential passage over a sustained tenor note not found in other sources. This is a characteristic of *conductus* composition that has not received the attention it deserves. In effect it is a second type of *sine littera* composition, more akin to *organum duplum* than it is to *conductus*. Franco of Cologne describes such a practice at the end of sections in *discantus* – which is what he considers a *conductus* (and consequently a *cauda*) to be – and terms it a *punctus organicus*.³⁴ The example shows that neither F nor S have this *punctus organicus*. There is

The image displays three musical staves, each representing a different version of the ending of *Genitus divinitus*. Each staff consists of a treble and a bass clef. The first staff is labeled W_1 and includes a cadential passage over a sustained tenor note, marked with a box containing '1' and a downward arrow. The second staff is labeled F and the third is labeled S . All three staves are marked with '[A]' below the first staff.

Ex. 3

³⁴ Franco identifies *conductus* as a species of *discantus* as follows: 'Cum littera et sine fit discantus in conductis, et discantu aliquo ecclesiastico qui improprie organum appellatur' (Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, eds., *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 69), and positions his discussion of *punctus organicus* within the domain of *discantus* thus: 'Notandum quod tam in discantu quam in triplicibus etc. inspicienda est equipollentia in perfectionibus longarum, brevium et semibrevium, ita quod tot perfectiones in tenore habeantur quot in discantu vel in triplo etc., vel e converso, computando tam voces rectas quam obmissas usque ad penultimam, ubi non attenditur talis mensura, sed magis est organicus ibi punctus' (*ibid.*, 75).

nothing particularly significant about this in general terms. The *Ma* version of *Iam vetus littera*, for example, slashes the duration of the final *cauda* by more than a half. The *punctus organicus* in *W₁* is the only example in the work, and its omission in *F* and *S* imparts a higher level of stylistic consistency to the versions preserved in these manuscripts. Closer examination reveals that *S* shares with *W₁* the repeated *longae* at its cadence (marked with an arrow in the example) that are not present in *F*. So although *F* and *S* agree in general terms by omitting the *punctus organicus*, in one small but significant matter of detail *S* agrees with *W₁*. Furthermore, there is just about enough space at the end of the *S* version of *Genitus divinitus* to include, if the scribe had so wished, the *punctus organicus* that is found in *W₁*. This is visible in Plate 3b.

This may be nothing more than accident, and the scribe of *S* may not have had access to an exemplar that contained the *punctus organicus*. Alternatively, he may either have specifically chosen to leave out the passage, or indeed have copied it – in the same way as it appears in *W₁* – and then erased it. Unfortunately the fragment is too badly damaged to hazard a guess one way or another. The different readings at the end of the *cauda* of *Genitus divinitus* are contradictory. The absence of the *punctus organicus* allies *S* with *F*; conversely, the doubled *longae* at the surviving cadence links *S* with *W₁*. This mixture of textual impulse in this work again seems to suggest that *S* is at least as close to the centre of a stemmatic tradition as *F*.

All the variants just discussed lead to a conviction that *F* and *S* are not only related in their physical aspects but also in their textual traditions. It is of course dangerous to reach conclusions on the basis of so little evidence, and the fragmentary nature of *S* poses problems in this respect, but the evidence suggests that *S* and *F* follow similar textual routes through those works where there is enough surviving material to judge.

S is an important discovery and enhances our view of the thirteenth-century polyphonic *conductus*. The repertory is analogous to that of *F*, and may represent a systematic reduction of the contents of its seventh fascicle in the same way that *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 represent a slimming-down of the contents of the sixth. Date and provenance may be judged only by analogy with what is known about *F* and *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), but a mid-century date and a possible Parisian provenance are reasonable inferences. Textually, the readings in *S* reinforce this view. Since the systematic bibliographical work on the *conductus* culminating in 1981, the reconstruction of the *GB-Ob* Auct.VI.Q.3.17/CH-Sz S.231 source has yielded a few concordances for monophonic and two-part works from a source clearly outside the Parisian orbit, and *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 has offered evidence of what was probably a central source for the three-part *conductus*. As a central source for the two-part *conductus*, *S* can take its place as the third member of a triumvirate that bears witness to the flourishing interest in the *conductus* in thirteenth-century France.

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 117*

Description

I HEADING. 1. Pressmark: MS 117*; 2. Summary of Contents: four two-part *conducti*; 3. Date and Origin: s.xiii med., France; 4. Provenance: ?Paris.

II CONTENTS. All compositions notated in score with text under the tenor. All are fragmentary. 1. *Iam vetus littera*, fol. 1r; 2. *Fulget in propatulo*, fols. 1r-v; 3. *Genitus divinitus*, fols. 2r-v; 4. *Dei sapientia*, fol. 2v.

III PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION. A. *Make-up of the MS*. 1. Number of Leaves: 2; 2. Foliation: none; 3. Materials: two membrane leaves. Rectos badly worn and versos slightly damaged by adhesive. Tapered turn-ins on rectos are less worn. Fol. 1 lacks staves 1-3, fol. 2 lacks staves 1-5. Margins on both are cropped; 4. Overall Leaf Dimensions [reconstructed]: 230 mm × 165 mm; 5. Dimensions of Written Block: 180 mm × 113 mm; 6. Columns and Lines [reconstructed]: twelve single-column staves per page organized into six systems of two staves each. Each system has a single line of text at the bottom. Staves of four and five lines with gauges of 8 mm and 10 mm respectively (red ink); 7. Quiring: ?²; 8. Sheet Arrangement: ?; 9. Pricking: None visible; 10. Ruling: Oxidized dry-point ruling visible. One ruling per system supporting text. Rulings 30 mm apart; 11. Quire Signatures and Leaf Signatures: None; 12. Catchwords: None. B. *Handwriting and Notation*. 1. Script: One scribe throughout. *Littera textualis media*. Ascenders are flourished to the left, descenders to the right. Facing bows overlap, but do not share overlapping strokes. *A* is open; bow of *B* is cursive; *E* ends in hairline moving to top right; *G* in two closed compartments; *I* is dotted in minim groups; *R* is unligated with bow of previous letter, and penultimate stroke ends below the line; medial *S* is straight, terminal *S* is mixed; 2. Guide Letters: ink indication for monochrome letter on fol. 1v; 3. Rubrics: None; 4. Changes of Scribe: None; 5. Colophons etc.: None; 6. Contemporary Marginalia: None; 7. Notational Style: Black modal notation for *caudae* of *conducti* (*sine littera*); *cum littera* notation for texted sections of works. Notational symbols have no distinguishing characteristics. C. *Decoration*. 1. Minor Initials: monochrome letters on fol. 1v (blue), fol. 2r (red and blue), fol. 2v (blue); used for beginnings of second and subsequent stanzas; flourished minor initials fol. 1r (blue with red filigree), fol. 2v (red with blue, badly discoloured); 2. Illuminated Initials and Borders: None; 3. Historiated Initials: None; 4. Miniatures: None. D. *Binding*: Currently mounted between card boards. E. *Secundo folio: hac in valle*.

IV PROVENANCE. 1. Recipient: Not known; 2. Later Owners: unidentified private German owner, s.xix ?med; unidentified English owner, s.xx med.; unidentified Belgian owner, s.xx ex.