

# *GORDON ATHOL ANDERSON*

(1929-1981)

*In Memoriam*

von seinen  
Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen

*Teil I*

Bent – Gillingham



Institute of Mediæval Music, Ltd  
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# Inhaltsverzeichnis

## Band I

Media Vita in Morte . . . . .	i	
Veröffentlichungen von Gordon Athol Anderson . . . . .	xxx	
<b>BENT,</b> Margaret	The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves from a Royal English Choirbook . . . . .	1
<b>ČERNÝ,</b> Jaromír	Pozůstatky ars antiqua v českých zemích . . . . .	55
<b>DEUSEN,</b> Nancy van	Manuscript and «Milieu:» Illustration in Liturgical Music Manuscripts . . . . .	71
<b>DITTMER,</b> Luther A.	Ludwigs Nachträge zum zweiten Bande des Repertoriums . . . . .	87
<b>EVERIST</b> Mark E.	A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century <i>Conductus</i> . . . . .	97
<b>FISCHER,</b> Kurt von	A Study on Text Declamation in Francesco Landini's Two Part Madrigals . . . . .	109
<b>FLINDELL,</b> Fred	Conductus in the Later Ars Antiqua . . . . .	131
<b>ГЕРЦМАН</b> Евгений Владимирович	Античная музыкальная акустика о резонансе . . . . .	205
<b>GILLINGHAM,</b> Bryan	St-Martial Polyphony — A Catalogue Raisonné . . . . .	211

## Abbildungen

Canberra, <i>National Library of Australia,</i> Ms 4052/2 recto . . . . .	33
Canberra, <i>National Library of Australia,</i> Ms 4052/2 verso . . . . .	34
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 89 verso . . . . .	35
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 89 recto . . . . .	36
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 90 verso . . . . .	37
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 90 recto . . . . .	38
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 91 verso . . . . .	39
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 91 recto . . . . .	40
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 92 verso . . . . .	41
Oxford, <i>Magdalen College,</i> Ms 267, f. 92 recto . . . . .	42

Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms 192, f. 28 verso . . . . .	43
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms 192, f. 28 recto . . . . .	44
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms 192, f. 27a recto . . . . .	45
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms 192, f. 27a recto . . . . .	46
Cambridge, <i>University Library</i> , Ms Add. 5963, f. 8 recto . . . . .	47
Cambridge, <i>University Library</i> , Ms Add. 5963, f. 8 verso . . . . .	48
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms Don b.31 recto . . . . .	49
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms Don b.31 verso . . . . .	50
Cambridge, <i>University Library</i> , Ms Add. 4435, ff. 16a, 16c. 16b, 16d recto . . . . .	51
Cambridge, <i>University Library</i> , Ms Add. 4435, ff. 16a, 16c. 16b, 16d verso . . . . .	52
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms Don b.32 recto . . . . .	53
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , University College, Ms Don b.32 verso . . . . .	54
Paris, <i>Bibliothèque nationale</i> , fonds latin 9449, f. 34 verso . . . . .	74
Hradec Králové, <i>Museum</i> , Ms II.A.6 [olim 43], f. 1 recto . . . . .	77
Hradec Králové, <i>Museum</i> , Ms II.A.6 [olim 43], f. 28 recto . . . . .	78
Hradec Králové, <i>Museum</i> , Ms II.A.6 [olim 43], ff. 28 & 53b recto . . . . .	79
Hradec Králové, <i>Museum</i> , Ms II.A.2 [olim 40], f. 8 verso . . . . .	80
Estergom, [Gran], <i>Chapter Library</i> , Ms I,3, f. 292 recto . . . . .	81
Autun, <i>Bibliothèque municipale</i> , Ms S 165, f. 9 recto . . . . .	82
Firenze, <i>Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana</i> , pluteo 29,1, f. 176 recto . . . . .	92
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , Auct. VI Q.3.17, Einbanddeckel, vorne . . . . .	115
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , Auct. VI Q.3.17, Einbanddeckel, hinten . . . . .	116
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , Auct. VI Q.3.17, Rectoseite . . . . .	117
Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i> , Auct. VI Q.3.17, Versoseite . . . . .	118
Wolfenbüttel, <i>Herzog August- Bibliothek</i> , Ms 628, ff. 116 verso & 117 recto . . . . .	133

Mark E. Everist / London

Sources for the thirteenth-century *conductus* appear to divide into two groups. The four so-called Notre-Dame manuscripts, Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1, Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, 628, Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, 1099, and Madrid, *Biblioteca nacional*, 20486, may be placed geographically and chronologically<sup>1</sup> and are large enough to permit a discussion as to the historical nature of the répertoire which they contain;<sup>2</sup> the remaining sources are fragmentary<sup>3</sup> and offer only that information which may be gleaned from their musical or literary texts. The object of this study is to examine two known sets of fragments in Oxford and Solothurn contained in the following volumes: Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17<sup>4</sup> and Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231;<sup>5</sup> in terms of numbers of compositions, they form part of a reconstruction of a source which is larger than most of the fragmentary sources but smaller than the intact Notre-Dame manuscripts. Unlike most of the fragments, this reconstructed source gives several clues to its origins.

1 Recent studies which attempt to throw light on the problems of provenance and dating in these sources include Rebecca Baltzer, «Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript,» *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. XXV (1972), pp. 1-18 and Edward Roesner, «The Origins of W<sub>1</sub>,» *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. XXIX (1976), pp. 337-380. The latter should be used in conjunction with the following *correctorium*: Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, «Further Observations on W<sub>1</sub>,» *The Journal of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society*, vol. IV (1981), pp. 53-80. See further p. 110 and footnote 39 concerning Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1.

2 The most recent examination of the *conductus* répertoire is Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, (Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1981). This study expands and supersedes Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame-Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. II (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939).

3 Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, pp. 140-152 lists nearly 100 sources for the *conductus*, nearly all of which are fragmentary

4 A copy of the *Scrutinium scripturarum* by Paulus de Sancta Maria. See Robert Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500 with Notes of Those in the Bodleian Library*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1898) vol. i, p. 39. The Bodleian Library in Oxford records that, of the four copies it now holds, three were purchased successively in 1837, 1840, and 1841. It seems likely that, even if Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 is not one of these three, it was acquired around this date. See L. A. Sheppard, *Catalogue of XVth Century Books in the Bodleian Library*, 7 vols. (Oxford: photographic reproduction of Ms slips, n.d.) vol. i, N° 141.

5 A miscellany of works either composed by or attributed to Bernard of

Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 was brought to the notice of the musicological world when the then keeper of the Bodleian Library, Richard Hunt, informed Gilbert Reaney of two pastedowns containing French thirteenth-century polyphony in the binding of a late fifteenth-century *incunabulum*. In 1961, Reaney published an inventory of the polyphony.<sup>6</sup> This was reprinted, in a condensed form with a preface, in his 1966 *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* inventory.<sup>7</sup> Reaney identified parts of five two-part *conductus* all known from the seventh fascicle of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1, the ninth fascicle of Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, 628, and the third fascicle of Madrid, *Biblioteca nacional*, 20486.<sup>8</sup> Since he did not examine the manuscript at first hand, Reaney was not able to look in greater detail at the *incunabulum*:

«I am indebted to Dr. R. T. [sic] Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, for the indications of compositions and positions on folios, for I have not yet been able to see the original pages».<sup>9</sup>

In fact, there are 23 parchment fragments in the book, in addition to the two pastedowns already known. They are found in the centres of each of the 22 quires with one between the two paper flyleaves at the front of the volume. Each measures 274 mm. by between 3 mm. and 5 mm. and is a slice cut laterally from a *bifolium*; consequently there is music from two *folia* on each fragment.

Table 1 lists the newly discovered fragments with notes of the texts and notation on each and identifies the texts where possible. Ext(ernal) and Int(ernal) refer to the sides of the fragment which are visible and facing the book's pages respectively. Clearly, then, many of the int(ernal) parts of the fragments are pasted to the page of the parent volume; in these cases, the text is illegible. A) and B) refer to the bottom and top of the *bifolium* respectively (with the parent volume the correct way up).

Clairvaux. See Alphons Schönherr, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn*. (Solothurn: Verlag der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, 1964), pp. 19-23; Alphons Schönherr, *Verklungene Welt: was alte Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn erzählen*, Veröffentlichungen der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, vol. 1 (Solothurn: Verlag der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn, 1954) pp. 19-20. *Confer* also *infra* p. 111.

6 Gilbert Reaney, «Some Little-Known Sources of Medieval Polyphony in England,» *Musica Disciplina*, vol. XV (1961), p. 20.

7 Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th—Early 14th Century)*, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B IV*<sup>1</sup> (München/Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), p. 527.

8 A list of concordances in the four major sources for all the pieces discussed in this study and references to a more complete listing of concordances and modern editions are given *infra* in Table 2, p. 107.

9 Gilbert Reaney, «Some Little-Known Sources of Medieval Polyphony in England,» *Musica Disciplina*, vol. XV (1961), p. 20.

Table 1

$\alpha$ :	(between flyleaves at front).
ext. a)	<i>[peritu]-re et humanam preposuit angelice</i> + <i>tenor</i> notation and part of <i>duplum</i> for following system = end of second stanza of <i>Puer nobis</i> .
ext. b)	<i>[de]-solato primo nostri</i> + <i>tenor</i> notation and part of <i>duplum</i> for the following system = beginning of first stanza of <i>Fraude ceca</i> .
int. a)	pasted down.
int. b)	<i>[tes]-ta condita dum lucerna fecundatur per quam</i> (text only visible) = part of second stanza of <i>Fraude ceca</i> .

\* \* \* \* \*

1:	(in centre of quire 1)
ext. a)	notation but no text visible.
ext. b)	notation but no text visible.
int. a)	pasted down.
int. b)	pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

2:	(in centre of quire 2 etc.)
ext. a)	<i>[reforma]-vit qui celos inclinavit et tenebras calcavit nam</i> + <i>tenor</i> notation and part of <i>duplum</i> for following system = part of second stanza of <i>Puer nobis</i> .
ext. b)	<i>[reforma]-tur dragma diu perdita in qua regis sigilla-[tur]</i> + <i>tenor</i> notation and part of <i>duplum</i> for the following system = part of second stanza of <i>Fraude ceca</i> .
int. a)	pasted down.
int. b)	<i>[re]-dundavit posteris sub merore desiccato corruptele</i> (text only visible) = part of first stanza of <i>Fraude ceca</i> .

\* \* \* \* \*

3-6:	Fragments 3-6 are either blank or too tightly bound/pasted down to allow description.
------	---

\* \* \* \* \*

7:

ext. a) *pristine caligine demersos vetustatis* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* of the following system = second stanza of *Puer nobis*.

ext. b) *[sigilla]-tur forma celo cogni-[ta]* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = end of second stanza of *Fraude ceca*.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down (but probably part of *Fraude ceca*).

\* \* \* \* \*

8:

ext. a) *Adam deformavit nos Christus reforma-[vit]* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = part of second stanza of *Puer nobis*.

ext. b) *semita mulieri reforma-[tur]* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = part of second stanza of *Fraude ceca*.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down (but probably part of *Fraude ceca*).

\* \* \* \* \*

9:

ext. a) no text or notation visible.

ext. b) no text or notation visible.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

**10:**

ext. a) *qui pro te cedi conspui et crucifigi volui et tu pro* + part of *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* of the following system = part of first stanza of *Quid ultra tibi*.

ext. b) text and notation obscured by stitching.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

**11:** Fragment 11 is too tightly bound or pasted down to allow identification.

\* \* \* \* \*

**12:**

ext. a) *et abeas et nec te sic habeas ut applaudas vitiis* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = part of eighth stanza of *Aristippe quamvis*.

ext. b) *in hac valle* (text *residuum*)—unidentified.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

**13-14:** Fragments 13 and 14 are too tightly bound or pasted down to allow for identification.

\* \* \* \* \*

**15:**

ext. a) *nec cogitant de crastino beati qui non implicant se curis tem-[poralibus]* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* of the following system = part of third stanza of *Bonum est confidere*.

ext. b) notation but no text visible.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

16:

ext. a) *exterminet ut Saulem eliminat David* + part of *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* of the following system = end of 2nd stanza of *Rex et sacerdos*.

ext. b) *Antei Libyci luctam sustinuit casus sophisticus fraudes cohibuit* + *tenor* notation) and part of *duplum* for the following system = beginning of fifth stanza of *Olim sudor*.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

17:

ext. a) no text or notation visible.

ext. b) no text or notation visible.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

18:

ext. a) *hominis o mira novitas et novum gaudium matris integritas*] + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = end of first stanza and refrain of *Beata viscera*.

ext. b) *Si vis vera frui luce in preclara Christi cruce* + *tenor* notation and part of *duplum* for the following system = beginning of first stanza of *Si vis vera*. Also *hostem repellas logicum* (text *residuum*)—unidentified.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

19:

ext. a) *[oti]-is venereis laborum memoriam et gloriam inclinat amor (text residuum) = end of sixth stanza + indication for the refrain of *Olim sudor*.*

ext. b) *[cin]-gebar capulo vas es collisum figulo fortior ille vasculo franget + tenor notation and part of duplum for the following system = part of third stanza of *Rex et sacerdos*.*

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

20:

ext. a) no text or notation visible.

ext. b) no text or notation visible.

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

21:

ext. a) *[vin]-citur et vincitur dum labitur magna Iovis soboles ad Io-[les] + tenor notation and part of duplum for the following system = part of fifth stanza of *Olim sudor*.*

ext. b) *quem feci baculo conversus in me gladius cuius cin-[gebar] + tenor notation and part of duplum for the following system = part of third stanza of *Rex et sacerdos*.*

int. a) pasted down.

int. b) pasted down.

\* \* \* \* \*

## 22:

- ext. a) part of the musical text of the *duplum* of the first stanza of *Si vis vera + residuum* of the previous composition.
- ext. b) *veste sub altera vim celans numinis ditavit federa dei + duplum* for the following system = part of first stanza of *Beata viscera*.
- int. a) pasted down.
- int. b) *maris tumo glori* (text only) = unidentified, but probably part of the same piece as the *residuum* of fragment 18 ext. b. See above.

\* \* \* \* \*

Many of the omissions in Table 1 result from the Bodleian Library's reluctance to disbind the *incunabulum* and remove the music fragments. Such a course of action would undoubtedly destroy the fifteenth-century blind-stamped binding which is of as much importance for the history of fifteenth-century German book-production as the musical fragments are to musicology.<sup>10</sup>

The fragments of the text suggest that there is evidence of one more polyphonic *conductus* (*Fraude ceca*) and seven monophonic *conductus*, making a total of thirteen compositions.<sup>11</sup> Identification of the texts from other sources allows a reconstruction of part of the original thirteenth-century manuscript.

The two *bifolia* pasted down at the beginning and end of the volume form part of the same quire; they must originally have been adjacent since *Iam vetus littera* runs from page two<sup>12</sup> (part of one *bifolium*) to page three (part of the other *bifolium*). Pages two and three must therefore have been *verso* and *recto* respectively. Neither of the two *bifolia* could have been the centre of the quire since the two possible insides of the *bifolia* (pages four to five or eight to one)<sup>13</sup> do not have a continuous text running from bottom-right-*verso* to top-left-*recto*. Consequently, there are two possibilities for a codicological reconstruction:

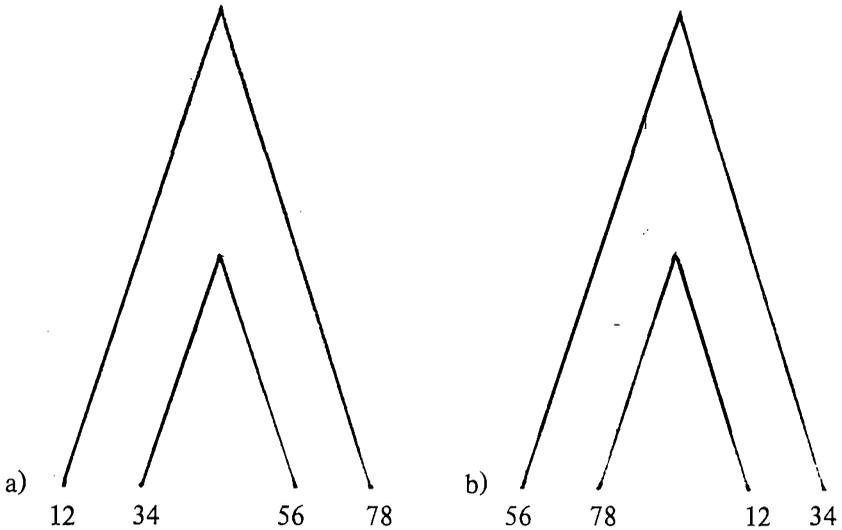
10 See the inventory of blind-stamped bindings in Ernst Kyriß, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Max Hettler Verlag, 1951-1958).

11 See the upper part of Table 2 *infra* p. 107.

12 The page numbers are those in pencil at top-right-*recto* and top-left-*verso* and are those used in Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th—Early 14th Century)*, p. 527.

13 Whoever originally paginated the manuscript had clearly thought that only one of the two possible configurations of the *bifolia* was possible.

Figure 1



Four of the fragments containing two-part works appear to form part of another *bifolium*. Fragments three, eight, seven, and  $\alpha$ , in that order, represent part of a *bifolium* which has clear points of contact with the two intact *bifolia* as both the reconstructed *bifolium* and one of the two pastedowns contain parts of *Puer nobis*. Since there are two possible ways of ordering the two *bifolia* at the beginning and end of the *incunabulum*, there are also two ways of relating the reconstructed *bifolium* to it: either it forms the centre of the quire or it forms the outside of a quire of eight leaves of which the central two are now lost. The limited state of preservation of the third *bifolium* makes it impossible to determine which of these two possibilities is more valid.

It is more difficult to reconstruct the fragments containing monophonic compositions. Fragments 22 and 18 clearly belong together as do 16, 19, and 21. But it seems impossible to establish whether they are parts of the same *bifolium* or taken from two different ones. Whether there is any codicological connection between the portions of the manuscript containing two-part compositions and those preserving monophonic works is an interesting question,<sup>14</sup> since the only intact manuscript with a large number of monophonic compositions, Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1, places them in a separate fascicle at the end of the manuscript away from the polyphonic items.

Whilst the reconstruction of the original thirteenth-century manuscript leaves many problems unsolved, there is no shortage of evidence for the provenance of the parent *incunabulum*. This *ex libris* appears at the end of the volume in a fifteenth-century cursive hand:

14 *Confer infra* p. 108.

Codex *beatissime* virginis Marie in Mulbron. Comparatus sub  
Johannes Riescher de Laudenburg abbate ibidem anno Domini  
1473.<sup>15</sup>

The text was prepared in 1473 at the Cistercian abbey of Maulbronn for the abbot, Johannes Riescher de Laudenburg.<sup>16</sup> Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 was, therefore, put together and bound in Maulbronn in 1473. Since the pastedowns and strips in the centre of each quire are integral parts of the binding, it must have been at this time that they were first associated with this book.<sup>17</sup>

Another fifteenth-century volume from the Cistercian abbey of Maulbronn survives which also contains fragments of thirteenth-century polyphony as pastedowns in the binding. Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 was the subject of a study made by Jürg Stenzl in 1973,<sup>18</sup> in which six two-part *conductus* were recovered and studied in detail. Stenzl observed the colophon in the manuscript which showed that it had been copied by Johannes Fabri de Bretheim, a Cistercian monk from the abbey of Maulbronn, who had matriculated at the University of Heidelberg in 1471.<sup>19</sup> The striking similarity of date and place of origin of the two parent volumes is reinforced by their identical bindings<sup>20</sup> and suggests that the manuscript containing the polyphony might have been broken-up and used at the same time by the same binder and might, in fact, be parts of the same thirteenth-century manuscript. A detailed examination of the two sets of fragments shows that this is most probably the case.

15 Book of the house of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Maulbronn. Prepared under Johannes Riescher de Laudenberg, abbot of that house, in the year of our Lord 1473.

16 Eduard Paulus, *Die Cisterzienser-Abtei Maulbronn*, Württembergischer Alterthums-Verein vol. II/3, 3rd edition (Stuttgart: Karl Ane Verlag, 1879), p. 38. Johannes Riescher was abbot from 1475 to 1488 and again in 1504.

17 As far as it is possible to establish, the stitching (and hence the binding-strips) are contemporary with the fifteenth-century binding.

18 Jürg Stenzl, «Eine unbekannte Notre Dame- Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente,» *Die Musikforschung*, vol. XXVI (1973), pp. 311-321.

19 Jürg Stenzl, «Eine unbekannte Notre Dame- Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente,» *Die Musikforschung*, vol. XXVI (1973), p. 311.

20 There is no binding illustrated in Kyriß, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, which matches that of Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 or Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231. The closest examples are found in Kyriß, vol. ii, plates 193-194 and vol. iii, plates 305-306. The front and back binding-boards of Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 are shown here as plates i and ii on pages 115 and 116. The fact that both parent sources for the manuscript were bound by the same binder, coupled with the fact that both books were prepared for the abbey of Maulbronn, strongly suggests an in-house binder. The work of this binder does not appear anywhere else and, whilst this is an argument *ex silentio*, further suggests work executed within the abbey itself.

The script, decoration, and size of the written-block all correspond exactly in the two sets of fragments. The angled notation of the *scandicus* and *climacus* shapes, a peculiarity of Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 not observed by Stenzl in 1973,<sup>21</sup> is also evident in Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17. On strictly palæographical grounds, therefore, there can be no doubt that the two sets of fragments do indeed originate from the same thirteenth-century manuscript. Table 2 inventories all the works in the source, giving notes on concordances in the major sources<sup>22</sup> and references to the indices and editions published by Gordon Athol Anderson<sup>23</sup> and Robert Falck.<sup>24</sup>

Table 2

Falck	<i>Auct. VI. Q.3.17</i>	<i>Pluteo 29,1</i>	<i>Wolfenb. 677</i>	<i>Madrid 20486</i>	Anderson
184	1. In rosa vernat	694	236	24	H9 [172]
167	2. Iam vetus littera	695	259	20	H24 [174]
67	3. Condimentum	698	234	19	H8 [172]
276	4. Puer nobis est	691	260	11	H25 [174]
266	5. Pater noster	700	254	18	H19 [173]
133	6. Fraude ceca	688	238	10	G4 [169]
250	7. Olim sudor	fol. 417 <sup>r</sup> -417 <sup>v</sup>			K4 [188]
42	8. Beata viscera	fol. 422 <sup>r</sup> -422 <sup>v</sup>			K14 [190]
329	9. Si vis vera	fol. 431 <sup>v</sup>			K40 [194]
308	10. Rex et sacerdos	fol. 435 <sup>v</sup> -436 <sup>r</sup>			K49 [196]
288	11. Quid ultra tibi	fol. 423 <sup>r</sup>			K17 [191]
19	12. Aristippe	fol. 416 <sup>r</sup> -417 <sup>r</sup>			K3 [188]
50	13. Bonum est	fol. 430 <sup>r</sup> -430 <sup>v</sup>			K37 [194]
<i>Solothurn S. 231</i>					
29	1. Ave Maria gratia	705	253	28	G7 [170]
23	2. Auctor vite	693	242	16	H13 [172]
303	3. Relegata	699	258	12	H23 [174]
127	4. Flos de spina	719	267	36	H29 [175]
80	5. De nature fracto	718	248		I18 [178]
203	6. Magnificat anima	717	239	35	H10 [172]

21 But observed in a letter to the author of 27th April 1982. These note-shapes are visible in plates iii and iv on pages 117 and 118.

22 See *supra* p. 97. Numberings for Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1, Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, 628, and Madrid, *Biblioteca nacional*, 20486 correspond to those used in Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th—Early 14th Century)*.

23 Gordon A. Anderson, «Notre-Dame and Related Conductus—A Catalogue Raisonné,» *Miscellanea musicologica*, vol. VI (1972), pp. 153-229 and vol. VII (1975), pp. 1-81. This study is an essential guide to a modern edition of all the music discussed here: Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, 11 vols. [Institute of Mediæval Music] Collected Works/Gesamtausgaben Vol./Band X (Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1979-) [Vols. 3, 5, 6, and 8 have appeared to date].

24 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, pp. 178-256.

Table two demonstrates that the répertoire consists of both monophonic and polyphonic *conductus*. The polyphonic contents of the répertoire are split between both sets of fragments and are clearly complementary.

All the two-part compositions in the partially-reconstructed répertoire are found in the seventh fascicle of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1. Robert Falck has suggested<sup>25</sup> that the four historiated initials in this fascicle (on fols. 263, 299, 336, and 349) mark-off four different collections of two-part *conductus*. Concerning the first of these groups, he concludes:

«This group is made up entirely of melismatic, highly elaborate pieces, with no topical pieces or contrafacta among them. This is the central, *Magnus liber* repertory, and.... stands at the beginning of the fascicle.»<sup>26</sup>

Falck's Table 17<sup>27</sup> gives a list of concordances for this first group of 30 compositions in the seventh fascicle of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1. The concordances from Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 are omitted,<sup>28</sup> however, although the manuscript is listed in Falck's list of sources.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, all the compositions then known to exist in Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 are shown to form part of this group. The inclusion of the compositions from Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 would have shown that they cut across the first two subdivisions of the seventh fascicle of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 and the source taken as a whole (Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 and Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231) cuts across not only Falck's subdivisions of the seventh and tenth<sup>30</sup> fascicles of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 but also the division of the manuscript into fascicles which preserve different types of composition.

Falck stresses the fact that the works in the first group are transferred, almost in their entirety, to the ninth fascicle of Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, 628 and the third fascicle of Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional*, 20486. He believes that the Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 transmissions of the pieces are the original, cen-

25 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, p. 70.

26 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, pp. 70-71.

27 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, pp. 96-97.

28 This causes particular damage not only to Falck's Table 17 but also to his Table 18, describing the second subdivision of the fascicle (*The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, pp. 96-97 and 100).

29 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, p. 150. Stenzl, «Eine unbekannte Notre Dame- Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente,» became available to Falck only after his manuscript had been dispatched to his publisher. A reference to the article appears in Falck, p. 137 as a later addition and out of alphabetical sequence. Information supplied to the author 8th April 1982.

30 *Confer infra*, p. 109.

tral compositions. He uses the fact that two of the four pieces mentioned by Anonymous IV<sup>31</sup> occur in this collection. Both these works are contained in Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 and Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 and this further suggests that the two-part works in the reconstructed source are of a central origin.

The pattern of concordance distribution is less clear in the case of the monophonic compositions in this répertoire. All the pieces are concordant to compositions in the tenth fascicle of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 but fall into both Falck's first and second subdivisions of the fascicle.<sup>32</sup> Falck suggests that the first subdivision is of central origin, especially since it contains *Beata viscera*, the Perotinian *conductus simplex* described by Anonymous IV.<sup>33</sup> As in the two-part répertoire, this piece is preserved in the reconstructed source. A problem clearly exists in that the contents of the reconstructed source appear to cut across not only Falck's subdivision of both the seventh and tenth fascicles but also the subdivision of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 itself into fascicles. This raises the question as to what relationship the reconstructed source bears to the main Parisian sources; was it an anthology similar to Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1,<sup>34</sup> a répertoire selectively extracted from such an anthology or even, perhaps, one of its exemplars?

Two types of composition are certainly represented but the codicological relationship which they bear to each other is difficult to establish. The two-part *conductus*: *Fraude ceca* is copied with a major decorated letter at the beginning of the text,<sup>35</sup> this allows the possibility that it is either the first of a collection of two-part *conductus*, possibly preceded by a different genre, or the first in a subdivision of a larger group of similar works. The former assertion would suggest a source in which two-part and monophonic works appear in the same quire whilst the latter would possibly indicate that the works were preserved in different quires or different fascicles and thus constitute a type of anthology. Since it is impossible to indicate whether any music preceded *Fraude ceca*, this question must remain open.

Whilst it is difficult to specify more exactly the size of the contents or the nature of the source reconstructed from Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 and Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231, evidence concerning the original thirteenth-century provenance of the manuscript gives further clues as to the relationship of this source to central, Parisian répertoires.<sup>36</sup>

31 Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, vols. 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967), vol. i, p. 82.

32 Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, p. 120.

33 Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, vol. i, p. 46.

34 As defined by Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, p. ii.

35 Fragment  $\alpha$  ext. b listed in Table 1, p. 99.

36 A search through all extant manuscripts and *incunabula* known to be at the

If it is more or less certain that this reconstructed source for the thirteenth-century *conductus* was used as binding material in books belonging to the Cistercian abbey of Maulbronn in the 1470's, its previous history, origins, and subsequent movements are more difficult to assess. An examination of the handwriting and decoration of the manuscript suggests a date of between 1230 and 1260 and a geographical origin somewhere in the east of present-day France.<sup>37</sup>

The implications of the palæography raise problems for the interpretation of the source since there is a dichotomy between its peripheral provenance<sup>38</sup> and the Parisian provenance of Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1, the manuscript in which the compositions appear to originate.<sup>39</sup> Such a phenomenon invites comment as to the exact location of this peripheral position.

abbey of Maulbronn in the last quarter of the fifteenth century has yielded no further fragments of the *conductus*-manuscript. See Wolfgang Irtenkauf and Eberhard Gohl, *Kloster Maulbronn 1178-1978*, 2 vols. [bound in one] (Maulbronn: Seminarenphorat Maulbronn, 1978). I am also grateful for the advice offered by Dr. Sigrid Kramer (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München) concerning this matter.

37 This assessment is based on the observations of four palæographers. I would like to thank Prof. Richard Rouse (University of California, Los Angeles), Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield (Bodleian Library, Oxford), Dr. Andrew Watson (University College, London), and Mrs. Sonia Patterson (Linacre College, Oxford) for offering their comments on the handwriting and decoration of this source.

38 «Periphery» is here defined in strictly geographical terms, in opposition to Parisian or «central». The latter two terms, in the present context, are deemed synonymous. This is at variance with the conventional picture of centre and periphery given in the «Introduction to Symposium: „Peripherie“ und „Zentrum“ in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts,» *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Berlin 1974*, ed. Hellmut Kuhn and Peter Nitsche (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1980), pp. 19-20.

39 Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1. Baltzer, «Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript,» *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. XXV (1972), p. 15 has suggested a dating of between 1245 and 1255 on the basis of the manuscript's illuminated initials. Léopold Delisle, «Discours,» *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, vol. XXII (1885), p. 102 suggested Parisian provenance and was supported by Friedrich Ludwig, «Über den Entstehungsort der großen „Notre Dame- Handschriften“,» *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1930), p. 46, working in collaboration with the German art-historian Georg Vitzthum. «In conclusion, *F* must still be regarded as the central source of Notre-Dame music, one that was produced in Paris not during the reign of Philip the Fair, but of his grandfather St. Louis» (Baltzer, pp. 17-18). Which of the many sources preserve the origins of the répertoire is a problematic question. Since the type of composition involved does not yield to a systematic text-critical analysis, it is very difficult to filiate the sources, but see James H. Cook, *Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets* (Ph. D dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1978). In any case, there is too little surviving of the source in question to carry out a text-critical study. The possibility that this source may be an exemplar for Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Pluteo 29,1 (Baltzer, p. 17) should not therefore be overlooked. *Confer supra*, p. 109.

Volker Honemann,<sup>40</sup> among others,<sup>41</sup> has shown how a text could circulate throughout the houses of the Cistercian order via the lines of filiation that tie one house to another and to the rest of the order. Some of the findings in his study of the *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* by Guillaume de Saint-Thierry suggest that it might be possible to follow the line of descent of a textual tradition from the senior Cistercian monasteries in Burgundy to outlying abbeys in what are now Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands.

It is a fairly small step to make the assumption that, if texts may be transmitted along the lines of filiation, then manuscripts themselves must have done the same. Honemann offers a convincing example<sup>42</sup> of a manuscript which contains a copy of the *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei*, now in the *Stedelijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque municipale* in Brugge/Bruges,<sup>43</sup> and which can conclusively be shown to have originated in Clairvaux and to be added to very shortly thereafter in Ter Duinen. It is possible, following Honemann's model, to suggest that the origins of the reconstructed *conductus*-source may lie in the eastern-French roots of the Cistercian line of filiation of which Maulbronn is part. This suggestion is given considerably more weight by the identification of one of the sources for Guillaume de Saint-Thierry's *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei*, Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231,<sup>44</sup> as the parent manuscript for one of the sets of fragments in this reconstruction.

The abbey of Maulbronn was founded in 1139,<sup>45</sup> some 40 years after the foundation of Cîteaux (1098) and 20 years after the foundation

40 Volker Honemann, *Die «Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei» des Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry: lateinische Überlieferung und mittelalterliche Übersetzungen*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, vol. 61 (Zürich-München: Artemis Verlag, 1978), pp. 174-190.

41 Pius Künzle, *Heinrich Seuses Horologium sapientiae*, Spicilegium Friburgense, vol. 23 (Freiburg /Ue.: Universitätsverlag, 1977). Künzle's study is of an early fourteenth-century text whose Cistercian circulation, whilst significant and illuminating, is relatively small.

42 Honemann, *Die «Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei» des Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry: lateinische Überlieferung und mittelalterliche Übersetzungen*, pp. 19 and 179-180.

43 Brugge/Bruges, *Stedelijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Municipale*, Ms 131.

44 Honemann, *Die «Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei» des Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry: lateinische Überlieferung und mittelalterliche Übersetzungen*, p. 73. Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231 is Honemann's Ms 173.

45 Paulus, *Die Cisterzienser-Abtei Maulbronn*, p. 38; Irmgard Dörrenberg, *Das Zisterzienser-Kloster Maulbronn*, (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1937), p. 7; Lawrence Henry Cottineau & Grégoire Poras, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols. (Mâcon: Protat, 1935-1970), vol. ii, pp. 1791-1792.



of the senior house of Morimond to which it was ultimately affiliated.<sup>46</sup> Clairvaux and Morimond possessed the largest number of affiliated houses in the Cistercian order, 356 and 214 respectively.<sup>47</sup> Morimond's lines of filiation extended particularly into the east as far as modern Poland and Germany,<sup>48</sup> apparently as the result of the presence of a large number of leading German families in the community.<sup>49</sup>

The line of filiation in question stretched from Morimond<sup>50</sup> (1115) to Bellevaux<sup>51</sup> (1120), Lucelle<sup>52</sup> (1124), Neuburg<sup>53</sup> (1131) and Maulbronn (1139). It could be suggested that the source had originated in any of these institutions and been carried as far as Maulbronn. Morimond itself seems to be the most likely Cistercian origin for this manuscript<sup>54</sup> and possibly also its provenance although the possibility that the manuscript may have arrived in Morimond later in its career and then moved to Maulbronn should not be overlooked.

Whilst the suggestion that a source of what is essentially «Notre-Dame» polyphony might have had its origins in a Cistercian house seems to conflict with received opinion concerning the Cistercians' cultivation of music, the findings of a number of recent studies suggest that there is a clear context for the Cistercian interest in sophisticated polyphonic genres. Sarah Fuller's attribution of the so-called De la Fage anonymous to the Cistercian order<sup>55</sup> has suggested that Cistercians may have cultivated simple polyphony. One of the most important occurrences of the

46 Anselme Dimier, «Liste alphabétique des monastères de la filiation de Morimond avec des références pour les situer sur la carte,» *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. XIV (1958), p. 113.

47 Robert Arthur Donkin, «The Growth and Distribution of the Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe,» *Studia monastica*, vol. IX (1967), p. 285.

48 Donkin, «The Growth and Distribution of the Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe,» p. 286.

49 Donkin, «The Growth and Distribution of the Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe,» p. 286, footnote 16.

50 Cottineau & Poras, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. ii, p. 1985. Dates of foundation are given in parentheses.

51 Cottineau & Poras, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. i, p. 334.

52 Cottineau & Poras, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. i, pp. 1683-1684.

53 Cottineau & Poras, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. ii, pp. 2053-2054.

54 *Confer supra*, p. 110. To suggest a provenance of Bellevaux or Lucelle might be to stretch the «eastern-French» assessment of the palæography too far.

55 Sarah Fuller, «An Anonymous Treatise *Dictus de Sancto Martiale*: a New Source for Cistercian Music Theory,» *Musica Disciplina*, vol. XXXI (1977), pp. 22-26. See Ernest Sanders' cautionary comments in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. XXXIV (1981), p. 590 and footnote 1 and Sarah Fuller's reply in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. XXXV (1982), pp. 586-587.

Notre-Dame *conductus* in the theoretical literature is in the Cistercian treatise *Musica manualis cum tonale*<sup>56</sup> compiled by and formerly attributed to John Wylde.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, Nico van den Boogaard's recent study of the lyric insertions in Gérard de Liège's *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardentem*<sup>58</sup> has shown how a Cistercian abbot<sup>59</sup> was prepared to use lyric insertions in his texts. Such insertions are more often associated with the chanson, romance, and the répertoire of polyphonic motets with vernacular texts.<sup>60</sup>

56 Edited in Cecily Sweeney, *Johannis Wylde: Musica manualis cum tonale*, Corpus scriptorum de musica, vol. XXVIII (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology; Hänßler Verlag, Neuhausen a/F, 1982). The Cistercian provenance of the treatise was demonstrated in Cecily Sweeney, *The Musical Treatise Formerly Attributed to John Wylde and the Cistercian Chant Reform* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1972), building on the suggestion made by Gilbert Reaney («Wylde,» *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 16 vols. [Kassel-Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1949-1979,] vol. XIV, col. 918) that John Wylde was only the copyist of the manuscript.

57 See Gilbert Reaney, «John Wylde and the Notre Dame Conductus,» *Speculum musicæ artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16. Dezember 1968, dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Heinz Becker & Reinhard Gerlach (München: Wilhelm Finck Verlag, 1970), pp. 263-270. How a description of Notre-Dame *conductus* came to be included in a treatise copied in the first half of the fifteenth century and perhaps written as late as the end of the fourteenth century is a problem that probably will not be solved until all of the influences on the *Musica manualis* are explained. See Reaney, p. 263 and footnote 6. Wylde does refer to a *conductus: Pater noster*; Reaney, pp. 266-267, believes that this is not *Pater noster commiserans* but another work with the same *incipit*. He allows, however, the possibility that Wylde may be referring to either of the two works.

58 Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, «Les Insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège,» *Mélanges de philologie et de littératures romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem*, Marche romane, ed. Jacques De Caluwé (Liège/Luik: Cahiers de l'Association romaine de l'université de Liège, 1978), pp. 679-697.

59 Gérard de Liège was abbot of the Cistercian house of Val-Saint-Lambert in Liège/Luik between 1249 and 1254 (Boogaard, «Les Insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège,» p. 681).

60 See the table of motets containing refrains in Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XIV<sup>e</sup>: collationnement, introduction et notes*, Bibliothèque française et romane série d: initiation, textes et documents, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969), pp. 297-312. The evidence for the Cistercian provenance of the polyphony preserved in the miscellany of noted liturgical items Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Lat. liturg. d.5 is, at best, flimsy. Stephen van Dijk, *Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 7 vols. (Oxford: typescript, 1957), vol. i, pp. 93-93b assigns the whole manuscript to the (Cistercian) parish church at Hauterive on the basis of the presence (twice) of the prose *Sospitati dedi ægros* (St. Nicholas was the titular of this institution). On the distribution of this piece, see Josef Leisbach. *Die liturgischen Handschriften der Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*, Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia, vol. 15: Iter helveticum 1 (Freiburg i/Üe.: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1976), p. 242. This view is also expressed in Arnold Geering, *Die Organa und mehr-*

In conclusion, it is proposed, firstly, that there are considerably more compositions in Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 than have been hitherto identified and, secondly, that these fragments have originated in the same thirteenth-century manuscript as those found in Solothurn, *Zentralbibliothek*, S. 231. It is further suggested that, whilst the music had originated in Paris, the manuscript provenance is probably Cistercian and, most probably, from the abbey of Morimond. In terms of other sources for the thirteenth-century *conductus*, this reconstructed source is one of the largest outside the four so-called Notre-Dame manuscripts.

Jürg Stenzl<sup>61</sup> quoted Rudolf Flotzinger's<sup>62</sup> hope that other smaller sources of thirteenth-century polyphony might surface and help piece together the history of the music of this period. The reconstruction of this *conductus*-source represents a further step in that direction.<sup>63</sup>

*stimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952), pp. 2, 6 *et passim*; Jacques Handschin, «Angelomontana polyphonica,» *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. III (1928), p. 93; Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th—Early 14th Century)*, p. 539. The manuscript, however, is made up of several different parts, not all of which can be related to others which make reference to St. Nicholas. The polyphony is scattered throughout the manuscript and little, if any, can be directly associated with the Cistercians at Hauterive with the possible exception of the first item, *Nicholai solempnia*. See also Jürg Stenzl, «Zur Kirchenmusik im Berner Münster vor der Reformation,» *Festschrift Arnold Geering zum 70. Geburtstag: Beiträge zur Zeit und zum Begriff des Humanismus vorwiegend aus dem Bereich der Musik*, ed. Victor Ravizza (Bern-Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1972), p. 99 and footnote 50.

61 Stenzl, «Eine unbekannte Notre Dame- Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente,» p. 311.

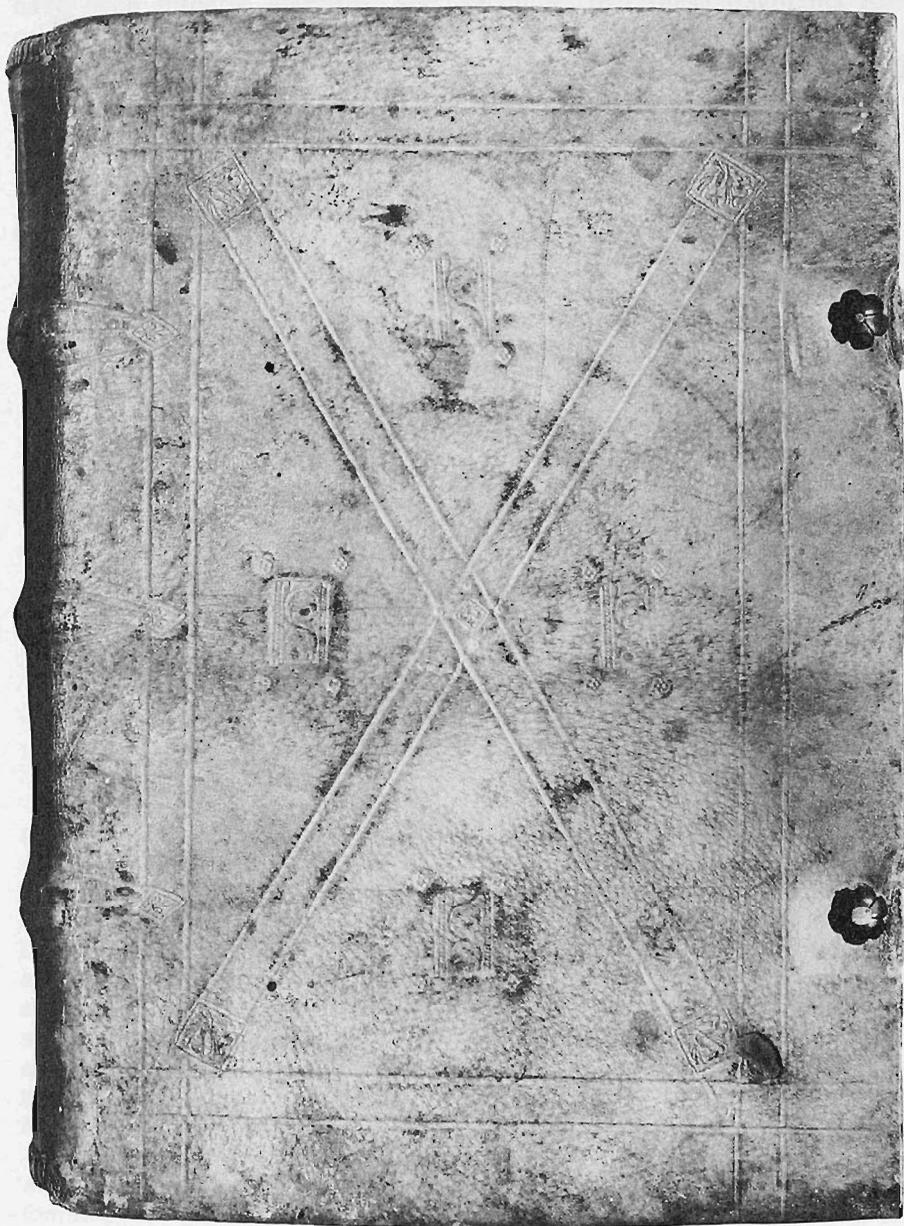
62 Rudolf Flotzinger, «Zur Herkunft der Wimpfener Fragmente,» *Speculum musicæ artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16. Dezember 1968, dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Heinz Becker & Reinhard Gerlach (München: Wilhelm Finck Verlag, 1970), pp. 147.

63 I would like to express my thanks to Jürg Stenzl, Gilbert Reaney, and Luther Dittmer for having read drafts of this study and offering their comments.



Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI Q.3.17

Einbanddeckel, vorne



Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Auct. VI Q.3.17

Einbanddeckel, hinten



Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI Q.3.17

Rectoseite

