TRECENTO FRAGMENTS

AND POLYPHONY BEYOND THE CODEX

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to understand how music sounded and functioned in the Italian trecento based on an examination of all the surviving sources, rather than only the most complete. A majority of surviving sources of Italian polyphonic music from the period 1330–1420 are fragments; most, the remnants of lost manuscripts. Despite their numerical dominance, music scholarship has viewed these sources as secondary (and often neglected them altogether) focusing instead on the few large, retrospective, and predominantly secular codices which mainly originated in the Florentine orbit. Connections among manuscripts have been incompletely explored in the literature, and the omission is acute where relationships among fragments and among other small collections of polyphony are concerned.

These small collections vary in their construction and contents—some are not really fragments at all, but single polyphonic works in liturgical and other manuscripts. Individually and through their very numbers, they present a wider view of Italian musical life in the fourteenth century than could be gained from even the most careful scrutiny of the intact manuscripts. Examining the fragments emboldens us to ask questions about musical style, popularity, scribal practice, and manuscript transmission: questions best answered through a study of many different sources rather than the intense scrutiny of a few large sources.

Our view of the trecento is transformed by moving the margins into the center. Many cities emerge as producers of "high-art" polyphony. French-texted music abounds in the fragments (at least fifteen sources mingle Italian and French repertories). The Francophilia of the next century has long been viewed as a discontinuity with the past, but it should

now be considered an extension of trecento practice. The space for sacred music in the trecento also increases dramatically.

The dissertation reports the discovery of a new Paduan fragment, along with a radical reassessment of the Paduan sources. It includes 51 transcriptions, nearly all of unpublished works previously considered too fragmentary or difficult to transcribe. Twelve new identifications of pieces are made, including new sources for *Esperance, Je voy mon cuer, Fuyés de moy*, and Mass movements by Engardus, Zachara, and Ciconia.

Mine was a poor harvest, but I spent a whole day reaping it, as if from those disiecta membra of the library a message might reach me. Some fragments of parchment had faded, others permitted the glimpse of an image's shadow, or the ghost of one or more words. At times I found pages where whole sentences were legible... sometimes a half page had been saved, an incipit was discernable, a title.

I collected every relic I could find.... At the end of my patient reconstruction, I had before me a kind of lesser library, a symbol of the greater, vanished one: a library made up of fragments, quotations, unfinished sentences, amputated stumps of books.

— UMBERTO ECO ☙ THE NAME OF THE ROSE

Contents

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Sources, Sigla, and Abbreviations

Secondary Literature

2ndNG Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, editors. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition. 29 volumes. London: Macmillan, 2001. And on-line at <http://www.grovemusic.com/>.

AR [Catholic Church]. *Antiphonale pro diurnis horis* or *Antiphonale sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis a Pio Papa X. restitutum et editum SS.D.N.Benedicti XV auctoritate recognitum et vulgatum ad exemplar editionis typicae concinnatum et rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum* (commonly *Antiphonale Romanum*). Paris: Society of St. John the Evangelist, 1924.

CCMS Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellmann, editors, *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 volumes. Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, s.l. 1979–1988.

CMM 53 Willi Apel. *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century.* Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53, 3 volumes. [Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1970–72.

DIAMM Andrew Wathey and Margaret Bent, directors. *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*. On-line resource <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/>.

E15cM Gilbert Reaney, editor. *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*. Corpus mensurabilis musicae 11/1–6. [Rome]: The American Institute of Musicology, 1955–1983.

M14cI Nino Pirrotta, editor. *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*. Corpus mensurabilis musicae 8/1–5. Amsterdam: The American Institute of Musicology, 1954–1964.

PMFC *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer, general editors. 25 volumes (1–22, 23a, 23b, 24). Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–1991.

Listings are of volume editor, volume title, and year:

1. Leo Schrade. *Roman de Fauvel; works of Philippe de Vitry; French cycles of the Ordinarium Missae.* 1956.

2–3. ———. *Works of Guillaume de Machaut.* 1956.

4. ———. *The Works of Francesco Landini.* 1958.

5. Frank Ll. Harrison. *Motets of French Provenance.* 1968.

6. W. Thomas Marrocco. *Italian Secular Music, by Magister Piero, Giovanni da Firenze, Jacopo da Bologna.* 1967.

7. ———. *Italian Secular Music, by Vincenzo da Rimini, Rosso de Chollegrana, Donato da Firenze, Gherardello da Firenze, Lorenzo da Firenze.* 1971.

8. ———. *Italian Secular Music: Anonymous Madrigals and Cacce and the Works of Niccolo da Perugia.* 1972.

9. ———. *Italian Secular Music, by Bartolino da Padova, Egidius de Francia, Guilielmus de Francia, Don Paolo da Firenze.* 1975.

10. ———. *Italian Secular Music, by Andrea da Firenza [et al.].* 1977.

11. ———. *Italian Secular Music: Anonymous Ballate.* 1978.

12. Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, *Italian Sacred Music*, 1976.

13. ———, *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, 1987.

20. Gordon K. Greene, *French Secular Music: Ballades and Canons,* 1982.

21. ———, *French Secular Music: Virelais*, 1987.

22. ———, *French Secular Music: Rondeaux and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 1989.

23. Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin, *French Sacred Music,* 1989 (23a), 1991 (23b).

24. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*. 1984.

RISM B III *Répertorie International des Sources Musicales,* Series B III: *The Theory of Music: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500*. Munich: G. Henle Verlag.

2. Peter Fischer, editor. *Italy*. 1968.

5. Christian Meyer, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, and Karl-Werner Gümpel, editors. *Czech Republic, Poland, Portugal and Spain*. 1997.

6. Christian Meyer, editor. *Addenda, Corrigenda*. 2003.

RISM B IV *Répertorie International des Sources Musicales,* Series B IV. Munich: G. Henle Verlag.

1. Gilbert Reaney, editor. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th–early 14th century*). 1966.

2. ———. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320–1400).* 1969.

1-2sup. Andrew Wathey, editor. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: Supplement to RISM B IV, 1-2*. 1993.

3-4. Kurt von Fischer, editor. *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts*. 1972.

5. Nanie Bridgman, editor. *Manuscrits de Musique Polyphonique des XVe et XVIe Siècles: Italie*. 1991.

Manuscripts (and Primary sources)

Despite their prevalence in music literature, I have declined to use RISM sigla for this study. Charles Hamm's criticism of the system, articulated in his review of Fischer's *RISM B IV 3–4* should be recalled.[1] Hamm asserts that sigla must differentiate one manuscript from another and allow the manuscript to be readily "identified from its siglum at sight." He faults the RISM sigla largely on the second basis. In their attempt to differentiate any manuscript from any other, the RISM sigla fail on the first account as well. There are many manuscripts which would correspond to a siglum such as (for part of **Pad A**) GB-Ob229—i.e., any manuscript in any collection in the Bodleian library with shelfmark 229. To create a unique identifier the whole of the call number

[1] *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27.3 (Autumn 1974), p. 520.

needs to be attached: GB-Ob Can. Pat. Lat 229 (which is barely more concise than the full shelfmark), or some sort of incomprehensible further abbreviation: GB-Ob*cpl*229. Further, sigla among RISM volumes have not remained consistent (one example among many: Cividale sources have changed from I-CF to I-CFm from RISM 4 to 5) or conversely, have not changed in the face of changes of shelfmark (e.g., the Trent sources are still I-TRbc 87–93) and thus still require translation tables to be useful for scholars. For this study it seemed more important to have sigla which were pronounceable, differentiated among all manuscripts *in this study* (and of nearby eras), and would be obviously recognizable to someone who was acquainted with the source. For this last reason, I eschewed the use of locations (city names) for some of the more peripatetic manuscripts in private hands.

Musical Sources c. 1330–1425

Concise RISM volume numbers refer to the B IV series.

Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek. MS ES 64. (**Amsterdam 64**)

Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore. MS C3 (*olim* 9-E-17). (**Aosta C3**)
RISM 4: I-AO 17, pp. 735–37.

Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore. MS D16 (*olim* MS 4 then 9-E-19). (**Aosta D16**)
RISM 4: I-AO 19, pp. 737–38.

Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre. Trésor MS 16bis. (**Apt 16bis**)
RISM 2: F-APT 16bis, pp. 104–115. *CCMS 1*: AptSA 16bis, p. 8.

Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato. Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino, vol. 142. (**Ascoli Piceno 142**)

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale. MS 187 (Housed at the B. Sacro Convento). (**Assisi 187**)

Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca del Capitolo della Cattedrale. Frammento 17. (*olim* Archivio Capitolare. Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento 5). (**Atri 17**)
CCMS 4: AtriC 5, p. 227.

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 853. (**Barcelona 853,** BarcA, Barc)
RISM 2: E-Bcen 853, pp. 89–90.

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 853b. (**Barcelona 853b**)

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 853c. (**Barcelona 853c**)

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 853d. (**Barcelona 853d**)

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS M. 883. (**Barcelona 883**)
RISM B III.5: E-Bcen 883, pp. 72–78. (also B.III.6 682–83.)

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 971 (*olim* 946). (**Barcelona 971,** BarcC)
RISM 2: E-Bcen 971, pp. 90–93.

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central). MS 971c. (**Barcelona 971c**)

Barcelona, Biblioteca Orfeó Català. MS 2. (**Barcelona 2,** BarcB)
RISM 2: E-Boc 2, pp. 93–94.

Berkeley, University Library. Music Library MS 744 (*olim* Thomas Phillipps's Library, no. 4450). (**Berkeley 744**, Paris anonymous, "Roquefort")
RISM 2: US-BE, pp. 340–41.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (*olim* Preußische Staatsbibliothek, then Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz). Lat. 4° 523 (*olim* Thomas Phillipps's Library, no. 23928). (**Berlin 523**)
RISM 1sup: D-Bs 523, p. 413 (1sup is located in *RISM 2).*
RISM 3: D-Bs 523, pp. 325–27.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (*olim* Preußische Staatsbibliothek, then Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz). Mus. 40563. (**Berlin 40563**)
RISM 3: D-Bs 40563, pp. 317–18.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek. A. 471 (flyleaves from A. 421). (**Bern 471**, Be, Bern, BernA)
RISM 2: CH-BEb 421, pp. 53–55.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 50 (or G 50). (**Bern 50**, BernB)
RISM 2: CH-BEb 50, pp. 55–57.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek. Fragm. 827. (**Bern 827**)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato. Notarial covers of documents from 1337, 1338, 1369, 1412–13, and 1444. (**Bologna Archivio Covers**)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 596, busta HH2[1]. (**Bologna 596**, Bol H)
RISM 4: I-Bu 596, pp. 738–39.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1549. (**Bologna 1549**)
RISM 4: I-Bu 1549, pp. 739–40.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727). (**Bologna 2216**, Bu)
RISM 5: I-Bu 2216, pp. 89–94. *CCMS 1:* BolU 2216, p. 88.

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q1, frammento n. 23 (*olim* 12). (**Bologna Q 1**)
RISM 5: I-Bc 1, pp. 14–15. *CCMS 1, 4:* BolC Q1, *vol 1,* p. 68, *vol. 4*, p. 273.

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (*olim* Liceo 37). (**Bologna Q 15**, BL)
RISM 5: I-Bc 15, pp. 15–33. *CCMS 1, 4:* BolC Q15, *vol 1,* pp. 69–70, *vol 4,* p. 274.

Brescia, Biblioteca di Queriniano. Fragment C.VI.5 (*olim* without shelfmark). (**Brescia 5**, Quer)

Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire. Fonds St. Gudule, fragment I. (**Brussels 1**)
RISM 2: B-Bc I, pp. 42–43.

Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire. Fonds St. Gudule, fragment II. (**Brussels 2**)
RISM 2: B-Bc II, p. 43.

Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief. Archief Sint-Goedele 5170. (**Brussels 5170**)

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár. U. Fr. l. m. 297. (**Budapest 297**)

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár. U. Fr. l. m. 298. (**Budapest 298**)

Budapest, Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c. l. m. 243. (**Budapest Tyrnau**)

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Communale. B 1328 (*olim* 1176). (**Cambrai 1328**, CaB, CaC)
RISM 2: F-CA 1328, pp. 119–128.

Cambridge, University Library. MS Additional 5943. (**Cambridge 5943**)

Cambridge (Massachusetts), on deposit at Harvard University, Houghton Library. fMS Typ 122. (**Houghton 122**)
CCMS, vol. 4: Cambri(Mass.) H 122

Canberra, National Library of Australia. MS 4052/2 fragment 1. (**Canberra 4052**)

Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 564 (*olim* 1047). (**Chantilly**, Ch)
RISM 2: F-CH 564, pp. 128–160.

Chicago, Newberry Library. MS 24. (**Chicago Newberry 24**)
RISM 4: US-Cn 24, pp. 1168–69.

Chicago, Newberry Library. Case MLo 96.P36. MS formerly in the private library of Edward E. Lowinsky. (**Lowinsky**, Lw, Low, NYL)
RISM 4: US-CLw, p. 1167. *CCMS:* ChiL s.s.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XXIV. (**Cividale 24**)

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XLI. (**Cividale 41**)
RISM 4: I-CF 41, pp. 741–42.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XLVII. (**Cividale 47**)
RISM 4: I-CF 47, pp. 742–43.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LVI. (**Cividale 56**)
RISM 4: I-CF 56, pp. 743–46.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LVII. (**Cividale 57**)
RISM 4: I-CF 57, pp. 746–48. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 53, pp. 153–54.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LVIII. (**Cividale 58**)
RISM 4: I-CF 58, pp. 748–49.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LXIII. (**Cividale 63** *part of* **Cividale A**)
RISM 4: I-CF 63, p. 749. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 63, pp. 154–55.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LXXIX. (**Cividale 79**)
RISM 4: I-CF 79, pp. 750–51.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XCVIII. (**Cividale 98** *part of* **Cividale A**)
RISM 4: I-CF 98, pp. 751–52. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 98, pp. 155–56.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS CI. (**Cividale 101**)
RISM 4: I-CF 101, p. 753. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 101, p. 156.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS CII. (**Cividale 102**)
RISM 4: I-CF 102, pp. 753–54. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 102, pp. 156–57.

Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 73. (**Clermont-Ferrand**)
RISM 2: F-CF 73, p. 160.

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Fragmenter 17a (*or* 17^{1}), inventory nos. 2400–2409. (**Copenhagen 17a**.)

Cortona, Archivio Storico del Comune. Fragment without shelfmark [fragment 1]. (**Cortona 1**)

Cortona, Archivio Storico del Comune. Fragment without shelfmark [fragment 2]. (**Cortona 2**)

Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 1171. (**Douai Antiphoner**)

Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek. MS 314 (**Engelberg 314**, Eng)
RISM 2: CH-EN 314, pp. 57–60.

Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale. MS 117. (**Faenza**, Fa)
RISM 4: I-FZc117, pp. 898–920. *CCMS 1:* FaenBC 117, pp. 215–16.

Florence, Archivio di Stato. Notarile Antecosimiano 17879. (**Florence 17879**)

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, "Luigi Cherubini." Cassa forte 74 (*olim* D 1175). (**Florence Conservatorio**, Florence 1175, FC)[2]
RISM 4: I-Fc 1175, pp. 754–55.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211. (**San Lorenzo 2211**)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Ashburnham 999. (**Florence 999**)
RISM 4: I-Fl 999, p. 833. *CCMS 1:* FlorL Ashbr. 999, pp. 242–43.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Mediceo Palatino 87. (**Squarcialupi**, Sq, FL)
RISM 4: I-Fl 87, pp. 755–832.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Incunab. F.5.5. (**Florence 5**)

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Panciatichiano 26. (**Panciatichi,** Pan, FP, FN, Fl, F)
RISM 4: I-Fn 26, pp. 835–896. *CCMS 1:* FlorBN Panc. 26, pp. 231–32.

Foligno, Archivio di Stato (*olim* Biblioteca Comunale, Sala A), frammenti musicali. (**Foligno**)
RISM 4: I-FOL, pp. 896–97. *CCMS 1:* FolAS s.s., p. 246.

Frosinone, Archivio di Stato. Collezione delle pergamene 266 (31). (**Frosinone 266**)

Frosinone, Archivio di Stato. Collezione delle pergamene 267 (38). (**Frosinone 267**)

Gemona del Friuli, Tesoro del Duomo. MS without shelfmark ("Graduale del Patriarca Bertrando"). (**Gemona Gradual**)
RISM 4: I-GEt, pp. 920–21. *CCMS 1:* GemD s.s., pp. 248–49.

Gent, Rijksarchief. Fonds Groenenbriel, MS 133. (**Gent 133**)

Gent, Rijksarchief. Varia D. 3360. (**Gent 3360**)

Gent, [Unknown location]. Lost manuscript known to Fétis. (**Gent Fétis**)

Gerona, Archiu Capitular. Frag. 33/I (**Gerona 33**)

Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek. Incunabulum no. 70. (**Groningen 70**)

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia (Badia Greca). Kript. Lat. 219 (*olim* Segnatura provvisoria 374, then E. β.XVI). (**Grottaferrata 219**)
RISM 4: I-GR 16, pp. 921–923.

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia (Badia Greca). Kript. Lat. 224 (*olim* Collocazione provvisoria 197). (**Grottaferrata 224** *the main part of* **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, Grot, GR 197, GR)
RISM 4: I-GR 197, pp. 923–26. *CCMS 1:* GrottaBG 197, pp. 255–56.

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia (Badia Greca). MS without shelfmark. (**Grottaferrata s.s.**)

Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore. Codex 1, volume 2 (Lost). (**Guardiagrele 2**)
RISM 5: I–GUm, pp. 227–28. *CCMS:* GuardSM 2, p. 258.

Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore. Codex 1, volume 3 (Lost). (**Guardiagrele 3**)
RISM 5: I–GUm, pp. 227–28. *CCMS 1, 4: vol. 1:* GuardSM 1c, pp. 258–59; *vol. 4:* GuardSM 3.

[2] I wish to thank Oliver Huck for calling my attention to the new siglum of this bifolio.

Gubbio, Archivio di Stato. Fondo dell'ex-Convento di S. Domenico, Corale O. (**Gubbio Corale**)
RISM 4: I-GU, p. 927.[3]

Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library. MS 002387 (*olim* Santa Barbara, Accademia Monteverdiana, fragment without shelfmark). (**Dartmouth 2387** *part of* **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**)

Heiligenkreuz, Bibliothek des Zisterzienserstifts. MS without shelfmark. (**Heiligenkreuz s.s.**)
RISM 3: A-HEI pp. 77–79. *CCMS 1:* HeiligBZ s.s., pp. 267–68.

Helmond (Netherlands), Gemeetelijke Archiefdienst, Rechterlijk Archief Helmond 1396–1810. Inv. no. 215. (**Helmond 215**)

Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek. MS without shelfmark. (**Wolkenstein B,** WoB, Rodeneck Codex)
RISM 3: A-Iu Wo, pp. 80–89. *CCMS 1:* InnsU s.s., pp. 286–87.

Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare. MS CV (104). (**Ivrea 105**)
RISM 4: I-IV 105, p. 929.

Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare. MS 115 (*olim* MS without shelfmark). (**Ivrea 115,** Iv)
RISM 2: I-IV 115, pp. 282–304.

Kansas City, Private collection. MS formerly in the Georges Wildenstein collection, New York City, and previously owned by the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé. Currently on deposit at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (**Machaut Vg***)*
RISM 2: US-NYw, pp. 342–68.

Kernascléden, frescos on the church of Notre Dame. (**Kernascléden Frescos**).

Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska. MS Mus. 40582 (*olim* Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek, same call number). (**Krakow 40582**)
CCMS 1, 4: BerlPS 40582, *vol 1,* p. 46, *vol 4,* p. 262

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. Bpl 2515. (**Leiden 2515**)
RISM 2: NL-Lu 2515, pp. 310–11.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. Bpl 2720. (**Leiden 2720**)
RISM 2: NL-Lu 2720, pp. 311–17.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. Ltk. 342A. (**Leiden 342a**)

Liège, Archives de l'Etat, fonds de la cathédrale St. Lambert, Compterie des anniversaires de 1388 de la section des Chanoines de la Petite table. (**Liège 1388**)
RISM 2: B-La 1388, p. 48.

London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 29987. (**London 29987**, Lo, L, LB)
RISM 4: GB-Lbm29987, pp. 631–653.

London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 57950 (*olim* Old Hall, Library of St. Edmund's College, MS without shelfmark). (**Old Hall**, OH)
RISM 4: GB-OH, pp. 675–725. *CCMS 2:* LonBL 57950, pp. 82–83.

[3] The same city sigla "GU" is used by RISM for both Guardiagrele and Gubbio.

London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. MS Cotton Titus D XXIV. (**London Cotton 24**, TitD)
RISM 2: GB-LBm XXIV, pp. 226–28.

London, Public Record Office. E 163/22/1/24. (**London Records E 24**)
RISM 1–2sup: GB-Lpro E 163/22/1/24, pp. 54–57.

Lucca, Archivio di stato. MS 184 (including 2 folios discovered in 1988 and 4 folios discovered in 1998). (**ManLucca** *the major part of the* **Mancini** Codex, Lucca, Man, Mn, Lu)
RISM 4: I-Las 184, pp. 929–47. *CCMS 2, 4:* LucAS 184, *vol 2,* pp. 125–26, *vol . 4,* p. 435.

Macerata, Archivio di Stato. *olim* Notarile di Recanati, vol. 488. (**Macerata 488**)

Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid. Carpeta 1474, fragmento 17. (**Madrid 1474/17**).

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. MS 1361. (**Madrid 1361**)
RISM 2: E-Mn 1361, pp. 97–99;

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek. MS 391 (*olim* 486 and J 1) (**Melk 391**)
RISM 3: A-M 391, pp. 89–90.

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek. MS 749 (*olim* 542 (K 12)). (**Melk 749**)
CCMS 2, 4: MelkS 749, *vol. 2,* p. 140, *vol. 4,* p. 437.

Messina, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile. O. 4.16. (**Messina 16**)

Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS α.M.5.24 (*olim* IV.D.5, then lat. 568). (**Mod A,** Mod)
RISM 4: I-MOe 5.24, pp. 950–81 *CCMS 2, 4:* ModE M.5.24, *vol. 2,* pp. 168–69, *vol. 4,* p. 441.

Mons (Belgium). Private Collection of F. Leclercq. (**Leclercq Fragment** *part of* **Brussels 1**)

Montefiore Dell'Aso. Manuscript formerly in the possession Francesco Egidi (Lost). (**Egidi**, Mac)
RISM 4: I-MFA, pp. 947–49.

Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir. MS 823. (**Montserrat 823**)
CCMS 2, 4: MontsM 823, *vol. 2,* p. 183, *vol. 4,* p. 443.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS mus. 3223. (**Munich 3223**, Mü K)
RISM 3: D-Mbs 3223, pp. 359–60. *CCMS 2:* MunBS 3223, p. 228.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung. MS Clm. 15611. (**Munich 15611**)
RISM 3: D-Mbs 15611, pp. 377–78. *CCMS 2:* MunBS Lat. 15611, pp. 240–41.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung. MS Clm. 29775 vol. 8. (**Munich 29775.8**)

New Jersey[4], fragment in a private collection. (**New Jersey p.c.**)

New York, fragment in the possession of Stanley Boorman. (**Boorman,** Boo)

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek. Fragment lat. 9 (*from* Centurio V, 61). (**Nuremberg 9**)
RISM 2: D-Nst 9, pp. 84–85. *CCMS 2, 4:* NurS 9, *vol. 2,* p. 258, *vol. 4,* p. 451.

[4] At the wishes of the owner, the details of possession will not be made public. I am indebted to David Fallows for information about this fragment.

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek. Fragment lat. 9a (*from* Centurio III, 25). (**Nuremberg 9a**)
RISM 2: D-Nst 25, pp. 82–84. *CCMS2, 4:* NurS 9a, *vol. 2,* p. 259, *vol. 4,* p. 451.

Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia "G. Greggiati". Mus. rari B 35 (*olim* MS without shelfmark). (**Ostiglia**, *part of the* **Rossi** codex)
RISM 4: I-OST, pp. 981–84.

Oxford, All Souls College. MS 56, binding strips. (**Oxford All Souls 56**)
RISM sup$^{1-2}$: GB-Oas 56, pp. 80–82.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Class. Latin 112. (**Oxford 112**)
RISM 4: GB-Ob 112, p. 666.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Ital. 16. (**Oxford 16**)
RISM sup$^{1-2}$: GB-Ob 16, pp. 68–70.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Miscellaneous 213. (**Oxford 213**, Ox, O)
CCMS 2: OxfBC 213, pp. 275–76.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 56. (**Oxford 56**)
RISM sup$^{1-2}$: GB-Ob 56, pp. 70–73.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229. (**Oxford 229, *part of* Pad A**)
RISM 4: GB-Ob 229, pp. 668–671. *CCMS 2:* OxfBC 229, p. 277.

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Lyell 72. (**Oxford Lyell**)

Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, catastico VII, busta 14. (**Padua 14**)

Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina 553. (**Padua 553**)

Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare. MS C.55. (**Padua 55**)
RISM 4: I-Pc 55, pp. 984–86.

Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare. MS C.56. (**Padua 56**)
RISM 4: I-Pc 56, pp. 986–88. *CCMS 3:* PadBC C56, p. 4.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/1 (*from* MS 1283). (**Padua 1283, *part of* Pad D**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 1283, pp. 997–98. *CCMS 3:* PadU 1283, p. 10.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/2 (*from* MS 1225). (**Padua 1225, *part of* Pad D**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 1225, pp. 996–97. *CCMS 3, 4:* PadU 1225, *vol. 3,* p. 9, *vol. 4,* p. 461.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/3 (*from* MS 675). (**Padua 675, *part of* Pad D**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 675, pp. 989–90. *CCMS 3:* PadU 675, p. 6.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 656. (**Padua 656**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 656, p. 988.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 658. (**Padua 658, Pad C**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 658, pp. 988–89.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 684. (**Padua 684, *part of* Pad A**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 684, pp. 990–92. *CCMS 3:* PadU 684, p. 7.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1027. (**Padua 1027**)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1106. (**Padua 1106,** *part of* **Pad D**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 1106, pp. 992–94. *CCMS 3, 4:* PadU 1106, *vol. 3,* pp. 7–8, *vol. 4,* p. 461.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1115. (**Padua 1115, Pad B**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 1115, pp. 995–96. *CCMS 3, 4:* PadU 1115, *vol. 3,* pp. 8–9, *vol. 4,* p. 461.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1475. (**Padua 1475,** *part of* **Pad A**)
RISM 4: I-Pu 1475, pp. 998–1002. *CCMS 3, 4:* PadU 1475, *vol. 3,* pp. 10–11, *vol. 4,* p. 461.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 146. (**Fauvel**, Fauv)
RISM 2: F-Pn 146, pp. 162–72.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 1584. (**Machaut A,** MachA)
RISM 2: F-Pn 1584, pp. 174–78.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 1585. (**Machaut B,** MachB)
RISM 2: F-Pn 1585, pp. 178–79.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 1586. (**Machaut C,** MachC)
RISM 2: F-Pn 1586, pp. 179–82.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 9221. (**Machaut E,** MachE)
RISM 2: F-Pn 9221, pp. 182–92.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 22545. (**Machaut F,** MachF)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds françaises 22546. (**Machaut G,** MachG)
RISM 2: F-Pn 22545–22546, pp. 192–97.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds italien 568 (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale 165 du Supplément, then Nouv. Supplément Fr. 535). (**Pit.,** P, It)
RISM 3: F-Pn 568, pp. 436–85. *CCMS 3, 4:* ParisBNI 568, *vol. 3,* pp. 25–26, *vol. 4,* p. 463.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4379. (**Paris 4379**, PC, the parts of which are also referred to as PC^1, PC^2, PC^3, PC^4)
CCMS 3, 4: ParisBNN 4379, *vol. 3,* pp. 29–31, *vol. 4,* p. 463.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4917. (**Paris 4917**, Pz)
CCMS 3, 4: ParisBNN 4917, *vol. 3,* p. 32, *vol. 4,* p. 464.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771. (**Reina**, R, PR, Rei)
RISM 3: F-Pn 6771, pp. 485–549. *CCMS 3, 4:* ParisBNN 6771, *vol. 3,* pp. 33–34, *vol. 4,* p. 464.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190 (*olim* Angers, Château de Serrant, Duchesse de la Trémoïlle). (**Trémoïlle,** Trém)
RISM 2: F-SERRANT, pp. 205–6.

Paris, Biblothèque Ste Geneviève. MS 1257. (**Paris Geneviève 1257**).
RISM 2: F-Psg 1257, pp. 200–201.

Parma, Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo. F 09. (**Parma 9**)
RISM 4: I-PAad 09, pp. 1002–4. *CCMS 3:* ParmD 9, pp. 38–39.

Parma, Archivio di Stato. Armadio B, Busta n.75, fasc. 2. (**Parma 75,** Parma)
RISM 4: I-PAas 75, pp. 1005–7. *CCMS 3, 4:* ParmA 75, *vol. 3,* pp. 37–38, *vol. 4,* p. 464.

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina. MS 3597. (**Parma 3597**)

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina. MS 98. (**Parma 98**)
RISM 2: I-PAp98, pp. 304–5

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta." MS III-12-4 (Lost). (**Perugia 4**)

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta." MS 3065. (**ManPerugia**, *part of the* **Mancini** Codex, ManP)
RISM 4: I-PEco 3065, pp. 1008–12. *CCMS 3, 4:* PerBC 3065, *vol. 3,* pp. 45–46, *vol. 4,* p. 465.

Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi. Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F. (**Perugia 15755**, Cialini fragment)

Perugia, Library of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti. Fragment without shelfmark. (**Ciliberti**, Cil)

Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del Seminario Arcivescovile. MS without shelfmark. (**Pisa s.s.**)
RISM 4: I-PIcaO, p. 1012

Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del Seminario Arcivescovile. MS 176. (**Pisa 176**)
RISM 4: I-PIca 176, p. 1013

Pistoia, Archivium Capituli. MS B 3 n. 5. (**Pistoia 5,** Pist)
RISM 4: I-PSac 5, pp. 1013–16. *CCMS 3, 4:* PistAC 5, *vol. 3,* pp. 50–51, *vol. 4,* p. 465.

Poznań, Biblioteka (Zakladu Muzykologii) Uniwersytecka. MS without shelfmark (frag. 2). (**Poznań 2**)
RISM 4: PL-Pm, p. 1150.

Poznań, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne. MS 174a. (**Poznań 174a**)

Prague, Národní Knihovna (formerly Státní Knihovna SSR—Universitní Knihovna). MS XI E 9. (**Prague 9**, PragueU, Pr)
RISM 3:[5] CS-Pu XI E 9, pp. 255–262. *CCMS 3, 4:* PragU XI E 9, *vol. 3,* pp. 63–64, *vol. 4,* p. 469

Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense. MS 453. (**Ravena 453**)

Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato. Archivio Comune Re, Appendice, Frammenti di codici musicali (no. 16). (**Reggio Emilia Mischiati**)

Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale. MS C 408. (**Reggio Emilia 408**)

Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi (*olim* Copenhagen, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut). MS AM 80, 8°. (**Reykjavik AM 80**)
RISM 3: DK-Kar 80, pp. 415–16.

Rocca di Botte (L'Aquila), Archivio di Stato. MS without shelfmark. (**Rocca di Botte**).

Rochester, New York, Sibley Music Library. Fleisher Fragment 44. (**Rochester 44,** BF)
RISM 2: US-R 44, p. 369.

Rome, Archivio di stato. Fondo Agostiniani in S. Agostino, busta 34. (**Rome Agostino 34**)

Rome, Archivio storico del Vicariato. Fondo S. Maria in Trastevere, Arm. I, Cell. A, n. 3, ord. IV. (**Rome Trastevere 4**)

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica. MS 1067. (**Rome 1067**)

[5] After the separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, RISM has adopted the country siglum "CZ" for Czech Republic sources.

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica. MS 1485 (*olim* V.2.22). (**Rome 1485**)
RISM 4: I-Ra 1485, p. 1016.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barberinianus latinus 171. (**Vatican 171**, RB)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 171, pp. 1018–20. *CCMS 4:* VatB 171, p. 11.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1790. (**Vatican 1790**, RD, RO)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 1790, p. 1033.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1969. (**Vatican 1969**)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 1969, p. 1034. *CCMS 4:* VatO 1969, p. 21.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Reginae latinus 1146. (**Vatican 1146**)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 1146, p. 1029.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Rossianus 215. (**RossiVat** *the major part of the* **Rossi** Codex, Rs, R)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 215, pp. 1020–27.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1419. (**Vatican 1419**, RU_1)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 1419, pp. 1030–32. *CCMS 4:* VatU 1419, p. 68.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 129. (**Vatican 129**)
RISM 4: I-Rvat 129, p. 1018.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 4749. (**Vatican 4749**)
RISM 2: I-Rvat 4749, p. 305.
RISM 4: I-Rvat 4749, pp. 1035–36.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 9340. (**Vatican 9340**)
RISM 2: I-Rvat 9340, p. 306

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense. MS 522 (*olim* B. VI. 6). (**Casanatense 522**)
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense. MS 2151 (*olim* C. II. 3). (**Casanatense 2151,** Cas, R_1)
RISM 4: I-Rc 2151, p. 1017–18. (also in *B III 6)* *CCMS 3:* RomeC 2151, p. 112

Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek. Cod. 392 (**Saint Gall 392**)
RISM 3: CH-SGs 392, pp. 123–25.

San Marino, California, Huntington Library. HM 19914 (*olim* Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Gwysaney 19). (**Huntington 19914**)
RISM 2: US-SM 19914, pp. 369–71. (Also referred to as GB-ABnlw Gwysaney 19)

Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina. MS 5.2.25 (*olim* Z Tab. 135, n. 32 and BB-147-32). (**Seville 25,** Sev)
RISM 3: E-S 25, pp. 426–28. *CCMS 3:* SevC 5-2-25, pp. 141–42.
RISM B III 5: E-S 25, pp. 110-120.

Siena, Archivio di Stato. Framm. Mus. b. n. 1. ins. n. 11 (*olim* Frammenti di musiche, n. 207. Previously separate as 11 (then 326) & 327). (**Siena 207**)
RISM 5: I-Sas 326–327, p. 451–52. *CCMS 3:* SienAS 207, p. 153.

Siena, Archivio di Stato. Frammento sulla copertina del registro "Ravi 3" dal Gavorrano (1568–69). (**Siena Ravi 3**)[6]

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degl'Intronati. H. I. 10. (**Siena 10**)
RISM 4: I-Sc 10, p. 1036.

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degl'Intronati. L.V.30. (**Siena 30**)
RISM 4: I-Sc 30, p. 1037. *CCMS 3:* SienBC L.V.30, p. 154.

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degl'Intronati. L.V.36. (**Siena 36**)
RISM 4: I-Sc 36, pp. 1037–39. *CCMS 3, 4:* SienBC L.V.36, *vol. 3,* p. 155, *vol. 4,* p. 476.

Siena, Convento di S. Maria dei Servi. Codice G. (**Siena Servi G**)

Solsona, Archivo Diocesano. MS frag 109. (**Solsona 109**)

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Ville). MS 222. C.22. (Now destroyed. See also **Brussles 56.286**). (**Strasbourg 222**, Str, Stras)
RISM 3: F-Sm 222, pp. 550–92. *CCMS 3:* StrasBM 222, pp. 163–64

Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte. MS 14 (*olim* Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario). (**Stresa 14**, Str, Dom)
RISM 4: I-STr 14, pp. 1039–41. *CCMS 3:* StreBR 14, pp. 166–67.

Stroncone (Terni), Archivio Comunale. Collegiata di S. Michele Arcangelo 7. (**Stroncone 7**)

Tarragona (Spain), Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano. MS s.s. (2). (**Tarragona 2**)

Todi, Biblioteca Comunale. MS 73. (**Todi 73**)

Todi, Archivio Storico Comunale, fondo Congregazione di Carità, Istituto dei sartori, Statuto [senza segnatura] (ex O. p. Sarti n. 83). (**Todi Carità**)

Tongeren, Stadtsarchief. Fonds begijnhof 490. (**Tongeren 490**)

Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 94. (**Toulouse 94**, Tou)
RISM 2: F-TLm 94, pp. 206–7.

Tournai (Belgium), Bibliothèque capitulaire. MS 476. (**Tournai 476**)
RISM 2: B-Tc 476, pp. 48–51.

Trent, Fondazione Biblioteca di S. Bernadino (*olim* dei Padri Francescani). Incunabulo n. 60 (flyleaf). (**Trent 60**)

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio. MS 1563 (Manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca comunale). (**Trent 1563**)
CCMS 3: TrentC 1563, pp. 231–32.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. J.II.9. (**Turin 9,** TuB)
RISM 4: I-Tn 9, pp. 1041–1105. *CCMS 3:* TurBN I.II.9, pp. 254–55 .

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. T.III.2. (**Boverio,** Turin 2)
Isham Lib. Mus 405.469 (3)

Udine, Archivio di Stato. Frammento 22 (*olim* Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773). (**Udine 22** *part of* **Cividale A**)

[6] Doubtless this signature will change shortly.

Udine, Biblioteca Comunale (or Civica) "Vincenzo Joppi." Fragment "ex Archivio Florio" 290. (**Udine 290**)
RISM 2: I-UDvj 290, pp. 307–8.

Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. MS 1846 (*olim* 6 E 37). (**Utrecht 1846**[1] and **Utrecht 1846**[2])
RISM 2: NL-Uu 37, pp. 317–25.

Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancillería. Pergamino, carpeta 29, documento 7. (**Valladolid** 7)

Venice, Biblioteca di Santa Maria della Consolazione (called "della Fava"). Codice Lit. 4. (**Fava**)

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CCMS 1: CambraiBM 11, p. 122

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RISM 5: I-CFm 53, pp. 112–13. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 53, pp. 153.

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LIX. (**Cividale 59**)
RISM 5: I-CFm 59, pp. 113–15. *CCMS 1:* CivMA 59, pp. 154.

Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música. MS IV.a.24 (*olim* IV.O.5). (**Escorial B,** EscB)
CCMS 1: EscSL IV.a.24, p. 211

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RISM 5: I-TRbc 92, pp. 523–34. *CCMS 3, 4:* TrentC 92, *vol. 3,* pp. 229–31, *vol. 4,* p. 476.

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Photographic copy by Maria Szczepańska of **Warsaw 378**

Puntagorda (La Palma, Canary Islands). MS now in the possession of Hans C. M. van Dijk. (**La Palma**)

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Pit. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. MS fonds italien 568.

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Riccardiana 2870 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2870. (*text source*)

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Vatican 129	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 129.
Vatican 171	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barberinianus latinus 171.
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Vatican 1411	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1411. (*later source*)
Vatican 1419	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1419.
Vatican 1790	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1790.
Vatican 1969	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1969.
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Vatican 9340	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 9340.
Wolkenstein A	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 2777.
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Transcription norms

Unless specifically noted, all works are transcribed so that ■ becomes some form of half-note, either 𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥., or 𝅗𝅥: (i.e., 𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥.). Because Italian notation often uses two levels of semibreves, the modern note value used for trecento values smaller than a breve will vary from work to work. (This feature makes unreduced note values both undesirable and impossible).

In instrumental music and long melismas, ends of lines may be noted with the sign ↓ and ends of folios with ↓↓, as an aid to readers. Solid brackets above notes indicate ligatures. Dotted brackets indicate either red coloration or void notation, depending on the work. Other notational figures (such as void-red) will be noted separately for each piece.

The meanings of small notes, bracketed notes, and "?" signs above notes will vary from composition to composition according to the problems explained in the surrounding text. In a clear manuscript containing all voices of a piece, these signs may indicate a slightly difficult to read passage. In a nearly illegible palimpsest, all notes may be subject to debate and thus the small notes might be complete reconstructions.

To avoid confusion with the English word "long", the figure ■ will be called "longa" or "longae" even though other note values will be simply referred to as breves, minims, etc.

Voice designations

C Cantus (C1, C2 = Cantus 1, Cantus 2; sometimes just "1" or "2")
Ct Contratenor
T Tenor
Tr Triplum (used where the cantus is the middle voice)
Mo Motetus (used in groups such as Tr/Mo/T mainly for older repertories)

Where important, the number of voices will be given either as "2vv" or "3vv" or more specifically as a two-part figure such as 3^2, indicating a three-voice composition where two of the voices have text beyond incipits.

Although I have tried to keep most abbreviations out of the dissertation, a few have crept in. *c.o.p.* = ligature *cum opposita proprietate,* or a ligature of two semibreves. *s.a.s.* = *similis ante similem.*[7] When needed, *L, B, SB, M, sM* = longa, breve, semibreve, minim, and semiminim, respectively. For folios, r = recto (front), and v = verso (back).

[7] See Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600,* Fifth, Revised Edition (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), p. 108.

1 REWRITING THE HISTORICAL TRECENTO

We have long known that our view of fourteenth-century music is incomplete. Extraordinary examples from the central traditions of learned polyphony such as the **Squarcialupi** codex and the self-prepared *Gesamtausgaben* of Machaut transmit repertories to us in (nearly) complete states, systematically organized, and often decorated with stunning beauty. For Italian music, **Squarcialupi** and a handful of other codices—**Rossi**, **Panciatichi**, **London**, **Reina**, **Pit.**, and **Mancini** in particular—have formed the backbone of manuscript sources for scholarship on polyphonic music.[1] However, it is widely recognized that the music of these collections existed side-by-side with other musical traditions. These traditions are hinted at by the instrumental diminutions of the **Faenza** codex,[2] and by traces

[1] See sigla list for details of all bold names. The manuscripts are listed in approximate chronological order, except for Squarcialupi which would be last.

[2] For more on **Faenza**, see Dragan Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth Century in Codex Faenza 117," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4 (1951), pp. 179–201; Armen Carapetyan, ed., *An Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Source of Keyboard Music: The Codex Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117*, Musicological Studies and Documents 10, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961); and Pedro Memelsdorff, "Motti a motti: reflections on a motet intabulation of the early Quattrocento," *Recercare* 10 (1998), pp. 39–68. Giulio Cattin also discusses keyboard music of **Padua 553** in his "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'Inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1977), pp. 17–41. The last manuscript written in score of assuredly instrumental music notation, **Assisi 187**, was discovered and described by Agostino Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie' a due voci per strumento a tastiera," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 15.4 (1981), pp. 628–33. Along with the single pieces of **Padua 553** and **Assisi 187**, much of the contents of **Faenza** is sacred music; thus the single voice instrumental dances of **London 29987** and **Florence 17879** take on even greater importance.

of improvised polyphony and normally unwritten practices within the art song repertoire.[3] Connections among these traditions and the existence of a diversity of styles can only be seen obliquely within the main line of codices, which for the most part were well-edited in attempts to present particular musical repertories.[4] Evidence for more varied traditions of Italian polyphony, with wider reaches, would be strengthened if we possessed a much larger body of musical sources for study; sources created at different times, in different regions, and for different purposes.

The many manuscript fragments found throughout Italy provide such a body of sources. The fragments are usually regarded as auxiliary, but by their number alone they pre-

[3] On improvisation, see Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta musicologica* 64 (1992), pp. 165–76. The unwritten tradition has been discussed in Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt*, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 271–91; Anne Stone, "Glimpses of the unwritten tradition in some ars subtilior works," in *Essays in Memory of Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Frank D'Accone (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1995–1996). Connections to the more humble sacred polyphonic traditions are extensively discussed in several papers in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europe, Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), in particular F. Alberto Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century." pp. 13–30.

[4] The seemingly chaotic **London 29987** is an important exception to this characterization. Note also that the manuscript preserves a palimpsest earlier foliation of 98–185, so it too can be called a complete source only with qualification. For information on the concept of the "manuscript repertory" (as opposed to mere manuscript contents), see the papers presented as part of Round Table 2, "Costituzione e conservazione dei repertorii polifonici nei secoli XIV e XV," in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto–1 settembre 1987*, vol. 1 (Round Tables), (Turin: E.D.T., 1990). In particular, Wulf Arlt, "Repertoirefragen 'peripherer' Mehrstimmigkeit: das Beispiel des Codex Engelberg 314," pp. 97–123; Margaret Bent, "Manuscripts as Répertoires, Scribal Performance and the Performing Scribe," pp. 138–52; John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence," pp. 126–35.

sent a wider and better view of Italian musical life in the fourteenth century than could be gained from even the most careful scrutiny of the intact manuscripts.

In this thesis, I present an investigation of those problems and unanswered questions of trecento music scholarship which are best addressed through a systematic study of the smaller manuscript sources containing Italian music, today scattered throughout Europe and the United States.[5] The study is concerned with questions whose answers require the study of greater numbers of manuscripts, such as norms for scribal behavior, how the distribution of surviving material sources reflects the importance of musical centers, or how we can de-

[5] The main title of this study consists of only two words. Many of these pages concern the significance of the second word, fragments. A moment on the first word then might not be out of place. Why have I chosen "trecento" to label a group of manuscripts most of which I cannot date precisely and many of which can certainly be dated to after 1400? In a way, it is an adjective born out of necessity. The problems of the term "Italian *Ars Nova*" to cover this entire period were raised quite some time ago by Charles van den Borren ("L' 'Ars Nova'," in *Les Colloques de Wégimont II—1955, L'Ars nova: Recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959), pp. 17–26) and then by Ursula Günther ("Das Ende der Ars Nova," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963), pp. 105–20). The problems the term raises for Italian music have yet to be reexamined in light of Sarah Fuller's evidence for the slipperiness of the term as a reference to a single treatise or, more likely, a circle of related teachings ("A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–6), pp. 23–50, especially p. 44). Simply stating the years covered by the study would have given another way of demarking the chronological range: "Italian Fragments, *c.* 1330–1420." I choose not to take this approach because I argue that there is a continuity within the documents studied which goes beyond mere synchronicity. Put another way, I do not want to imply that the boundaries of this investigation could equally well have been drawn ten years earlier or, especially, later depending on the intended length of this study. We are left with a term which, as David Fallows points out, might be considered "historically misleading" or not true to the literal meaning in Italian of trecento ("Ars Nova," s.v., in *2ndNG*). However, the flexibility of such terminology has many precedents in English-language scholarship. Publications such as *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* have nearly entire volumes dedicated to music composed after 1400, exemplifying scholarly willingness to bend vocabulary to fit perceived stylistic periods. Recent articles such as Franco Facchin's "Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana alla luce degli ultimi ritrovamenti" (*Fonti Musicali Italiane* nuova serie 2 (1997), pp. 7-35) show a flexibility on the Italian side to bend the limits of the century as well. The denomination "Italian Ars Nova of the Trecento" used by the series published by Certaldo eliminates the ambiguity at the risk of some redundancy.

termine the provenance of manuscripts while not relying on other manuscript sources whose own locations of origin may be in doubt. My work suggests that, because fragments have been discovered one at a time over the past century, assumptions about the larger musical environment of late-medieval Italy have remained unquestioned beyond their usefulness.

I begin by presenting an overview of the source situation, and what we can see of the musical environment, of Italy during the period from around 1330–1420. In this chapter, I address the broad problems in discussing connections among sources and styles. I will also detail some methods for working with fragmentary sources. The chapters which follow are examinations of the particular fragments, divided roughly by geographical region, beginning with the northern sources (with those from Padua taking center stage), continuing with those which can be connected to Florence and Tuscany, and finishing with fragments from other regions, those of unknown origins, and finally touching on non-Italian sources of Italian music. My intention of drawing connections among sources requires that aspects of transmission which cut across sources and regions be discussed within the context of the first fragment that brings the issue to the fore. Thus, some skipping around the text will be necessary to find every discussion of a particular source. This discontinuity is, unfortunately, unavoidable, but I hope it might be mitigated by the index and the availability of an electronic version of this dissertation.[6]

This thesis will also extend our view of the concept of the fragment, making this concept more nuanced and well defined. As a consequence of my goal, the final chapters of the

[6] The electronic version of this text is available at <http://myke.trecento.com/dissertation/>. Copies of the .pdf version from UMI are not, at present, searchable; the version available at this site by contrast is searchable and has color versions of many figures.

dissertation will discuss works which might only be fragmentary from our perspective; that is, the perspective we have as seekers of larger collections of polyphonic music, but they are sources which we have no reason to believe were considered incomplete by their compilers.[7]

No new fragments recently discovered in Italian archives:
A reflection on what we already have

The primary aim of this work is not to present new, hitherto unknown sources of Italian mensural polyphony, although it will present one fragment I recently discovered and several works without introductory studies.[8] Instead, my intention is to paint a new view of the manuscript situation and music culture of trecento Italy based on a reexamination of the fragments already discovered, particularly in relation to one another. Announcements of new manuscript discoveries have been the catalysts for most discussions of fragmentary sources, but often the admirable goal of bringing the essential information about a manuscript to the attention of other scholars as quickly as possible has left much to be done even with the smallest fragments after their announcements. The importance of new fragments too often goes unrealized for scholars tackling various problems; relevant, already announced

[7] I have been unable to locate studies on the concept of completeness in the Middle Ages when applied to written compilations. It is obvious, given *explicit*s and *scripsit*s and other testimonies, that medieval copyists had an idea of a completed text similar to our own. However, the notion of a complete volume, that is, a complete collection of texts, to which nothing could or should be added, is not necessarily a concept shared with us. Thus, how a contemporary reader might have perceived a document made up of disparate parts remains an open question. Our attempts to answer this question will color how we approach polyphonic additions to liturgical manuscripts: as fragments, as additions, as commentary on the main corpus of the manuscript?

[8] For the new source, see the discussion of the blank fragment **Padua 1027** in Chapter 2. The first long description of **Oxford 56** appears in the same chapter.

sources are omitted in many discussions of trecento music.[9] Though they are in one sense known, their presence has not yet infiltrated scholarly discourse. In particular, newly-discovered sources have mostly been compared to the largest and most well-known manuscripts. While most discovery publications succeed at isolating the distinct traits of that specific new discovery, these traits are less often put in the context of the full body of contemporary sources. The study of fragments as a group, on the other hand, allows comparisons with the whole surviving repertory of trecento manuscripts which lets us isolate subgenres and draw out connections among otherwise disparate sources. It is in this important respect that I disagree with Stefano Campagnolo's remark at the beginning of his study of **Panciatichi 26**:[10]

> Nello studio dei manoscritti medioevali è ben noto che ogni codice costituisce un universo autonomo: esso è unico non solo per caratteristiche fisiche e di contenuto, ma anche la storia, l'uso che ne è stato fatto, le fortunate circostanze che ne hanno permesso la conservazione sono uniche.
>
> *In the study of medieval manuscripts, it is well-known that each codex constitutes an autonomous universe. It is unique not only because of its physical characteristics and its contents, but also its history, the use which was made of it, and the fortunate circumstances that have allowed its preservation are unique.*

[9] The dizzying similarity among titles of announcement studies is a source of further confusion; witness the difficulty in remembering which sources were referred to in these articles: "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," "Frammenti di un codice musicale del secolo XIV," "Frammenti di un codice musicale dell' Ars nova rimasti sconosciuti," "Un frammento di codice musicale del secolo XIV," "Eine neue Quelle zur italienischen Kirchenmusik des Trecento," "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," "Ein neues Trecentofragment," "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," "New sources of Ars nova music," and "Nuove fonti di polifonia italiana dell'ars nova."

[10] Stefano Campagnolo, "Il codice Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze nella tradizione delle opere di Francesco Landini," in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo: In memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, edited by Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Roasa-Barezzani (Florence, Sismel: 1999), p. 77.

Although much can be gained by the study of a manuscript as an autonomous universe—and this may be a profitable way to begin to describe a new source—the importance of comparisons among sources yields the realization that many sources share a common universe of shared works, compositional and notational influences, and common reception histories.[11]

The phrase "connections among sources," is often used as a synonym for works shared among these sources. We might find more meaningful the broader uses of the term which include scribal concordances, notational similarities, and related ideas of the organization of a manuscript. As one expands the concept further, perhaps to include stylistic similarities among works copied, linguistic traits, or physical size, a trove of possible relations and influences is unearthed. Visualizing this web of connections can be as difficult as discovering the connections in the first place. Figure 1.1[12] illustrates the connections which one minor source, **Florence 999,** shares with other trecento and early quattrocento sources. Certain of the connections relate to the manuscript as a whole. Others relate only to one or the other of the two polyphonic works contained within it.[13] Each of these connections may be studied individually to understand the universe—dependent and interrelated and not autonomous—which makes up the world of a single source.

[11] In contrast to this, his introductory statement, Campagnolo's own work shows a balance of the study of sources as detached objects and as bound within a complex of other sources.

[12] Figures, tables, and examples are numbered consecutively in this dissertation, so that the first Figure, 1.1, is followed by Table 1.2, etc.

[13] I have made no attempt to chart any of the connections between the monophonic works in this source and those in other sources. That such a task seems nigh impossible now demonstrates how much work is still to be done in the later histories of plainchant. **Florence 999** is the first source we will encounter which is not really a fragment at all. See the following section "Typology of styles, notations, and sources."

FIGURE 1.1: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN FLORENCE 999 AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

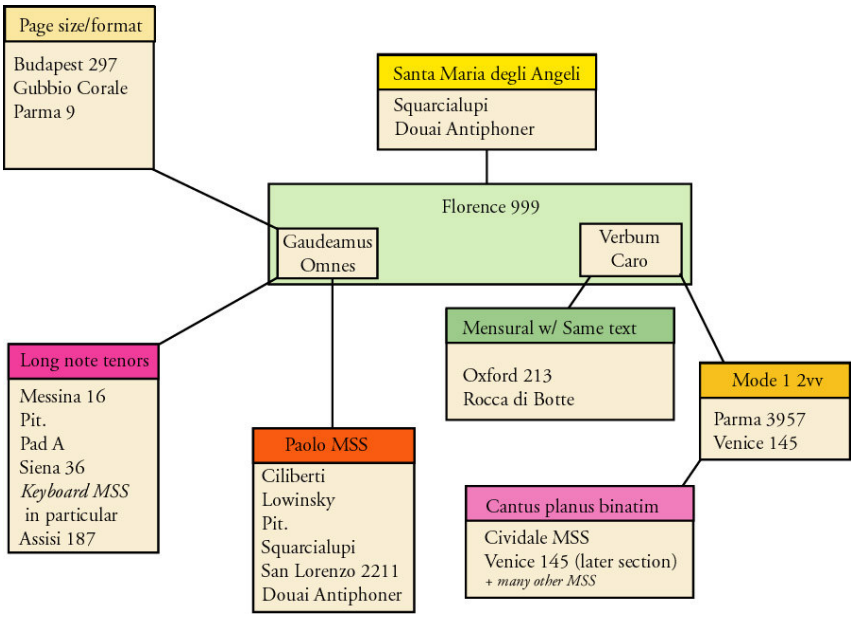

Figure 1.1 emphasizes different reasons (shown in color) why other manuscripts (listed in the different boxes) might be connected to **Florence 999**, or why works in one manuscript may be connected to those in another. Even for a source with few polyphonic pieces, the number of different connections is impressive; for a larger source, the complexity of such a chart would be astounding.

We should resist the urge to consider the unearthing of connections among sources to be a work of secondary importance compared to the discovery of new sources. That the reputation of such a scholar as Nino Pirrotta, who himself complained that he "never had the chance to discover the tiniest fragment of Ars Nova music," is so enduring reminds us that drawing out these connections and insights from existing sources is a never-ending endeavor of utmost significance.[14]

[14] Pirrotta was reporting on a source newly discovered by Hans David, "Church Polyphony Apropos a New Fragment at Foligno," in *Studies in Music History. Essays for Oliver Strunk*, edited by Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), p. 113.

Building on our Knowledge. What is already known?

For scholars, sorting through the gallimaufry of sources has become so difficult that obvious connections between sources have been overlooked simply because the manuscripts, though published, were not widely known. It may be said that scholarship on Italian sources lags behind its neighbors in this respect.[15] Important work on collecting facsimiles of sources from the Low Countries in one volume has already been completed.[16] The complementary task, collecting descriptions and inventories of manuscripts from the British Isles, was brought comparatively up-to-date in 1993.[17] The collection and reappraisal of recent French sources, though, trails even that of the Italians. However, the changes wrought by recent manuscript discoveries on our view of French music are not only less significant than those encountered by Italy, but are also intertwined with the reappraisal of Italian sources.

The order in which manuscripts have been discovered has had an important influence on the direction of scholarly activity as a whole. The manuscripts known to Johannes Wolf and Friedrich Ludwig do not represent what we should today consider the range of music production found in the Italian fourteenth-century. In particular, they exaggerate the importance of Florence (and to a lesser extent Padua) and the role of secular music for scribes *ca.* 1400.

[15] Franco Facchin's 1997 article, "Le fonti," was an important step in collecting and highlighting recent discoveries.

[16] Eugeen Schreurs, editor, *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen (An Anthology of Music Fragments From the Low Countries),* (Leuven: Alamire, 1995). The lack of complete work listings (with or without concordances) is one of the few deficiencies of this extraordinary effort.

[17] William J. Summers, "English 14th-Century Polyphonic Music: an Inventory of the Extant Manuscript Editions," *Journal of Musicology* 8.2 (Spring 1990), pp. 173–226. Andrew Wathey, *RISM B-IV 1-2*^{sup}. See also Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Garland, 1994) for inventories of the earlier sources.

Table 1.2 lists the Italian manuscripts in order of their discovery. The dates given are those of the publication of a notice of the manuscript which brought the discovery to the attention of the musicological public. The (otherwise unfortunate) isolation and specialization of music journals as such makes it easier for the later sources to determine which publications to include as designed to bring notice to musicologists. Some of the manuscripts listed as first appearing in Johannes Wolf's 1904 publication were mentioned in earlier catalogs, but there is no indication that scholarship on the musical contents of these sources was conducted prior to Wolf's history.[18]

[18] An excellent summary of the historiography of the Paduan fragments appears in Anne Hallmark's "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, *c.* 1400," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music,* edited by Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 197. The compilation of this table was aided substantially by the inventory of literature organized by source which Viola L. Hagopian prepared for the largest and most important sources in her *Italian Ars Nova Music: A Bibliographical Guide to Modern Editions and Related Literature*, Second edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

TABLE 1.2: DISCOVERY OF ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND SOURCES CONTAINING ITALIAN MUSIC, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER[19]

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Squarcialupi	by 1774[20]	Angelo Maria Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliotecae Mediceae Laurentianae*.[21]
Pit.	1827	François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale* 1, pp. 106-115.[22]
Mod A	by 1868	A. Cappelli, *Poesie musicali dei secoli 14, 15 e 16* (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli).
Strasbourg 222	1870	Auguste Lippmann, "Essai sur un manuscrit du quinzième siècle découvert dans la Bibliothèque de la ville de Strasbourg," *Bulletins de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace* Serie 2, 7, pp. 73–76. Destroyed in the same year as the announcement.
Roquefort	1876	Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'a nos jours*, vol. 5 of 5 vols, (Paris: Didot), but see, "Lost sources" in the following table.
London 29987	1877	H. Varnhagens, "Die handschriftlichen Erwerbungen des British Museum auf dem Gebiete des Altromanischen in den Jahren von 1865 bis Mitte 1877," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1. Also in *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLXXVI—MDCCCLXXXI* (1882).
Padua 1475	1890	Lodovico Frati, "Frammenti di un codice musicale del secolo XIV," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 18, pp. 438-39.
Padua 684	1892	Guido Mazzoni, *Tre ballate e due sonetti antichi*, Per nozze Salvioni-Taveggia (Padua: Gallina, 1892).[23]

[19] Non-Italian items containing only a single or a handful of Italian works, such as the Old Hall manuscript (which contains a Credo by Zachara) are omitted.

[20] "By (date)" will be used instead of just a date if the first traceable discussion of the manuscript seems to assume some prior knowledge of the source's existence. John Nádas has recently informed me of documents which push this date back by at least a year.

[21] Wolf, 1904 gives the first substantial musical description of the manuscript.

[22] See also Antonio Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani della Regia Biblioteca parigina*, 2 volumes (Paris: Stamperia reale, 1835), vol. 1, p. 570. Fétis seems unaware of the existence of **Squarcialupi** when describing **Pit.**

[23] Thanks are owed to the special collections department of the Duke University libraries for helping me obtain a copy of the Mazzoni publication, of which only sixty were printed. A summary of

(note continues)

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Bologna 2216 and **Bologna Q 15**	by 1893	Rodolfo Renier, review of Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700* (q.v.,) and Horatio Vecchi, *L'Anfiparnaso, comedia armonica*, *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana* 22, pp. 390-393.
Padua 1115 (Pad B)	by 1900	Johannes Wolf, "Der niederländische Einfluss in der mehrstimmigen gemessen Musik bis um Jahre 1480," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 6, p. 209.
Stresa	1902	Remiglio Sabbadini, "Frammenti di poesie volgari musicate,"*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 40, pp. 270–272 (as Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario). Outer folios revealed in G. Contini, "Un manoscritto ferrarese quattrocentesco de scritture popolareggianti," *Archivium romanicum* (1938), p. 1.
Munich 3223	by 1904	Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), presented with sources of German origin, p. 378
Panciatichi	by 1904	Wolf, *op. cit.*
Reina	by 1904	Wolf, *op. cit.*
Bologna 596	1910	Frati, "Frammento di un antico canzoniere musicale francese," *Il Libro e la Stampa* 4, pp. 15-17. Later, Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten Ältesten Stils," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923), p. 285, f. A
Parma 9	1911	Associazione dei Musicologi Italiani, *Catalogo generale delle opere musicali; I: Città di Parma*, pp. 56ff.
Vatican 129	1913	H[enry] M[arriott] Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina*, (Leipzig: Ottone Harrassowitz).
Vatican 171	1913	Bannister, *op. cit*. First significant discussion, Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2 (1925), p. 228.
Vatican 657	1913	Bannister, *op. cit.*

the publication also appears in the review printed in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 21 (1893), p. 200.

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Vatican 1419	1913	Bannister, *op. cit.* First significant discussion Besseler, *op. cit.* p. 226–27.
Vatican 1790	1913	Bannister, *op. cit*.
Vatican 1969	1913	Bannister, *op. cit*.
Parma 75	1925	Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2, pp. 231–32.
Padua 658 (Pad C)	1925	Besseler, *op. cit.*, p. 231 fn. 1. Front lifted by 1955 and reported in Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955), pp. 165–181, at p. 166.
Egidi	1925	Francesco Egidi, "Un frammento di codice musicale del secolo XIV," *Nozze Bonmartini-Tracagni XIX novembre MCMXXV*, (Rome: La Speranza). Lost, see below.
RossiVat	1925	Giovanni Borghezio, "Un codice vaticano trecentesco di rime musicali," *Annales du Congrès Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique—Congrès jubilaire 2–5 août 1925* (26th Congress), pp. 231–32.
Oxford 229 (Pad A)	1926	Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. II. Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry: Nachtrag zu Studie I," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 8.2, pp. 233–35.
Krakow 40582	1927 (1988/1998)	Wolf, "Eine neue Quelle zur Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Juhlakirja Ilmari Krohn'ille* (Helsinki), pp. 151–162. Lost in WWII. Rediscovery announced in *CCMS 4* (1988) and then "reintroduced" by Martin Staehelin, "Reste einer oberitalienischen Messenhandschrift des Frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Studi Musicali* 27.1 (1998), pp. 7–18.
Pistoia 5	1938	Federico Ghisi, "Un frammento musicale dell'ars nova italiana nell'archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Pistoia," *Rivista musicale italiana* 42, pp. 162–68.
Faenza	1939	Gino Roncaglia, "Intorno ad un codice di Johannes Bonadies," *Atti e memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Modena*, Series 5, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 31–43.[24]

[24] The manuscript was also known to Padre Martini in 1753 and to Antonio Cicognani ("Intorno ad un antico manoscritto musicale," *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 44 (1889), pp. 570–1), but their contributions did not seem to inform the larger musicological public of the manuscript's exis-

(note continues)

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
ManLucca	1940	Augusto Mancini, "Un nuovo codice di canzoni dell' 'Ars Nova'," in *Società italiana per il progresso delle scienze, XXVIII riunione (Pisa 11–15 Ottobre 1939),* relazione, vol. 5 (Rome), pp. 243–44.[25]
ManPerugia	1942	Ghisi, "Frammenti di un nuovo codici dell' Ars Nova e due saggi inediti di cacce del secondo Quattrocento," *La Rinascinta* 5, p. 75.
Siena 327 (= 207b)	1948	Ghisi, "A Second Sienese Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova," *Musica Disciplina* 2, pp. 173–77
Perugia 3	1952	Ghisi, "L'Ordinarium Missae nel XV secolo ed i primordi della parodia." (Presented 1950. Published 1952). Shown to him by Giovanni Cecchini. Now lost.
Padua 1106 (Pad D)	1955	Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955), pp. 165–181. Plamenac remarks that the manuscript had been earlier reported by Walter S. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries," *Notes* 6 (1949), p. 564, but the reference had not been pursued.
Florence Conservatorio	by 1956	Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt).
Lowinsky	1956	Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'Ars nova," *Musica Disciplina* 10, pp. 61-66.
Siena 30	1957	Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini* (Amsterdam: North-Holland).

tence. On the rediscovery, see Dragan Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in the Codex Faenza 117," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4.3 (Autumn 1951), pp. 179–80, and Pedro Memelsdorff, "New music in the Codex Faenza 117," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13.2 (October 2004), pp. 142–43.

[25] The manuscript was discovered in 1938, two years prior to this publication. First extensive inventory in Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Il Codice di Lucca," *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949), pp. 119–38 and in the two following issues. To this, we add new fragments discovered by Nádas and Ziino published in 1990 (*The Lucca Codex*) and 2005 ("Two newly discovered leaves of the Lucca Codex," *Studi Musicali* 34.1, pp. 3–23): bifolio 50/51 containing *L'alma mia piange, Con gli ochi assai ne miro, Donna i'prego Amore, Poy che da ti me convien partir via* (continued on 52r) discovered in 1996 by Giorigo Tori, and bifolio 73/76 (*Prest a la mort* (unicum), *Atandre, atandre, et atendusay* (Antonii), *Noble signore*(?), *Or sus*) discovered in 1997 by Sergio Nelli).

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Cividale 63	1963/4	Marie Louise Martinez, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 9 (Tutzing: Schneider), p. 130. Appeared approximately simultaneously with Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Nuovo materiale polifonico del Medioevo e del Rinascimento a Cividale." *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi* 46 (1965), pp. 213–15, who studied the sources in 1962.
Cividale 98	1963/4	Martinez, *op. cit.,* Petrobelli, *op. cit.*
Cividale 79	1963/4	Martinez, *op. cit.,* Petrobelli, *op. cit.*
Padua 675, 1225, 1283 (Pad D)	1964	Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts." *Acta Musicologica* 36.2-3, pp. 79–97.
Berlin 523	1964	Fischer, *op. cit.*
Ivrea 105	1964	Fischer, *op. cit.*
Casanatense 522	1964	Fischer, *op. cit.*
Grottaferrata 219	1965	Giuseppe Corsi, "Frammenti di un codice musicale dell' Ars nova rimasti sconosciuti," *Belfagor* 20.2, pp. 210–215.
Ostiglia	1966	Oscar Mischiati, "Uno sconosciuto frammento appartenente al codice Vaticano Rossi 215," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1.
Bologna Q 1	1966	Mischiati, "Uno sconosciuto frammento di codice polifonico quattrocentesco nella Biblioteca 'G. B. Martini' di Bologna," *Collectanea historiae musicae* 4, pp. 179–83.
Perugia 15	1966	Reinhard Strohm, "Neue Quellen zur liturgischen Mehrstimmigkeit des mittelalters in Italien," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1, pp. 77–87
Udine 290	1966	Petrobelli, "Due motetti francesi in una sconosciuta fonte udinese," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 4 (1966), pp. 201–214.
Seville 25	1968	F. Alberto Gallo, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica." *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2, pp. 49–76. Dating is of the first extensive treatment including description of polyphonic contents of interest to this topic. First mention in a musical work by Juan F. Riaño, *Critical and Bibliographical Notes on Early Spanish Music* (London: Quaritch, 1887); description of the contents by Higini Anglès, "Die mehstimmige Musik in Spanien vor dem 15. Jahrhundert," *Beethoven-Zentenarfeier vom 26. bis 31. März 1927* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1927), pp. 159–60.
Siena 36	by 1968	F. Alberto Gallo, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica." *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2, pp. 49–76.

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Florence 999	1968	Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex [I-Fl 87]." *Quadrivium* 9, pp. 5–19
Foligno	1968	Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," in *Studies in Music History. Essays for Oliver Strunk*, edited by Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 113–26; earlier mentioned in Layton 1960. Discovered by Hans David.
Grottaferrata 224	1970	Oliver Strunk, "Church Polyphony à propos of a New Fragment at Grottaferrata," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 3, pp. 305–13, and quasi-simultaneously Ursula Günther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 3, pp. 315–97.
Gemona Gradual	1972	Fischer, *RISM B IV 4*. From an unpublished report by Pierluigi Petrobelli.
Padua 656	1972	Fischer, *RISM B IV 4*. From an unpublished report by Plamenac.
Siena 10	1972	Fischer, *RISM B IV 4*.
Guardiagrele 2, 3	1972	Giulio Cattin, Oliver Mischiati and Agostino Ziino, "Composizioni polifoniche del primo Quattrocento nei libri corali di Guardiagrele," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 7.2, pp. 153-181.
Atri 17	1973	Agostino Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia italiana dell'ars nova." *Studi musicali* 2, pp. 235–55.
Messina 16	1973	Ziino, *op. cit.*
Cortona 1	1974	Ghisi, "Inno lauda polifonica all'Assunta ritrovato nell'Archivio comunale di Cortona," *Quadrivium* 15, pp. 105-11. One side only. Leaf lifted in 1976 and the reverse was published in Ziino, "Precisazioni su un frammento di musica francese trecentesca conservato nell'Archivio Comunale di Cortona," in *Università e tutela dei beni culturali: il contributo degli studi medievali e umanistici. Atti del convegno promosso dall facoltà di Magistero in Arezzo dell'Università di Siena, Arezzo-Siena, 21-23 gennaio 1977*, Quaderni del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia," edited by I Deug-Su and Enrico Menestò (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1981), pp. 351–58 + 3 plates. Lost at the restoration laboratory until it was rediscovered by Di Bacco and Nádas in the early 1990s.

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Padua 553	1977	Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'archivio di stato," *Annales Musicologiques* 7, pp. 17–41.
Dartmouth 2387	1979	Margaret Bent, review of *PMFC 12* in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32.2, pp. 562 and 575. First extensive mention in William J. Summers "Medieval Polyphonic Music in the Dartmouth College Library: An Introductory Study of Ms. 002387," in *Alte im Neuen, Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Bernd Edelmann and Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1995), pp. 113–30.
Trent 1563	1980	Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento." *Studi musicali* 9, pp. 171–89,
Houghton 122	1980	Bent, *op. cit.*
Assisi 187	1981	Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie' a due voci per strumento a tastiera," *Nuova Rivista musicale italiana* 15.4, pp. 628–33,
Rome 1067	1982	Fabio Carboni, and Agostino Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca della ballata 'Deh, no me fare languire'," *Studi medievali* serie 3, 23, pp. 303–09.
Grottaferrata s.s.	by 1983	Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark in *PMFC 24* report on p. 201 that the manuscript was known to Oliver Strunk and rediscovered by Hallmark who mentions it in her "Some Evidence for French Influence" article. No dates are given for these discoveries. Nor does information on the manuscript appear among those notes left by Strunk to the American Academy in Rome.
Florence 5	1983	Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts." *Early Music History* 3, pp. 67–81.
San Lorenzo 2211	1984	Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'*ars nova* italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi musicali* 13, pp. 3–31.
Todi 73	1985	Ziino, "Una sequenza mensurale per San Fortunato ed un Amen a tre voci nella Biblioteca Comunale di Todi (con un'appendice sul frammento di Cortona)," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 5, pp. 257–70
Ciliberti	1986	Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, "Le ballate di Paolo da Firenze nel frammento *Cil*," *Esercizi: Arte musica spettacolo* 9, pp. 5–37.

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Oxford 16	1987	Although discovered by Andrew Wathey the first mention is by Fischer and Gallo in *PMFC 13*. They report their findings based on a partial description in an earlier unpublished paper by Margaret Bent (1984) which went on to become "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 85-125.
Oxford 56	1987	Discovered by Andrew Wathey; first mentioned in *PMFC 13* (Fischer and Gallo)
Parma 98	1987	Discovered by Petrobelli and reported in *PMFC 13* (Fischer and Gallo), but also in *RISM B IV 2* as an English source: the position taken by this dissertation.
Udine 22	1988	Gilberto Pressacco, *Rassegna veneta di storia musicali* 4, pp 235–41. Pressacco received the notification from Cesare Scalon.
Parma 3597	1989	Strohm, "Polifonie più o meno primitive. Annotazioni alla relazione di base e nuove fonti," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa: atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo). From a collection of MSS microfilms of Bruno Stäblein.
Erevan	1990	Fischer, "Remarks on Some Trecento and Early Quattrocento Fragments," in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto - 1 settembre 1987*, Vol. 1 (Round Tables), (Turin: E.D.T.), p. 162.
Poznań 174a	1991	Agnieszka Leszczynska, "Slady Trecenta w Poznaniu," *Muzyka* 36, pp. 63–75.
Trent 60	1992	Marco Gozzi, "Un nuovo frammento trentino di polifonia del primo Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 21, pp. 237–51.
Padua 14	1993	Francesco Facchin, "Una nuova fonte musicale trecentesca nell'Archivio di Stato di Padova," in *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana 24, edited by Giuliano Cattin and Antonio Lovato, (Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana), pp. 115–39.
Bern 827	1994	Christian Berger, "'Pour doulz regard...': Ein neu entdecktes Handschriftenblatt mit französischen Chansons aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 51 (1994), pp. 51–77.
Boverio	1994	Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile*, Ars Nova 3, (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana).

Manuscript	Year	Discovery
Todi Carità	1994	Valeria Sargeni, "Una nuova fonte di polifonia trecentesca in lingua francese conservata nell'Archivio storico comunale di Todi," *Esercizi: Musica e spettacolo* 13 (nuova serie 4), pp. 5–15.
Frosinone 266 & 267	1995	Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, "Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone," *Studi musicali* 24, pp. 185–208.
Ascoli Piceno 142	1996	Paolo Peretti, "Fonti inedite di polifonia mensurale dei secoli XIV e XV negli archivi di stato di Ascoli Piceno e Macerata," *Quaderni musicali marchigiani* 3, pp. 85–124.
Macerata 488	1996	Peretti, *op. cit.*
Cortona 2	1998	Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 44–92. Di Bacco and Nádas were signaled about this source by Anthony Cummings and Alice Clark, c. 1994.
Perugia 15755	2004	Biancamaria and Ciliberti, *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: Olschki).
Padua 1027	2006	Cuthbert (this dissertation)
Reggio Emilia Mischiati	forthcoming	Ziino and Gozzi will report on this fragment which was originally discovered by Oscar Mischiati.
Brescia 5	forthcoming	Stefano Campagnolo.
Siena Ravi 3	forthcoming	Ziino.
Bologna Archivio Covers	forthcoming	Armando Antonelli.

This table does not list manuscripts which fall out of this study because they are too early (**Oxford 112** and **Venice San Giorgio**, known since Gallo's study in 1968) or too late (such as **Gubbio Corale** discovered in 1996 by Reinhart Strohm, or **Casanatense 2151**).

It is an unfortunate reality that the last century of scholarship and discovery has also been a century of disappearance and destruction of manuscripts. Table 1.3 lists those lost sources known to have existed by the time of modern scholarship in music (*c.* 1800). Unlike

the previous table, all lost manuscripts containing Italian trecento music are included, regardless of provenance or dating:[26]

TABLE 1.3: LOST, STOLEN, OR DESTROYED MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING ITALIAN MUSIC

Manuscript	Year lost	Details and reports of loss
Strasbourg 222	1870	Presumed destroyed in fire. An inventory and partial copy, executed by Coussemaker, exists as Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 56.286.
Roquefort	by 1904	Although it was thought to have disappeared soon after its discovery, the manuscript seems to have been an invention of Fétis's. The work of Earp shows that it is to be identified with the Berkeley manuscript and does not possess any Italian music.[27]
Egidi	[unknown]	Preserved in a photographic negative given by Egidi to Kurt von Fischer. Computer enhancement of the blurry photograph published in Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels."
Warsaw 378	1944	Preserved as a photographic copy by Maria Szczepańska in Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Michiewicza, MS 695.
Perugia 3	by 1987	Discovered by Ghisi and reported in 1952, but reported as lost in *PMFC 13*, with no published transcription ever having been made. Possibly lost by 1960, since Layton reports "Unfortunately, they have not been available for study."[28] Two credos were preserved on two folios in a 1502 incunabulum.

[26] One might note that nearly every fragment is a testimony to lost notated music, a topic which will be taken up later in this chapter. Beyond this, there are numerous other documents attesting to further losses. For an overview of the problem and opportunities to learn even from lost sources, see Martin Staehelin, "Mehrstimmige Repertoires im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der verlorenen Quellen," in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto – 1 settembre 1987*, Vol. 1 (Round Tables) (Turin: E.D.T., 1990), pp. 153–59.

[27] For this information we are indebted to Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Music in the Early Nineteenth Century: the Work of Perne, Bottée de Toulmon, and Fétis," in *Guillaume de Machaut: 1300–2000,* edited by Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet and Nigel Wilkins (Paris: Université de Paris IV, 2002), pp. 9–40.

[28] Layton, "Polyphonic Music for the Ordinary," p. 370.

Manuscript	Year lost	Details and reports of loss
Guardiagrele 2 & 3	by 1996	Described in print as lost by Ziino, "Dal latino al cumanico, *ovvero* osservazioni su una versione trecentesca della sequenza *Sagïnsamen bahasïz kanïnï* in notazione mensurale," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), pp. 31-48, but known to have been stolen much earlier.
Rome Trastevere 4	by 1998	Reported lost in Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels," p. 59.
Venice Giorgio	by 2005	Reported lost in Brumana and Ciliberti, *Frammenti Musicali del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* p. 94
Stresa 14 (?)	unknown	Margaret Bent privately reported that this fragment was missing. Upon my visit to the library, the manuscript was reported as in transit between two different storage centers and not available, but its loss could not be confirmed.

This chart does not include several lost French sources which would be important for understanding music manuscript structure in the fourteenth century, such as the lost Maggs Rotulus.[29] Nor does it contain pieces or polyphonic manuscripts which are mentioned in primary source testimonies but for which we have no evidence to believe they survived into the twentieth century, such as Gherardello's Credo or a quaternion of motets in Cividale during the mid-1360s.[30]

[29] This lost source, containing Machaut's *Lay mortel: Un mortel lay weil commencier* is discussed in David Fallows, "Guillaume de Machaut and the lai: a new source," *Early Music* 5.4 (October 1977), pp. 477–83, and in the commentary to Schrade, *PMFC 2–3*.

[30] Gherardello's work is mentioned by Kurt von Fischer in "The sacred polyphony of the Italian Trecento," *op. cit.,* p. 145. The reference stems from Simone Peruzzi's sonnet on the death of Gherardello, transcribed in Johannes Wolf, "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3.4 (August 1902), p. 611. In Fischer's discussion, he speculates that there could have been a complete Mass cycle by the composer. There does not seem to be enough information in the sonnet to justify this supposition. No composer from the trecento is known to have written more than two different types of Mass movements. Only Gratiosus composed one of the Mass movements with a long text (Gloria or Credo) and a movement with a shorter text (in this case, a Sanctus). Margaret Bent called "striking" the lack of Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei settings by Ciconia—otherwise the most prolific composer of polyphonic Mass movements of the era—and she noted that his output roughly reflects the proportions in which these movements were composed at the time. (*The Works of Johannes Ciconia*

(note continues)

Table 1.2 made evident the increasing diversity in the types of libraries and archives in which trecento sources have been discovered as the twentieth-century progressed. An in-depth consideration of provenance of sources and the concept of musical center will be presented later. For purposes of introduction, it suffices to consider the current locations of these manuscripts; a spread which argues against a tradition comprising only a few centers (See Figure 1.4):

(*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* 24), (Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984), p. xi). For the Cividale motets, see Chapter 2 below.

FIGURE 1.4: CURRENT LOCATIONS OF TRECENTO MANUSCRIPTS

The location of a manuscript today is no guarantee of the importance of its region for manuscript production during the Middle Ages. (The evidence for a flourishing center of trecento polyphony in Hanover, New Hampshire is particularly slim.) However, as a rough guide, it is immediately apparent that the Abruzzi, Umbria, and Emilia-Romagna are revealing more polyphonic treasures than would have been considered decades ago.

It is not surprising that the discovery of new sources can change a region from a backwater of polyphonic composition to a center. However, it may be startling to realize that new discoveries can also make a compositional hub seem provincial in some ways. Nino Pirrotta asserted in a 1973 article that the Florentine sources of polyphony distinguished themselves from those of the North through their more cosmopolitan outlook.[31] By this, Pirrotta meant that northern sources were interested primarily in transmitting only local repertory while Tuscan sources preserved compositions of both central Italy and the Veneto. Though this view has persisted both explicitly and implicitly in later scholarship,[32] it is in need of revision and qualification given the new manuscripts, new biographical details, and new musical centers discovered over the past thirty years.[33]

One way of measuring whether a center was cosmopolitan would be to count the number or percentage of outsiders (or their compositions) represented in the sources. A purely statistical methodology for examining Pirrotta's view hits a snag from the start: it now seems much more difficult to determine if a composer was northern, Tuscan, or "other" than it did before. The discovery of new centers of musical composition, especially the peripatetic

[31] Pirrotta, "Novelty and renewal in Italy, 1300-1600," in *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag,* edited by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf (Munich: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 1973), pp. 49–50. By this view, he changed his earlier notion that Florence itself was not cosmopolitan in the way other central Italian sources, such as the Codex **Mancini** (which he had considered Lucchese), and Prodenzani's *Saporetto*, were. See Part III of Pirrotta and LiGotti, "Il codice di Lucca," especially p. 121, and the summary of Pirrotta's earlier position in Nádas and Ziino, "The Lucca Codex," p. 15.

[32] Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 16–18 (with important qualifications on the final two pages).

[33] Pirrotta correctly showed that the direction of new discoveries even in his time were moving toward an equality of numbers between Florentine and Northern sources. "Novelty and Renewal," p. 49.

Papal courts,[34] greatly confuses the situation. We must ask ourselves to what extent a composer such as Zachara belongs to any particular region. Born, in all likelihood, in Teramo near L'Aquila (east of Rome), he was affiliated with Papal chapels which at various times made their homes in Pisa, Bologna, and Cividale del Friuli near the present-day border with Slovenia. He also wrote a Mass movement which seems to commemorate a prominent Roman family.[35] Other major composers such as Matteo da Perugia and Ciconia present similar difficulties.

The cosmopolitan quality of Tuscan manuscripts must further be called into question by what they do not preserve. The perplexing absence of Johannes Ciconia from the great **Squarcialupi** codex and other major Florentine sources is only the most prominent example. **Squarcialupi**, despite its largely retrospective nature, leaves room for the works of Ciconia's Tuscan contemporaries. In the slightly earlier Florentine manuscript **Pit.** his often-copied *Con lagrime bagnandome* was added later, almost as an afterthought.[36] Yet it cannot be argued that Ciconia was unknown in Florence and therefore could not have been included in its large anthologies. Two Florentine *cantasi come* sources, **Chigi 266** and **Riccardiana 1764**, preserve texts which are to be sung to the music of Ciconia's *Lagrime bag-*

[34] Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 44–92. See the discussion of this important assertion in Chapter 3, below.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 57.

[36] The poem has been dated 1406 which, if true, would place it near the end of Ciconia's output but before the probable compilation of the **Squarcialupi** codex. This dating would excuse the song from being present in **Panciatichi**, which may have in part set the standard for which non-Florentine composers to include.

nandome.[37] There is further evidence that Ciconia and other northern composers were known in Florence, though not in the manuscript repertory. Sonnet 35 of Prodenzani's poem anthology "Saporetto" cites Ciconia's *O rosa bella, Lizadra donna,* and *Con lagrime bagnandome*. (Along with a possible citation of the possibly Ciconian *Le ray au soleyl*—see Example 1.14 later in this chapter for the text of the sonnet.)[38]

As important as demonstrating that there are composers specifically excluded from the Florentine anthologies is showing that the northern sources were inclusive and diverse. If by inclusiveness we mean the collection of works from other parts of the Italian peninsula, the northern sources are at a disadvantage compared to the Tuscan. But there are other traditions which need to be taken into account. French music played a significant role within Italy, and most especially in the North. Anne Hallmark, Margaret Bent, and Giulio Cattin have all written about Italian interest in French music, with Hallmark's work going the farthest in detailing specific types of influence.[39] The scope of the Franco-Italian exchange and its northern center are shown in Table 1.5, below:

[37] Blake Wilson, "Song collections in Renaissance Florence: the *cantasi come* tradition and its manuscript sources," *Recercare* 10 (1998), p. 79. Note however that Ciconia is also not in the (probably northern) **Reina** codex. *Cantasi come* works are new words "sung to the tune of" another work. Presumably that work would have been well known (or at least, not obscure), since the music for the pre-existing work is not transmitted.

[38] John Nádas, "A cautious reading of Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*," *Recercare* 10 (1998), p. 35.

[39] Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 85–125. Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'archivio di stato," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1977), pp. 17–41 Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence."

TABLE 1.5: INTERSECTIONS OF ITALIAN AND FRENCH POLYPHONY IN ITALIAN FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS

Boverio (twelve French works along with seven Italian)
Brescia 5 (Machaut's *De petit puo* with two works by Francesco da Firenze[40])
Cividale 98 [**Cividale A**] (Credos by Zachara and Philippoctus de Caserta with the French-texted *Puis que aloë* and *Fuyés de moy*; see Chapter 2)
Frosinone 266 and 267 (four virelai, one ballade, three ballate)
Grottaferrata 219 (French works by P. des Molins, Borlet, and an anonymous piece, with Italian secular polyphony by Jacopo da Bologna, Francesco da Firenze, and Giovanni da Cascia)
Grottaferrata/Dartmouth (sacred and secular works by French composers (Perrinet, Johannes Vaillant) and Italians (Zachara, Ciconia, and ?Francesco))
Oxford 229 [**Pad A**] (*Ma fin est mon commencement* by Machaut, *Sones ces nachares*, untexted work, with a French-texted work by Ciconia and Italian-texted works by Jacopo and Francesco)
Padua 658 [**Pad C**] (a caccia and a madrigal by Jacopo along with the anonymous virelai *Or sus* and a three-part version of the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur*)
Padua 684 [**Pad A**] (a Credo by Perrinet with sacred works by Gratiosus da Padua and secular works by Gratiosus and Francesco)
Padua 1115 [**Pad B**] (Senleches's *En ce gracieux tamps joli* and a contratenor from an anonymous French composition, *Ay si*, with works by Antonellus da Caserta, Ciconia, and an anonymous two part ballata, *Se per dureça*)
Padua 1475 [**Pad A**] (the *Ite Missa Est* from Machaut's Mass, and a Sanctus possibly from Saint Omer in northern France, with Mass movements of probable Italian origin, a Gloria by Egardus (probably from Bruges), and secular music by Francesco, Jacopo, and Johannes Baçus Correçarius)
Parma 75 (works by Antonellus da Caserta, Grenon, Ciconia, and an anonymous virelai)
Pistoia 5 (Italian-texted works by Antonellus da Caserta, Francesco, Ciconia with anonymous rondeaux and ballate)
Rome 1067 (*Deh non mi far languire* and *Esperance;* see Chapter 3)

Approximately half of the manuscripts in Table 1.5 can be securely placed in the Veneto; there are good reasons for suspecting a northern provenance for nearly all the rest (excepting **Brescia 5**). One could also add the Italian or possibly Italian manuscripts **Bologna 596** and **Bern 827** which contain only French works and thus add to the larger tradition of Italian interest in French music shown by the manuscripts **Mod A**, **Chantilly,** and possibly **Ivrea 115**.

[40] For the use of this name in preference to Landini, see the Appendix at the end of the dissertation.

The breadth of interest of a musical region can also be seen in the genres the region collected in its manuscripts. The following table shows Italian fragments whose compilers (or, in some cases, those who added works to them later) evidently thought sacred and secular works could exist in the same volume:

TABLE 1.6: FRAGMENTS (AND MANUSCRIPTS EXCLUDING THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES) PRESERVING BOTH SACRED AND SECULAR POLYPHONY

Ascoli Piceno 142 (rondeaux, motets, and Salve Regina settings)
Assisi 187 (1 sacred diminution, 1 secular)
Atri 17 (1 sacred, 1 vernacular)[41]
Berlin 523 (3 older sacred works, 1 secular)
Boverio (24 sacred, 19 secular, 1 untexted)
Brescia 5 (Gloria "Qui sonitu melodia," with two Francesco works)
Cortona 1 (?3 sacred motets, 1 secular work)
Grottaferrata 224 (10 sacred, 3 secular including 1 celebratory motet)
Dartmouth 2387 [*part of* **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**] (1 sacred, 1 secular)
Oxford 229 [**Pad A**] (6 sacred, 5 secular)
Padua 684 [**Pad A**] (5 sacred, 4 secular)
Padua 553 (1 sacred keyboard work + other works)
Padua 1475 [**Pad A**] (12 sacred, 6 secular including 2 celebratory motets)
Perugia 15755 (a Mass cycle and a collection of works by Jacopo; it is unclear whether these two fragments were originally from the same manuscript.)
Poznań 174a (?1 sacred, ?2 secular, 1 unidentified)
Siena 36 (1 sacred motet, 1 equal-note Kyrie, 2 secular)
Siena Ravi 3 (6 sacred works with 1 French-texted work)
Vatican 1419 (8 sacred, 3 secular)
Venice Giorgio (2 sacred motets, 1 secular)

When to this list is added **London 29987** and **Pit.**, both of which contain a few sacred works, the keyboard manuscript **Faenza**, or the late manuscript **Bologna Q 15**, which transmits the secular models for some "parody" sacred works, a sizeable collection of materials awaits reexamination. Note also that these two tables provide us with the minimum

[41] The vernacular piece is a polyphonic lauda, a work whose content is sacred but whose form and poetic language is closely related to the secular genres.

number of fragments which contain both French and Italian or sacred and secular music—the discovery of additional folios to already known sources could add to these lists.

Typology of styles, notations, and sources

The study of fragmentary trecento sources reveals strong connections among sources, but also deep differences in the types of sources and the styles of music which they contain. The important connections between musical style and manuscript type, while practically universally accepted, have not been deeply explored. This section presents the received divisions of trecento polyphonic music, which have formed the most important bases for classifying manuscripts of the era. I continue by showing how notation, audience, and musical style have been intertwined in these divisions in ways which have impeded their usefulness. I propose instead disentangling these features and classifying notational system, musical style, and manuscript type separately before considering anew relationships among these different features.

Variety in Sacred Works; Variety in Sacred Sources

In his groundbreaking article on sacred music of the trecento, Kurt von Fischer remarked on the "astonishing variety of styles" found in the 120 complete and 25 fragmentary pieces he had collected.[42] Fischer used a loose definition of the term "style." Those styles he listed first could also be termed genres or even, in some cases, text-sources. His examples included movements of the Mass Ordinary, "Benedicamus" settings, and motets. He con-

[42] "The sacred polyphony of the Italian Trecento," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973–74), pp. 143–144.

tinued by grouping these pieces into what he termed six stylistic groups, which are summarized in Figure 1.7.

FIGURE 1.7: FISCHER'S SIX STYLISTIC GROUPS OF SACRED POLYPHONY

(a) Pieces in square notation. (approximately 70)
(b) Pieces in mensural or partially mensural notation, derived from *cantus planus binatim* style. (5)
(c) Liturgical motets in *ars antiqua* style. (9)
(d) Pieces in Italian trecento notation. Divided as:
    1. Franconian, pre-Marchettian notation. (6)
    2. Related to madrigal style, in pure trecento notation. (10)
(e) Motets from pre-1350 written in notation of Marchettus. (3)
(f) French influenced Mass movements and motets from northern Italy. (15)

Excluded were the compositions of Ciconia, Matteo da Perugia, and Zachara as well as laude and contrafacts.

Here, style is largely defined as the notational system of a piece and not the music as a sounding object. The French influence of (f) and similarities to the madrigal of (d2) might give some image of the sound of those works, but even here the connection to style of sound is weak. The connection between (d1) and (d2) is obscure; it is unexplained how pre-Marchettian and "pure trecento" notations can both be considered under the same notational rubric. The compositions in group (d1) are closer temporally to those of (e) than to (d2). The *ars antiqua* category (c) combines both musical and notational aspects.

Margaret Bent took up Fischer's divisions in her review of Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*. Bent's review was as much an examination of Fischer's 1974 article as of the PMFC volume, since the authors implicitly employed the same distinctions of genre in dividing the

pieces in their *exclusa*.[43] Bent altered Fischer's groupings somewhat, creating four groups by combining works in square notation (a) with those derived from *cantus binatim* (b) and the early motets of (e) with the pieces in trecento notation (d).[44]

For both Bent and Fischer, the next important step was showing how these separate divisions were transmitted in different types of manuscripts. For Fischer, these divisions indicated a separation in audience and performers for the different stylistic groupings. A passage of Fischer's, which Margaret Bent also found vital enough to quote, asserts that pieces in groups (a), (b), (c), and (d1) are found in plainchant manuscripts and *laudarii* while the later pieces, found in (d2), (e), and (f):

> with few exceptions…are preserved in collections of polyphonic music intended for chapels with highly trained singers. The difference in style is therefore a social and educational matter, dividing the repertory into, on the one hand, music for traditional monastic and clerical use and, on the other hand, music for centers of culture with a sophisticated musical training.[45]

In Bent's view, the separation among these two types of piece was so great that she questioned why Fischer and Gallo chose to edit the repertories together "as if they told a sin-

[43] Bent, Review of Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, editors, *Italian Sacred Music* (*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 12), *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32.3 (Fall 1979), p. 562.

[44] For another way of dividing sources into categories, see Charles Hamm's review of Fischer's *RISM B IV 3–4* (*Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27.3 (Autumn 1974), pp. 518–522) which reclassifies the three repertories which Fischer identifies on the basis of musical style into two categories largely on the basis of manuscript contents.

[45] Fischer, *op. cit.* p. 145

gle story,"[46] rather than reflecting (as she put it elsewhere) the "technical and stylistic [dividing line] which is in general borne out by manuscript segregation."[47]

Yet the connections implied in Fischer's statement are not self-evident. It would be hard to prove that the manuscripts containing much of Fischer's category (d2), (e), and (f) polyphony were intended for chapels at all, let alone those with highly-trained singers. Not only do examples of sacred music in largely complete manuscripts such as **Pit.** and **London 29987** call this audience into question, but also secular works in prominent positions (i.e., at the top of pages which are not at the ends of gatherings) in mostly sacred fragments such as **Pad A** should give us pause. It is also not a given that three-voice compositions with complex notation necessarily imply performance by more highly trained singers than simpler notation.[48] Nor can it be assumed that manuscripts with sophisticated notational systems originated at centers of higher cultural sophistication than manuscripts with less complex notation. Florence, Padua, and Cividale are only the most clearly documented of the many locations which produced both sacred music of high notational complexity and simple two-voice works.[49]

[46] Bent, *op. cit.,* p. 563.

[47] Bent, "The Definition of Simple Polyphony: Some Questions," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa: atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), p. 33.

[48] In particular, the assumption is flawed that works transmitted in the most complex notation, that of the *ars subtilior*, would have been executed by the most highly trained musicians. This is tantamount to supposing that our best performers are all engaged in the performance of Brian Ferneyhough or Claus-Steffan Mahnkopf.

[49] The difficulty in pinning manuscripts down to specific locations is the primary obstacle to adding further cities to the list. In Florence, the two-voice composition *Verbum caro factum est* of **Florence 999** can be contrasted with Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes* earlier in the same manuscript, or the more complex sacred music found in **Pit.** In Padua, the Ascension songs of **Padua 55** and **56** from earlier in the trecento (but with signs of use well into the quattrocento) can be contrasted

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Independence of Notation and Style

Fischer's categories might seem to suggest that notation is intimately tied to the style of the work. But not only is it *theoretically* possible for a notational system to transmit a musical work normally written in another, there are several pieces whose divergent notations in different sources resist an easy equation of written form with musical style.[50] For instance, the simple, two voice Benedicamus Domino trope for the feast of St. Nicolas, *Nicolay Solem-*

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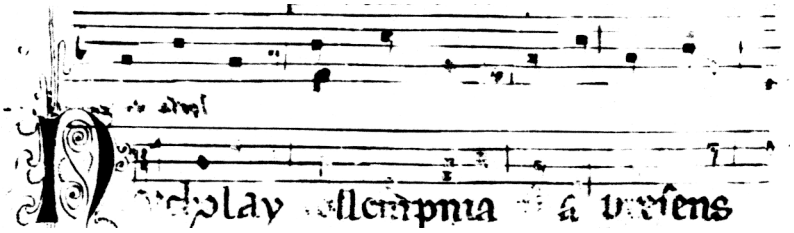
with the repertories of **Pad A** and **Pad D**. See Chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of the fertile mix of styles in Padua. Although the rich and varied collections of *cantus planus binatim* in the Cividale manuscripts, such as **Cividale 56**, are well known, it is often overlooked that the same region is in possession of important and more sophisticated sacred works such as the Gloria by Rentius de Ponte Curvo of **Cividale 63** and **Udine 22**. That Di Bacco and Nádas were able to connect the composer, as Laurentius de Pontecurvo, to Gregory XII in March 1410 does not remove the Cividalese connection for the piece nor, in particular, for the manuscript as a whole: a fact acknowledged by the structure of the authors' Table 2.1 which lists "sources *whose contents* may be associated with the repertory of the papal chapels" (emphasis mine). Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 49 and 59.

[50] Although my principal argument here is that *in practice* multiple systems of notation were used to transmit the same piece, we might note that recent researches have expanded also the theoretical ability of notational systems as well. That extended sequences of syncopations are possible in Italian notation via co-joined notes has been known since at least Michael Long's dissertation. Long, carefully correcting Nino Pirrotta, argued that Marchetto's prohibition regarding these "one-pitch ligatures" was a warning against scribes' obscuring the forms of the notes and not a proscription of the ligature itself. (Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 15–20. Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova," *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955), p. 59. Marchettus of Padua, *Marchetti de Padua: Pomerium*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 6, edited by Giuseppe Vecchi (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 3.2.50.) Long showed (as Nádas did later with different repertories) that two semibreves or minims connected under a *punctus divisionis*, e.g. ♦♦, can prolong a syncopation from a previous tempus (Long, *op. cit.,* pp. 98–103; Nádas, "Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 99–100). Conversely, my discussion of ligated major semibreves later in **Pad C** will show that the Italian notational system was able to create a note of the value of the (illegal) imperfect breve even in the compound division of *duodenaria.*

nia, appears in northern Italian and Swiss sources notated differently. *Nicolay Solemnia* in the gradual **Cividale 56** is an example of *cantus planus binatim* and has been cited previously by Gallo.[51] The work appears in a manuscript containing twelve polyphonic pieces, none of which is notated in a system preserving rhythmic information (see Figure 1.8).

FIGURE 1.8: **CIVIDALE 56, F. 254V (DETAIL)**

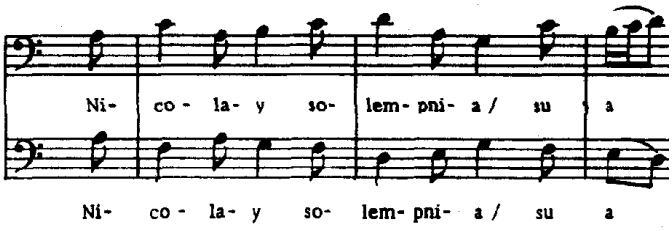


Nicolay Solemnia in the manuscript **St. Gall 392** is notated to imply consistent breve-long pairs, equivalent in rhythm to the second rhythmic mode. Fischer chose to transcribe the work with the accent on the long via an initial upbeat breve (see Figure 1.9):[52]

[51] F. Alberto Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa: Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), p. 17.

[52] Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen Mehrstimmiger Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Schweizerischen Klostern," in *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Donum Natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, edited by Jozef Robijns, (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, Seminarie voor Muziekwetenschap, 1969), p. 300. Fischer's transcription violates in spirit, though not in practice, Marchettus's teaching in the *Pomerium* which argues that privation cannot precede sound at the beginning of a work (unless some other voice is already singing). Marchettus, *Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi, p. 61; also translated in Ralph Clifford Renner, "The Pomerian of Marchettus of Padua: a translation and critical commentary," (Thesis (M.A.), Washington University (St. Louis), 1980), p. 38.

FIGURE 1.9: *NICOLAY SOLEMPNIA* FROM **ST. GALL 392**, TRANSCRIPTION BY KURT VON FISCHER



The St. Gall version of *Nicolay* cannot be taken as an isolated anomaly. The work is also transmitted as second mode in the **Berlin 190**, with an added third voice. (There is, however, a separation of time between the versions: both the St. Gall and the Berlin manuscripts date from the middle of the fifteenth century, while **Cividale 56** originated near 1400).

The secular music of the trecento also contributes ways in which pieces reveal scribal knowledge of different notational systems. Eugene Fellin's study of variants in the top voice of madrigals and cacce listed nine different ways in which scribes could, consciously or inadvertently, alter the notation of the work which they copied. His ninth method is of interest here, a substitution of a French notational system for Italian or vice-versa.[53] (It is worth mentioning that Francesco's blindness should make us consider him separately in discussions of composer's intention with regards to notation.[54]) We might also take note of a canonic motet

[53] Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 29–30. Fellin's ninth category seems incongruous among the other eight categories of change which, for the most part, involve small changes to notation such as substitution of separated notes for ligatures (category 4). However, there is a way in which the ninth category fits within Fellin's system. Like nearly all of the other notational variants, changes from one notational system to another involve little change in the sound of the work despite the greater scribal initiative. Fellin's table documenting changes of notational systems between manuscripts, pp. 34–39, has remained a largely neglected source of knowledge.

[54] Although I have mentioned (in talks and my unpublished 1998 thesis) this need to consider Francesco's notation separately from other composers', Oliver Huck independently came to the same

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by Johannes Ciconia copied in **Bologna Q 15** on ff. 270v–71r, where, although the piece is copied in French mensural notation, the scribe is conscious that the original system was Italian. Thus he gave instructions to the performer to interpret the tenor and contratenor as if they were in Italian notation: in this case by considering two semibreves (in ligature) as equivalent to a perfect (3 semibreve) breve even when the ligature is not followed by a breve.

Among other works showing scribal fluency in different systems and independence in notation is a Mass movement by Zachara possessing a rhythmically straightforward cantus in one version and a cantus with more complex syncopations and cross-rhythms in another.[55]

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conclusion in his recent article, "Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten' und der 'Schritt in die Schrift': Überlieferung und Edition der Musik des frühen Trecento," in *Text und Autor*, Christiane Henkes and Harald Saller, with Thomas Richter, editors (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2000). Maria Caraci Vela also discusses the impact of Francesco's blindness on the transmission of his works ("La Tradizione Landiniana" in Delfino and Rosa-Barezzani 1999 ("Con dolce suon"), pp. 17–18). What I wrote in 1998 remains my belief:

> Interestingly, though Landini's eleven madrigals and cacce studied by Fellin display variations in notation type between pieces, there is no variation in notation type between concordances of a single piece. Could it be that because of his blindness, Landini relied on various scribes to record his work (explaining his lack of a single notational system across his output of madrigals) and that his compositions were only written down once, while other composers might have written several versions of their pieces in different notational styles? An examination of the notation of Landini's ballate should be undertaken. In any event, studying the works of Landini in order to determine authorial intention in notation types seems somewhat futile.

However, the criticism that Anonymous V levels against Francesco's (supposed improper use of red) notation suggests that he was in fact directly responsible for the written form of some of his works. (Coussemaker *CS III,* p. 396; cited by Leonard Ellinwood, "Francesco Landini and His Music," *Musical Quarterly* 22.2 (April 1936), pp. 192–93). Anonymous V refers to Francesco as "Checus de Florentia," so he was certainly aware of the affliction.

[55] Partial transcription from **Bologna Q 15** and, along with its original note values, from **Mod A**, by Anne Stone, "Glimpses of the unwritten tradition in some ars subtilior works," *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), part of the two volume, *Essays in Memory of Nino Pirrotta*, edited by Frank D'Accone and Gilbert Reaney, 1995–1996 (i.e., 1998), pp. 78–81, with a fuller discussion of this passage in her dissertation, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.M.5.24," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994), pp. 153–157. Reaney's own transcription of the same work in *E15cM* vol. 6, no. 17, gives

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Anne Stone has argued persuasively that we should not necessarily assume that the performance of the two versions was different. Rather, what is subtler about the ars subtilior may be close relationship between the way the rhythms were naturally performed and the precise values which are used to record the sound on paper.[56] If one believed that all versions of the two voice trope *Nicolay Solemnia* discussed above were sung in the second rhythmic mode, then we could also call those versions which notated a distinction between semibreves and breves "more subtle."[57]

Beginning Anew: Classification of Manuscript and Fragment Types

If musical style, independent of notation, or location of origin have not been exhaustively studied, the classification of manuscript types, despite some pioneering works, rewards new research even more quickly. Among polyphonic manuscript sources, eight have received the most substantial examinations, the four retrospective Florentine codices and four north-

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an entirely different yet also satisfying treatment. His edition presents the cantus almost like a baroque melody, with **Bologna Q 15**'s top voice as a base upon which ornaments from **Mod A** appear, like footnotes, as explanations off the staff. See the further discussion of this work in "Popularity and Transmission" later in this chapter.

[56] Stone, "Glimpses," esp. pp. 61–64, and her opening argument in "Che cosa c'è di più sottile riguardo l'*ars subtilior*?" *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 31 (1996), pp. 3–31.

[57] Surprisingly, we have little evidence to suggest that the notation of the Credo Cardinalis and other simple two-part mensural settings was *not* integral to the style of performance of the work. That is to say, the notational system is consistent among the many settings which appear during the late trecento and early quattrocento. It is not until later in the fifteenth-century that non-mensurally notated (but not necessarily, non-mensurally performed) settings of Credo IV appear. See for instance the Icelandic fragment, **Reykjavik AM 80** from the library of Munkaþverá, written in 1473, or the French manuscript, **Amiens 162**, from *ca.* 1500, both of which contain non-mensural versions of the Credo Cardinalis. See Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, "'These are the Things You Never Forget': The Written and Oral Traditions of Icelandic *Tvísöngur*," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2003), pp. 50–55.

ern manuscripts, **Reina, Mod A, Mancini,** and **Rossi**.[58] Two of these manuscripts have been reassembled from multiple sources—in the case of the **Rossi** codex, a source in Rome and one in Ostiglia, and in the case of the **Mancini** codex, three separate discoveries in Lucca and one in Perugia.[59] The remaining eighty or so sources are typically grouped together simply as fragmentary manuscripts. But they can be considered in several distinct groups based on how their forms were initially conceived. The majority of fragments were originally codices, most likely similar to the eight larger examples which currently survive. They were originally manuscripts of multiple gatherings created to contain polyphony. I will return to this point with stronger arguments shortly.

Fifteen mensural, polyphonic sources are manuscripts of liturgical chant in which a few polyphonic compositions are found. The main corpuses of six of these sources were copied in the late twelfth to early fourteenth centuries, and originally were entirely monophonic. Polyphony was added during the period covered by this study. The remaining liturgical sources are not really fragments in the sense of missing, misplaced, or partially surviving mu-

[58] Early studies of trecento music tended not to consider **Mod A** strongly when writing the history of the period, considering its repertory more significant for French music and for the period following. It should be mentioned that these sources are not entirely polyphonic. **Squarcialupi** and the **Rossi** codex preserve a number of single voice ballate. French manuscripts of the fourteenth-century, like the Machaut sources, also occasionally mix monophonic and polyphonic works.

[59] Literature written early in the last century tended to refer to them as the **Rossi** and **Mancini** *fragments*, but as more of the MSS have been found and, more importantly, as the significance of the manuscripts became more apparent, their designation within the literature changed to coincide with the respect given to the more complete sources, that is, they are now *codices.* The transformation of the manuscripts can be seen in Fischer's *Studien* of 1956 where the eight manuscripts mentioned each receive a column heading. The same phenomenon might now be taking place with the Boverio manuscript (Turin T.III.2) perhaps as a result of its publication in facsimile with introduction. It is listed as one of the principal sources of Trecento polyphony in the second New Grove. The palimpsest manuscript San Lorenzo 2211 serves as a bridge between the fragmentary and nearly-complete sources because of its large size contrasted with the difficulty of reading it.

sic. In these sources, such as **Florence 999**, the polyphonic sections were planned at the time of the creation of the manuscripts. (A few sources, including **Parma 9**, contain both of these two types of addition; they possess polyphony which was integral to the conception of the manuscript and polyphonic works added later; other sources, such as **Vatican 657** contain polyphony added when other monophonic sections were also added).

The timeline of Italian polyphony found in liturgical manuscripts is unbroken from the late duecento to the mid-quattrocento. Although dating these sources is generally much more difficult than dating their more complex counterparts, we can say with reasonable certainty that several of these sources come from before 1360, thus filling in a part of the fourteenth century which we know was rich in polyphonic activity, but from which we have no major sources.[60] Polyphonic mensural pieces in liturgical manuscripts have often been treated in the literature either as having little relation to the high art polyphony or conversely as a part of that repertory not requiring much comment about its path of transmission. However, the continued discovery of manuscripts, liturgical and otherwise, containing sacred polyphonic music attacks the idea of the trecento as a nearly completely secular period in polyphonic music.[61] In Table 1.10, asterisks indicate sources of sacred polyphonic music not known to Kurt von Fischer when he published his landmark *Studien zur Italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* in 1956.

[60] For the dating of the Rossi codex, the earliest major secular source, see Nino Pirrotta, *The Rossi Codex* as well as Tiziana Sucato, *Il codice Rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rondellus*.

[61] The erosion of this view was first strongly argued by Kurt von Fischer in his "Sacred Polyphony" article, *op. cit.*

TABLE 1.10: ITALIAN SOURCES OF SACRED MENSURAL POLYPHONY

* **Ascoli Piceno 142**
* **Assisi 187** (instrumental version of a *Kyrie*)
* **Atri 17**
* **Barcelona 883**
* **Bologna 1**
* **Boverio**
* **Brescia 5**
* **Cividale 63** (probably the same MS as **Cividale 98**)
* **Cividale 98**
* **Cortona 2**
Faenza diminutions
* **Foligno**
* **Florence 999** in monophony
* Florence **San Lorenzo 2211**
* **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** + monophony
*? **Grottaferrata s.s.**
* **Guardiagrele 2 and 3** in monophony
* **Gubbio Corale** in monophony
Krakow 40582
* **Macerata 488**
Mod A
* **Messina 16**
Pad A
* **Pad D**[62]
* **Padua 14**
Padua 55 + **Padua 56** in monophony
* **Padua 553** instrumental version of a *Gloria* + mensural monophony
* **Parma 9** in monophony (and additions to monophony)
* **Parma 3597** in monophony
* **Perugia 15755**
Pit.
* **Poznań 174a**
* **Reggio Emilia 408** in monophony
* **Rome Trastevere 4**
* **Seville 25**
* **Siena 10** added to monophony
* **Siena 36**
* **Siena 207**[63]

[62] One of the four fragments of **Pad D**, **Padua 1106**, was known by the time Kurt von Fischer published the *Studien*. It contains motets but no sacred works.

[63] One of two parts (formerly 326) was discovered in 1924, the other (327) in 1964.

* **Siena Ravi 3**
* **Todi 73** in monophony
* **Trent 1563**
* **Udine 22**
These Vatican sources were known to Fischer but not discussed in his catalog:
Vatican 129
Vatican 171
Vatican 657
Vatican 1419
Vatican 1969

The designation "in monophony" means that the polyphony is an integral part of an otherwise monophonic manuscript. "Added to monophony" by contrast shows those sources where the polyphony has been added later to a monophonic collection. For **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, I have written "+monophony" since a single monophonic piece is coeval with the surviving remnants of the manuscript. A *? indicates that the manuscript was probably not known to Fischer.

If any suspicions remained that the sacred music in the trecento has been slighted in the literature, Nino Pirrotta and Pierluigi Petrobelli's headings for the second New Grove entry on Italy remove all doubt. They divided art music before the seventeenth century into three categories: plainchant, early secular music, and the Renaissance, neglecting these important sources.[64] The polyphony of liturgical manuscripts will be covered in Chapter 4.

Other sources of polyphonic music contain pieces copied into manuscripts that are not primarily repositories of music. The polyphony found in four of these sources, **Barcelona 883, Siena 30, Siena 36**, and **Seville 25,** is seen in the company of music treatises. The music in **Assisi 187**, **Padua 656, Vatican 129,** and **Vatican 1419** are later additions to unrelated manuscripts.[65] The trecento polyphony of **Berlin 523** is a special case: it is an addition to a

[64] Pirrotta and Petrobelli, "Italy §I.1–3," in *2ndNG*. The entry on plainchant does mention *cantus planus binatim*. The discussion of early secular music includes reference to "a scattering of motets" whose Latin texts may reference religious occasions. No mention of music for the Mass appears in this section.

[65] **Padua 656** is the only truly non-fragmentary manuscript listed in Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino's article "Sources, MS, §VIII (Italy)," in *2ndNG*. However, the division of sources into "Principal individual sources" and "Other fragments" carries with it the assumption that all

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French sacred polyphonic source of the thirteenth century, which then became the cover for a later, unrelated manuscript. In a sense, it is a fragment of a fragment.[66] Together, these nine sources form the study group for Chapter 5.

Flyleaves and Dismembered Manuscripts

Since they are the both the most numerous and the most misunderstood, I wish to consider in greater detail those fragments which, I assert, were at one time part of manuscripts which were similar to the larger polyphonic sources. One finds fragments of larger polyphonic manuscripts primarily in three settings: as flyleaves, as internal strengthening for the covers of books, and as covers of notarial documents. In the first group, they appear as flyleaves and pastedowns for other books, whether manuscript or printed. These books could be either copied or printed later, in which case our manuscripts might have been added as part of the original binding, or they could be earlier manuscripts which were restored or rebound later.

The second setting, fragments which were used internally (within the covers) to strengthen the bindings and covers of other books, is one which some might group with the first. I consider them separately for three reasons. First, these dismembered sources are use-

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other sources were fragmentary manuscripts. It is an irony that musical contents of the non-fragmentary *source* **Padua 656** is a fragmentary *piece*: a section of the tenor of Ciconia's *Con lagrime bagnandome*, copied twice.

[66] A more-detailed typology would also consider additions within other trecento manuscripts whether fragmentary or nearly complete. For the cases of the **Mancini** codex and **San Lorenzo 2211**, for instance, consideration of principal versus secondary copying layers of works (distinguished for example by the position of a work on a page or changes in scribal hand between works) has proved fruitful in understanding to what extent an attribution at the top of a page applies to a work below. See Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex,* p. 42, and David Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and their Milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, edited by Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 114–15.

ful for their bulk. While only parchment folios are generally strong enough for the flyleaves and notarial covers, a quantity of paper folios would have been equally sufficient to parchment as stuffing for bindings. I consider them separately also because they often suffer more damage, from folding and severe trimming, than fragments from the first group (which, when they are lucky enough to be used in manuscripts of similar size to their original state often lose "only" their margins, foliations, and composer attributions). Finally, I consider them separately because of the difficulty in locating these fragments. A diligent librarian who notes the contents of every manuscript flyleaf will enable us to identify fragments of the first group; but the same diligence which does not allow books to fall into a state of disrepair *might* hinder the discovery of this second group.[67]

The last large group of dismembered fragments is found as covers of collections of notarial documents, often used to protect internal indices (i.e., vacchette). In every known case parchment sources were employed. Typically, these folios suffer greater damage on one side (the outside of the folder) than the other. Folds which run contrary to the original design of the manuscript can have disastrous consequences for text or music on the fold.[68]

[67] I place the word "might" in italics in acknowledgment of the difficult position which curators are in when juggling the research needs of current scholars with the need to preserve materials for posterity. Scholars encounter the same conflicts. Surely there are many of us who have returned a manuscript and pointed out a loose page in need of being reattached to the book while praying that the custodians would not make a complete restoration and rebinding of the manuscript, making our codicological work more difficult.

[68] For instance, the obliterated middle staff of f. 56v of **Mancini** renders illegible a crucial line of Zachara's *D'amor languire*. Attempted transcriptions are necessarily unsatisfactory in this location. See my article, "Zacara's *D'amor Languire* and Strategies for Borrowing in the Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass," in *Antonio Zàcara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei, dedicated to Kurt von Fischer (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana), pp. 352–54, and Lucia Marchi's dissertation, "La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il codice

(note continues)

Their use as notarial covers often brings with them clues to the location of other folios from the same manuscript.[69]

Since understanding the trecento involves the recovery and study in context not only of the lost manuscripts and fragmentary sources of the time but also considering the lost pieces contained within these sources, the remainder of this introductory chapter develops different ways to glimpse works we know existed in the past but have vanished from the surviving material traces of the trecento.

Counting our Losses: The Missing Polyphonic Works of the Trecento[70]

Fully understanding a repertory of music involves, above all, having a grasp of its extent. We need to view the repertory as a whole in our minds in order to distill its salient features, its internal subdivisions, and, perhaps above all, the distinctive and wonderful exceptions which give life and development to music. Getting a handle on a repertory is especially difficult when what survives for us to study is distant, or worse, incomplete. We know that our perspective is obscured, our understanding partial. Our conclusions are subject to revision; they are in short, inconclusive.

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2" (Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2000), pp. 231–34.

[69] See Nádas and Ziino's use of such clues to discover new leaves of the **Mancini** codex in *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 15–17.

[70] I wish to acknowledge Lisa Friedland (Department of Computer Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst) for conversations and advice which resulted in many of the mathematical models used in this section, and David Tabak (National Economic Research Associates) for first noting the similarities to animal capture/recapture sampling methods. I owe a special thanks Prof. William Bossert of the Department of Biophysics, Harvard University for spending time in discussion with me about this project.

We would be more assured about our work if we were convinced that we lacked only a little from the repertory, and that what we lacked was similar to what we already had. But understanding the extent of our losses has been considered difficult or impossible by musicologists.

In this section, I consider the size, measured in number of pieces, of various subgenres of the trecento. I suspected that the information we already had for certain repertories could substantially lessen our uncertainty about the extent of our losses. This section discusses some ways we conceive of missing pieces in a repertory, and ways we might develop methods for estimating the number of missing pieces. It then applies these methodologies to the subject at hand: the various polyphonic genres of the fourteenth century. The section concludes by remarking on other uses of these methods and their applicability to other branches of music scholarship and humanistic studies.

There are several reasons why we should consider the total size of an incomplete repertory. The number of missing pieces gives us an estimate of how fruitful we expect searches for new manuscripts to be. As is noted elsewhere in this thesis, the rate of discovery of fragments has increased rather than declined over the last forty years,[71] and we have no reason to expect that the rate will drop off in the near future. As important as the discovery of new manuscripts is for the study of scribal concordances and notational features, given that these discoveries are time-consuming and often require expensive excursions to study distant "leads," it is fair for scholars, and those who fund scholars, to ask if we expect new manuscript finds to result in new pieces of music. More importantly (and less materialistically), if

[71] See Table 1.2.

we suspected a single source or small group of sources to be representative of a much larger collection of music we would be inclined to grant that source or group more weight in our analyses. A source that represented many missing sources would carry more force in preparing descriptions of typical music of a time, than sources that represented in themselves the full extent of the genre. The monophonic instrumental compositions in the **London** codex (**29987**) are examples of pieces to which we have given further weight and study because they are presumed to stand in for a much larger repertory.[72]

We should also consider the missing repertory because its size and composition affect how we view sources that do exist. As has already been mentioned, the majority of fragmentary manuscripts seem to have originally been similar in size to those few sources which do survive in complete or mostly complete state. Our losses are represented by the disembodied folio numbers which stand in for so many lost pages:

[72] I should add that serious questions can be raised at least in this case about whether these pieces are similar to the unwritten instrumental pieces; this is taken up in more detail within my discussion of keyboard music in the fragments in the following chapters and also the discussion of the possible instrumental work "Sones ces Nachares" from **Pad A** in Chapter 2.

TABLE 1.11: HIGHEST EXTANT FOLIO NUMBER FOR SOME TRECENTO FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS[73]

Parma 75	243 (233?)
Perugia 15755	171 [74]
Stresa 14	141
Florence 5	138 ? (see Chapter 3)
Frosinone 266/267	133 [75]
Ciliberti	97
Todi Carità	93 ?
Brescia 5	71
Siena Ravi 3	70
Vatican 1969	60
Padua 1475	50
Munich 3223	22
Florence Conservatorio	19 [76]

We should not forget that these numbers do not represent the original length of these manuscripts, but merely the highest numbered folio which currently survives. For instance, the gathering structure of **Pad A**, discussed in Chapter 2, shows that although our last folio number is 50 (on **Padua 1475**), we can be fairly certain that the original manuscript contained at least 70 folios. The order of works in **Florence 5** gives another hint at the original length of a manuscript. Its seemingly-alphabetical presentation of Francesco's ballate

[73] These sorts of loss are not confined to the main period of this study: among slightly later manuscripts, one should recall the **Boorman** fragment's preserved foliation of 125, or the earlier **Venice Giorgio**'s folio 86.

[74] Oliver Huck, review of *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.,* edited by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (Florence: Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*. Brumana and Ciliberti did not notice this folio number on binding strip VIa, thus their highest identified folio number is 36.

[75] A second, arabic foliation of 217 appears on the bifolio with signature 267, but it is unclear whether this foliation is original.

[76] Although f. 19 is easily read on one of the two folios, a cut-off numeration on (new numbering) f. 2r escapes easy identification. Eugene Fellin suggests that this folio might have originally been f. 21 ("A Study of Superius Variants," p. 26) but since the two folios are a single, joined bifolio this identification is nearly impossible. An interpretation of "xxvi" is more likely, necessitating three missing bifolios (20/25, 21/24, 22/23). Less likely, the foliation could be "xvi" indicating that the bifolio has been folded against its original orientation.

ends with ballate beginning with the letter "C" (*Che pen'è quest'al cor*, *Cholgli ochi assai ne miro,* and *Cosa nulla*). Even supposing that Francesco were the last composer in the manuscript (unlikely) and that it preserved only half of his 113 known ballate which begin with the letters *D* through *V*,[77] we would still need forty folios to complete the manuscript.[78]

As tempting as it might be to suppose that manuscripts were often dismembered from their extremes, we have little evidence for this mode of destruction. It would therefore be more prudent to suppose that that these folios represent random samples of the original manuscripts. The expected length of the manuscripts, as an average, would then be twice the highest surviving folio number.[79]

[77] The transmission rate of fifty percent seems appropriate since, of Francesco's thirteen known ballate between *Benché ora* and *Cosa nulla*, **Florence 5** provides readings for seven.

[78] In the case of **Florence 5,** however, we would have less reason than for other manuscripts to suppose that the lost pages represent otherwise unknown works, because of its high concordance rate.

[79] For a manuscript with *j* folios, the expected folio value, that is, the likely average folio over repeated random discoveries, given by: $EV = \sum_{i=1}^{j} p_i i$

where p_i is the probability of drawing folio *i*. If each page is equally likely to be preserved then the expected value reduces to: $EV = \frac{1}{j}\sum_{i=1}^{j} i = \frac{1}{j} \cdot \frac{j(1+j)}{2} = \frac{1+j}{2} \approx \frac{j}{2}$

(It is not always the case that one can reverse a formula like this one to get the estimated book length. In fact, the field of parameter estimation is controversial enough that it accounts for perhaps half of all theoretical statistical research. However as a general rule for the average length of a manuscript, the inversion of this formula would raise few eyebrows. It should not be considered an accurate way of estimating the length of any one particular manuscript given a surviving folio number).

The average of the entries on Table 1.11 is 100, so we might predict an average book length of 200. For another way of considering the expected length of a manuscript, we can compare with the lengths of the surviving Florentine codices, **Panciatichi** 115, **London 29987** 185 (palimpsest numbering), **Pit.** 150, **Squarcialupi** 216, and **San Lorenzo 2211** 188 (highest surviving folio), which average 171 folios. These two estimates accord well, and strongly suggest that the fragments were originally similar in length to the larger, surviving Florentine codices.

But what was on these lost pages? We return to the problem of the missing pieces within these missing sources. There are several other lost pieces (or at least, lost concordances) which are tantalizingly close to being available to us. Four trecento flyleaves are still attached to their host manuscripts, leaving a face undiscovered, or visible only as show through. Librarians have good reason to be cautious about lifting flyleaves: in several cases, much of the ink is lifted from the page, and the cover (with a mirror) becomes the more important source for that face of the manuscript.

TABLE 1.12 : POLYPHONIC SOURCES STILL PASTED DOWN WITH AT LEAST ONE FACE HIDDEN.

Houghton 122	1v, Marian motet. 2r, Credo
Oxford 56	Back pastedown: unknown work, probably in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*.[80]
Padua 1027	Half of the front and back folios are attached to the cover. As the rest of the fragment is blank, and there is no show-through, the hidden sections are probably blank also.
Ivrea 105	No description

Works which are unidentifiable despite being revealed are another glimpse into the problems of lost sources. The following table, Table 1.13 lists only those works not included in the previous and does not begin to consider the problem of identification of certain works from **San Lorenzo 2211**:

[80] For the identification of the front pastedown of **Oxford 56** as Ciconia's *Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas*, see Chapter 2, below.

TABLE 1.13 : POLYPHONIC SOURCES WITH ILLEGIBLE FACES OR FRAGMENTS TOO SMALL TO IDENTIFY

Cividale 98	Ballade tenor (?) f. 1r bottom.
Cortona 2	Gloria, f. 1r., Sanctus, f. 1v B.
Grottaferrata/Dartmouth	Two offsets from missing folios.
Krakow 40582	One side of each of the two folios is an illegible Gloria.
London 29987	Erased Credo, f. 1r.[81]
Oxford 16	Erased work.
Oxford 56	Several unidentified and mostly illegible works.
Perugia 15755	Several motets and music with no surviving texts.
Rome 1067	*Speravit*, f. 44v and small work on f. 42v.
Seville 25	Unidentified compositions, ff. 23v and 39r.
Vatican 171	Four unidentified Glorias.
Vatican 1790	Mensural voice at the bottom of f. 1r.
Vatican 1969	Three voice virelai, f. 49r.

This table should not be read as implying that all other sources have satisfactory readings.

Some hints as to the extent of our musical losses can be found in references to musical compositions in other works, such as poems in text sources where composers' names have been added, or texts which make obvious that they are discussing specific musical compositions. These pieces are in a sense then only semi-lost. Their music and their poetry are not available to us, but their one-time existence is documented. An example of a poem documenting lost musical works is Simone de' Prodenzani's thirty-fifth sonnet of *Il Saporetto*:[82]

[81] Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 172–73. The visible parts of the Credo, transcribed by Long on p. 176, are compatible with Zachara's Credo in **Cividale 98**. Further investigation is warranted. Another unidentified, erased early-fifteenth century Credo can be found on f. 1v of the probably Viennese manuscript **Nuremberg 9a**, f. 1v. The voice has been erased in favor of Zachara's Credo, "Cursor." (Mentioned in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, p. 264.)

[82] Edition from Fabio Carboni, *Simone De' Prodenzani: Rime* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2003), computer file 3, p. 15. In Carboni's new numbering of the sonnets, this sonnet is no. 24. I have added italics to the full title of Rosetta in line two and inverted the order of "partir da te mi" from "da te partir me" in line four. This reading accords with the versions of Boccaccio's text found in **Bologna Archivio Covers**, year 1337 and 1338. Although not present in the Bologna versions of this text, in *Filostrato*, the text continues asking, "Perché mi togli il sollazzo e la pace?" Perhaps

(note continues)

EXAMPLE 1.14: SIMONE DE' PRODENZANI, ***IL SAPORETTO***, SONNET 35

Titles definitely to be associated with works which survive today are shown in bold type.

Colla vivola fe' cançon di maio,
Rosetta che non cambi mai colore,
Ie sui nafres tam fort, dolce sapore,
Comme partir da te mi degio oma'io?
D'amor languire e puoi el dolce *Raio*,
O rosa bella, che m'alegrie 'l core,
Legiadra donna e poi ***Donna d'amore***,
Un fior gientile del qual mi 'namoraio,
Questa mirabil donna, Margarita,
Con lagrime bagniando el suo bel viso,
Ditutto se' e fé *Sella mia vita*,
Costei sarebbe bella in Paradiso,
Non credo, donna, *O giemme incolorita*
del Cicognia una parte fu l'aviso.

Of the works or possible works cited, we have copies of the nine in bold in Example 1.14. All of these works are by Antonio Zachara da Teramo except *O rosa bella*, and the three works with "donna" in their incipits. John Nádas has equated "El dolce Raio" with Ciconia's *Le Ray au Soleyl* and has tentatively connected *Questa mirabil donna*, *Margarita* with the refrain of the ballade *N'a pas longtemps* which discusses the pleasing and beautiful Margarite.[83] We are still left with at least two lost works (*Come partir da te me debbo mai* and *Se la mia vita*) and possibly five if we consider "Costei sarebbe bella in Paradiso," "O gemma incolorata," and "Cançon di maggio" the titles of lost works. Depending on what mix of

Prodenzani selected this poem because of the potential for a pun on the name of the central character of *Il Saporetto* or the title of his other major work. The version of the poem given above can be compared with Santorre Debenedetti, editor, *Il "Sollazzo" e il "Saporetto," con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto,* supplement to *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 15 (Torino: Loescher, 1913), which includes as songs, "Cançon di maggio" (1), "dolçe sapore" (3), and considers as a title, "El dolce raggio" rather than the shorter "Raio."

[83] John Nádas, "A cautious reading," p. 35. The quotation in *N'a pas longtemps* is "La très plaisant et belle Margarite." See David Fallows, "Ciconia's last songs and their milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition,* edited by Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 114, for a summary of the arguments which allow *Le Ray au Soleyl* to shed the designation "opus dubium."

these interpretations we use, we have between 56 percent (9 of 16) and 85 percent (11 of 13) of the works mentioned in this poem. Are these typical numbers? Can we generalize from this evidence?

We have other evidence of lost sources which we can use. The poet Franco Sacchetti provided several editions of his works. In later editions, he was careful to note which of his poems had been set to music and by whom. Figure 1.15 lists the works which Sacchetti reports were set by the composer Nicolò:[84]

FIGURE 1.15: NICOLÒ'S WORKS MENTIONED IN THE CATALOG OF SACCHETTI

M = madrigal, B = Ballata, C = Caccia; works which survive today are shown in bold type

Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde **(M)**
Come la gru quando per l'aere vola **(M)**
Correndo giù del monte a le chiar'onde (M)
Di diavol vecchia femmina ha natura (B)
Nel mezzo già del mar la navicella **(M)**
Passando con pensiero per un boschetto **(C)**
Una augelletta, Amor, di penna nera (M)
Chi 'l ben sofrir non pò **(B)**
Povero pelegrin salito al monte **(M)**
Lasso, s'io fu' già preso (B)
State su, donne!—Che debian noi fare **(C)**
Chi vide più bel nero (B)

Seven of Nicolò's twelve works on texts by Sacchetti currently survive (58%); of the thirty-four of Sacchetti's texts that were set to music by any composer, only twelve remain (35%).[85] Do these percentages apply to Italian music as a whole, or are the pieces set to Sac-

[84] Adapted from F. Alberto Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages II*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 65-66.

[85] One lost Sacchetti ballata, Francesco's *Né te né altra voglio amore*, possessed at least four different lauda contrafacts, though all are transmitted in the same source, **Chigi 266**. The ascription to "Franciscus de Organis" is from Sacchetti's autograph, **Florence 574**.

chetti's texts, mostly by the oldest generation of composers of the Italian *Ars Nova*, different and unrepresentative?[86]

For the remainder of this section, I wish to introduce another possible method for examining repertories which do not survive. This method uses probabilistic models and simulations in part borrowed from animal biology. These models are most commonly employed to count animal populations whose members are difficult to capture *in toto*. Although there is a fair amount of probability and other mathematics used to get the final numbers presented in this project, the fundamental points can be followed with little background in probability and statistics.

The first principle to borrow is that the number of unique works in each manuscript source gives us some indication of the size of a repertory. If with every new fragment or book we discover, the majority of works are unknown from other sources, then, all else being equal, we would expect that a large part of the repertory remains undiscovered. Conversely, if new manuscript discoveries were, in general, not bringing with them new works, then we would suspect we have most of the original repertory (if not most of the copies of the origi-

[86] There are further documents which might allow us to estimate our losses in a similar fashion for nearby repertories. Perhaps the most famous to scholars working on French music of the period is the index page formerly in the possession of the Duchess of Trémoïlle of a lost manuscript of motets. Work on this source was carried out by Martin Staehelin in a short but important article on lost manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, "Mehrstimmige Repertoires im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der verlorenen Quellen," in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto—1 settembre 1987*, Vol. 1 (Round Tables) (Turin: E.D.T., 1990), pp. 153–59. Through concordances with other French and Italian manuscripts, Staehelin ascertained that 63% of the 114 pieces in the index survive. (Staehelin did not seem to include the concordance in the recent manuscript **Cortona 1**, though this changes the percentage only slightly). His work was concentrated on source losses rather than work losses and, as such, focused on library catalogs, payment records, and assumed omissions in stemmata as his most important evidence.

nal repertory, which is an important distinction). While it might be obvious that more unique works would hint at a larger repertory, this presumption does not tell us *how much* larger one repertory might have originally been than another.

It is even more intuitive, but extremely important to keep at the forefront of our minds, that this principle tells us nothing about whether we have most or all of the contents of *other* repertories. If we have few new pieces of fourteenth-century Italian music accompanying new manuscript discoveries, it does not tell us anything about how much French music there is left to discover. This obvious statement makes the decision of what constitutes a repertory and what does not an important decision. Slicing repertories too thinly can create a problem of overfitting—seeing correlations where there is not enough data to support them, a problem I will return to later.[87]

We may begin with a simple example including some assumptions that might sound incorrect. We can modify these assumptions later and see how altering them affects the result. Consider how scientists might count the number of fish in a lake—they could catch 100 fish, tag them with some sort of marker, release them; then they could catch another 100 fish. If 20% of those fish were previously tagged, then we could guess that we had

[87] It follows that even a small amount of data collected on a certain repertory is more important for estimating the size of that repertory than an abundance of data gathered about a different repertory. The weight of this axiom to my work cannot be overstated: there are many large Florentine codices of mostly-Florentine works, nearly exclusively secular, which have a great many pieces in common. As I will show later, the fragments on which I work preserve parts of that repertory but primarily comprise different repertories, mainly sacred and ceremonial, with a much lower rate of retransmission. The fragments therefore preserve the types of music which we should expect future manuscript discoveries to have a higher chance of containing.

originally tagged 20% of the total fish in the lake. We would then estimate that there were 500 fish in the lake. This is known as a "capture/recapture" method of counting.[88]

We can use the same method of counting with musical works in manuscripts—we take a certain number of manuscripts as the first catch and we mentally "tag" the pieces in that batch by taking note of which pieces appear. We might then consult other manuscripts and see the amount of overlap among manuscripts. What might seem like a flaw in this method is that we assume each song was equally likely to be transmitted—as if each fish were equally easily caught. Surprisingly, there are several cases where this assumption does not strongly conflict with our data, as will be presented. More importantly, when we adjust for different pieces having different popularities, we find that our unadjusted prediction *underestimates* the number of pieces. So a model assuming equal probability gives us a minimum estimate of the number of missing pieces, which is still extremely useful. It happens that most other refinements to the model—non- or only partially intersecting repertories is one—affect the model in the same way, increasing the range of possible values but leaving the estimated minimum number alone.[89] It bears repeating, that though the estimates given in

[88] The generalized formula for a capture-recapture model with two captures is:

Size of population = Total number of items tagged in first capture * 100 ÷ percentage of tagged items in the second capture.

One might note that the size of the second capture does not come into the equation. However, larger captures will usually result in more accurate estimates.

[89] A list of potential refinements to a capture-recapture model and their effects on the estimated size of the population can be found on p. 57 of Michael Begon's short introduction, *Investigating Animal Abundance: Capture-Recapture for Biologists* (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1979). Begon gives three situations where this number might be overestimated, none of which is likely to occur in this study. First that the mark on the animal might not be permanent; for our purposes this impermanence means that we might not recognize a piece when it appears in a second manuscript. Second, that marking decreases survival rates, or here that the presence of a piece in one

(note continues)

this paper can be refined, and will be later, the refined estimates will not be lower than what I present here.

In order to make accurate estimates we must first have a good grasp of the number of pieces which survive in each genre. This study will limit itself to the period in which nearly all our manuscripts stem, 1380–1415, (the only major exclusion is the **Rossi** codex), and will thus consider only those earlier pieces which are retransmitted in a retrospective manuscript.

Table 1.16 gives the number of works in each of five different genres contained in different Italian and foreign manuscripts of the trecento and early quattrocento. The number of pieces in the genre contained in each manuscript is given, as are the number of pieces appearing in one, two, three, etc., manuscripts, and the percentage of *unica*. About half of the madrigals and cacce exist in only a single source. This number increases to about two-

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manuscript lessens its likelihood of appearing in a second manuscript. The first case, lack of recognition of a piece, is only possible in the case of poorly researched concordances and tiny fragments which may be different parts of the same piece—these form a near negligible percentage of the total corpus. The second case, that a source would avoid containing the same piece as another source, may be true for fragments which were originally part of the same manuscript but are not today identified as such. In this case, the two fragments would be less likely to have works in common. However, some of the most similar manuscript fragments, for example **Pad A** and **Pad D**, *do* have repertory in common and this sharing has been an important reason for not uniting the fragments. In other cases where scholars might disagree about whether two or more fragments are from one source, in this study I have considered them the same source in order to avoid the possibility of overestimating. **Trent 1563** and **Krakow 40582** are exceptions to this rule, since the different numbers of lines per staff makes it unlikely that they stem from the same source (see Chapter 2). The final possible source of overestimating comes from open populations, where individuals can enter and leave the sample space. One might suppose that the changing repertory over time would be equivalent to this situation, but it is instead equivalent to death and birth within a population which is already accounted for. Since our sample space, that is, our repertory, is the whole of Italian mensural polyphony from the late fourteenth century to the early fifteenth century, it is impossible for such a piece to enter or leave this realm from some other.

thirds for the ballate and three-quarters for the Latin-texted works. As I have mentioned above, this alone hints at a relatively larger lost repertory of sacred music than secular.[90]

TABLE 1.16: SURVIVING NUMBERS OF TRECENTO PIECES LISTED BY MANUSCRIPT AND ORGANIZED BY GENRE

Only pieces which survive in at least one manuscript from *c.* 1380–1415 are included.

Cacce[91]

Panciatichi 26	15
Squarcialupi	12
London 29987	8
San Lorenzo 2211	6
Pit.	5
Rossi	1
Mod A	1
Egidi	1
Pad C	1
Strasbourg 222	1
= 51 copies	

Number of pieces contained in x *manuscripts*	
Six	1
Five	1
Four	2
Three	2
Two	7
One	12
= 25 pieces (48% unica)	

[90] Instrumental diminutions have been omitted from the present study.

[91] To stress again: works which appear only in **Rossi** or **Reggio Emilia Misciati** do not appear in this table since it is premature to speculate about lost works from the period about which we know so little.

Madrigals

Squarcialupi	116
Panciatichi 26	59
San Lorenzo 2211	58
Pit.	46
Reina	39
London 29987	35
Mancini (Lucca)	12
Rossi	5
Vatican 1790	4
Florence Conservatorio	3
Grottaferrata 219	3
Mod A	2
Trent 60	2
Boverio	1
Pad A	1
Pad C	1
Vatican 1419	1

= 379 copies

Number of pieces contained in x *manuscripts*

Seven	4
Six	2
Five	16
Four	16
Three	21
Two	33
One	75

= 167 pieces (45% unica)

Ballate

Squarcialupi	217
Pit.	111
Panciatichi 26	84
Mancini (Lucca)	59
Reina	58
San Lorenzo 2211	52
London 29987	48
Ciliberti	12
Mod A	10
Pad A	7
Boverio	6
Florence 5	6
Paris 4917	6
Pistoia 5	6
Lowinsky	5
Paris 4379	5
Stresa 14	5
Bologna 2216	3
Pad B	3
Siena 207	3
Brescia 5	2
Casanatense 2151	2
Frosinone	2
Parma 75	2
Prague 9	2
Poznań 174a	2
Seville 25	2
Strasbourg 222	2
Vatican 1419	2
Assisi 187	1
Berlin 523	1
Florence Conservatorio	1
Grottaferrata 219	1
Ivrea 105	1
Oxford 213	1
Padua 656	1
Vatican 1411	1

= 730 copies

Pieces in x *MSS*

Eight	1
Seven	2
Six	7
Five	10
Four	17
Three	47
Two	82
One	243

= 409 pieces (59% unica)

Liturgical Compositions – manuscripts of the central timeframe and location

Boverio	16
Mod A	10
Pad A	10
Grottaf./Dartmouth	8
Pad D	7
Cividale 63 & 98	6
Macerata 488	6
Vatican 171	6
Pit.	5
Vatican 1419	5
Cortona (1 & 2)	4
Grottaferrata s.s.	4
Krakow 40582	4
London 29987	4
Siena 207	4
Guardiagrele 3	3
Bologna Q 1	2
Oxford 56	2
Reggio Emilia 408	2
Udine 22	2
Atri 17	1
Cividale 79	1
Florence 999	1
Foligno	1
Houghton 122	1
Messina 16	1
Oxford 16	1
Poznań 174a	1
Rome Trastevere 4	1
Siena 36	1
Trent 1563	1
Vatican 129	1

Foreign and later manuscripts (first column includes only those works appearing in at least one ms. of the central timeframe. The second column includes all works, including pieces in trecento style only appearing in these foreign or later manuscripts)

Bologna Q 15	8	(18)
Warsaw 378	4	(9)
Kras.	2	(5)
Utrecht 1846[1]	2	(2)
Bologna 2216	1	(4)
Nuremberg 9/9a	1	(2)
Munich Emmeram	1	(1)
Budapest 297	1	(1)
Copenhagen 80	1	(1)
Old Hall	1	(1)
Trent 87		(3)
Oxford 213		(2)
Copenhagen 17a		(1)

Total copies in trecento MSS	: 122
Additional copies of same pieces in other MSS :	21
Total copies	**: 143**
(Total copies including 16 trecento-style pieces in 28 copies, only in non trecento-MSS)	: 171

Number of pieces contained in x *manuscripts*

Six	3	
Five	3	
Four	1	(Only in later MSS)
Three	5	(Two only in later MSS)
Two	16	(Five only in later MSS)
One	88	(Eight only in a later MS)

= 116 pieces (76% unica) including pieces only in later MSS

= 98 pieces (82% unica) excluding pieces only in later MSS

Non-liturgical Latin Works (motets) – manuscripts of the central timeframe and location

Pad D	6			
Ascoli Piceno 142	5			
Mod A	5			
Cortona (1 & 2)	4			
Egidi	3			
Munich 3223	3	*Foreign and later manuscripts (see explanation above)*		
San Lorenzo 2211	3	Bologna Q 15	1	(10)
Cividale 57	2	Trémoïlle	2	(2)
Houghton 122	2	Ivrea 115	1	(1)
Macerata 488	2	Munich Emmeram	1	(1)
Pad A	2	Oxford 213		(2)
Boverio	1	Bologna 2216		(1)
Fava	1	Siena 36 [92]		(1)
Grottaferrata/Dartmouth	1			
Padua 553	1	Total copies in trecento MSS	:	43
Oxford 16	1	Additional copies of same pieces in other MSS	:	5
Poznań 174a	1	**Total copies**	:	**48**
		(Total copies including 9 trecento-style pieces in 13 copies, only in non trecento-MSS)	:	61

Number of pieces contained in x *manuscripts*

Three	3	(One only in later MSS)
Two	8	(Two only in later MSS)
One	36	(Six only in Bologna Q 15)

= 47 pieces (77% unica) including pieces only in later MSS
= 38 pieces (79% unica) excluding pieces only in later MSS

Excluded from the lists of liturgical and non-liturgical Latin pieces are works of simpler polyphony (non-mensural or mensural pieces with fewer than four different rhythmic levels; for instance, harmonized Credo Cardinalis settings), works definitely pre-1340, and contrafacts (where the secular version survives; possible but undiscovered contrafacts are included such as the Kyrie "Rondello"). Also omitted are pieces in Italian manuscripts which can be described as being in the "international repertory." These I define as works in six or more manuscripts of which over half are not Italian (*e.g.,* Gloria "Qui sonitu melodie").

Though tangential to this part of the study, a surprising revelation of Figure 1.16 is that there are nearly as many sacred and ceremonial works of the trecento as there are madrigals.[93]

[92] The Kyrie in **Siena 36** seems of older style than the motet.

I will return to this observation later when we consider the number of missing madrigals and missing Latin works.

Taking the pieces that exist today as our given, I began with an equal popularity model. I looked at the amount of overlap between manuscripts to estimate the number of works which do not appear in any manuscript. In order to give the details of my method while avoiding obscuring the results for readers uninterested in the more technical aspects, the probability basics necessary to obtain these estimates are given as an appendix to this chapter. Interested readers are invited to follow that argument before continuing.

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[93] This discovery is a side result of the revision I am preparing of Kurt von Fischer's landmark 1956 catalog but will force a major revision of our view of the century as a whole, of which this dissertation is a start. In Table 1.16, pieces which appear twice within the same source are counted once.

TABLE 1.17: ESTIMATES FOR THE NUMBER OF ITALIAN WORKS IN MSS *CA.*1380–1415

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Cacce	25	28	
Madrigals	167	177	165
Ballate	409	507	384
Liturgical Pieces	116	196	115
(only in trecento MSS	98	168)	
Non-Liturgical Latin Works	47	105	
(only in trecento MSS	38	93)	

(a) total surviving today
(b) estimated lower bound for the number of pieces given a random distribution model
(c) estimated total for today from cross validating the model by removing the fragments and San Lorenzo (for madrigals and ballate) or the five MS with the most liturgical works (Boverio, Mod A, Pad A, Pad D, Grottaferrata/Dartmouth). See below on cross validation. No holdout cross validations were performed for cacce or motets since there are fewer of them.[94]

I want to point out some results which can be seen simply from Table 1.16 and column (b) in Table 1.17. Comparing the estimates for madrigals to that for sacred and ceremonial works, the much lower concordance rate for the Latin works gives us reason to believe that more Latin pieces were composed in the trecento than madrigals, that most quintessentially Italian of all genres. (And this estimate still excludes the international repertory which, for the most part, mixed freely with the native Italian sacred music).

An important quality in a model is its ability to be tested and stand up to such testing. One way to test the model is called cross validation. This means running the model with incomplete information and then using the model to predict our current situation, to which we can compare. For instance, I removed the fragmentary sources and San Lorenzo

[94] It is important that the works chosen to be removed for holdout cross validation are chosen arbitrarily and that if repeated cross validations are performed with different works the researcher does not choose the one which gives the desired result. Here, I chose to remove the manuscripts which were easiest to delete and recalculate from my spreadsheet version of the Kurt von Fischer catalog—the small manuscripts for the secular tables and the large manuscripts for the liturgical works.

entirely from the data used to make the model and then used the model to predict how many additional pieces would be found if added the number of folios in those fragmentary sources we now have. Without the fragments or San Lorenzo, for instance, we would have 159 madrigals in 314 copies. On the basis of this information, the model then predicted that there were originally 175 madrigals, and further that if we had 65 more copies of madrigals, six of them would be new. So the cross validated model predicted that with the sources we have today we should have 165 madrigals given our source situation. As you can see, we have 167—a close estimate. Running the same model for ballate, we have an estimate of 385 ballate instead of the 409 we do have—not as close but still a good estimate, while the model for liturgical music is off only by one from our observed number, 115 instead of 116, which is amazingly close. Taken as a whole, these tests suggest that the role of popularity in the transmission of music to us today is a supporting one to that played by random chance. (More information about cross validation appears as an appendix to this chapter).

The other standard way to test a model is, unfortunately, more difficult for us to perform: find new sources and see how they accord with the model. We can not just find new trecento sources whenever we want.[95] However, since I began this project, four new sources have been discovered. One fragment, **Brescia 5**, I was able to incorporate into this study; two others, **Siena Ravi 3**, **Bologna Archivio Covers**, and **Perugia 15755** came to my attention too late. However, we can see how they conform to the model's predictions. The fragment in Brescia contains two ballate; as was to be expected, both of them were already

[95] The inability to create more data samples as needed has been explored in the works of the statistician John Tukey who coined the term "uncomfortable science" for such situations.

known. The **Bologna Archivio Covers** source contains a single ballata—already known. The fragment in Siena contains five Latin-texted works; two are known and three unknown. The Perugia fragments contain Mass movements, motets, and madrigals. All of the madrigals are previously known while all the Mass movements and most of the motets are new discoveries. Of course, not every newly discovered source will conform so well to this model, but we should not be surprised when they do: new sources bringing old secular and new sacred music.

Popularity and Transmission

The study and analysis of medieval music has always been, and will always be, a selective art. Some works and some composers are more studied than others, and this selection informs (at best) or skews (at worst) our view of the period being studied. Given the limited time and resources with which we work, we may wish to focus our efforts on those pieces which were most well-known or most popular in the period in which we study. Unfortunately, as we know too well, determining which pieces were popular at the time they were written is a difficult task, sometimes seen as impossible.

We often think that a work in many sources must by definition have been popular. (Or at least, when we take into account the vast unwritten tradition, we can at least say it was popular among those who copied and read music). We use similar metrics to determine the popularity of pieces today, such as number of performances or record sales. But we should become concerned about the usefulness of such measures when there are extremely few sources. For instance, David Fallows reminds us in a recent paper that although 10 songs by Du Fay are preserved in the 11 sources copied after his death (that is, one song in each

manuscript with one piece duplicated), we are most likely seeing random survival of sources and it would be "dangerous for statistical purposes" to consider these pieces popular.[96]

In the previous section, the models were used with the important supposition that each piece was equally likely to be selected (random). We saw before that if pieces are not equally likely to be chosen then our models provide a minimum estimate for the number of lost pieces. We also saw via the cross-validation method that the random model only differs slightly (less than 7%) from the non-random, actual world. But the deviation from the random model, however small, should be investigated.

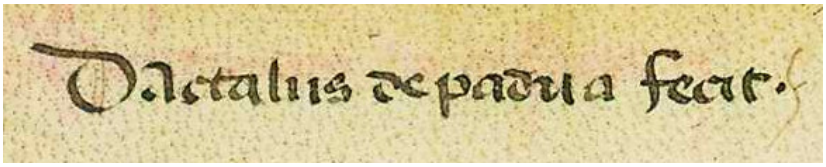
We can create further models which allow us for the first time to pin down a few pieces of trecento music as being definitely popular for scribes to copy. We often think that a work in many sources must by definition have been popular, or when we take into account the vast unwritten tradition at least popular to copy. But just as a random series of coin flips will occasionally have a long string of heads without having any meaning behind it, so too can a piece of music appear in many different manuscripts purely by the vagaries of preservation.

What we might like to know is how likely it is that a piece which is copied in, say six sources, appears so often out of chance rather than because it was specifically popular. For example, *Tosto che l'alba* and *Usellet(t)o selvag(g)io* are cacce found in five and six sources respectively. No other cacce are found in more than four sources. We might therefore conclude that these were popular cacce. Yet if all cacce were once copied equally, given the

[96] Fallows, "Ciconia's Influence," paper presented at the Jena Conference, *Kontinuität und Transformation der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, July 1–3, 2005.

surviving manuscript situation, we might still expect to see a cacce appearing in five sources. Thus we cannot say without other testimonies that *Tosto che l'alba* was a popular song for its time, only that it is *fairly likely* that it was popular. However, there is only a 2% chance that any caccia at all would appear randomly in six sources, so it is more likely that *Usellet(t)o sel-vag(g)io* was popular. Further, we cannot say anything definitive about the popularity of the two cacce which appear in four sources, *Cosi pensoso* and *Nell'acqua chiara*, since a random distribution of surviving sources would predict a couple of pieces appearing in four manuscripts. We simply have too few caccia sources. To put it another way, the number of sources in which a work appears is significant only in relation to the total number of sources available in which it could have appeared.[97]

[97] That it is difficult to say for sure which pieces were definitely popular does not excuse the injustices done by the lack of performances of many works which survive in four, five, or more sources. David Fallows in 1975 drew attention to a neglect of Bartolino da Padova on disc (since somewhat ameliorated). He admonished that if we use the number of surviving sources as "any yardstick of respect in the 14th century, Bartolino is especially important, for three of the ten most widely distributed trecento pieces are by him." ("Performing Early Music on Record—1: A Retrospective and Prospective Survey of the Music of the Italian Trecento," *Early Music* 3.3 (July 1975), pp. 252–53 with evidence in a note on p. 260.) One may have to amend Fallows's statement based on an argument he reports twenty-eight years later that one of these three works, "Imperial sedendo" is not by Bartolino. The argument by his student, Leah Stuttard, is that there is a conflicting attribution between **Squarcialupi** and **Mod A**—where it is attributed to the otherwise unknown Dactalus de Padua—and its style does not accord with Bartolino's (Fallows, "Ciconia's last songs," p. 120). As Fallows points out, it is nearly impossible that Dactalus is a miscopying of Bartolinus. Indeed, the added suffix, "fecit" (to my knowledge never again used in this manuscript), could be read as a reaffirmation of authorship, "Yes, Dactalus, and not someone else, composed this," (**Mod A**, f. 30r):



It also seems more likely that a work by an unknown composer would be misattributed to a well-known, than vice-versa.

Let us take the liturgical Latin works as a second example. Table 1.18 gives for the sacred Latin works the actual number of pieces copied in six, five four, etc. manuscripts, and gives a comparison to the number predicted if all pieces were equally popular.

TABLE 1.18: COUNT OF LITURGICAL PIECES COMPARED TO THE PREDICTED NUMBER

# of MSS in	*Actual # of pieces*	*Predicted # of pieces*	(Titles of actual pieces; Z = Zachara)
Seven	2	.00	(Z. Credos *PMFC 13: 21 & 23*)
Six	1	.03	(Z. *Gloria: Laus, Honor;*)
Five	3	.24	(Z. *Gloria "Micinella"*; Ciconia, *Gloria: Suscipe Trinitas*; Egardus, Gloria *PMFC 12: 7*)
Four	1	1.6	
Three	5	8	
Two	15	30	
One	85	71	

The predicted number of pieces differs from the number of pieces we actually possess in two significant respects. First, there are slightly more *unica* relative to the number of pieces with concordances than we would suppose if all pieces were equally popular. This higher percentage is to be expected in cases where some pieces are more popular than others, since (if we hold the total number of copies of pieces constant) each concordance of a popular piece is one fewer concordance of a less popular work. Reducing the number of concordances of less popular works also pushes more works into the "zero-copy" range, that is, the lost works. Thus we can see that our estimate of the total number of lost works should be slightly higher than the model worked out on a supposition of equal popularity.

The second significant difference is that we have more pieces with many copies (five or six for the liturgical works) than would be predicted. Only two out of every hundred simulations predicted that there should be even a single piece with six sources, instead we have three such pieces. These pieces that greatly exceed an equal probability model can be identified as the most likely popular pieces (at least for scribes to copy) among works of the trecento and early quattrocento.

We can run the same analysis for the other genres of trecento music. Table 1.19 lists the five works which we can say were possibly or probably popular at their time and the ten pieces which were popular almost without doubt.

TABLE 1.19: [POSSIBLY-]POPULAR WORKS

Liturgical: Undeniably Popular, *Seven sources: 1 in 400 probability (0.28%)*
(i.e., that the number of copies of any of these is due to chance)

Credo, *PMFC 13.21* (Zachara) Bologna Q 15, Boverio, Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, Pad D, Mod A, Valladolid 7, Warsaw 378,

Credo, *PMFC 13.23* (Zachara) Boverio, Cividale 98, Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, Kras., Siena 207, Trent 1563, Warsaw 378

Liturgical: Popular, *Six sources: 3% probability that the perceived popularity is only due to chance*

Gloria: *Laus, Honor* (Zachara) Bologna Q 15, Munich Emmeram, Old Hall, Pad D, Siena 207, Warsaw 378

Liturgical: Possibly popular, *Five sources: 22% probability*

Gloria "*Micinella"* (Zachara) Atri 17, Bologna Q 1, Bologna Q 15, Bologna 2216, Grottaferrata/Dartmouth

Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas (Ciconia) Grottaferrata s.s., Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, Oxford 56, Pad D, Warsaw 378

Gloria, *PMFC 12.7* (Egardus) Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, Mod A, Pad D, Udine 22,[98] Kras.

Caccia: Popular, *Six sources: 2% probability*

Usellet(t)o selvaggio (Jacopo da Bologna)

Caccia: Possibly popular, *Five sources: 23% probability*

Tosto che alba (Gherardello)

Madrigal: Popular, *Eight sources: 0.4% probability*

La douce çere (Bartolino da Padova)

Madrigals: Probably popular*, Seven sources: 6% probability*

La bella stella (Giovanni da Cascia)
O dolce appres'un bel pelaro (Jacopo)
O cieco mondo (Jacopo)

Ballata: Undeniably popular, *Eight sources: 1 in 500 probability (0.2%)*

Donna s'i't'ò fallito (Francesco da Firenze)

Ballate: Popular, *Seven sources: 3% probability*

Con langreme bagnandome (Johannes Ciconia)
Gentil aspetto (Francesco)
Non avrà mai pietà (Francesco)
S'i'ti so(n) stato (Francesco)

Francesco's *Donna s'i't'ò fallito* stands out on Table 1.19 for appearing in so many sources (eight, not counting a lauda contrafact and a citation by Prodenzani) that it is nearly

[98] See Chapter 2 for more information on the **Udine 22** version of this Gloria.

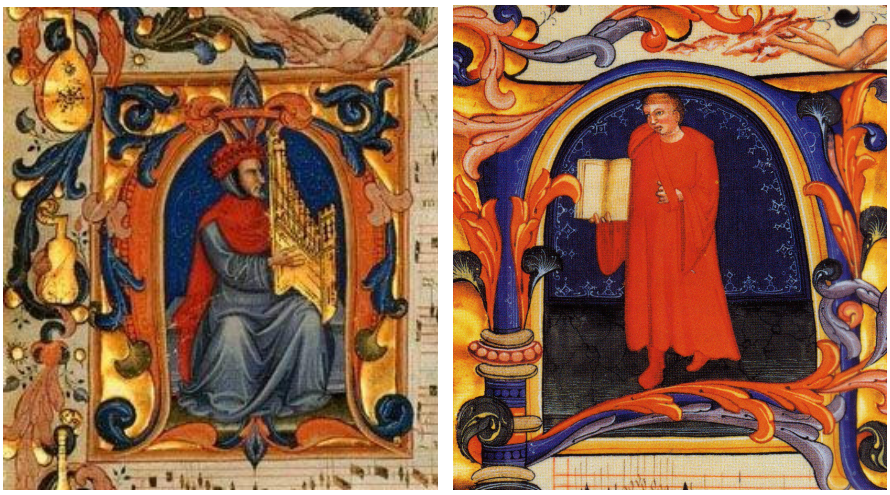
impossible to believe that it was not a popular work for scribes to copy *ca.* 1400.[99] That all three of the popular ballate are by Francesco should not be too surprising—his popularity has never been seriously challenged in the literature.[100] Between the madrigals and the cacce a wider variety of composers are represented, but still without any surprises. Intriguingly, the only sacred works which we can definitely say were popular are all compositions by Antonio Zachara da Teramo, a composer whose popularity in our own time continues to increase as we become more and more fascinated with his bizarrely compelling output.[101]

[99] There are two released recordings of the work, Thomas Binkley and the Studio der frühen Musik's 1972 edition and Mary Springfels's Newberry Consort recording of 1990. Tiziana Morsanuto, "Discografia di Francesco Landini," in Defino and Rosa-Barezzani, *Col dolce suon* (q.v.), pp. 564 and 581.

[100] However, the reasons which have justified Francesco's popularity can scrutinized. Leo Schrade begins his edition of Francesco's works by describing him as "long recognized as Italy's greatest composer of the fourteenth century." Schrade continues by saying, "Perhaps as a result of such a recognition, the music of Landini has been more comprehensively preserved than the music of any other Italian musician." (Schrade, *PMFC 4*, p. i). It is dangerous to suppose that those music manuscripts which were preserved survive because of the greatness of music collected and not because of the vagaries of time. Our notions of presumed quality and importance in the fourteenth century are already shaped so strongly by what happens to survive. To crown the surviving manuscripts by hinting that they are the products of quasi-Darwinian natural selection over the centuries elevates this bias even further.

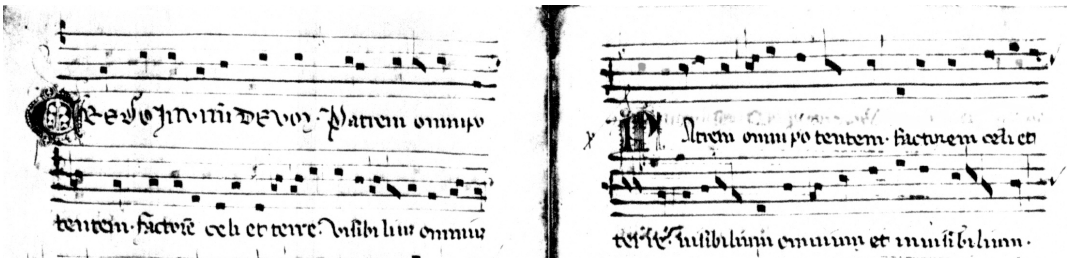
[101] Unfortunately, only one of these popular Zachara works (Credo 23) has been recorded, and that on a nigh impossible-to-find mono-CD released by Quadrivium in 1992 (SCA 027). Fortunately, the Ensemble Micrologus has made Zachara's sacred works part of their repertory, so one might hope for more recordings in the future.

FIGURE 1.20: FRANCESCO AND ZACHARA FROM **SQUARCIALUPI**



It is natural to want to ask why these works, particularly Zachara's, were popular; in doing so we move into a more speculative realm. It may be Zachara had a connection, particularly at the beginning of his works, with more simple polyphony, which had a wide distribution throughout Italy. Evidence of the influence of homophonic mensural polyphony is found in Zachara's *Gloria*, *"Micinella"* (mentioned as possibly popular, above), as well as in an unattributed Gloria found in **Warsaw 378** in a similar style to Zachara's. The openings are similar to the mostly-homophonic mensural Mass movements (or rhythmicized *cantus planus binatim*) which flourished during the late trecento and early quattrocento. An example of which is seen in a Credo ("Regis") setting from **Vatican 657:**

FIGURE 1.22: DETAIL OF CREDO FROM **VATICAN 657**, FF. 419V–20R.[102]



This movement is perfectly homophonic for the first two lines of music and nearly perfect following. The phrases have a tendency to use longer note values at the beginning and ends, and semibreves and minims in the middle and before cadences.[103] Some pieces of homophonic polyphony, such as the first Credo of **Parma 9** (ff. A–D. Cardinalis) even accelerate from their opening longs, through breves, to semibreves, and finally minims before allowing the notes to occur in other orders.[104]

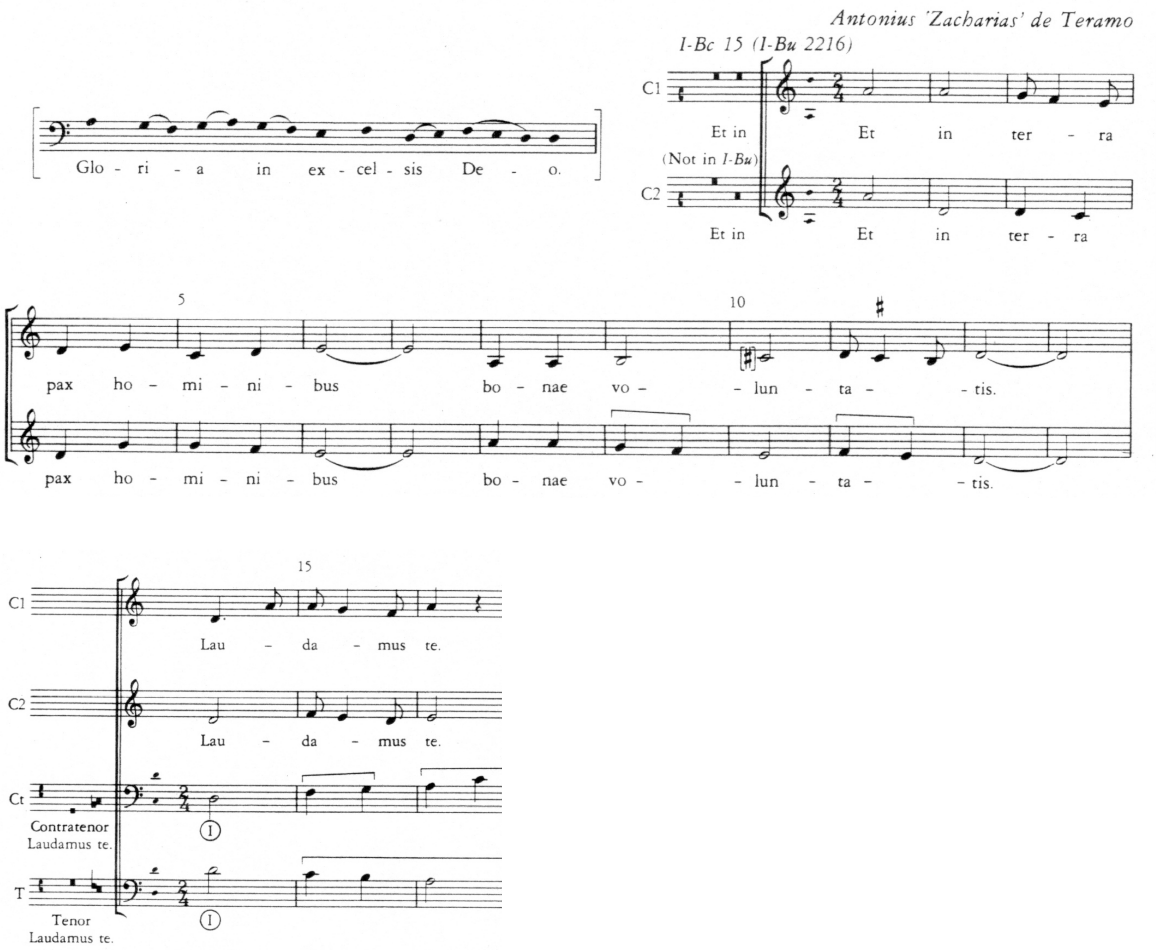
The *Gloria "Micinella"* of Zachara also begins homophonically and may recall the same tradition. The opening is in two voices, almost a trademark of Zachara's Glorias. Two places which are not homophonic set ♦♦♦ (♪𝅗𝅥♪) in the top voice against ♦ ♦ (𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥) in the lower voice. This substitution is common in homophonic mensural polyphony (see the Nachtrag to **Wolkenstein A**, on f. 18r for one example):

[102] I have touched-up part of this facsimile to remove some show through. (Throughout this dissertation, all altered images are noted.)

[103] This connects slightly to the trecento style of having long melismas on the penultimate syllable of a phrase, but unlike the secular styles, such as ballate or especially madrigals, the shorter note values in the sacred works begin several syllables before the cadence.

[104] Transcription in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, pp. 163–65.

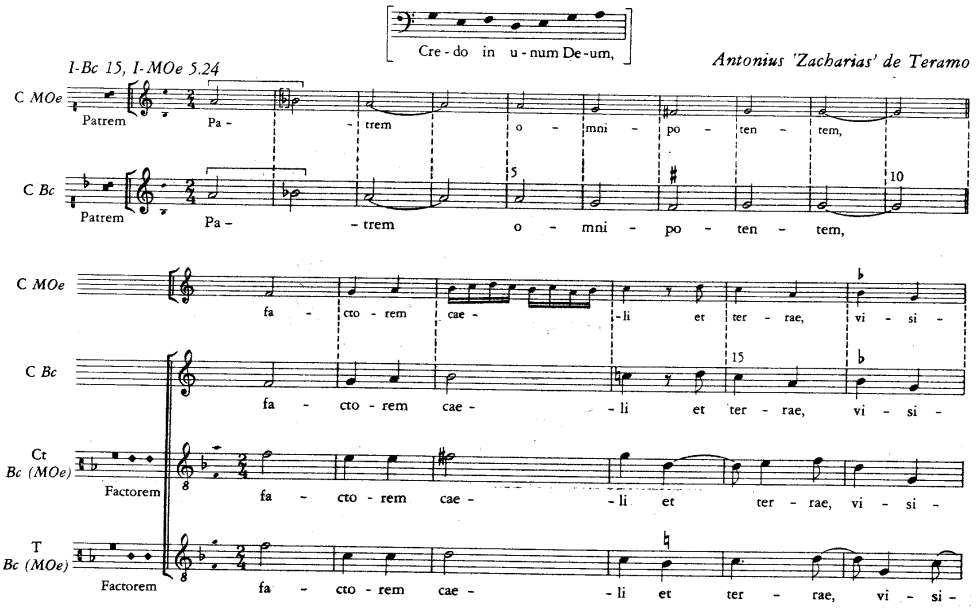
EXAMPLE 1.23: ZACHARA, GLORIA "MICINELLA" FROM PMFC 13. OPENING



It might be noted that the only pieces where rhythmicized binatim is recalled before moving to more complex polyphony are Glorias. No known Credo begins like this. This might be an indication that the two repertories existed alongside each other and (moving further into speculative territory) that Zachara, known for his musical trickery, might have wished to deceive his listeners as long as possible about what type of piece they are about to hear. Since the Gloria was the first Mass movement which seems to have been set polyphonically with frequency in fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Italy—polyphonic Kyries were still rare at this time—it would be the most likely candidate for such deceptively-homophonic treatment. In one of the definitely popular Credos (*PMFC 13*.21), Zachara

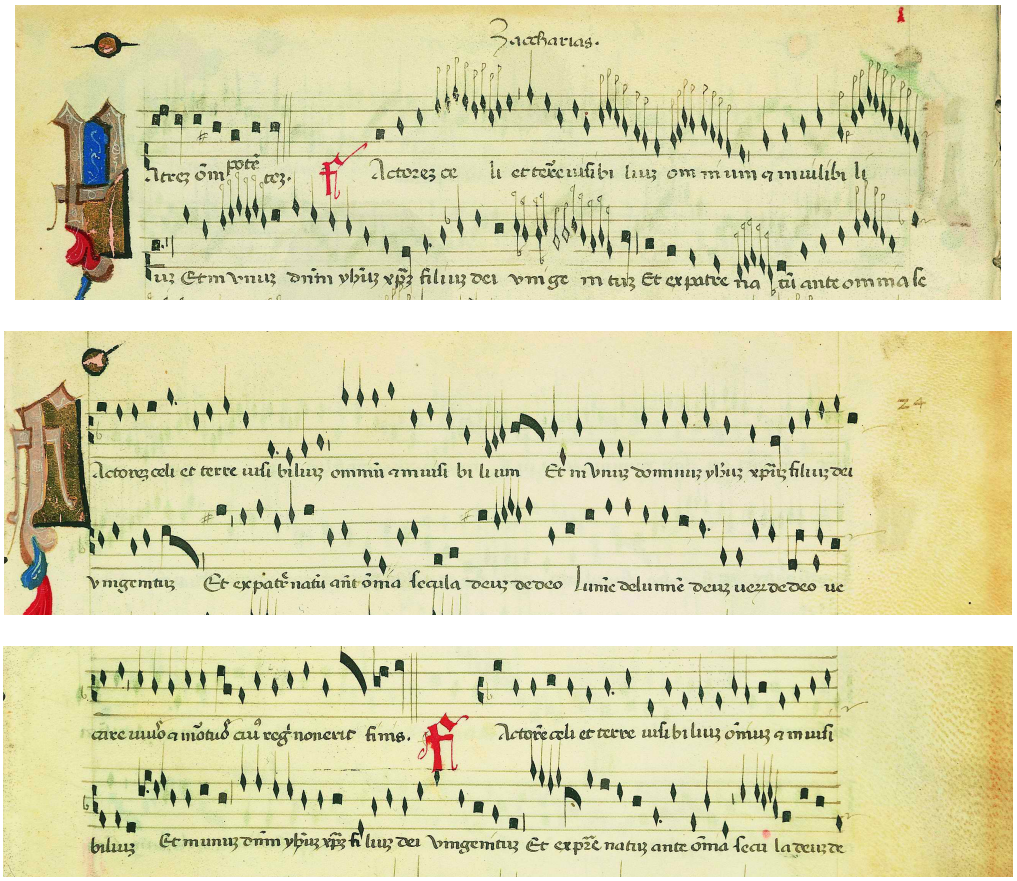
does prolong the plainchant beyond its traditional ending at "Credo in unum deum" by setting also "Patrem omnipotentem" to the monophonic (but rhythmic) formula of Credo I. This formula was gaining in popularity at the end of the century—it is also used for Zachara's Credo "du village," the first of many settings by later composers—and Zachara could have been counting on the listeners to recognize this (and perhaps recognize an old warhorse) before jolting them with something original and at a much increased rhythmic pace. Significantly, the otherwise rhythmically active version in **Mod A** includes no decorations in the opening, as if they are being held in reserve for after the suspense has been lifted:[105]

EXAMPLE 1.24: ZACHARA CREDO (PMFC 13.21), INCIPIT



[105] See my discussion of the significance of these two versions in "No new fragments."

FIGURE 1.25: ZACHARA CREDO FROM **MOD A**, FF. 23V–24R (DETAILS)



I want to end by stressing both the need for and the promise of greater refinements to this system. Our models currently do not exploit the many different sizes of manuscripts at our disposal, nor do they take a particularly nuanced approach to deviations from the predicted random distributions. Such refinements afford us an opportunity to give back to the world of statistical analysis since there are few statistical models dealing with multiple captures where the captures happen with no particular order. The models presented here could also be employed in any number of other areas of research in the humanities. In musicology, estimates of the total number of chants sung in a region or the number of folk songs recalled by a group of people could be useful in many studies. We could figure out the probability that a Renaissance motet which is unattributed in many sources was unattributed as a result of chance in order to investigate theories of scribal confusion about the composer. Beyond

musicology, the methods could be refined and reapplied to answer questions about the number of sonnets of a given poet or the total vocabulary of a particular author.[106] Numismatists might be interested in how many different types of coin were in circulation in a given region at a certain time, or what certainties we might have about estimating the proportions of coins minted; codicologists could have a better understanding of the economics of papermaking if they possessed more accurate estimates of the total number of watermark types originally produced in a particular region and time. The use of population estimates in musicology and in the humanities is in its earliest infancy; as such, the number of uses for these models can only be guessed.

[106] This last problem was approached by two scholars of statistics, Bradley Efron and Ronald Thisted, in their article, "Estimating the number of unseen species: How many words did Shakespeare know?" *Biometrika* 63 (1976), pp. 435–447. Some of the more difficult math in their article which might hamper their methodology's usefulness for humanists can now be alleviated by using the speed of personal computers to solve exactly equations which previously needed to be estimated.

Appendix to Chapter 1: Some probability basics and derived models

Probability review

A probability is defined as a number between 0 and 1 (inclusive), and represents the likelihood of an event happening. For example, if we roll a fair six-sided die, the chance that we get a five is 1/6. That is, there are six possible outcomes, of which one gives us the desired outcome. We can write that *a* is the event "roll 5" and Pr(*a*) = 1/6.

The probability of something *not* happening is defined as one minus the probability of the event happening. So Pr(roll something other than 5) = Pr(*a* does not occur) = 1 – 1/6 = 5/6.

If *x* and *y* are independent events, like dice rolls or people working on unrelated manuscripts, then the probability of *x* and *y* happening is Pr(*x* and *y*) = Pr(*x*)*Pr(*y*).

In addition to knowing how likely it is that something will occur (probability) we also often want to know how many times an event will occur if we keep performing or observing a certain action. For instance, if we go back to the example of dice, you may want to know how many times you would *expect* to roll a five if you rolled a die ten times. We call this rational expectation the *expected value* (EV).

Fortunately, for independent events, such as dice rolls, where what you rolled previously does not affect what you are likely to roll next, all you need to do to calculate expected value is multiply the probability of your outcome by how many times you do it.

So on average the expected number of fives if you roll a die ten times is:

$$EV = \text{number of rolls} * \Pr(\text{roll a five}) = 10 * {}^{1}/_{6} = {}^{10}/_{6} \text{ or } 1.67$$

Of course, it is impossible to roll 1.67 fives. What it means is that, on average, one or two of the ten rolls would be a five.

Applications: Estimating the number of lost pieces in trecento manuscripts

Most of the expressions we derive will depend on n, which is the value we are ultimately trying to estimate. What we will do below is try to find a way to relate the abstract variable n to the number of pieces we would expect to see given that n. Then we will take the number of pieces we *do* see and solve the equations in reverse to find n.

Let $X = \{x_1, x_2, \ldots x_n\}$ be the set of pieces which we assume may have once existed. We want to estimate n, the original number of pieces. Any given piece x in X might be a work which exists today or one which is no longer extant. All pieces of both types are included in the set X.

Let $M = \{m_1, m_2, \ldots, m_y\}$ be the set of manuscripts now available, where we define k_i to be the number of pieces in manuscript m_i. Unlike the set of pieces, this set M only comprises manuscripts or fragments we have now. The total number of surviving manuscripts is y.

The compiler of manuscript m_1 chooses k_1 different pieces to place in it. There are any number of reasons why the person writing the manuscript might choose a given piece to be in the manuscript—the audience of the manuscript, the pieces known to the scribe, forms to be represented, etc.—but among the pieces in a single sub-genre, it can be difficult for us to tell why certain pieces are chosen or not.

We will begin with a model that supposes that within each sub-genre the pieces chosen are as good as random to us; certainly we will check to see how good an assumption this is later. Given this supposition, the probability than any piece (call it x) appears in this manuscript m_1 depends just on the number of pieces in the manuscript and the total number of pieces in the sub-genre. In fact, it is equal to the proportion of all the pieces available which are in the manuscript. Thus, if we use the designation k_1 to represent the number of

pieces in manuscript m_1, then the proportion of all pieces in manuscript m_1 is the ratio of the number of pieces in m_1, that is, k_1, to n, written mathematically as:[107]

$$\Pr(\text{item } x, \text{ appears in } m_1) = \frac{k_1}{n}.$$

The probability that x does not appear in m_1 is:

$$\Pr(x_1 \text{ does not appear in } m_1) = 1 - \Pr(\text{item } x, \text{ appears in } m_1) = 1 - \frac{k_1}{n}$$

Or for a different manuscript, m_2: $\Pr(x \text{ does not appear in } m_2) = 1 - \frac{k_2}{n}$. And so on for any manuscript.

For two manuscripts which are compiled independently of each other (excluding for example the Machaut manuscripts, but not the principal trecento manuscripts), we can multiply probabilities to get the probability that a piece does not appear in either manuscript. For instance the probability that x_1 does not appear in m_1 and also x_1 does not appear in m_2 is the product of the two terms:

$$\Pr(x_1 \text{ does not appear in } m_1) * \Pr(x_1 \text{ does not appear in } m_2) = \left(1 - \frac{k_1}{n}\right)\left(1 - \frac{k_2}{n}\right)$$

which elementary algebra reduces to $\left(\frac{n-k_1}{n}\right)\left(\frac{n-k_2}{n}\right)$ or more simply $\frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)}{n^2}$.

We can then generalize this statement to find the probability of x not appearing in any extant manuscript:

$$\Pr(x_1 \text{ does not appear in } \textit{any} \text{ MS}) = \left(1 - \frac{k_1}{n}\right)\left(1 - \frac{k_2}{n}\right)\cdots\left(1 - \frac{k_y}{n}\right) = \left(\frac{n-k_1}{n}\right)\left(\frac{n-k_2}{n}\right)\cdots\left(\frac{n-k_y}{n}\right)$$

$$= \frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)}{n^y}.$$

[107] A first attempt at a model which allows for unequal probability of including pieces would weigh each piece, as follows: $\Pr(\text{item } x \text{ with weight } w_1, \text{ appears in } m_1) = k_1 w_1 / n\Sigma_i w_i$

If we have a formula for the probability that any given (original) piece is not known to us, then we can use the principle of expected value (discussed above) to estimate how many pieces we would expect to be missing today, given the manuscripts we have and the number of pieces there once were in the trecento. (Note though that the probability of *x* not appearing in any MS, and the expected number of such pieces, each depends on *n*, the original number of pieces in the trecento—which is exactly what we are trying to find in the first place! This obstacle will be worked out soon).

The expected value of the number of pieces not appearing in any MS that survives today is simply the probability that any given piece does not appear in any manuscript multiplied by the total number of pieces, our unknown *n*:

EV(missing pieces) = n * Pr(*x* does not appear in any ms) = $n * \frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)}{n^y}$ or

$$\frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)}{n^{y-1}}$$

It looks like we have two unknowns here: the expected number of missing pieces (EV) and the total number of pieces (missing or known), *n*. But what is the expected number of missing pieces? It is simply the number of pieces that were written originally (*n*) minus the number we currently have (let us call that number *r*).[108]

$$\text{EV(missing pieces)} = n - r$$

So we can substitute back into the previous equation:

$$n - r = \frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)}{n^{y-1}}$$

[108] As can be seen in other chapters regarding the identification of concordances, discovering this number was not as easy as it might appear.

In this equation, r and k_1, k_2, … k_y are all numbers we know, so n is our only variable. However, solving for n in this equation is still not easy when y is a number above three or four—since y is the number of manuscripts containing pieces in a particular genre, y will be on the order of ten to thirty.

Since the last equation is too complicated to solve directly, reducing it would have required tricky math decades ago. However, the solution can be closely estimated in seconds through computer-assisted "trial and error". We rewrite the previous equation as:

$$n - r - \frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)}{n^{y-1}} = 0$$

and then write a program to try various numbers of n (theoretically, from r + 1 to infinity, but from r +1 to 2,000 is good enough) until it finds the n which comes closest to solving this equation. By closest, one means which comes closest to making the left side of the equation zero. (We are unlikely to find the exact solution since n can be a fraction rather than a whole number).

Writing such a program would not be difficult for most programmers. One such program, written in Perl, follows:

```
#!/usr/local/bin/perl

##### find_n.pl -- Michael Scott Cuthbert
### Find hypothetical total number of pieces given X1 pieces randomly
### distributed in manuscripts of size N1 N2 N3 N4...

###    ./find_n.pl X1 N1 N2 N3 N4 ...

use strict;
use Math::BigFloat;

my $pieces_surviving_today = shift @ARGV;
my @ms_sizes   = @ARGV;
my $total_number_of_mss = scalar @ms_sizes;

# n * (1/n^(num_of_mss)) * (n - a1) * (n - a2) * ... * (n-ay) = n -
pieces_surviving_today (r)

    ### n = our current guess for the number of original pieces; start by
    ###     supposing we have them all (plus 1 to avoid division by zero).
my $n = $pieces_surviving_today + 1;
```

```
    ### best_distance is a measure of how close we are to solving the
    ###   equation.lower is closer to solving, so we initialize to a high
    ###   number. 1 is a high number for these things.
my $best_distance = 1;

    ### best_n = our best guess for the original number of pieces
    ###          we initialize to zero, meaning "no clue"
my $best_n = 0;

    ### left_side = we use a high precision number for the left side of
    ###    the equation since we multiply a bunch of numbers
    ###    together then divide them
my $left_side = Math::BigFloat->new('0');
my $binomial  = Math::BigFloat->new('0');

my $highest_number_of_pieces_to_consider = 2000;

## start counting up to highest number of pieces to consider
##    seeing how well the two sides of the equation match

while ($n <= $highest_number_of_pieces_to_consider) {
  my $right_side = $n - $pieces_surviving_today;

  $binomial = 1;
  foreach my $this_ms_size (@ms_sizes) {
    $binomial *= ($n - $this_ms_size);
  }
  $left_side  = 1/($n**($total_number_of_mss - 1)) * $binomial;

  ##### Find our error distance
  my $this_distance = abs($right_side - $left_side);

###### Uncomment these lines to get debugging information
##  print int($n) . "  (best: " . sprintf("%3.3f", $best_distance * 100) .
##      "\% -> this:" . sprintf("%3.3f", $this_distance * 100) . "\%)\n";

##### If this error distance is our best so far, remember what n was.

  if ($this_distance < $best_distance) {
    $best_distance = $this_distance;
    $best_n = $n;
  }

 #### for small numbers of n, we try to find the best fractional value,
 ####  but we only print out whole numbers, since the number of
 ####    pieces must be a whole number
  if ($n < 200) { $n += .1 }
  else { $n++ }
}

if ($best_n == 0 or $best_n >= ($highest_number_of_pieces_to_consider-1)) {
  ### failure
  printf ("%3.5f: no best found between %d and
           $highest_number_of_pieces_to_consider\n",
           $best_distance, $pieces_surviving_today + 1);
} else {
  ### success -- round $best_n to the nearest whole number and print it.
  printf ("%4d\n", $best_n + 0.49);
}
```

Cross Validation (Holdout Method)

We can test the theoretical method given above in a number of different ways, the most commonly used being bootstrap, jackknife, and cross-validation methods. This appen-

dix describes the simplest form, a type of cross validation called the holdout method. To test this theory by holdout cross validating, one first finds a value for n on the basis of some arbitrary subset of the data. Then to cross validate, we use a similar model to find an expected number r_1 for the number of pieces we would expect to have if we had new manuscripts m_{y+1}, m_{y+2}, etc. Our calculations are much easier than before, since we have an estimate for n. For a first approximation, the portion of the repertory that is missing $(n - r)/n$, when multiplied by the number of new pages in all the new manuscripts m_{y+1}, m_{y+2}, gives us the number of new pieces we should expect to find (which when added to r gives r_1).

This method gives only an approximate result, since the portion of the repertory that is missing changes with each new find. A more accurate test comes from computing a new expected value for the missing pieces using the new manuscripts. If j is the number of new manuscripts we've added then:

$$\text{EV(new \# missing pieces)} =$$

$$n * \frac{(n-k_1)(n-k_2)\cdots(n-k_y)(n-k_{y+1})(n-k_{y+2})\cdots(n-k_{y+j})}{n^{y+j}}$$

Since n is a constant, this equation can be evaluated simply. We then can subtract the new number of missing pieces from n to get our expected number of pieces we should have now, and can compare that number to the number of pieces actually observed.

Although this second, more complicated method has been used in the cross-validation examples in this dissertation, the first method's results are only slightly different.

Calculating the expected number of copies in a random distribution

One way of testing to see how well our first supposition, that of equal probability, holds up is to run a "Monte Carlo" simulation of work distribution. Simply put, we will put

on slips of paper in a hat the names of all known pieces in a given genre. We also will put a numbered slip of paper for every lost piece predicted by the previous model so there are as many slips of paper as there are predicted total pieces. Then for each surviving manuscript we will draw a number of slips of paper equal to the number of pieces in that genre in that manuscript. For instance, for **Boverio** which contains sixteen liturgical works, we will draw sixteen slips. It should be obvious that each piece is equally likely to be drawn, and that no piece can appear in the same manuscript twice. We record what pieces appeared and then replace the slips into the hat, shuffle, and repeat for each manuscript. (The "Monte Carlo" aspect of the simulation stems from the role that probability or luck plays in determining the outcome, as in a casino in Monte Carlo).

In the end we have a record of what pieces we drawn multiple times, which were drawn once, and which were never drawn, and can figure out the total number of pieces drawn six times, five, four, and so on down to zero times. If we wanted, we could then compare this equal-popularity simulation to our real-world situation to see how well what we have compares to the equal-popularity hypothesis.[109]

A more accurate comparison would be obtained by performing this whole simulation multiple times and taking the average of the simulated draws. By taking the average we assure ourselves that we are seeing a typical distribution and not something exceptional (like hitting a jackpot).

[109] If we were to do so, we would certainly find that the total number of surviving pieces predicted by the equal-popularity hypothesis accords with the total number we actually have. But we must avoid being falsely impressed by the accuracy of this figure: recall that our estimate of the total number of pieces (surviving and lost) was first generated by an equal-popularity model. So we are in a sense just getting back from the model what we put into it.

A reasonable objection to performing this simulation even once is how time consuming it would be (draw, record, replace, reshuffle, repeat *ad nauseam*). Performing a few thousand simulations and taking the average is impossible by hand; so, as before, we simulate the draws with a computer program. An example of such a program appears below:

```
#!/usr/local/bin/perl

use strict;

#### multiple_distribute.pl
#### take a number of pieces and fill these manuscripts with them, then
#### calculate the number of pieces which appear zero times, once, twice,
#### etc. do this many times and report the average.

## usage:
##   ./multiple_distribute.pl 10000 150 70 50 40 8 2 2 2 1 1

## where 10000 is the number of times to perform the random draw,
## 150 is the total number of pieces one originally started with
## and 70, 50, 40, 8, etc.. are the number of pieces of this genre in
## each manuscript.

my $number_of_runs = shift @ARGV;

## total unique pieces
my $total_unique = shift @ARGV;
my @ms_numbers   = @ARGV;

my $total_unique_multiplied = $number_of_runs * $total_unique;
my @used_times;

my @some_piece_had_x_copies_this_run;

for (my $run = 0; $run < $number_of_runs; $run++) {
  my @used_all_ms = ();

  foreach my $this_ms_size (@ms_numbers) {
    my @used_this_ms = ();
    for (my $i = 0; $i < $this_ms_size; $i++) {
      my $selected_piece;

      do {
        $selected_piece = int(rand($total_unique));
      } while ($used_this_ms[$selected_piece]);
      ## dont allow piece to appear more than once per ms.

      $used_this_ms[$selected_piece]++;
      $used_all_ms[$selected_piece]++;
    }
  }

  my @need_high;
  for (my $i =0; $i < $total_unique; $i++) {
    $used_times[$used_all_ms[$i]]++;
  }

  ### did any piece appear in X copies this run?
  COPIES: for (my $j = (scalar @used_times)-1; $j >=0; $j--) {
    for (my $i =0; $i < $total_unique; $i++) {
      if ($used_all_ms[$i] == $j) {
        $some_piece_had_x_copies_this_run[$j]++;
        next COPIES;
      }
```

```
    }
  }
}

my $tot_so_far = 0;
for (my $i = (scalar @used_times)-1; $i >=0; $i--) {
  $tot_so_far += $used_times[$i];
  printf("$i => %8.02f  (%6.02f%%) ( %8.02f => %6.2f%%) [%6d]\n",
         $used_times[$i]/$number_of_runs,
               ($used_times[$i]*100/$total_unique_multiplied),
         $tot_so_far/$number_of_runs, ($tot_so_far*100/$total_unique_multiplied),
         $some_piece_had_x_copies_this_run[$i]);
}
```

Here is the example of the output from the program which ran the simulation 10,000 times on the liturgical pieces.

```
./multiple_distribute.pl 10000 196 16 10 10 8 7 6 6 6 5 5 4 4 4 4 4 3 2 2 2 2 1 1
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 18 9 5 2 4 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 1

8 =>     0.00  (  0.00%) (     0.00 =>   0.00%) [     1]
7 =>     0.00  (  0.00%) (     0.00 =>   0.00%) [    27]
6 =>     0.03  (  0.02%) (     0.03 =>   0.02%) [   298]
5 =>     0.26  (  0.13%) (     0.29 =>   0.15%) [  2296]
4 =>     1.75  (  0.89%) (     2.05 =>   1.05%) [  8436]
3 =>     8.88  (  4.53%) (    10.93 =>   5.58%) [ 10000]
2 =>    31.84  ( 16.24%) (    42.77 =>  21.82%) [ 10000]
1 =>    73.16  ( 37.33%) (   115.92 =>  59.15%) [ 10000]
0 =>    80.08  ( 40.85%) (   196.00 => 100.00%) [ 10000]
```

The number on the far left (7, 6, 5, etc.) is the number of copies of a piece. The next column is, on average, how many pieces with that many copies appeared. So on an average run, there were 32(*ish*) pieces with two copies, 73 with 1 etc. The next column shows the percentage of works this row represents. The next two columns (e.g., 42.77 => 21.82%) gives a running total of the previous columns for all the rows so far. In this case, on average, the simulation predicts 21% of all works (lost and known) will exist in two or more copies. The final column shows how many times the simulation produced a work in that number of copies. So, looking at the second row, 298 times out of 10,000, a piece appeared in six sources. We can interpret this number to mean that if we have a piece in six sources, there is a 3.0% chance that random survival explains the number of sources. Since 3.0% is a low probability, we are thus inclined to take popularity as a better explanation for the results.

FRAGMENTS IN PADUA AND CIVIDALE: MUSIC IN TWO IMPORTANT CENTERS OF THE NORTHEAST

2

Before plunging deeply into details of whale hunting, Hermann Melville explains:

> Out of the trunk, the branches grow; out of them, the twigs.
> So, in productive subjects, grow the chapters.

In a way, the following chapters of this dissertation are like Melville's branches: they flush out the main trunk of my argument, already presented. But, more like vines than branches, they reach out far beyond these few main points, as each of the fragmentary sources and their contents are explored individually.

Given this structure, we must decide in what manner to approach the tangle of individual sources. It was important to me to discuss the sources in groups in which they could have possibly been consulted during the Middle Ages, and not to divide them by genre or another way that would separate sources that originated in proximity. Provenance and chronology emerged as the two acceptable organizing principles. The chronological system, however, fails to divide the sources into manageably-sized groups. Although the timeline of several important early sources is relatively clear, the difficulties in confronting the bewildering mass of sources originating, roughly, between 1385 and 1415 would grind this system to a halt. A geographical approach was chosen instead, beginning with the regions having the greatest number of and most securely documented sources and continuing with those fragments of unknown origin. Two centers in northern Italy, Padua and Cividale, were the most

important locations needing study. Though they are not the only regions to have nurtured a tremendous output of music, they are certainly among the least studied for their size.

Provenance: Finding Northern Sources

We begin by laying out the criteria we will use to locate the origins of manuscripts. It is particularly important to do so in order to avoid circular justification: it is all too easy to begin by using the traits of a particular manuscript to formulate a general rule for identifying manuscripts from that region, and then (wrongly) to continue by using this general rule to strengthen our certainty that this first particular manuscript is from that region. To use a specific example, if the codex **Pit.** is part of our basis for positing a Florentine preference for organizing manuscripts according to composer, we cannot say that another reason for suggesting a Florentine basis for **Pit.** is its careful separation of works by their composers.

This careful separation between evidence for rules and consequences of rules is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain when making generalizations from an extremely limited set of sources, such as the intact trecento polyphonic codices.[1] Bringing in multiple sources and many testaments, such as the study of fragments provides, allows the scholar to avoid these errors in causality.

Having stated these admonitions at length, we can list the rules by which we might consider a manuscript to be of a particular provenance—in this case, northern Italian. Be doing so, we ensure that no manuscript from which we derive a rule appears again further on the list as supported by that rule.

[1] Generalizations of musical style from specific examples of *pieces* from the main trecento sources can more easily avoid this circularity, since there are many more pieces than intact manuscripts.

1. Inscription of date and provenance.

2. Inscription of provenance alone.

These two types of inscriptions are certainly the gold standards of locative research. They are distinguished as much by their rarity as their usefulness, though even when these declarations exist, we must be certain that they are coeval with the musical portion of the manuscript. No northern Italian polyphonic manuscript meets these standards; among sources studied, only the Florentine liturgical manuscript **Florence 999** provides such information that can be directly connected to the polyphonic portion of the source.

3. Autograph of a copyist known only in a particular locale.

4. Signs of early possession in a locale.

Though not as watertight as the first two arguments, a local copyist or an early, local *ex libris* or other connection to an institution are considered, in the absence of other evidence, strong arguments for attributing a source's creation to the same locale (or possibly a nearby scriptorium). It is at this level that the Paduan fragments which form the bulk of this section become truly Paduan. Giulio Cattin's documentation of the biography of the Paduan scribe Rolandus de Casali can be held up as exemplary in this regard.[2]

5. Mention of specific local figures in the text of a composition.

I consider this sign less important than mention of a local copyist, since, as far as our current understanding allows, it is a stronger possibility that a work dedicated to a particular ruler would be transmitted beyond the reach of the ruler than that a scribe would make a

[2] Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'archivio di stato," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1964–1977), pp. 17–41.

manuscript particularly for use in a distant region.[3] The more difficult part of applying this rule is ensuring that the name mentioned in a motet or other composition is truly to be connected to one particular figure.

Even in this situation, only the *likely* provenance of a particular piece has been established. The provenance of the manuscript as a whole can still be doubted. Particular caution must be exercised before attributing a provenance to a fragment on the basis of a work found within. Large manuscripts tend to have several works which hint at different provenances and must be untangled. The large manuscripts from which small fragments came were likely similar and thus likely had multiple works implying differing provenance, which would have made identifying the provenance of the whole source difficult.

6. Mention of locally venerated saints who are incompatible with other plausible locales.
7. Mention of signs or symbols associated with local authorities, local history, or local saints, which are incompatible with other plausible interpretations.

In formulating these two guidelines I specifically emphasize the idea that the saints and symbols must be incompatible with other known centers of polyphonic composition. It is not enough to say that the panther in Ciconia's *Una pantera* is a symbol of Lucca; we must further show that it is not a symbol of Florence, Bologna, Rome, Padua, etc.[4] It would be even better to be able to show that a set of symbols is unique (throughout Italy) to one saint.

[3] However, we possess letters to Rolandus asking him to copy musical works and then send them to another monastery, so we know such examples of long-distance copying do exist. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[4] The particular example of *Una pantera* is made easier by the explicit mention of the city of Lucca later in the text.

Lacking unified tables of symbolic elements, our task of connecting symbols to locations remains daunting.[5]

There is also a danger when applying these steps of "passing the buck" to other disciplines. We risk selectively reading information from other fields as if the information were unambiguous. For example, we may not understand the differences among controversial interpretations of saintly veneration or heraldic symbolism, to take two examples, and thus be more inclined to cherry-pick the interpretation which suits our needs.

Cross-disciplinary citation is even more dangerous when the following two markers are used as tools for discovering provenance:

8. Dialectical features.
9. Paleographical analysis.

These two features move us overtly into the area of what might be termed derived features. There are few (for dialect) or virtually no (for paleography) contemporary documents telling us how one figure might point to one location. We have inferred or derived these locative interpretations from the study of documents whose provenance was secured by one of the non-derived methods above. In the cases of dialect and handwriting, certain features have been so thoroughly documented over such a long period, that we may use these traits almost as secure laws in themselves.

[5] Nonetheless, when combined with other evidence, such as signs of early possession of the host volume of a fragment, we can provisionally accept as proof the mention of local saints without a demonstration of incompatibility with other explanations. A good example is the work done by Martin Staehelin on demonstrating a local provenance for **Trent 1563** on the basis of fifteenth-century liturgical additions mentioning Saints Vigilius, Maxentia, Hermagoras, and Fortunatus. ("Reste einer oberitalienischen Messenhandschrift des Frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Studi Musicali* 27 (1998), p. 8).

Examples of derived features particular to trecento scholarship are the locating of six-line staves in and around Tuscany or connecting left-flagged triplets with northern Italy.[6] Aside from those from Florence, few of these derived features have been able to place a source in a specific city. An exception comes from certain features connected with the city of Padua, so it is there that the chapter proper will begin.

Polyphony in Trecento and Early Quattrocento Padua

The city of Padua, independent through most of the trecento and a territory of Venice from the early quattrocento, was an important center for learning in general, and musical innovation in particular.[7] The university, the second oldest in Italy, was a powerful force for innovation in the *commune*. Comprising five faculties with emphases in law, canon law, arts, and medicine, it attracted both *cisalipini* (Italians) and *ultramontagni* (foreigners), creating a vibrant and culturally rich civic atmosphere.[8]

Power in trecento Padua was concentrated in the hands of a single family, the Carrara. From 1318 until 1405, the Carrara waged continual warfare with neighboring powers.[9] In the later part of the trecento and early quattrocento, four rulers, two from

[6] Fischer, *Studien*, p. 119. But we can see contradictions in **Pad C** (six-line staves) and **Pad B** (right-flagged triplets), described below.

[7] Many connections between the musical life of Carrarese Padua and the manuscripts which document it were previously explored in my unpublished A.B. thesis, "Fragments of Polyphonic Music from the Abbey of S. Giustina: Codices, Composers, and Context in Late Medieval Padua," (1998), from which this chapter freely borrows.

[8] Benjamin Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), pp. 34–38.

[9] From 1328–37, Padua was under the rule of the della Scala family of Verona, themselves famed patrons of trecento music.

within the family, and two from outside Padua, were to exercise their power over the city.[10] The ninth Carrara ruler of Padua, Francesco I ("il Vecchio") reigned from 1350 until Visconti conquest forced his abdication in 1388. Although Francesco il Vecchio was imprisoned by the Visconti until his death in 1393, Carrarese rule in Padua had already been restored in 1390 when the his son Francesco II ("il Novello") returned the dynasty to power. Novello's rule was brought to an end by the Venetian conquest of Padua in 1405. The domination of Padua by *La Serenissima* would last for centuries.

At either end of the period under study the town produced great music theorists, namely Marchettus and Prosdocimus. In addition, the literary theorist Antonio da Tempo's *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis*, the first major description of secular song forms, is a Paduan product.[11] And most importantly for this study, the names of Paduan composers, native and adopted, parade across the top margins of our manuscripts: Bartolino, Gratiosus, Ciconia.

The town is also home to 14 manuscripts and fragments of polyphonic mensural music, the most of any single Italian city in the trecento; see Table 2.1 for the sources in the city itself.[12]

[10] A list of Carrara rulers is found in Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 194–95.

[11] Edited in Richard Andrews, *Antonio da Tempo: Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977).

[12] Notwithstanding that none of these articles were intended to be complete studies of the Paduan fragments, and granting that important information is found in many other writings, three articles need to be singled out as the starting point for any student of music in late trecento Padua: Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 193–225; Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," pp. 17–41; Francesco Facchin, "Una nuova fonte musicale trecentesca nell'Archivio di Stato di Padova," in *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana 24, eds. Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato (Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana, 1993), pp. 115–39.

TABLE 2.1: POLYPHONIC SOURCES CURRENTLY IN PADUA

Cathedral:
Padua 55
Padua 56
Archivio di Stato:
Padua 14
Padua 553
University Library:
Padua 656
Padua 658 (Pad C)
Padua 675 (Pad D)
Padua 684 (Pad A)
[**Padua 1027** (see below)]
Padua 1106 (Pad D)
Padua 1115 (Pad B)
Padua 1225 (Pad D)
Padua 1283 (Pad D)
Padua 1475 (Pad A)

Two fragments currently outside the city can be added with certainty to this list as testaments to Paduan production: **Oxford 229** (**Pad A**) and **Stresa 14**. The activity we see in Padua has made it tempting to propose Paduan origins for many other sources, including **Oxford 16**, **Oxford 56**, **Oxford 112**, **Trent 60**, **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, Grottaferrata 219, Grottaferrata s.s.,** and parts of **Reina**, **Mancini**, and **Rossi**. Although all of these attributions contain some merit, some are more convincing than others, as we will explore.

Many of the fragments can be traced with near certainty to the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua, providing a rich source of evidence of northern Italian musical practice in general and the varieties of music cultivated by a single center in particular. The core of this group comprises 11 documents each of one to six folios in length. **Pad A** was the first manuscript to be discovered and is currently divided among two fragments at the university library in Padua, **Padua 1475** and **Padua 684**, and a fragment in the Canonici collection in Oxford, **Oxford 229**. This manuscript is of particular importance for its unique Mass ordinary sections. **Pad B** (**Padua 1115**) is a single bifolio of French and Italian secular works. The two

separate folios of **Pad C** contain madrigals by Jacopo as well as fragments of a French motet and song. A fragment originally discovered in Domodossola and now housed in Stresa (**Stresa 14**) contains works securely traceable to Paduan composers and has marks of early possession by the Abbey of S. Giustina. Four sources discovered later, **Padua 675, 1106, 1225,** and **1283** are generally considered part of a single group, **Pad D**. The sources are not contiguous (unlike parts of **Pad A**) but three of these fragments share a common repertory, and all of them share a scribal hand, that of Rolandus de Casali (*italice* Rolando da Casale), who signs his name in some of these sources. The final member of the core group is **Padua 14**, found in the Archvio di Stato in Padua, containing a fragment of a single Credo.

Outside the main group of sources are fragments probably from three unrelated manuscript projects grouped together as **Padua 553**. This collection is best-known for an instrumental (probably keyboard) Gloria but also contains *sicilianas* and the remains of a motet. **Padua 656** is not a manuscript fragment at all, but is instead two sketches of a ballata tenor added to a completed, non-musical manuscript. Finally, the newly discovered **Padua 1027** will be described below.

The exploration of the Paduan fragments reveals the extent to which influence from (and interest in) the music of other regions was a part of Paduan life. What is clear is that the Paduan fragments were a product of the tumultuous period spanning the fall of the Carrara dynasty, the installation of Venetian rule over the city, and the subsequent rise in the monastic chapter of S. Giustina. How exactly these changes in civic and religious life in Padua relate to the production of these fragments is a difficult question. Can we actually date the rise in production of motets celebrating Paduan institutions to the period of loss of civic sovereignty? Did music manuscript production at S. Giustina precede or follow the reforms of Barbo, reforms which simultaneously increased the size and prestige of the scriptorium

while (eventually) discouraging the performance of polyphony? Definitive answers to these questions are few, but careful study of the fragments hints at solutions for many otherwise intractable problems.

Inventory

The contents of the Paduan fragments are varied and have not before been described in their entirety. A total of seventy compositions are listed in the inventory in Table 2.2. Though slightly fewer in number than **Mancini** or **London 29987** (to say nothing of **Pit.** or **Squarcialupi**), this is indeed a significant repertory for study.

The inventory is organized so that the two major repositories of sacred music appear first, followed by manuscripts similar in layout, and lastly manuscripts with less secure connections to the first two groups of sources. The concordances for sacred works in this table owe a debt to the inventory of sacred sources in the Paduan fragments by Francesco Facchin.[13]

> The following abbreviations and standards are employed:
>
> > Folio numbers out of order, such as "34r,33v" indicate that the cantus (or cantus 1) appears on f. 34r, but other voices appear on the previous page. Original folio numbers appear without marking; modern foliations are in square brackets. Folio numbers in italics from the Paduan fragments signify the work is not copied at the top of a page. For reasons of space, folio numbers appear after sigla without the customary "ff." markings.
> >
> > Concordances are grouped approximately by region with Paduan and other sources from the Veneto first, then Tuscan manuscripts, other Italian manuscripts, foreign sources, and finally text sources (in italics).

[13] Facchin, "Una nuova fonte," pp. 128–130.

Symbols appearing in the designation of voices:

{ C1 } = Cantus 1 almost certainly present on a missing page.
[Ct] = Fragment of contratenor present
T = Textless tenor
+? = Possibility of additional voices

Only one or a few recent editions are listed, the first of which will have a list of other, older editions. Where no previous edition of a work exists, the work is transcribed within this dissertation, except for *Ave mater nostri Redemptoris* whose minims could not be distinguished from semibreves; every other work from the Paduan fragments has now been transcribed. The following sigla are used for editions not listed at the beginning of this dissertation:

CMM 29: Hanna Stäblein-Harder, editor, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 29 ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

CMM 46/I: Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, editors. *The Old Hall Manuscript*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 46/I ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1969–85).

Gallo: F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del II Quattrocento: due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1978), pp. 43–50 (+ plates).

Gomez: Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, "Une version à cinq voix du motet *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum signis* dans le manuscrit E-Bcen 853," *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985), pp. 5–44.

Leech-Wilkinson: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: an introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Perz: Mirosław Perz, *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14 (Graz-Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976).

ZiinoT: Agostino Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile*, Ars Nova 3 (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994). Transcription by Francesco Facchin, pp. 83, 87–89.

TABLE 2.2: INVENTORY OF THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad A							
1	229	33r [53r]	*Sanctus*		{C1}, C2, [T]	*PMFC 13*.A11		
2	229	33v	*Benedicamus Domino*		C, T	*PMFC 12*.26		Other works with the same tenor exist. See Chapter 4.
3	229	*33v*	*Per chi'o te* from *O cieco mondo*	[Jacopo da Bologna] (*Guido Caualcanti?*)	C, T	*PMFC 6,* Jacopo 16	**Reina** 5v **Pad C** Av **Squarcialupi** 11v/12r **Pit.** 5v/6r **San Lorenzo 2211** 12v/13r **Panciatichi** 65r **Perugia 15755** binding fragments Ar[14] **Faenza 117** (diminution) 71r–72r ***Bologna 1072*** 242r ***Chigi 131*** 385v ***Florence 105*** 123v ***Florence 315*** 88v ***Florence 1041*** 51r	Ritornello only with no missing music. Extremely different from other sources, and not transcribed in *PMFC 6*

[14] The review by Oliver Huck of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, editors, *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 15 (2006) p. 78, gives a detailed breakdown of the eight binding fragments which can be used to reconstruct *O cieco mondo* in **Perugia 15755**.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
4	229	34r/*33v* [54r/ 53v]	*Sanctus*	Mediolano	C1, C2, T, Ct	*PMFC 12.*18 *PMFC 23b.*69	all these versions are 3vv or fewer, some troped with "Benedictus Marie Filius": **Apt 16bis** 11v **Gerona 33** 2v/3r **Barcelona 853d** 2v **Kernascléden Frescos**	
5	229	34v	*Credo*	Berlatus	C, {Ct}, {T}			**Ivrea 115** 46v/47r and **Strasbourg 222**, f. 50r are not concordances.
6	229	37r [55r]	*Gloria*		{C1}, C2, {T]	*PMFC 13.*A5		
7	229	*37r*	*Sones ces nachares apertment*		*T, C/Ct*			Order of voices reversed. Possibly missing C.
8	229	37v	*Sanctus*	Barbitonsoris	C, T, *Ct*	*PMFC 12.*19		
9	229	38r [56r]	*Donna s'i't'ò falito*	M[agister] Francisci de Floren[ti]a	C, T	*PMFC 4.*1	**Reina** 34r **Mancini** 47v **Assisi 187** 108r **Panciatichi** 1r **Pit.** 85v/86r **London 29987** 23r **Squarcialupi** 158r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of *Il Saporetto.* Lauda contrafact as *Donna, s'i' son partito* in **Riccardiana 2871**, f. 59r

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
10	229	*38r*	*Ma fin est mon commencement*	[Guillaume de Machaut]	*C, T*	*PMFC 3*.p. 153 [rondeau 14]	**Machaut A** 479v **Machaut B** 309r **Machaut E** 136r **Machaut G** 153r **Machaut Vg** 321r ***Machaut M***	Text of first line present but not placed accurately.
11	229	38v	*Sus unne fontaine*	[Johannes Ciconia]	C, *T, Ct*	*PMFC 24*.45	**Mod A** 27r/26v	
12	1475	41r(?) [2r]	*Sanctus*	Sant. Omer	C1, C2/Ct, T	*PMFC 23b*.127	**Budapest 297** 2r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
13	1475	41v	*Agnus Dei*		C1, C2/Ct, T			All voices fragmentary due to trimming Possibly also by Sant. Omer
14	1475	41v	*Sanctus*		{C1}, Ct?, {T}			Fragment due to trimming.
15	1475	43r(?) [6r]	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	Engardus	{C1}, C2, *[T]*	*PMFC 13*.18	**Padua 1225** 1r **Utrecht 1846**[1] I Av	Fragment due to trimming.
16	1475	43v/44r [6r/4r]	*Gloria*	Johannes Ciconia	C1, C2, *T*	*PMFC 24*.9	**Padua 1283** 1v **Nuremberg 9a** 3r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
17	1475	*44r*	*Ite missa est*	[Guillaume de Machaut]	Tr, *Mo*, *T*	*Leech-Wilkinson, 212*	**Machaut A** 451r **Machaut B** 294r **Machaut E** 170r **Machaut G** 133v **Machaut Vg** 296r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
18	1475	44v	*Gloria: Clementie pax*		{C?}, *T, Ct*	*PMFC 12*.9	**Padua 1475** 47v/48r **Vatican 171** 225r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming. Tropes only.
19	1475	*44v*	*Giovine vagha i' non senti'*	[Francesco da Firenze]	C, {T}	*PMFC 4*.p. 96	**Squarcialupi** 160r	Fragmentary due to trimming.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
20	1475	47r [3r]	*Gratiosus fevidus/ Magnanissimus opere*		Tr, Mo, *T*	*PMFC 12*.43	**Mod A** 50v	Possibly by Gratiosus de Padova. Tenor similar to a Kyrie melody, Melnicki 108.
21	1475	*47r*	*Donna l'animo tuo*	[Francesco da Firenze]	none ({C}, {T})	*PMFC 4*.p. 9	**Panciatichi** 2v/3r **Squarcialupi** 151v	Text residuum only.
22	1475	47v–48v [3v/5v]	*Gloria: Clementie pax*		C, *Ct, T*	*PMFC 12*.9	See no. 18 above.	
23	1475	*48v*	*Se questa dea*	Joha[nn]is baçi coreçarij de bon[oni]a *(Matteo Griffoni)*	C, {T}, {Ct}	*PMFC 10*.p. 92	**Reina** 33r	
24	1475	50r [1r]	*Gloria*		{C}, *T*			
25	1475	*50r*	*Die non fugir*	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Flore[n]tia	C, T	*PMFC 4*.31	**Reina** 51r/50v **Panciatichi** 32r **Squarcialupi** 144v	
26	1475	50v	*Lux purpurata/ Diligite visticiam*	M[agister] Jacobi de bononia	Tr, Mo, *T*	*PMFC 13*.43	**San Lorenzo 2211** 185r	
27	684	51r/50v [1v/ 1475 1v]	*Sanctus*	Gratiosus	C, *T, Ct*	*PMFC 12*.17		Contratenor begins on f. 51r (Padua 684) and continues onto f. 50v (Padua 1475)
28	684	51v	*Gran pianto a gli occhi*	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Floren[ti]a	C, *Ct*, T	*PMFC 4*.104	**Reina** 34v **Panciatichi** 26r **Pit.** 67v/68r **Squarcialupi** 133v **London 29987** 29v/30r	Cited in Sollazzo no. 34.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
29	684	*51v*	*S'i' ti so' state*	[Francesco da Firenze]	C, T	*PMFC 4.*16	**Reina** 49r/48v **Mancini** 97v **Panciatichi** 8r **Pit.** 89v/90r **Squarcialupi** 142v **San Lorenzo 2211** 109v	Used as the music for a lauda *Sempre laudata e benedetta sia* in **Chigi 266**, f. 204v
30	684	[195r]	*Gloria*	Gratiosus	C, *T, Ct*	*PMFC 12.*6		
31	684	[195v]	*Credo*	Perneth	[C1], [T], {C2}	*PMFC 23b.*51 *CMM 29.*55	**Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** 5r **Cortona 2** 2r **Strasbourg 222** 3v/4r **Apt 16bis** 29v/32r **Barcelona 853c** 8rv **Brussels 2** rv **Washington LOC 14** 1v[15]	Composer called Bonbard or Perrinet in other sources. Layout suggests three-voice version without contratenor.
32	684	60r(?) [2r]	*Gloria: Qui sonitu melodia*		{C}, *T*, *Ct*	*PMFC 23a.*27 *CMM* 29.27	**Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** 2v–3v **Brescia 5** 71r **Rochester 44** 1v/2r **Cambrai 1328** 3v/4r **Ivrea 115** 36v/37r **Munich 29987.8** Arv **Nuremberg 9a** 2v/3v **Strasbourg 222** 40v/41r **Budapest 297** 1r	

[15] Noted in Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), p. 126, fn. 34.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
33	684	60v	*Poy che partir*	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Flor[enti]a	C, *Ct, T*	*PMFC 4*.98	**Panciatichi** 23r **Pit.** 92r/93v **Squarcialupi** 165v **San Lorenzo 2211** 106r **Prague 9** 248r	Used as music for the lauda *Po' che da morte nessun si ripara* in **Riccardiana 2870** f. 60r
34	684	*60v*	*Alta regina de virtute*	Gratiosus de Padua	C, {T}, +?	*PMFC 10*. frag. A		Used as music for the lauda *Alta regina e virgine beata*
	Pad D							
35	675	[1v]	*Alma..te*		2vv			Later addition, fragment
36	675	[2rv]	*Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas*	[Johannes Ciconia]	[C1],C2,*{T?}*	*PMFC 24*.7	**Oxford 56** 0rv **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** 9v–10v **Grottaferrata s.s.** 2v **Warsaw 378** 25v–27r	
37	1225	[1r]	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	[Engardus]	{C1}, C2, *[T]*	*PMFC 13*.18	See Padua 1475, f. 43r(?) (no. 15), above.	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.a.
38	1225	[1v]	*Gloria*	[Engardus]	C, [T], {Ct}	*PMFC 12*.7	**Udine 22** recto **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** Dv–4r **Mod A** 21v–22r **Kras.** 204v–205r	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.a Top half of page offset onto Ba 2.2.b.
39	1225	[2r]	*Gloria: Laus honor*	[Magister Antonius] Dictus Çacharias	{C1}, C2, {T}	*PMFC 13*.7 *CMM 46/I* no 33 *Perz*, pp. 420–26 *E15cM 6*.16	**Bologna Q15** 86v–88r **Siena 207** 326.1v **Munich Emmeram** 37v/38r (folios missing) **Old Hall** 28r **Warsaw 378** 18r–19r	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.c.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
40	1225	[2v]	*Credo*	M[agister] Antonius [Dictus Çacharias]	[C1]. {C2}, {T}	*PMFC 13.*21 *E15cM 6.*17	**Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** 6v **Boverio** 9r **Mod A** 23v–25r **Bologna Q15** 88v–90r **Warsaw 378** 6v–9r	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.c. Top half of page offset onto Ba 2.2.b
41	1283	[1r]	*Sanctus: Benedictus Marie filius*		[C1], [C2], {T}	*ZiinoT,* pp. 87–89.	**Boverio** 18v	
42	1283	[1v]	*Gloria*	[Ciconia]	C1, {C2}, [T]	*PMFC 24.*9	see Padua 1475, f. 43v (no. 16), above.	The attribution has been cut; a few descenders can still be seen. Previous inventories have called this folio 1r, but the layout of the *Gloria* suggests verso.
43	1106	[1r]	*O Maria virgo/O Maria maris stella*		C1, C2, *T, Ct, solus T*	*PMFC 12.*41	**Bologna Q 15** 230v–231r **Munich Emmeram** 56v/57r	Cited in treatises in **Breslau 16**[16] and in the **Sterzing Miscellany**.[17]
44	1106	[1v]	*Paduas ex panis. . . serenas*		C1, {C2}, T	*PMFC 24.20*		Possibly by Ciconia?

[16] Tom R. Ward, "A central European repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14272," *Early Music History* 1 (1981), pp. 330 and 332.
[17] Lorenz Welker, "Ein anonymer Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), pp. 269–70.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
45	1106	[2r]	*Principum nobilissime*	"*me Franciscum peregre canentem*" [=Francesco da Firenze?]	{C1}, C2, {T}	*PMFC 4*.p. 222		
46	1106	[2v]	*Hic est precursor*		C1, T	*PMFC 12*.42		C2 on following recto?
47	1106	[3r]	*Laudibus dignis*		{C1}, C2, {T}	*PMFC 13*.A13		Visconti dedicatee suggests composition by Jacopo da Bologna.
48	1106	[3v]	*O proles Yspanie*		C1, {C2}, T	*PMFC 24*.21		Possibly by Ciconia?
	Stresa 14							
49	Str. 14	133r [1r]	*Amor m'a tolto*	M[agister] Jacobus Co[r]bus de Padova	C, *T, Ct*	*PMFC 10*.p. 135		
50	Str. 14	133v	*Ben che da vui, donna*	M[agister] Joh[ann]es Ciconia	C, {T}, +?	*PMFC 24*.35		
51	Str. 14	141r [2r]	*Se le lagrime antique*	M[agister] Çanin[us] de Peraga de Padua	C, *T*, *Ct*	*PMFC 10*.p. 130		Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of *Il Saporetto*.
52	Str. 14	141v	*Io crido amor*	M[agister] Joh[ann]es Ciconia	C, {T}, +?	*PMFC 24*.36		
53	Str. 14	*141v*	*Amor, per ti sempre*		C?, {T}, +?	*PMFC 24*.37		

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Padua 14							
54	Pad 14	[Av]	*Credo*	[Sortes]	C, [T], [Ct]	*PMFC 23b*.A7	**Cividale 98** 1v/41r **Apt 16bis** 40v/41r **Cambrai 1328** 4v/6r **Ivrea 115** 47v/48r **Rochester 44** Iirv **Toulouse 94** 1r **Trémoïlle** 44v/45r **Leiden 2515** Iirv **Barcelona 971** 3r/6v **Solsona 109** 3r	
55	Pad 14	[Br]	*P…*		none survive			Initial letters "P" and "C" only. Possibly a Credo of 3 or more voices (P=Patrem, C=Contratenor)

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad B							
56	1115	[Ar]	*Se per dureça*		C, T	*PMFC 11*.71		Used as music for the lauda *Se tu l'iniquità osservarai* in **Florence 130** 23v.[18]
57	1115	*[Ar]*	*Ay si*		{C}, {T}, *Ct*			Not a later addition (contra RISM B IV 4)
58	1115	[Av]	*Aler m'en veus*	Johes [Ciconia]	C. {T}	*PMFC 24*.44	**Bologna Q15** 266v/267r (contrafact)	
59	1115	[B]	*En ce gracieux temps*	[Senleches]	C, *T, Ct/Tr*	*PMFC 21*.3 *CMM 53/I*.91	**Reina** 58v **Mod A** 25v **Strasbourg 222** 51r	
60	1115	[Bv]	*Dolçe fortuna*	Jo. Ciconia M[agister]	C, T	*PMFC 24*.30	**Paris 4379** (PC II) 48v/49r	Used as music for the lauda *Dolze Signiore de'* in **Chigi 266** 120r.[19]
61	1115	*[Bv]*	*A piançer l'ochi*	tonelus [=Antonellus Marot]	C, T, {Ct}	*PMFC 10*.1	**Mancini** 67v **Pistoia 5** Br	

[18] Blake Wilson, "Madigral, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence." *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), p. 146.
[19] *Ibid., op. cit.*

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad C							
62	658	[Ar]	*Uselletto selvaggio* (caccia/ madrigal)	[Jacopo da Bologna]	[C1], [C2], *[T]*	*PMFC 6*.18	**Reina** 8v **Panciatichi** 72v/73r **Pit.** 43v/44r **Squarcialupi** 13v **San Lorenzo 2211** 15v/16r	
63	658	[Av]	*O cieco mondo*	[Jacopo da Bologna]	C, T	*PMFC 6*.16	See no. 3 above.	
64	658	[Br]	*Or sus vous dormes trop*		[C],*T, Ct*	*PMFC 21*.48 *CMM* 53/III.212	**Reina** 78v/79r **Mancini** 76v[20] **Pit.** 122v–124r **London 29987** 76v/77r **Faenza 117** (diminution) 48v/49r (no. 28) **Ivrea 115** 15r/14v **Copenhagen 17a** frag. 2409. **Gent 3360** 1r **Strasbourg 222** 76v/77r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of *Il Saporetto.*

[20] John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves of the Lucca Codex," *Studi musicali* 34 (2005), p.8.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
65	658	[Bv]	*Apolinis ecclipsatur*	[Bernard de Cluny]	Tr, {Mo}, {T}, {Ct?}, {Quad.?}	*Gomez* pp. 30–41. *PMFC 5.9*	**San Lorenzo 2211** 189v/190r **Ivrea 115** 12v/13r **Trémoïlle** 1v/2r **Strasbourg 222** 64v/65r **London Records E 24** 2r **Oxford All Souls 56** Ar **Leiden 2515** Ir **Barcelona 853** 1r **Barcelona 971** 11v/12r **Tarragona 2** 1v **Vienna 5094** (diminution) 158v/158r[21]	Cited in **Breslau 16** as a work in perfect mode, imperfect time, and major prolation. See Johannes Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1.3 (April 1919), pp. 335–36. Cited in **Melk 950** and Heinrich Eger von Kalker's *Cantuagium*.[22]

[21] Edited (but not recognized as *Apollinis*) in Frederick Crane, "15th-Century Keyboard Music in Vienna MS 5094," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965), pp. 238–242. The latest appraisal of the source situation of *Apollinis* appears in *RISM B IV 1-2*^{sup} p. 57.

[22] Ward, "A central European repertory," p. 330–331.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Padua 656							
66	656	[2]	*Con lagrime bagnandome*	[Johannes Ciconia]	*[T]* (cantus never copied)	*PMFC 24*.29	**Mancini** 54r **Paris 4379** (PC III) 62v **Bologna Q15** (back of an initial letter)[23] **Pit.** 52v/53r **Buxheimer Orgelbuch** (diminution) nos. 38, 137–39 **Lochamer Liederbuch** (diminution) no. 73 ***Bologna Archivio Covers*** ***Riccardiana 1764*** 86r ***Paris 1069*** 45r ***Treviso 43*** 6v ***Vatican 251*** 34r (?)	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 35 of *Il Saporetto*. Used as the music for the lauda *Colla ment' e col cor peccator fiso* in **Chigi 266** f. 71r and **Riccardiana 1764** f. 86v. Two different tenor incipits counted as one attempt at copying.

[23] I thank Margaret Bent for this information.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer *(Poet)*	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Padua 553							
67	553(a)		*Gloria*		[Two instrumental voices in score]	*PMFC 13*.A2		Amen only. Tenor: Gloria IV. Diminutions on the same Gloria found in **Faenza 117**, ff. 3v–5r and ff. 90r–92v.
68	553(b)	[3r]	*Ave Mater nostri Redemptoris*		[C], {T} +?			
69	553(c)	[6r]	*E par che la vita mia*		C, T	*Gallo* after p. 44	***Florence 1040*** 55r	
70	553(c)	[6v]	*Fenir mia vita*		C, T	*Gallo* after p. 44 *PMFC 11*.38	**Reina** 26r ***Florence 1078*** 36r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of *Il Saporetto* as "Finir mia vita de Cicilia."

Pad A: Oxford 229**, Padua** 1475**, and Padua** 684

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229.
RISM B IV 4: *GB-Ob 229, pp. 668–671.* CCMS 2: *OxfBC 229, p. 277.*

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1475.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1475, pp. 998–1002.* CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1475, vol. 3, pp. 10–11, vol. 4, p. 461.*

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 684.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 684, pp. 990–92.* CCMS 3: *PadU 684, p. 7.*

Originally a manuscript of at least 56 and probably over 70 folios, **Pad A** is one of the most important collections of sacred music of the trecento. Portions of the manuscript survive today in three separate fragments. Two bifolios, probably from the fourth gathering, are now found in the middle of **Oxford 229**, a collection of writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ambrose, and others. Three bifolios were used to protect the manuscript **Padua 1475**, which contains the *Summa super rubricis decretalium* of Goffredus de Trano (*ca.* 1200–1245) along with other writings; since the host manuscript was larger than the musical flyleaves, each bifolio was unfolded into a single sheet and trimmed to size, resulting in major damage to three folios. **Padua 684**, a collection of miscellaneous theological writings, preserves a bifolio of music as a front flyleaf and a single folio as a rear cover.

We begin our study of the lost manuscript, **Pad A**, with a reconstruction of the manuscript structure implied by these three fragments.[24] A diagram of the gatherings is given in Figure 2.3. Although this diagram is strongly supported by the surviving bifolios and by the codicological norms of the time, it is not the only possible reconstruction. **Pad A** was probably foliated on each recto, but the trimming of the flyleaves has removed all but six folio numbers from the current source. The folio numbers of **Oxford 229**—ff. 33, 34, 37,

[24] Measurements and other technical matters will be discussed with **Padua 1027**, below.

and 38—imply that it was taken from the gathering preceding that of **Padua 1475.** That fragment has three surviving folio numbers, ff. 47, 48, and 50, and three unnumbered folios. At the bottom of f. 50r of **Padua 1475** is the conclusion of a voice begun on the following recto in **Padua 684**. That folio can thus be identified as f. 51. Since the other half of that bifolio has only incomplete works, we must be missing the folios on either side of it. Thus, that folio cannot be part of the same gathering as **Padua 1475** (i.e., it cannot be f. 40). From this information, we see that bifolio of **Padua 684** is the outer bifolio of a gathering, but not the last gathering of the manuscript.[25] If the gatherings were equally sized, then the source would have at least 70 folios.

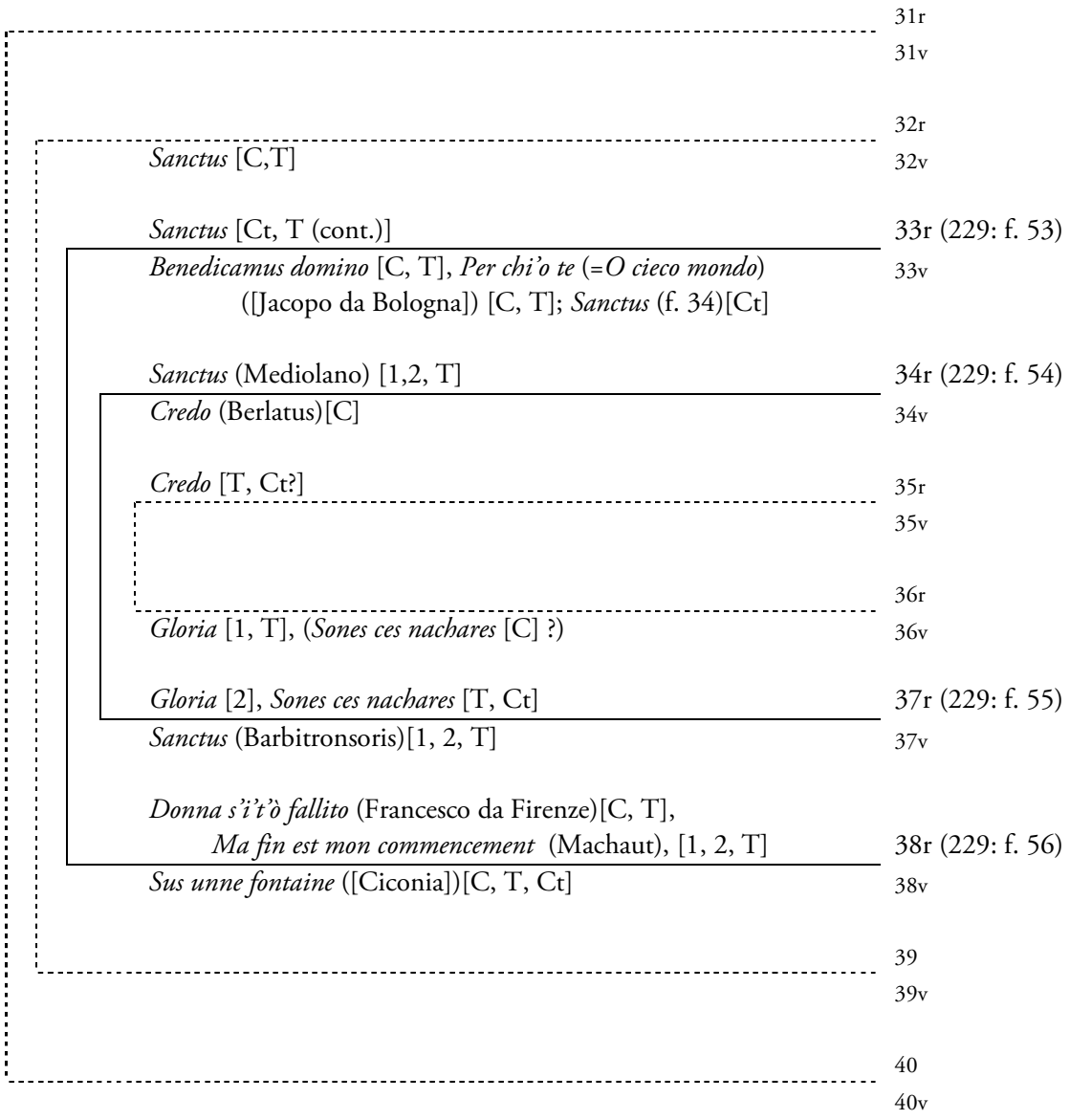
In the gathering structure below, Figure 2.3, the indication "**psc*" appears where a short composition may have filled extra space. Although the presence of some of these compositions would normally seem unlikely, one will note that **Pad A** contains several freestanding works which occupy only two or three staves.

[25] Unfortunately, little can be said about the placement of the single folio in **Padua 684**, alternatively numbered f. 195 (current position in the manuscript) or f. 3. If it is part of the same gathering as the other bifolio of **Padua 684** it could be ff. 52, 54, or 56. Gregory's law, requiring that openings be either entirely the flesh or the hair side of the parchment, rules out ff. 53, 55, or 57, and the amount of missing music rules out f. 58. (On Gregory's law, see Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script, & Books* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1991), p. 266). Alternatively, the folio could come from gathering 7 or later; the folio is unlikely to be from gatherings 1–3 because, unlike gatherings 4 and 5, but similar to ff. 51v and 60rv, it lacks initial letters.

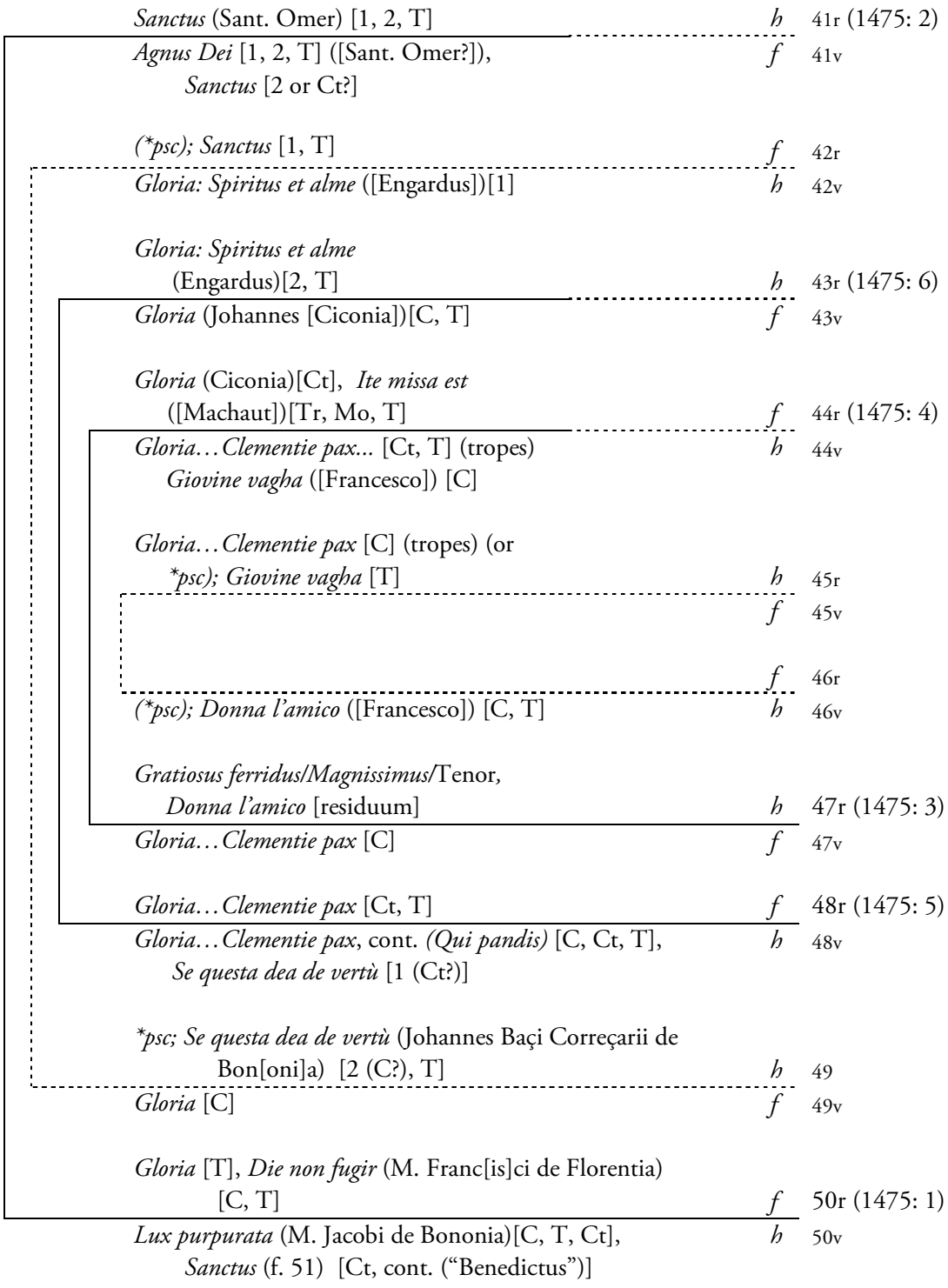
FIGURE 2.3: POSSIBLE GATHERING STRUCTURE OF **PAD A**

Folio numbers are reconstructed. Current numbers are given parenthetically.
Attributions taken from concordant sources are in square brackets. **psc* = possible short composition.

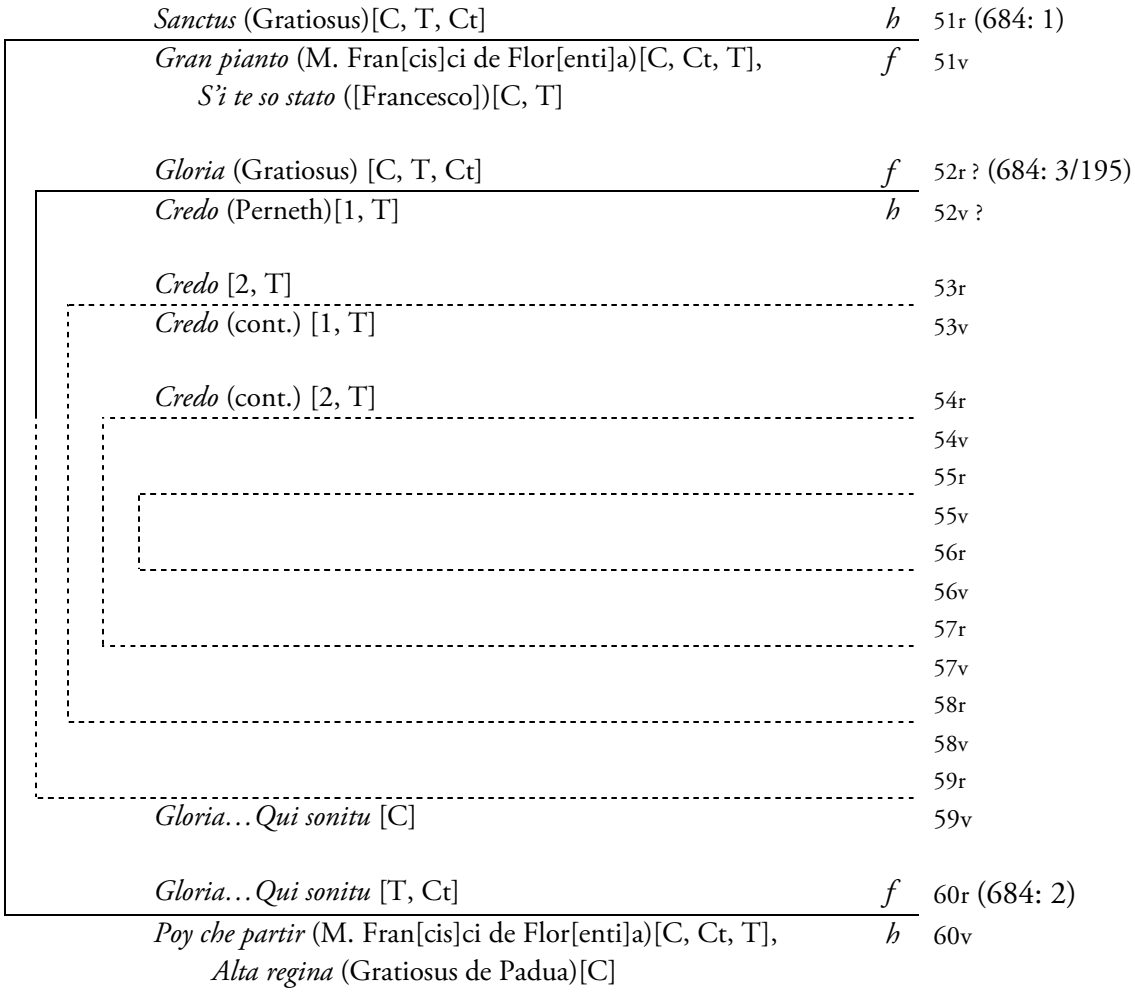
Gathering 4



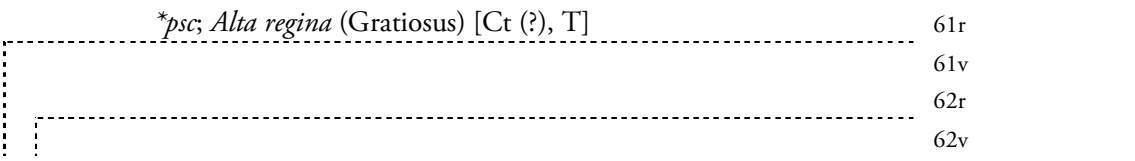
Gathering 5 (hair *(h)* and flesh *(f)* markings help suggest folio numbers for ff. [2], [4]. [6])



Gathering 6



Gathering 7



A glance at the contents of the manuscript and its structure suggests an organizational strategy of Mass movements at the tops of pages and secular works at the bottoms. However, this pattern is not followed perfectly; For instance, f. 38r is entirely secular (and is neither a later addition nor the beginning of a gathering). Nearly all the secular works are by Francesco da Firenze. He has nearly as many ballate in **Pad A** as in all other non-Florentine

sources combined except **Reina** (which may also be Paduan). In its original form, **Pad A** may have been among the most important sources for Francesco's work, both for their number and for their variant forms, which suggest early independence from the Tuscan manuscripts.[26]

The other surprising composer to find represented in **Pad A** is Guillaume de Machaut. Though Machaut's compositions appear in several Italian manuscripts, including **Panciatichi** and **Pit.**, the particular works contained in **Pad A** are surprising: the rondeau *Ma fin est mon commencement* and the *Ite missa est* of his Mass. **Pad A** transmits the only copy of either of these works outside the Machaut manuscripts—in fact, no other section of the Machaut Mass appears outside those tomes. Neither of these works has an important text: the *Ite* is commonplace, and not only is *Ma fin*'s text more of a canon recipe than a poem per se, but also just the first two lines appear in **Pad A**. The significance of these works in Padua cannot be overstressed. **Pad A** is the only source not produced by Machaut which testifies to his importance as a composer, rather than as a poet who made his own musical settings.[27]

[26] Further on differences between Tuscan and Northern transmissions of Francesco's ballate, see Tiziana Sucato, "Landini nella tradizione di alcuni codici settentrionali. Alcuni osservazione sull'uso della *ligatura* parigrado," in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo: In memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani, editors (Florence, Sismel: 1999), pp. 37–50. I see no particular reason to doubt the primary source testimonies that Francesco went to Venice, and thus a visit to Padua is not out of the question.

[27] Even the reference to Machaut the so-called "musician's motet," *Apollinis eclipsatur* specifically designates his poetry for praise. See also Wulf Arlt, "Machaut, Guillaume de," *s.v.* in *2ndNG*, at §9: "Reception," for more information on the scarcity of Machaut's works outside of the main manuscripts.

Oxford 229 and its Works

The two bifolios from **Pad A** today in Oxford are testaments not only to early destruction of a polyphonic source (as are all of the fragments in this chapter) but also to early preservation of fragments from the past. The two bifolios are found today after f. 52 of the manuscript but were originally used separately as flyleaves. The folios of bifolio 33/38 were the front flyleaves of the section of the manuscript collecting the writings of Aquinas. Worms have eaten holes through these two leaves (but not through ff. 34 and 37); the holes continue to the first folios of **Oxford 229**.[28] The Aquinas section was originally a separate manuscript, number 572 in the valuable fifteenth century catalog of manuscripts of the Abbey of Santa Giustina.[29] As f. 38v attests, the source received the signature ZZ 2 nº 111 in the 1724 catalog of manuscripts.[30] Since call numbers are usually added on the flyleaves or on the first folio of the manuscript, we can assume that bifolio 33/38 was still at the front of the manuscript at that time. After the Napoleonic dispersal of the S. Giustina manuscripts, the book was acquired by Matteo Luigi Canonici, from whose nephew Girolamo Cardina it

[28] Noted independently by Jason James Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the *Ars subtilior*," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New England (Australia), 2002), p. 147. Stoessel analyses the relationships among the fragments in pp. 147–55. By relying more heavily on isolating individual scribal features than this thesis does, his work concludes that the manuscripts are less of a coherent group than I do, and thus his thesis should be read as a counterbalance to this work. His comparisons of the codicological (p. 151) and scribal (pp. 153–55) features of the fragments will be especially useful to readers less familiar with these sources.

[29] Edition: Giovanna Cantoni Alzati, *La biblioteca di S. Giustina di Padova: Libri e cultura presso i benedettini padovani in età umanistica* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1982). The description in the catalog, "Quodlibet s. Thomae," does not mention Ambrose.

[30] There are numerous references in musicological literature stating that the "ZZ" and "YY" call numbers on the Paduan fragments come from the catalogs of 1453 and the rest of the fifteenth century. They were instead added in 1724, many by the librarian Bacchinus. An additional set of location numbers (e.g., AE. 3) were added in 1740.

was purchased by Oxford in 1817. By the time of the "Quarto" catalog of Canonici manuscripts at Oxford (1854), the manuscript had been rebound together with volume of letters of St. Ambrose. The flyleaves were bound in their current position between the two previously independent volumes and (unusually for this period) cataloged along with the rest of the manuscript.[31] The binder must have recognized the common provenance of the musical manuscripts and their continuous foliation, since they were placed in the correct, original order.

The bifolio 34/37 may have either been the back cover of the Aquinas manuscript or even part of the twelfth-century manuscript of letters of St. Ambrose from which ff. 58–73 of **Oxford 229** was taken (if that manuscript also came from S. Giustina). In any case, more of the Ambrose manuscript can be found in Canonici Pat. Lat. 210; in fact, Pat. Lat. 211 is crossed out at the front of **Oxford 229**. The whereabouts of gatherings 1–2 of the original Ambrose manuscript are unknown to me. Gathering 3 is ff. 66–73 of **Oxford 229**. Gatherings 4–14 are found in Pat. Lat. 210, except for two folios which are now ff. 76–77 of Rawlinson D. 893. Gathering 15 is ff. 58–65 of **Oxford 229**, and the end of the manuscript is missing.[32] The Ambrosian context for the flyleaves is important because it solves a mystery in the manuscript. The Sanctus by Barbitonsoris has the word "ambrosius" written near the contratenor. The suggestions that the composer's name was Ambrogio del Barbitonsoris,[33]

[31] Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1854), no. 19215. Folio 57 is a single folio from a twelfth- or thirteenth-century chant manuscript with the incipit, "Johannem baptistam precursorem domini Euouae."

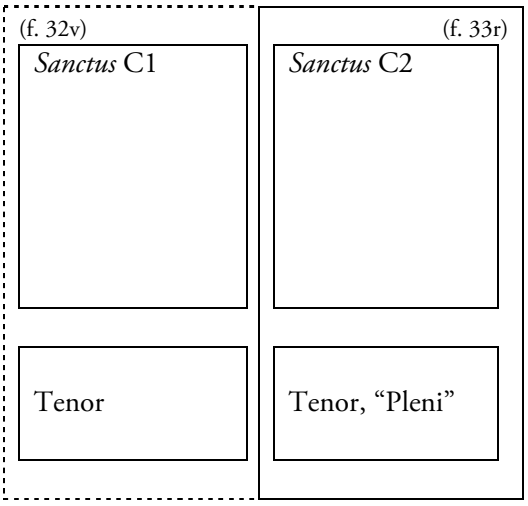
[32] Oxford Pat. Lat. 211 contains more writings by Ambrose but not from the same original manuscript. It, like Pat. Lat. 210 and Pat. Lat. 228, contains no music.

[33] Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," p. 129.

or that another composer named Ambrosius wrote the contratenor,[34] can now be dismissed. The marginalia simply records the contents of the book.[35]

The four folios of **Oxford 229** contain a total of eleven pieces, some have been studied often (in particular, Ciconia's *Sus unne fontaine*), while two have never been transcribed, and one is extremely different from the published transcriptions, which were taken from other sources. The first recto, f. 33r, contains fragments from an otherwise unknown, three-voice Sanctus. We possess all of one upper voice and the second half of the tenor. Figure 2.4 shows the page's layout, including the hypothetical reconstruction of the preceding verso:

FIGURE 2.4: LAYOUT OF **OXFORD 229**, FF. 32V–33R.



This layout is typical for three voice works with equal (or nearly equal) upper voices. It is sufficiently standard, that we can use it as a model to suggest which side of a single folio

[34] Suggested in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 197.

[35] This argument skirts the line near circular reasoning, hopefully without crossing it. I wish to argue that the word "Ambrosius" refers to contents of the manuscript containing the flyleaves, but if I do so then I cannot also use the note as evidence that the flyleaves were originally connected to the Ambrose manuscript.

is the verso and which the recto. (Bifolios present no such problem.) The layout also informs us about the amount of activity in the missing voices. The layout of Figure 2.4, implies equal upper voices. The alternate three-voice structure of cantus, contratenor, tenor usually places the cantus voice on the recto alone and the contratenor and tenor on the verso together.[36]

The Sanctus changes meters often, but favors the Italian divisiones of *octonaria* and *duodenaria*.[37] It is particularly unfortunate that we are missing the page containing cantus 1, since numerous sharps appear in cantus 2, especially near cadences. The work could have been especially informative about *musica ficta* in Padua at the turn of the century. A peculiarity of the piece which may be welcome to performers who are frustrated with scribal text underlay is the texting of the ligature "[ex]celsis" in the tenor. The final two syllables appear under a single ligature which appears alone on the penultimate staff. Thus, we must sing two syllables to a ligature. That the scribe was so casual about necessitating the breaking of a ligature may give us some comfort as we make our own choices of underlay.

[36] The layout is reminiscent of earlier French manuscripts, such as the motet fascicles of the Montpellier and Bamberg codices. Those sources replicate this layout not on an opening but on a single page. The tenor staves also run under both staves with no gap in the center. These two differences might make my proposed derivation seem tenuous, but there is a at least one layout which can be seen as an intermediate stage between these two well-known examples. The manuscript **Oxford 112**, which contains the motet *Ave regina celorum/Mater innocencie* by Marchettus de Padua, appears on ff. 61v–62r. It uses the entire opening to present the work, similarly to **Oxford 229**, but like the earlier sources, music runs along the entire opening at the bottom (in this case, the end of the triplum). Because of the style of composition and the author, a date of *ca.* 1325 has been generally assigned to both the manuscript and the work. However, despite the note on f. 58v dating the corpus of the manuscript to 1325, the music could be a later addition, even after mid-century.

[37] Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," calls it "unequivocally Italian," as assessment with which I agree wholeheartedly.

From the sonorities of the cadences between the surviving upper voice and the tenor, we can deduce some information about the lost voice. In the cadences at the end of the first and second Osanna, the two voices move outwards from a major sixth to an octave. This motion indicates that the missing voice is either below the second voice (sounding the fifth of the triad) at both the major cadences of the second half of the composition or is a quite high voice sounding a perfect twelfth above the tenor, as we see in certain works by Ciconia.

At the bottom of the folio is a quotation from the annunciation in a different hand, "Ave gratia plena dominus tecum ben." Although it is probably from the fifteenth century, the text has nothing to do with our composition. The scribal hand is similar to one which added marginalia throughout the first 52 folios of the main corpus.[38] This addition is the first of several suggestions of quick reuse of the Paduan fragments that we will encounter.

The decoration of f. 33r deserves a final comment. No other folio in **Pad A** is decorated with such (relative) splendor. Not only do the initial letters possess more filigree and attention than others in the source, but even the words of the text are highly decorated (see, for instance, the phrase "celi et terra gloria" in cantus 2, or the final line of the tenor). Either we are at the end of section containing a different type of decoration, or the Sanctus was a special work in this manuscript.

The following opening, ff. 33v–34r, contains three unusual works. The first work on is a two-voice Benedicamus Domino setting. The top voice is florid and may be instrumental (we will see a further instrumental work in **Oxford 229** shortly), while the bottom voice is

[38] See for example, "Gregori in homilia," on f. 5. The repairs to the damaged text in the first column of f. 1r are also similar.

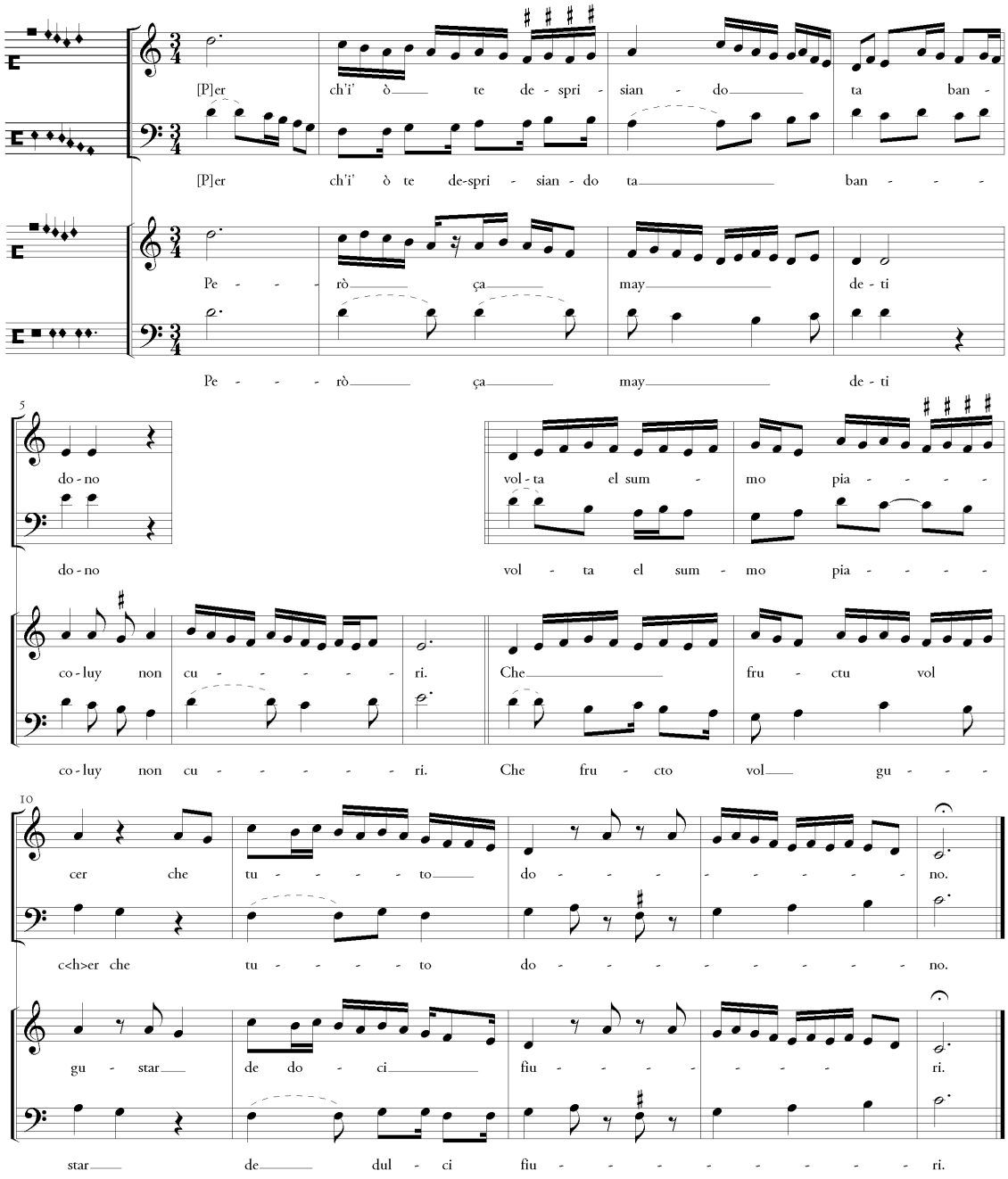
written entirely in longae. That voice is simply the "Flos Filius" melisma of the responsory verse *Stirps Jesse*. Since this tenor appears in several polyphonic settings, we will discuss them as a group, together with other works based on equal-note chant tenors, in Chapter 4.

A second composition takes up just two staves in the middle of f. 33v. Unusually, we have just the ritornello of a madrigal, Jacopo da Bologna's *O cieco mondo*. The lack of initial letters suggests it may have been a slightly later addition to the manuscript by the principal scribe. If this is the case, and the scribe was adding music in any available space, then the remainder of the madrigal could have been written anywhere between ff. 1 and 32r. But this need not be our only explanation. The isolated copy of Machaut's *Ite missa est* later in the manuscript tells us that the brevity of a work did not hamper the compiler from including it.

The differences between this ritornello and other versions of *O cieco mondo* are so great that Marrocco originally would not acknowledge that they were from the same work.[39] Example 2.6 is a comparative transcription of two versions of the ritornello, the first from **Pad A** and the second, more typical of the other sources, from **Pad C** (**Padua 658**). (The idiosyncratic spelling of **Pad C** has been retained.) Both versions use closely spaced notes on the same pitch that should be interpreted as one-pitch ligatures (tied notes in modern notation). This reasoning is supported by the text underlay and by the lack of any other way of notating the value which ♦♦ equals. The groupings of the notes, especially in the tenor, imply meters other than $\frac{3}{4}$, namely $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{12}{16}$. The beaming of Example 2.5 reflects these meters.

[39] W. Thomas Marrocco, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 157: "There is no similarity between its music and the ritornello of manuscript 658 at Padua."

EXAMPLE 2.6: JACOPO DA BOLOGNA, *O CIECO MONDO* , RITORNELLO FROM **PAD A** AND **PAD C**



The only four-voice work in the Paduan fragments fills the remainder of the opening. It is a Sanctus attributed to the otherwise unknown "Mediolano." Although often con-

sidered an *unicum*, it is instead a variant of a piece known from four other sources. Of those sources, only the copy in **Gerona 33** is complete.[40] One source (**Barcelona 853d**) is both incomplete and missing the following folio. Another (**Apt 16bis**) had only the second and third "Sanctus" of the highest voice copied—evidentially this was a mistake, since the voice was erased, and the original Sanctus, whose first invocation which had already been copied, was completed. The final source, the **Kernascléden Frescos**, depicts angels playing the work and only preserves the incipit.[41]

This closer look at the sources tells us that we cannot know if the anomalous version is the four-voice Paduan version or the Gerona version. It is unknown if the source for **Apt 16bis**'s copyist had three or four voices, or if **Barcelona 853d** originally had a contratenor on the following recto. And we cannot know whether the trope found in **Gerona 33**, "Benedictus Marie Filius," appeared in these other sources.

A close look at the style of the work reveals that the fourth voice was probably not present in the earliest version.[42] Although **Gerona 33** designates the second highest voice as "Contra," it is more appropriately a second cantus. This voice has no designation in **Barcelona 853d** (i.e., it is the cantus), while the highest voice is labeled "triplum." The second highest voice is called "Duplum" in the **Kernascléden Frescos**. Thus, only one source claims

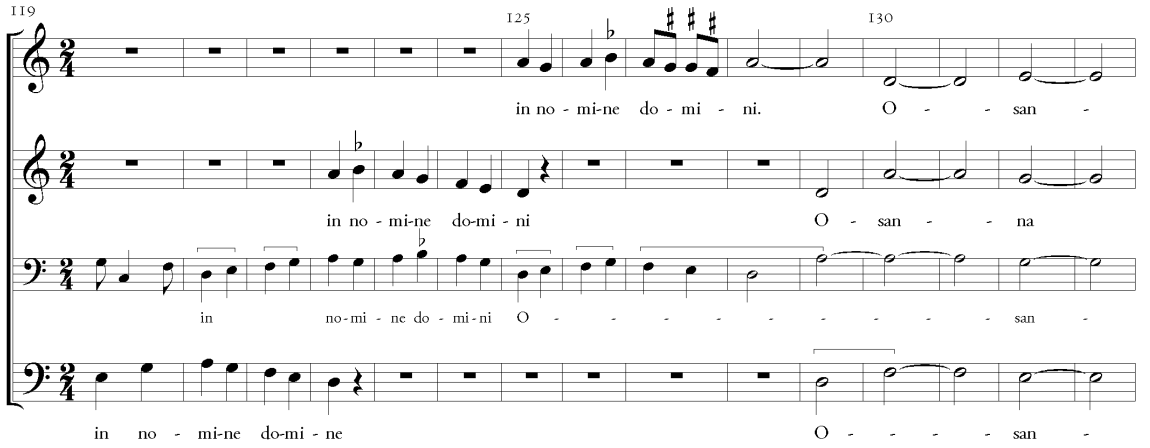
[40] Some source information taken from Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23b*, no. 69, though there are several errors in the critical remarks.

[41] Various descriptions of the frescos have implied that the incipit of incipit only this Mass movement has been preserved, instead of those of a four-section Mass cycle. See Ursula Günther, "Les anges musiciens et la messe de Kernascléden," in *Les sources en Musicologie* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), pp. 109–36.

[42] This observation does not conflict with the argument directly above, since the original version was not necessarily the most copied.

that the second cantus is a contratenor, while the (different) voice labeled "Contratenor" in **Oxford 229** is a true contratenor, with large leaps and a range similar to the tenor. The best evidence of its later addition is seen in two connecting passages. There each of the other three voices trade a single melodic line while the contratenor sings continuously, seemingly oblivious to the rest of the structure. The second of these passages is seen in Example 2.7.

EXAMPLE 2.7: SANCTUS, "MEDIOLANO," EXCERPT (SMALLER STAFF = CONTRATENOR)

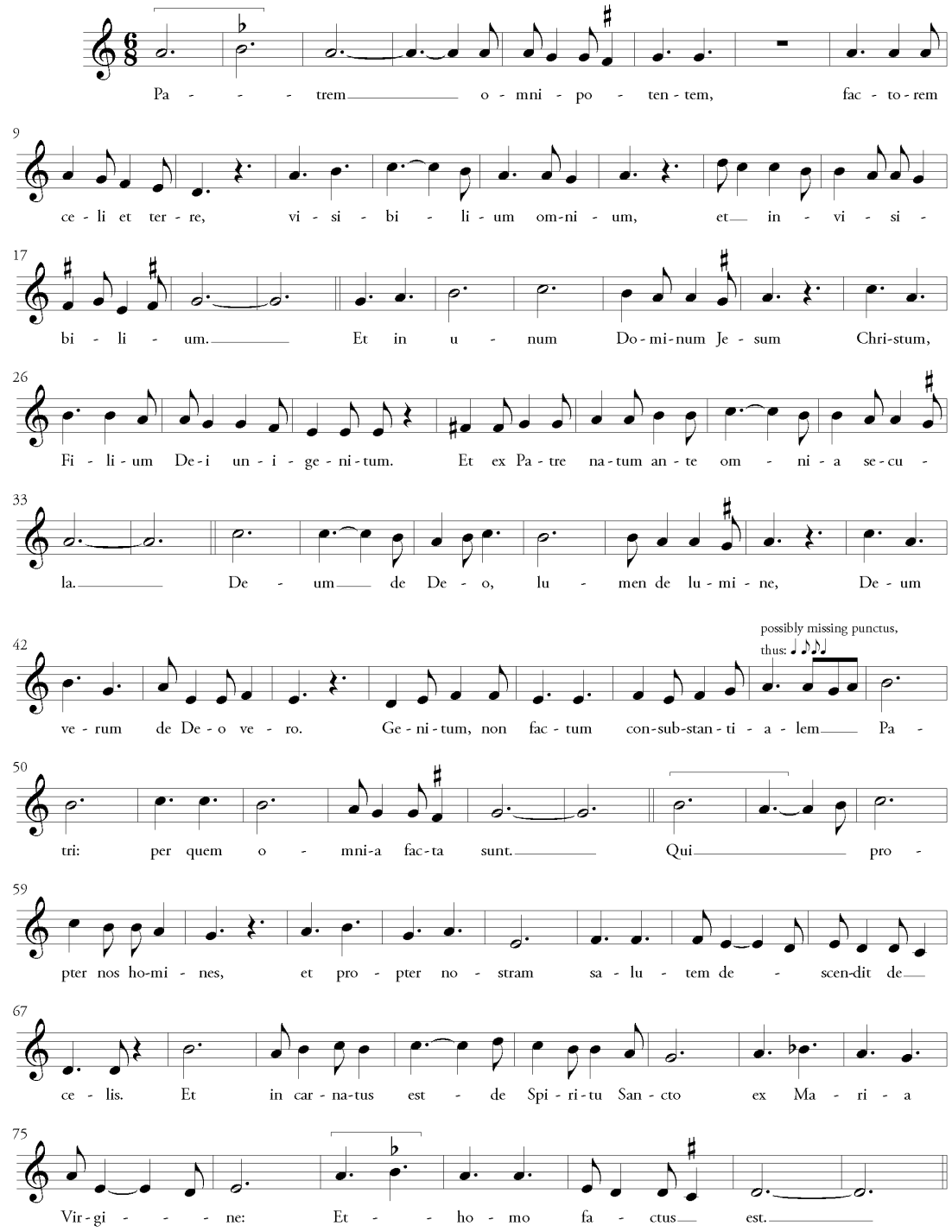


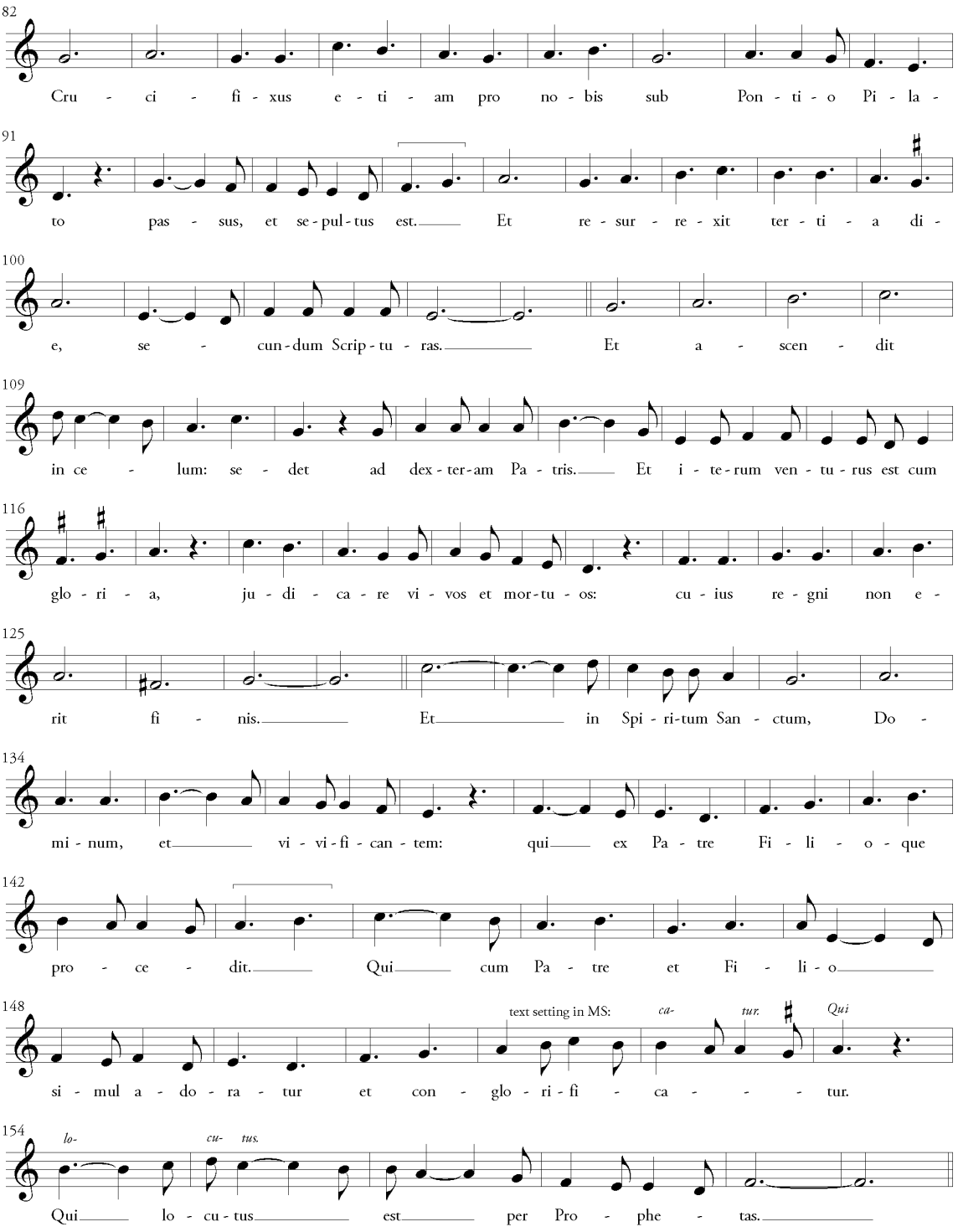
An interesting work otherwise ignored by scholars is the Credo begun on f. 34v and completed presumably on f. 35r. The work is attributed to Berlatus or Berlantus—it is unclear whether the sign of abbreviation indicating a missing final "-us" also indicates a missing "n" before the "t"—a composer about which we know nothing beyond what we can glean from this movement. Since the work begins on a verso and once occupied an entire opening, the rest of this composer's name would have been found the top of the following recto.

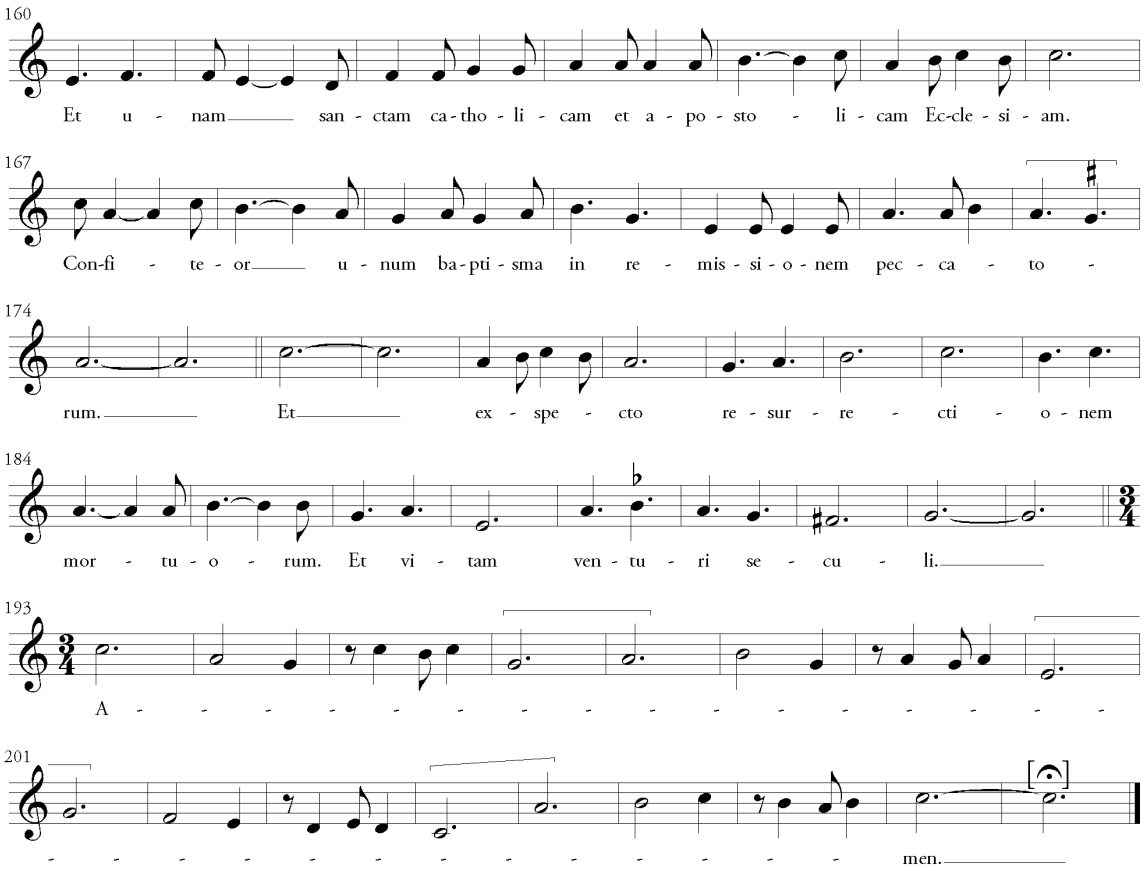
The cantus voice survives completely and presents few difficulties in transcription. The shift from *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* to *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori* at the Amen is not indicated, but makes more sense than staying in the prevailing

mensuration (though that too is not entirely impossible). Example 2.8 presents the complete work.

EXAMPLE 2.8: *CREDO*, BERLATUS



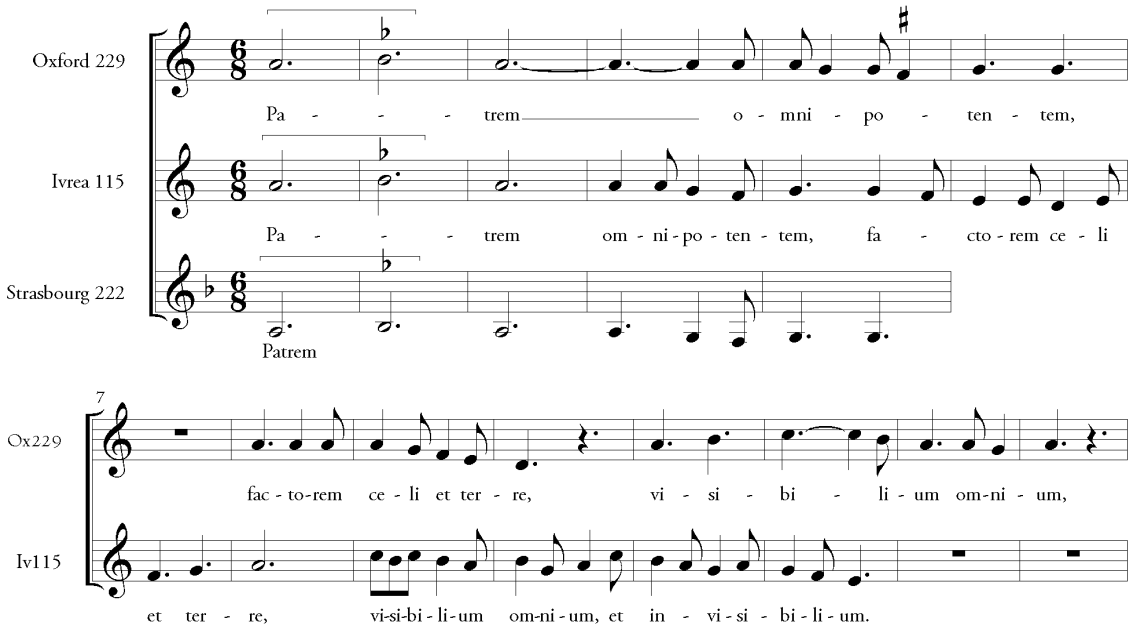

82
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la -
91
to pas - sus, et se - pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di -
100
e, se - cun - dum Scrip - tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit
109
in ce - lum: se - det ad dex - ter - am Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum
116
glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: cu - ius re - gni non e -
125
rit fi - nis. Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do -
134
mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que
142
pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o
148
text setting in MS: ca- tur. Qui
si - mul a - do - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - - - tur.
154
lo- cu- tus.
Qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas.



This Credo has been called a concordance of Credos in **Ivrea 115** (no. 59, ff. 46v–47r; *PMFC 23b*.61) and **Strasbourg 222** (no. 78, f. 50v), which may have aided its neglect.[43] Although only the incipit of the Credo from **Strasbourg 222** survives, there is enough evidence even there to suggest that these are three distinct works. Example 2.9 shows that despite the similar incipits, **Oxford 229** and **Ivrea 115** diverge quickly.

[43] *PMFC 13,* p. 295 ("Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume XII"); Facchin, "Una nuova fonte," p. 129 (as f. 50r in Strasbourg).

EXAMPLE 2.9: CANTUS 1, CREDO INCIPITS FROM THREE MANUSCRIPTS



The octave displacement of **Strasbourg 222** suggests that it also is a different work; though transposition by fourth or fifth occurs on occasion, transposition by octave is exceedingly rare. These may simply be examples taken from among the large family of works based either closely or loosely on the intonation of Gloria I.[44]

The piece has some connections to the well-known Credo by Steve Sort (or Sortes). It contains moments and even chains of breves imperfected *a parte ante* and *a parte post* (i.e., ♦ ■ ♦ = 6/8 ♪ ♩ ♩ ♪), also connecting it to the motet *Deo gratias conclamemus* of **Munich 3223** and **Cortona 2**.[45] According to an anonymous treatise in the **Sterzing Miscellany** (which cites this motet), this double imperfection is an element found "in cantibus

[44] This connection was suggested in *PMFC 23b*, p. 490.

[45] It has become almost a commonplace to suggest that this rhythm could not have been written in Italian notation even as evidence is becoming nearly insurmountable that competent scribes knew to use a one pitch ligature, ♦ ◆◆ ♦, creating the same rhythm without imperfecting a breve.

subtilibus."[46] A further connection with the Sortes Credo is the possible use of word painting. Although generally not a feature of the fourteenth century, it is not completely unknown.[47] Berlatus's line "Et ascendit" is set to an ascending tetrachord in equal breves, while the similar passage in the Sortes Credo also ascends in slow note values but even surpasses the Berlatus example by spanning an entire octave.[48]

The significance of the word "cor[r]ecto" added twice in **Oxford 229** (on ff. 34v and 38r) is unclear. It may suggest that the work has been proofread or otherwise sung through, since in both cases there is at least one correction made to the work (an incorrect final custos on f. 34v and the correction of a ♦ *a* to ♦ *g* at "sempr'el tuo **vo**lere").

The first work after the missing inner bifolio is a single voice of a Gloria. It is probably the cantus 2 of a three-voice work. Its brevity is aided by the fact that the text alternates between the two cantus voices. Fischer and Gallo noted that the opening "Et in terra," in longae and breves is an extended liturgical intonation of the type that we seen in many of Zachara's Glorias and Credos.[49] There is also a hint of liturgical recitation on a tone in places such as the "Qui sedes ad dexteram." The work ends with an extended "Amen" which involved hockets.

The final five staves on the page are filled with a textless work of which we have two voices. An incipit, "Sones ces nachares apertmant:" asks us to "loudly sound the nakers,"

[46] LorenzWelker, "Ein anonymer Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), p. 277.

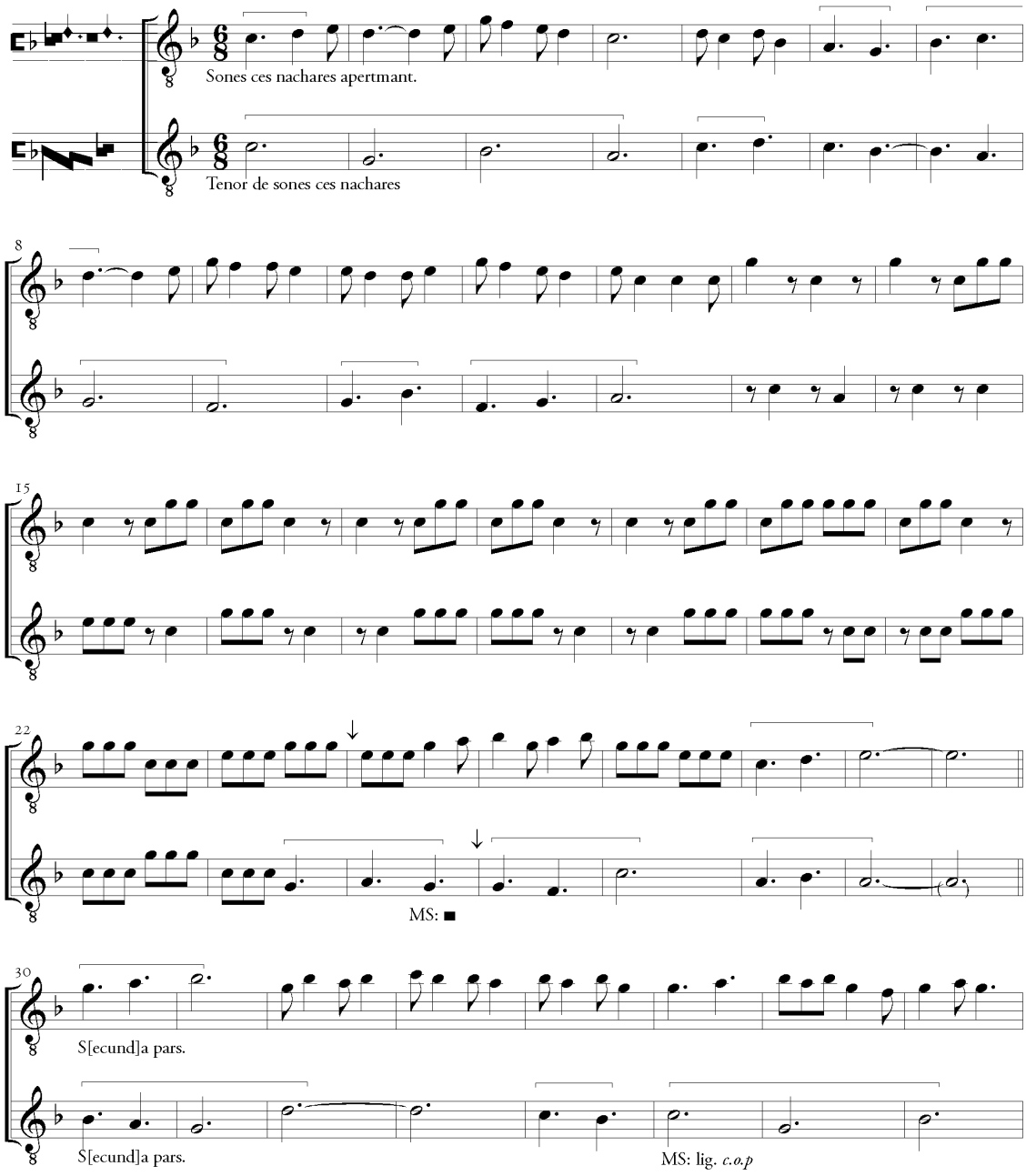
[47] Bent and Hallmark identify several uses in Ciconia's Credo, *PMFC 24*.10 (p. 204), though some of these are more ambiguous than the Berlatus and Sortes examples.

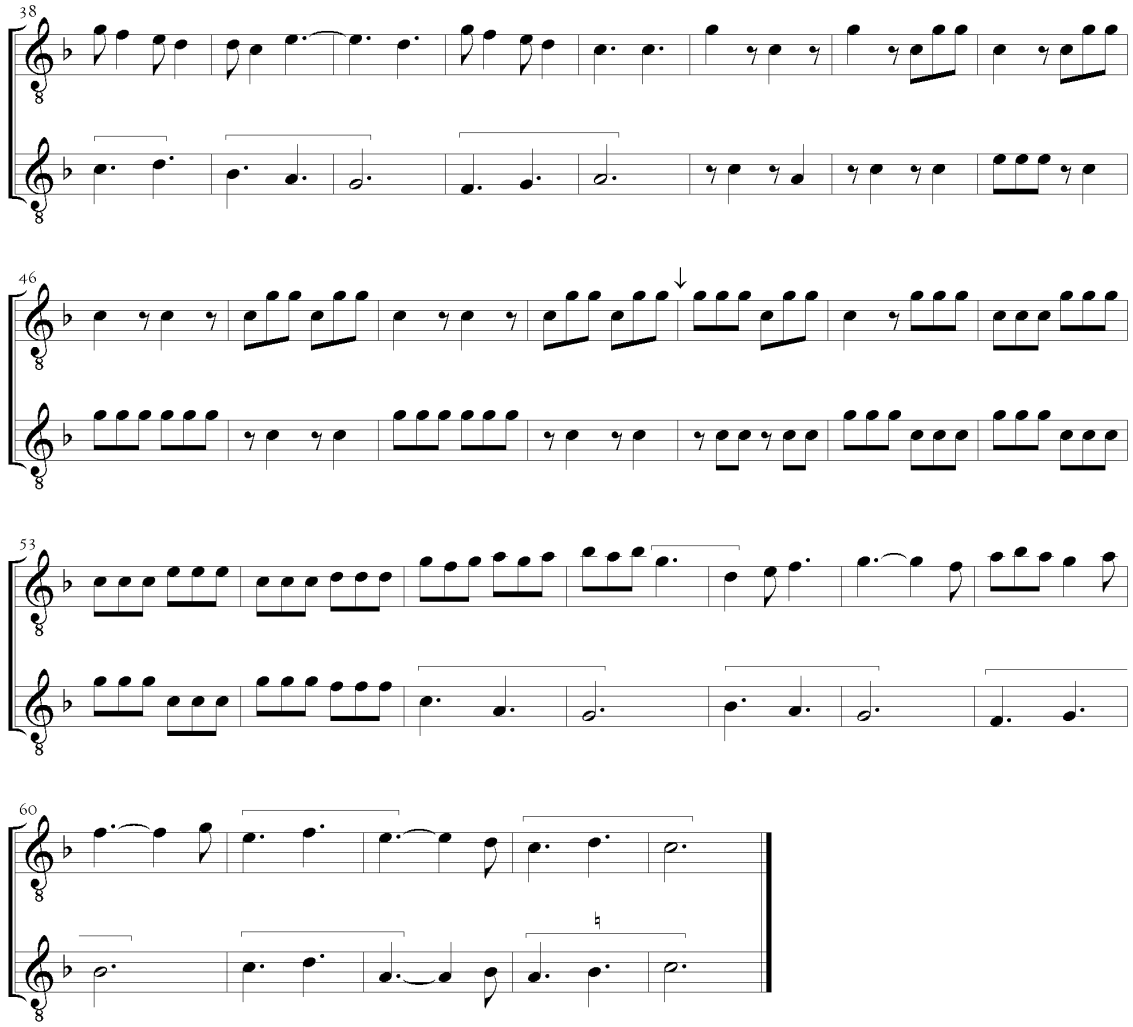
[48] Further connections between Berlatus's Credo and the extant Paduan copy of Sortes's Credo will be discussed with **Padua 14** below.

[49] *PMFC 13*.A5, p. 287.

that is two-tone drums. (The title recalls later German pieces of the "Tönet ihr Pauken" group). The piece is in two sections of about equal length (a virelai or rondeau?) and is written in French notation, *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (the same as the preceding Gloria). A transcription appears in Example 2.10.

EXAMPLE 2.10: *SONES CES NACHARES*





The styles of the voices obviously suggest instrumental performance, though not by nakers. The middle sections of both the *prima* and *secunda pars*, which move mainly by thirds and fifths, seem most appropriate to a brass instrument, though the diatonic passages are more idiomatic to other wind instruments.[50]

[50] Goffreddo Degli Esposti of Ensemble Micrologus suggested to me that it might have been possible for trumpeters, even in the pre-slide trumpet era, to play diatonically and even chromatically by means of strategically positioned objects in the mouth which would interrupt the air flow enough to bend the pitch. Degli Esposti also pointed out that the text placement of the incipit, which

(note continues)

The biggest unresolved question of the work is whether or not it is complete. Those who have studied the work—primarily instrumentalists, since it has never been published in transcription—are of divided opinion. The members of Ensemble Cantilena Antiqua, who have performed it, said that they felt it was missing a voice. Privately, Pedro Memelsdorff has strongly argued that the work is complete, particularly in the cadences and voice exchange. I agree with Memelsdorff's assessment of the completeness of the counterpoint, but disagree with the overall conclusion on the grounds of its layout on the page. The tenor is the first voice on the page. This may seem a minor point, but if the only other voice is the cantus then the layout is either unique or extremely rare, so we should look for other options. If there were a third voice on the (lost) preceding verso, then it would have to be a triplum or a textless cantus which always cadenced at the twelfth above.[51] This would also be unusual. However, unusual works and unusual counterpoint are still much more common than unusual layouts. In either case, the work is a *rara avis.* It may be the only (non-monophonic) instrumental composition not written in score notation.

The remaining four works in **Oxford 229** can be discussed briefly. The three-voice Sanctus by the otherwise unknown Barbitonsoris is somewhat similar to a Sanctus by "Sant. Omer" in **Padua 1475,** which will be analyzed more fully. Barbitonsoris's Sanctus can be divided into two parts on the basis of musical style and notation. The Sanctus and first Osanna are in *ternaria*, i.e. *senaria imperfecta* or *novenaria* without minims, an antiquated mensuration. The Benedictus and second Osanna switch to *quaternaria*. The influence of

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avoids the stems from the voice below, informs us that the scribe of the work wrote the music before the text.

[51] The style of the second voice and the lack of any voice designation makes it unlikely to be a contratenor.

French notation is seen in the lack of *puncti divisionis* in *quaternaria*. Even in the first section, the *puncti* are dots of perfection and not of division.[52] The first section is isorhythmic and employs the parallel 6–3 sonorities later characteristic of fauxbourdon. Though also simple, the Benedictus is an extreme contrast to the first section, with the tenor clearly differentiated by reduced rhythmic activity. We may be witnesses to an Italian composition grafted onto an anonymous English work.

Of *Don[n]a s'i' t'ò falito* there is little new to say. One writer noted that the short division marks  (3 dots) and  (4 dots), present in this and other works in **Pad A**, show changes of *divisio* from ternary to binary similar to a system proposed by Prosdocimus and the occasional usage in **Squarcialupi**.[53] This theory would be compelling were it not absolutely contradicted by the musical evidence.

We have already discussed Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement*, leaving one remaining French-texted composition in the manuscript. This work is *Sus unne fontaine,* about which one must choose either to say next to nothing about or devote half a dissertation to.[54] I will choose the former, and make but three comments on the notation in **Pad A**.

[52] It should be noted that if this piece were written in a more "Italian" notational style, *fewer* rather than more *puncti* would be used in the first section. This is due to the presence of *puncti* before and after breves, unnecessary in true Italian notation.

[53] Antonio Garbellotto[*sic* — spelled incorrectly with two *l*'s in this article], "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," pt. 3, *Padova* [*Rassegna Mensile a cura della "Pro Padova" nuova serie*] 3.3 (March 1957), p. 30. Garbelotto's three-part series of articles on the Paduan fragments is little known: I have seen no prior citations of it. At the time it may have added much to our knowledge of the manuscripts, but today the information and transcriptions have appeared elsewhere, and the articles are of mainly historical interest.

[54] Among the most recent discussions of the work are Anne Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne,*" *Music and Letters* 82 (2001), pp. 361–90; *Eadem,* "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song: Four Case Studies," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, Philippe Vendrix, editor (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 169–94,

(note continues)

This is the only work in **Pad A** to use French mensural signatures (inasmuch as the odd usage of ○, ⊂, ⊃, and ϶ can be called French). The *Ave Mater nostri Redemptoris* in **Padua 553(b)** is the only other Paduan work to use French mensural signatures. The use of ⊂ at the opening of that piece (according to the transcription by Cattin)[55] has the same interpretation as *Fontaine: tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maior*. This usage suggests that *Fontaine*'s signatures are a Paduan practice and might not be a "playful contribution" to the meaning of the text.[56]

One may also note that the scribe evidentially was familiar enough with *Fontaine*'s signatures that he understood their rhythmic significance. At the end of the second system, the custos is void. Most trecento custodes give more that just pitch information; they also tell whether the next note will be black, void, red, or void red.[57] In the case of *Fontaine*, though, between the custodes and the next note is a change from *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori* (○) to *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (**Pad A**'s ⊂). Although the next note is a black semibreve in ⊂, it could have been written as a void semibreve in ○. Even if the scribe were copying directly from an exemplar, it is unlikely that the line breaks would

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esp. 169–76; Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," in Vendrix 2003 (*op. cit.*), pp. 131–68; Galliano Ciliberti, "*Sus un' fontayne:* Ciconia e il meraviglioso nella musica franco-italiana tra XIV e XV secolo," in Vendrix 2003 (*op. cit.*), pp. 195–214. Nearly every discussion of the differences between the two sources uses as a starting point Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 207–212.

[55] Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 35.

[56] As stated by Anne Stone in "The Composer's Voice," p. 175, a distillation of her main argument from "A composer at the fountain," pp. 382–86. I thank Anne Stone for comments on this point.

[57] To the best of my knowledge this usage has not been remarked upon by scholars, but it is nearly universal among works which employ fat custodes and coloration.

have been in the same position. Thus we can conclude that the copying of this work was not mindless, but required knowledge of developments in the *ars subtilior*.[58]

The last point is merely a point of caution. *Sus unne fontaine* is attributed to Johannes Ciconia not in **Oxford 229** but in **Mod A**. *Fontaine* is the only unattributed work by Ciconia in a Paduan fragment, except the sketches of **Padua 656** and where the first opening does not survive or the space at the top of the page for attributions has been cut. Why was the work not attributed? It almost certainly cannot be because of lack of familiarity with the composer and his works on the part of the scribe. Given the few sources for trecento music, a single attribution is generally above the minimum standard for assigning the work to that composer. But given the amount of ink spent writing about *Fontaine* and the major changes to Ciconia's biography (with no corroborating documentation) [59] and musical influences it creates, this writer would feel more secure if the only assigning manuscript, **Mod A**, were not also one with a conflicting attribution to another Paduan composer.[60]

[58] The many small corrections in **Pad A** are further evidence of conscious musical involvement in the copying process.

[59] However, the attribution to Ciconia of *Le ray au soleyl* combined with the text of *Una pantera* furnish us with other Visconti connections for the composer. Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain," p. 378.

[60] See Chapter 1, p. 66 on the conflicting attributions to Bartolino de Padua or Dactalus de Padua. It should be noted though that I see merit in **Mod A**'s Dactalus de Padua attribution.
One point of similarity between **Pad A** and **Mod A**'s versions of *Fontaine* is an odd use of clefs. In both sources, a C-clef on the fourth line is used for the contratenor while the tenor uses an F-clef on the second line. (The use of F_2 without an accompanying C_4 is unusual in **Pad A**). These two clefs allow for an identical range of music to be written, and indeed, the range of the contratenor and the tenor are similar. Why should different clefs be used? Is it possible that the choice in clef says something about the nature of the voice in addition to delimiting the range for the notes?

Works in Padua 1475

The next gathering of music is found on the three bifolios of **Padua 1475**. Before discussing the musical folios, an important note about the host manuscript must be made. **Padua 1475** (and thus **Pad A** as a whole) has a connection, if an indirect one, to Rolandus de Casali, the scribe of **Pad D**. On f. 8v of the host manuscript, MS 1475, we find a variation on the typical note of possession: "Iste liber est de S[anct]e Justina vir[gin]is clarissime de Padua. Fr[ater] Rolandus."[61] Though the note is too short to be absolutely conclusive, the handwriting is similar enough to Rolandus's to make the attribution (and there are no other known monks with this name in S. Giustina in the first half of the fifteenth century). He is probably also responsible for the similar indication on f. 9r ("Justina virgo clarissima de Padua"), and possibly of other marginalia, though it is unlikely that he copied the manuscript himself. The connection between the musical folios and Rolandus may be coincidental; there were only a few scribes and several hundred manuscripts in the Abbey at the turn of the century, so the probability is not negligible that Rolandus had a role in writing any given one. But given evidence for the early reuse of the Paduan fragments (to be presented below), another hypothesis presents itself. Rolandus (and one can only hope with a heavy heart) may have had to dismantle the polyphonic sources himself; he may have then used them to protect text manuscripts with which he had a prior connection.[62]

[61] This note was discovered by Lavinia Prosdocimi of the University Library, and presented as, "I frammenti musicali nei codici della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova," at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa,* Padua, 15 June 2006.

[62] However, see below under **Padua 1283** and the **S. Giustina Project** for evidence concerning other theories of reuse in the fragments.

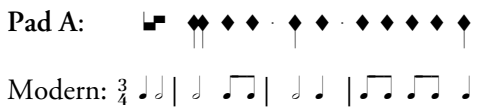
We can return to a **Padua 1475** for some more definite statements about its musical works. The fragment contains the two surviving motets of **Pad A**, both of which are quite removed from the French motet tradition. *Lux purpurata/Diligite visticiam* is ascribed to Jacopo da Bologna and is his only Latin-texted composition. It appears also in **San Lorenzo 2211,** showing that it may have been known throughout Florence, but is excluded from the other large collections on grounds of language and genre. The anonymous motet *Gratiosus ferridus/Magnissimus opere* also has a concordance (**Mod A**).[63] Its presence, along with Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement,* may show a scribal interest in works with retrograde motion.[64] That the incipit of the triplum begins with the name of a composer, Gratiosus de Padua, has been noted and suggests at least the possibility that he composed it. However, when the composer is named in a motet, it generally happens at the end of the

[63] It also has a possible tenor concordance with the neuma of a Kyrie (Melnicki 108) found in Bohemian and Hungarian graduals; see Gordon A. Anderson, "Responsory Chants in the Tenors of Some Fourteenth-Century Continental Motets," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), p. 122. However, Margaret Bent in "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), p. 99, calls the attribution "not entirely convincing." The line is so short and non-distinctive (basically an ascending and descending tetrachord with a "mordent" on the third note) that anything but a perfect match seems like a stretch.

[64] Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 214–15. Although she at first is convinced by Ursula Günther's link of the motet to the 1384 dedication of the chapel of St. George at the Basilica of St. Anthony (Günther, *The motets of the manuscripts Chantilly, Musée condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568),* Corpus mensurabilis musicae 39 ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1965), no. 11), on the next page Hallmark is more skeptical, saying "even if [the motet] can be linked to Padua, it need not have been written specifically for the chapel's dedication: it could equally well…be a later piece sung within the chapel." I support Hallmark's reserve on this issue and extend my skepticism to the dating of many other so-called occasional pieces, most of which could just as easily have been composed for anniversaries of dedications, treaties, and appointments, as for the events themselves.

piece. Is it possible that in a motet with a retrograde tenor, even this tradition would be put in reverse?[65]

Brief comments will need to suffice also for the remainder of the secular works in **Padua 1475**. Several passages, including the beginning, in Francesco's *Die non fugir di mi* in **Padua 1475** use two semibreves caudate, which are extremely close to each other though not touching. (Figure 2.18, below, reproduces the cantus opening while discussing another topic). **Padua 1475** is the only copy of this work in *duodenaria*, probably the original notation.[66] The other sources reduce the note values and transmit the work using only one type of semibreve.[67] The diversity of types of semibreve in true Italian notation, including minor, major, and caudate, are sufficient to notate most of the commonly used note values (at least within a perfection) except one. Traditionally, the note value of eight minims cannot be notated except at the end of a measure or in unusual circumstances. For instance, the tenor at "usando villania" reads as follows:



Prosdocimus in his fourteenth rule of note values in the *Tractatus . . . ad modem ytalicorum* allows for a semibreve of eight minims but only if there are fewer than three semi-

[65] Other textual games in the motet make this interpretation less far-fetched. To read the acrostic, "Georgius miles," one must read every other line of the triplum and then every line of the duplum (Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," p. 214).

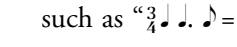
[66] Though the concept of original notation with Francesco is always somewhat suspect due to his blindness. See Chapter 1, fn. 54.

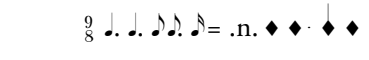
[67] The notation of this work in **Pad A** has been discussed by Sucato, "Landini nella tradizione di alcuni codici settentrionali," p. 38, but she this particular passage does not come into discussion.

breves between two *puncti* or their equivalents.[68] In the second measure of the example above, there are three semibreves, but the notation still has need for a note longer than four minims yet shorter than a breve.[69] The **Pad A** scribe solves this problem with the one-pitch ligature of two semibreves caudate, eliminating all doubt for the performer about the extent to which the length of the first sound exceeds that of the last two.

Se questa dea de vertù on f. is another work which uses one-pitch ligatures, though the published transcription ignores this evidence.[70] Rather than express an otherwise impossible-to-write note value, the one-pitch ligatures in this piece show syncopation across a bar line. The typical form of these ligatures is  , a form that we are encountering more and more of-

[68] Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* (*Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum*) (MSD 29), edited and translated by Jay A. Huff (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), p. 41.

[69] While on the subject of Prosdocimus and Italian notation, one can note that his sixteenth rule also raises some difficult questions for its use in pure Italian notation. The rule discusses those cases where a note can be both altered and imperfected at the same time. As Huff translates it (p. 42), "An altered note can sometimes be imperfected by a preceding part but never by a following part because then a note would be altered unnecessarily. . . since such a note can be changed to the next longer value without any inconvenience." In other words, altered notes exist because of the *similis ante similem* rule, but if a shorter note is added after an altered note, then *s.a.s.* is no longer in effect. Prosdocimus is correct for all note values except for semibreves in Italian notation. Changing an altered and imperfected *(a parte post)* semibreve to a breve is not an option in figures such as "  ". The second semibreve cannot be changed to a breve in pure Italian notation because breves must remain inviolate. This is why the form (= ) is necessary in Italian notation but not in French. The existence of the form  (= ) is not explained by this rule since there is no prohibition against imperfecting the semibreve similar to that against imperfecting the breve. The note shape  may instead be considered a helpful, practical simplification that allows scribes to avoid complex passages such as:



by rewriting them as ".n.  "

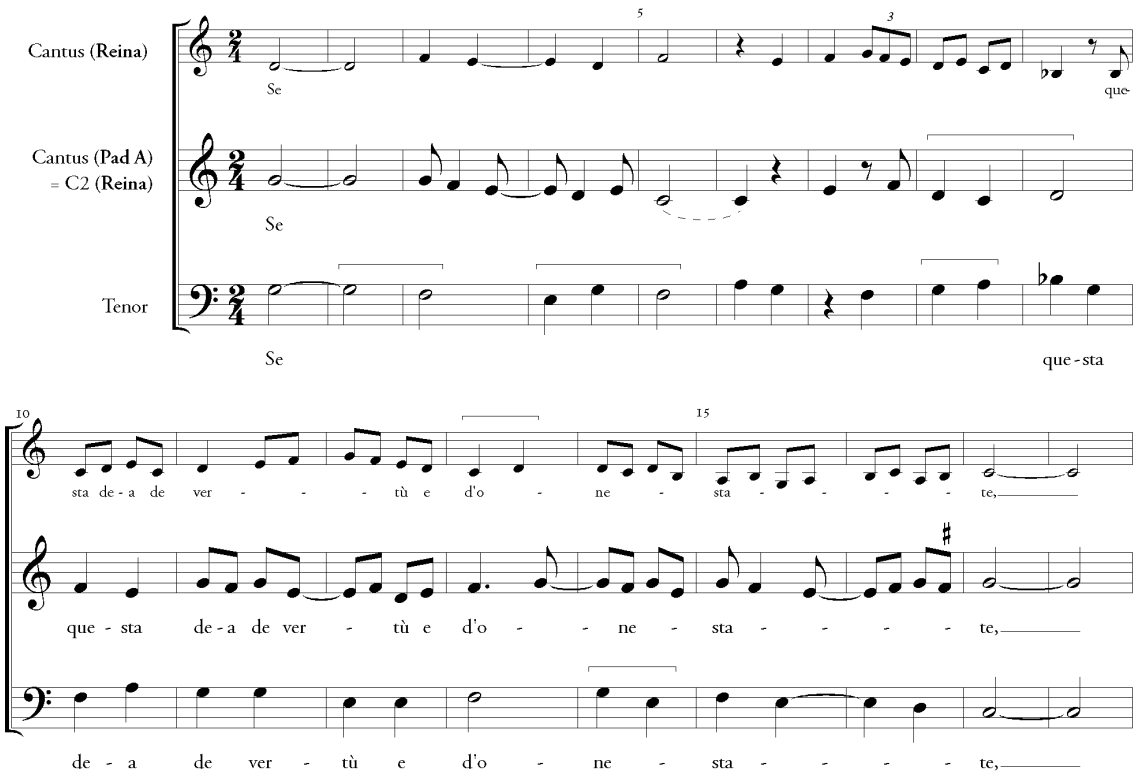
[70] Marrocco, *PMFC 10*, pp. 92–94.

ten as we reexamine previously known sources (such as the **Rossi** codex) and study newly discovered manuscripts (such as **Macerata 488**).

Only a single voice of *Se questa dea* survives. Based on the single concordance, **Reina** f. 33r, the voice has twice been described as the contratenor.[71] However, this voice is above **Reina**'s cantus for most of the *ripresa* of the ballata, so it could just as easily be considered the cantus. Furthermore, in the **Pad A** version, the voice is on the verso, not the recto, in the place where the cantus would normally be found, and the attribution—the only one of the two sources to possess one—appears over this voice. The **Pad A** version of the work may have originally had only two voices. The top voice in **Reina** is not absolutely necessary to the counterpoint; at the beginning of the piece, it moves in barely disguised parallel unisons with the second voice, and serves only to obscure a hocket created in mm. 6–7 of the piece. Example 2.11 transcribes the opening after both **Padua 1475** and **Reina**.

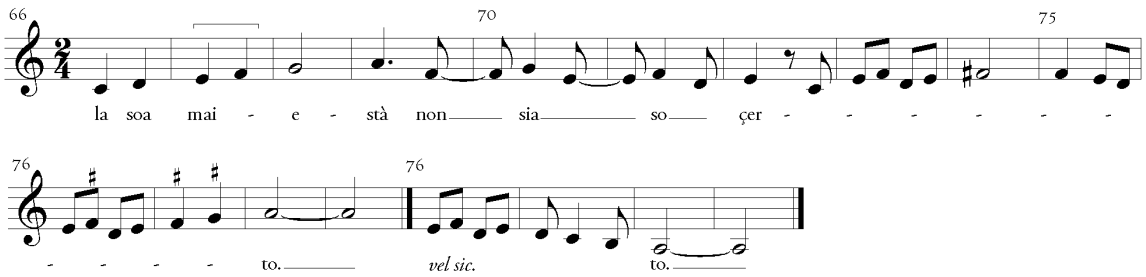
[71] Marrocco, *PMFC 10*, p. 151; *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1001. Marrocco also states that the poet of the ballata is unknown, but Fischer (*Studien*) had already identified him as Matteo Griffoni.

EXAMPLE 2.11: *SE QUESTA DEA DE VERTÙ,* OPENING



The surviving voice in **Pad A** has what appears to be a second ending, however, the text underneath these four measures does not read "chiuso," but instead "vel sic. to," which is to be read as an alternative ending ("vel sic") with "-to" being the final syllable of the piece. These two endings also appear in **Reina**, but in reverse order, and not designated in any way. Since the ending differs in many other ways from the published edition, it is reproduced in Example 2.12.

EXAMPLE 2.12: *SE QUESTA DEA DE VERTÙ,* CONCLUSION OF **PADUA 1475** CANTUS

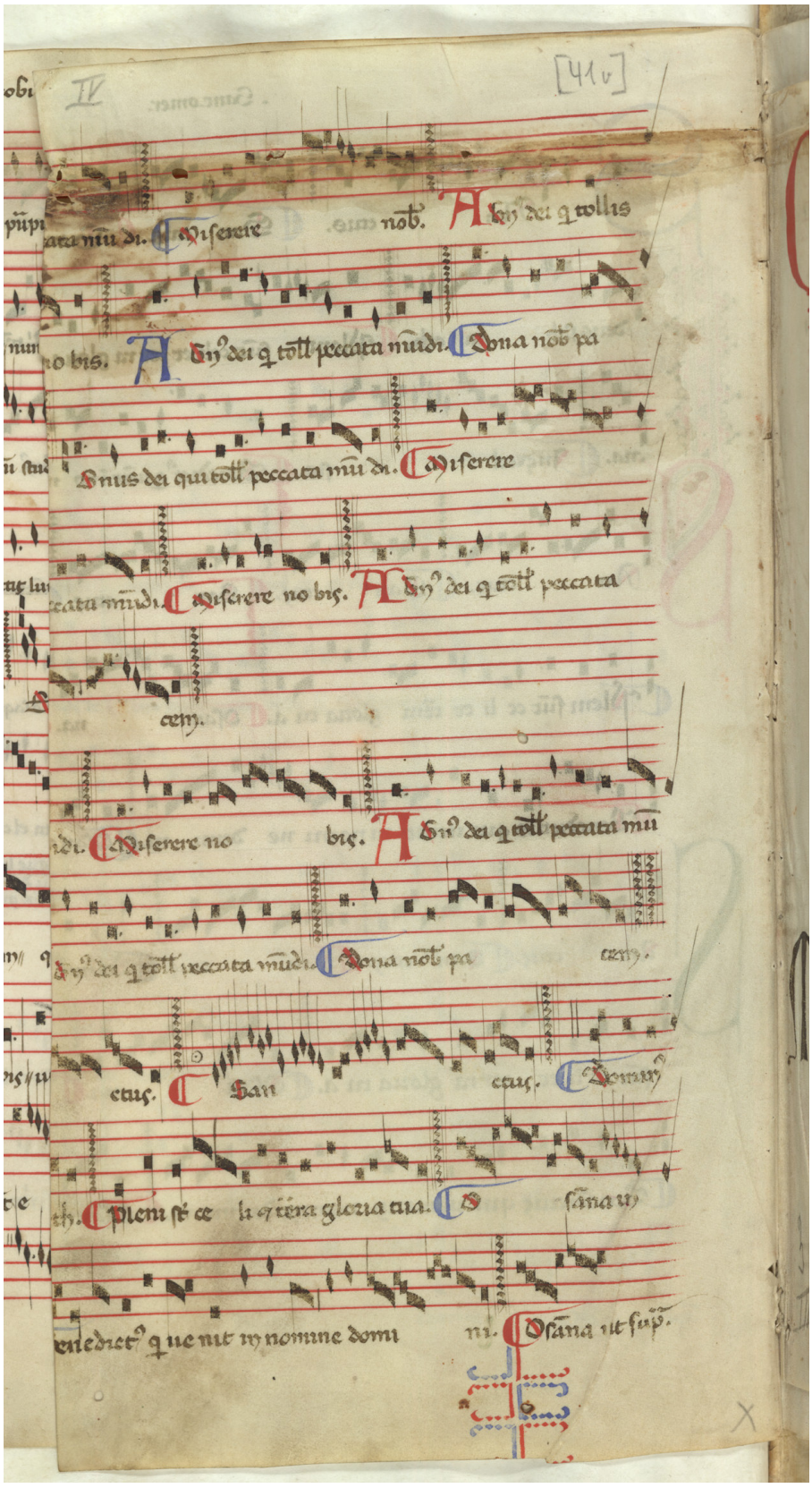


The prospect that these two versions could be quite different from each other should make us more cautious in our descriptions of the work. Further caution is urged in discussing the composer. The only thing which could be said about his biography was "he was evidently a Bolognese saddler by trade."[72] Unfortunately, the attribution of *Se questa dea de vertù*—his only known work—is to "Johannis Baçi Coreçarii de Bononia." The form of "Baçi Coreçarii" makes it likely that it was instead his father who was a saddler, and thus our only piece of biographical information would be far less relevant.

Three of the sacred works in **Padua 1475** remain untranscribed due to their miserable state of preservation. Two of these works are found on the verso of the second folio of the manuscript, which was probably f. 41v (Figure 2.13).

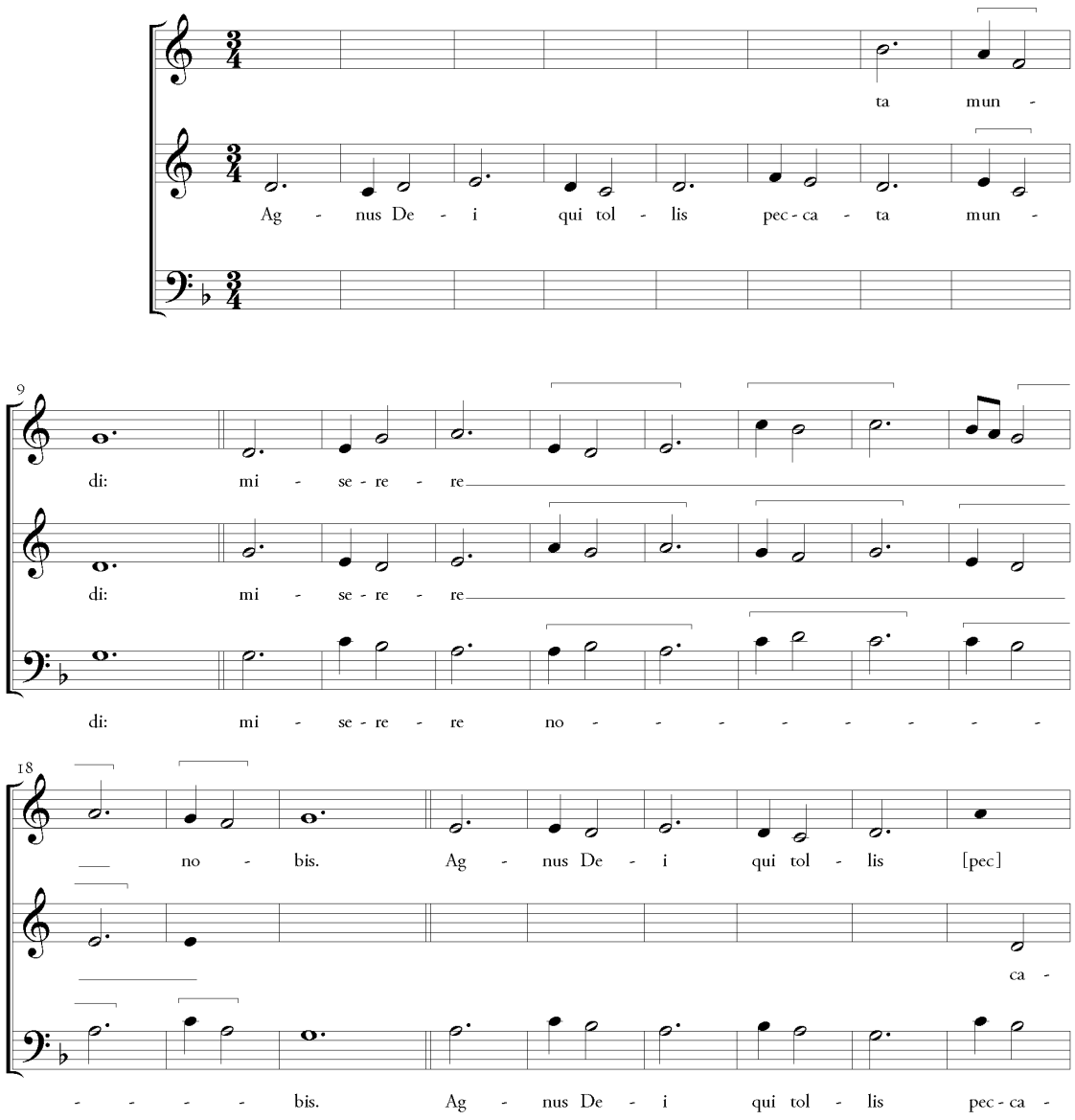
[72] Kurt von Fischer, "Johannes Baçus Correçarius de Bononia," s.v. in *2ndNG*.

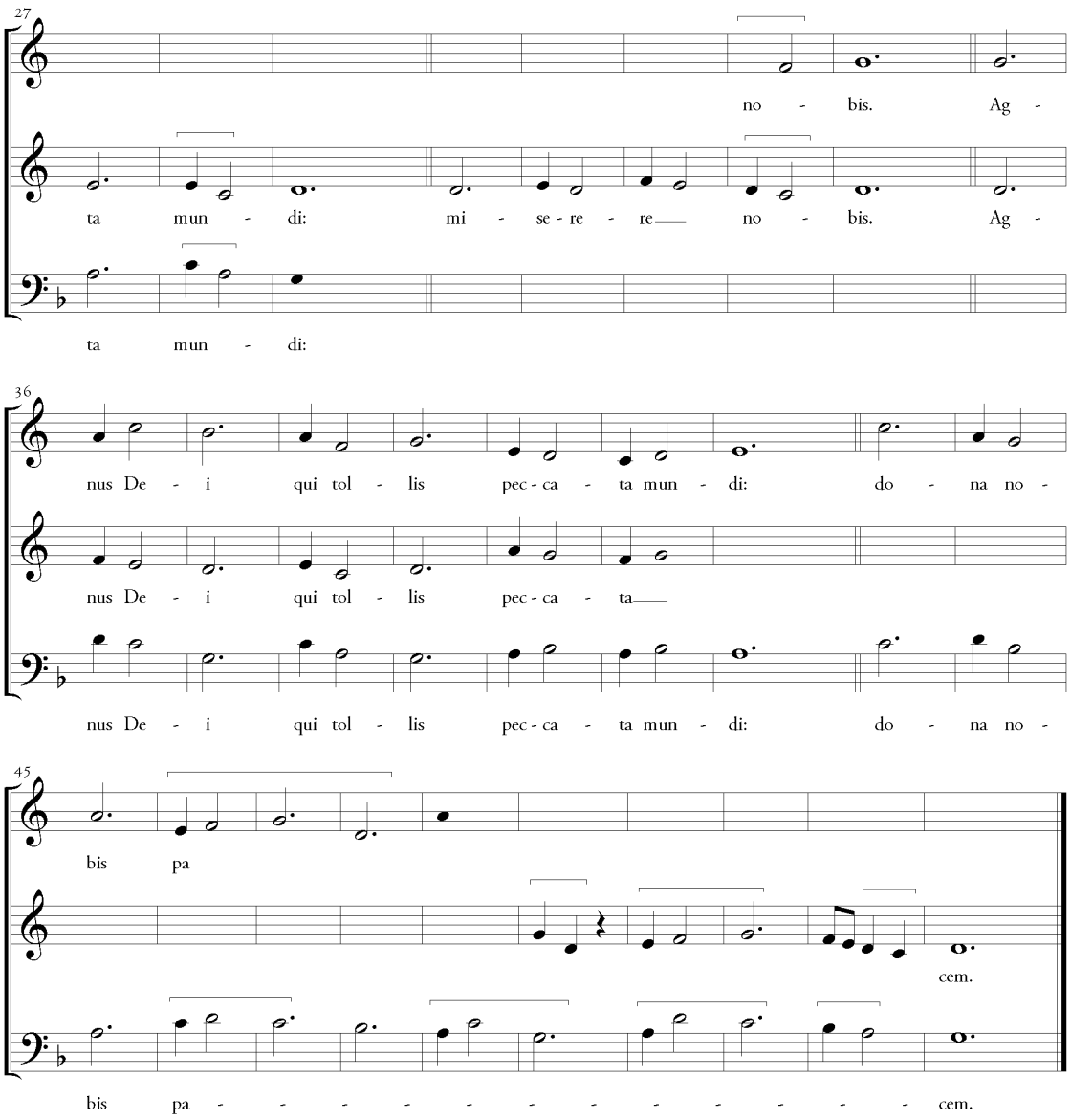
FIGURE 2.13: **PADUA 1475**, F. 41V



Though only the clef for the second cantus survives, on the basis of contrapuntal clues we can make an edition of the whole work, particularly since all voices survive for the first "miserere" and the third "Agnus." (The clefs and the tenor's flat signature are hypothetical in Figure 2.14, but are almost certainly correct.)

EXAMPLE 2.14: *AGNUS DEI* FROM **PADUA 1475**, F. 41V



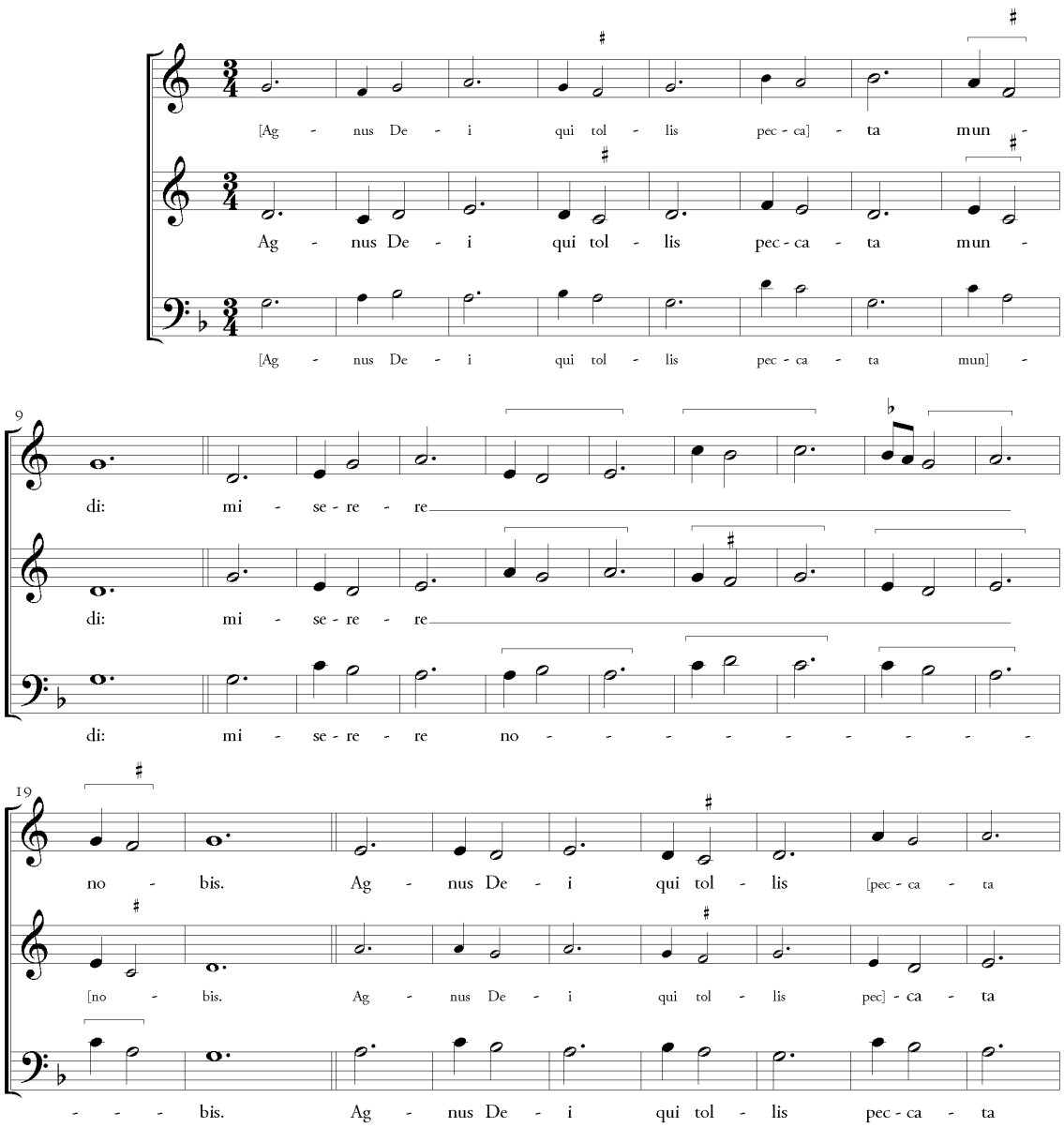


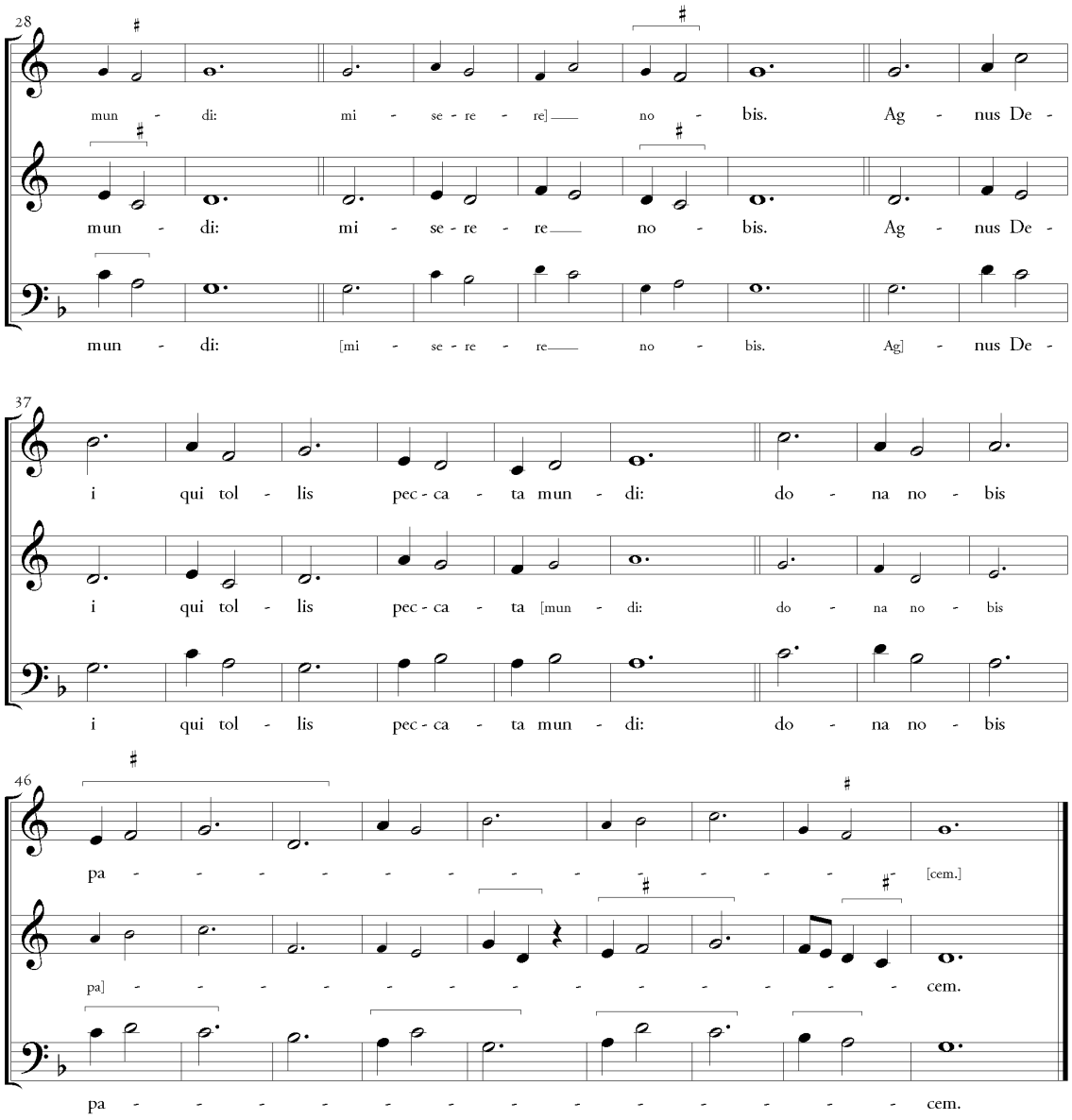
The simple-looking rhythm may be the most difficult part of the work to transcribe. Though the work is in French notation, it does not observe the rule *similis ante similem non potest imperfici*. In melismatic passages, the figure ♩ 𝅗𝅥 is expressed with a ligature *c.o.p.*, the second semibreve being altered (a typical usage). In syllabic passages, ♦ ■ is used, despite the following note also being a breve. The whole piece has the effect of being in an archaic rhythmic mode 3, and in fact even has the ligature groupings formerly used to express that mode. With few, short exceptions the whole work is homophonic.

By far the most prominent sonority in the surviving sections is a series of parallel 6–3 chords which occasionally move outward to 8–5 perfect sonorities. It is certainly an example of the "stili vaganti" wandering within Italy and throughout Europe.[73] Similar works are found in the Tournai Mass (**Tournai 476**, f. 33r), especially the Agnus Dei which shares the same first seven pitches in cantus 2 with the Paduan Agnus Dei, but moves in longae and breves instead of breves and semibreves, and is not as regularly based on 6–3 sonorities. The Agnus Dei in **Pad A** corresponds more closely to what we would come to expect from later sources, and may be among the earliest examples of fauxbourdon style in Italy. And, as such, we may complete the work without much difficulty (Example 2.15).

[73] Francesco Facchin, "Stili vaganti!" in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 359–60. Facchin is making a larger research project out of the cataloging and describing of these sources.

EXAMPLE 2.15: COMPLETION OF *AGNUS DEI*





The *Agnus Dei* has some connections to the first part of the *Sanctus* of Barbitonsoris in its use of repeated rhythms (but not isorhythm, unlike Barbitonsoris's) and its fondness for proto-fauxbourdon parallel 6-3 sonorities. However, the true pair for the *Agnus Dei* is the Sanctus "Sant. Omer" found on the preceding verso (and in the manuscript **Budapest**

297).[74] The music is so similar that we should consider these two works a Mass pairing.[75] Though is unclear whether Sant. Omer refers to the French city by that name (or the abbey in the city) or, one would expect given the position on the page, a composer "X de Sant. Omer," in any case we can be reasonably sure that our mystery composer wrote both works.[76]

These two works present a problem for music history more troubling than the identification of any particular composer. If Paduan musicians were well-aware of the technique and effect of composition in parallel 6–3 sonorities by the turn of the fifteenth century, what does this fact do to the importance of the "contenance angloise" for music composition in the quattrocento? Italians were already listening to the sweet *frisque concordance* long before the flowering of Dunstaple, Du Fay, or Binchois. It seems that Martin le Franc was either ignorant of these types of works being distributed forty years earlier or, more likely, his enigmatic term refers to something else.[77]

[74] The *Sanctus* has been transcribed on the basis of **Padua 1475** alone in *PMFC 23,* no. 127. On **Budapest 297**, see Charles Brewer, "The Historical Context of Polyphony in Medieval Hungary: An Examination of Four Fragmentary Sources," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1990), pp. 10–15. Of the two other polyphonic works in **Budapest 297** known from Western European sources, one has a strong connection to northern Italy (composed by Antonio da Cividale and appearing in **Bologna Q15**) and the other, the Gloria "Qui sonitu melodie" appears in **Pad A** and in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**. Although there are connections other than Italy for the source, there are no English connections.

[75] First suggested by Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," p. 359.

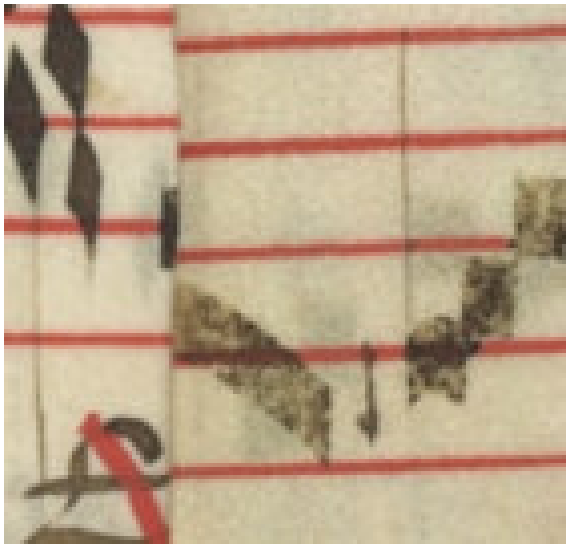
[76] References to assemblages of trumpeters in Sant. Omer have been collected in Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1361–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville, Penn.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), p. 42. Wright, p. 68, also records two singers with prebends at St. Omer (Symon le Corier and Toussains Prier); though prebends were often awarded near the home town of singers, this evidence is not enough to begin to suppose that either of these musicians is our "Sant. Omer," particularly since the documentation for the prebends come from 1389 and 1390 while the rhythmic style of the work (though not necessarily the harmony) suggests several decades earlier.

[77] In this context, the Gloria in English style and with an English concordance in **Foligno** and **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** becomes even more extraordinary. On **Foligno** and English connections see

(note continues)

A final point to observe in the *Agnus Dei* is what appears to be a rather clumsy attempt to avoid a parallel fifth between the second cantus and the tenor in mm. 50–51. A dot of addition has been cancelled out by a semibreve rest, temporarily eliminating the forbidden parallel (which appears only once in the composition, just prior to the end, between the same two voices). Figure 2.16 magnifies this notational detail.

FIGURE 2.16: *AGNUS DEI*, CANTUS 2, MM. 50–52



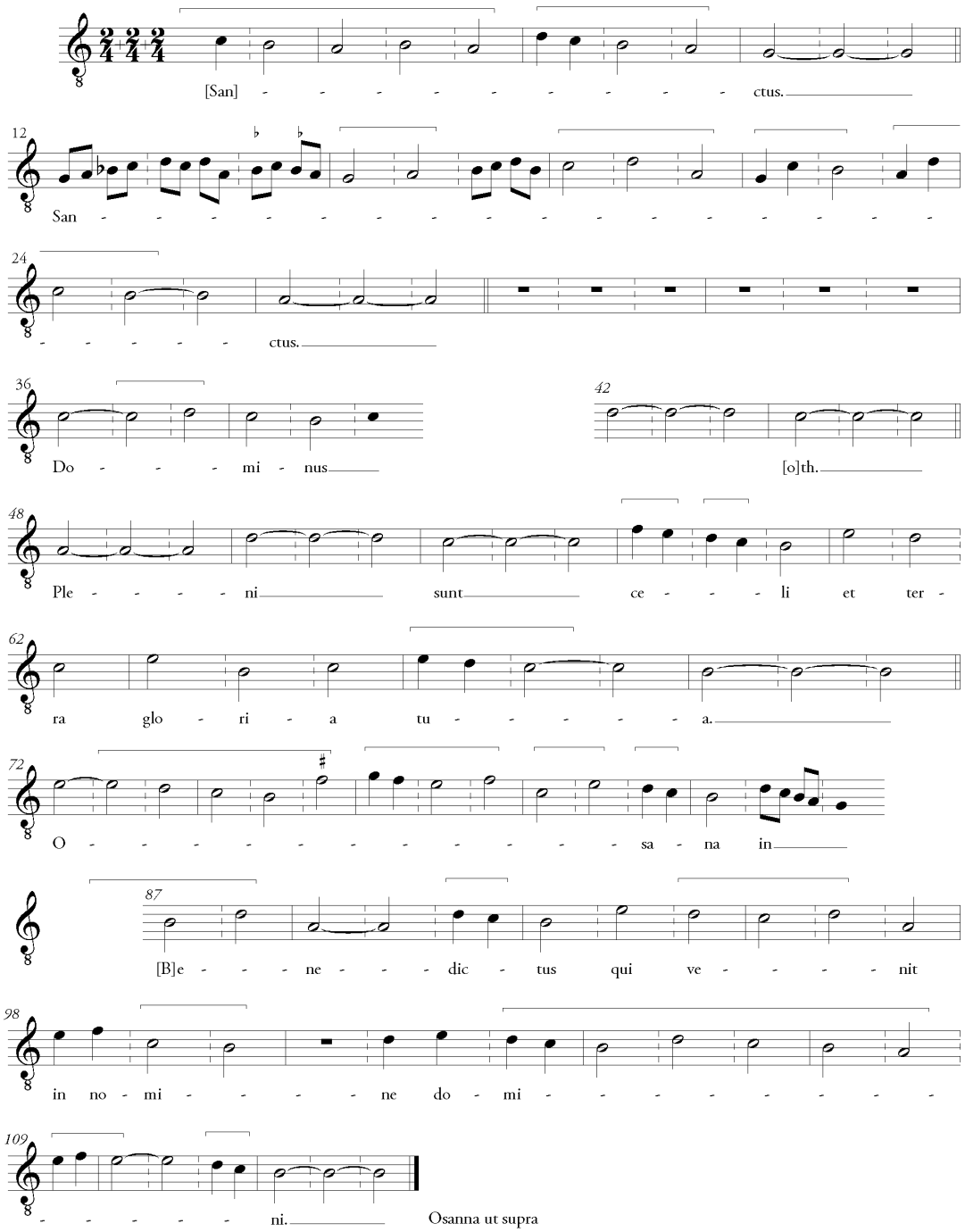
Below this composition are the remains of a *Sanctus* in a different style. The single surviving flat sign suggests a clef of C_2, rather high for a contratenor, which is the voice-type suggested by the slow moving notes and ligatures.[78] Although any transcription is bound to be speculative in the absence of clefs, a third of the music, and (probably) two other voices, the piece suggests not only perfect mode but perhaps also a transcription from the Italian

Janet Palumbo, "The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 169–209.

[78] Alternatively, the flat could be a rarer E♭ of an F_2/C_4-clef complex, in which case the transcription would be interpreted a fifth lower. Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," p. 361, suggests that the voice is a tenor.

mensuration of duodenaria. In any case it is not the missing tenor of the *Sanctus, Benedictus Marie Filius* of **Padua 1283**. Example 2.17 transcribes the surviving music.

EXAMPLE 2.17: **PADUA 1475**, *SANCTUS*, F. 41V

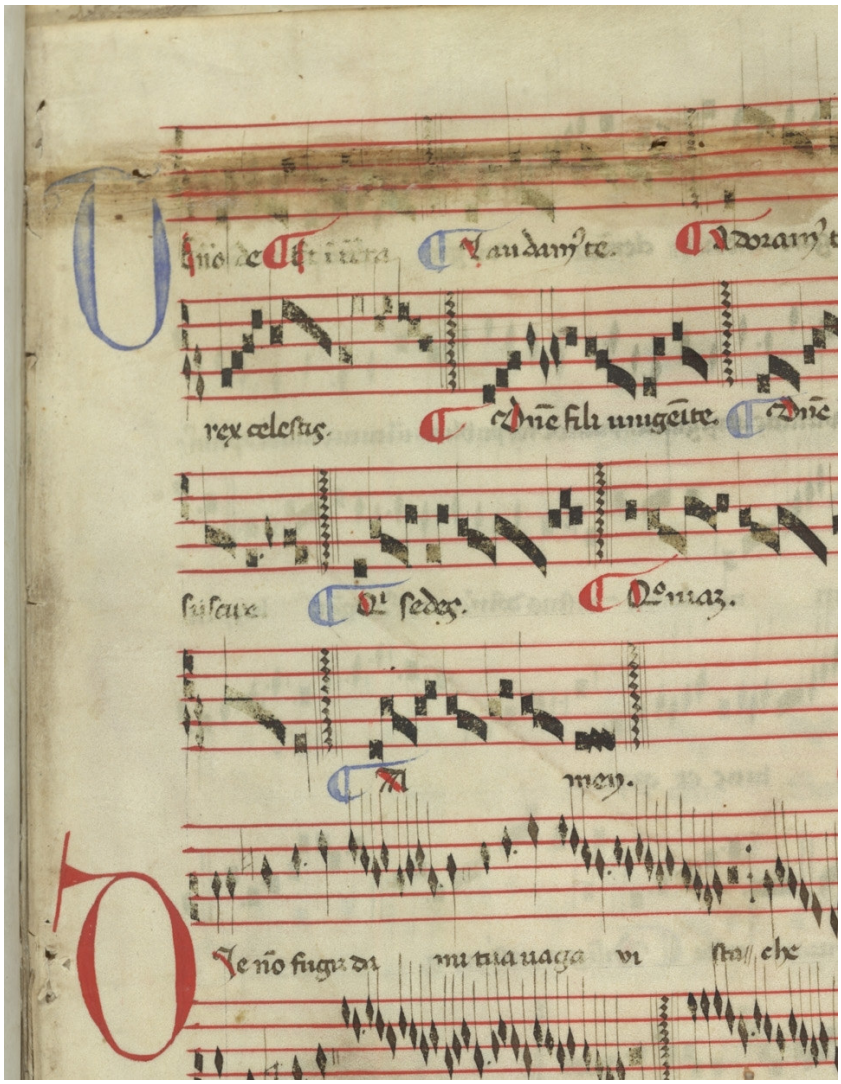


Although **Pad A** has the largest collection of polyphonic Sanctus settings among Italian trecento manuscripts, Gloria settings still dominate numerically, both in the source as a whole and in the section from **Padua 1475** in particular. Two Glorias, Engardus's *Gloria: Spiritus et alme* and Ciconia's *Gloria (PMFC 24.9)*, appear in other Paduan sources and will be discussed with **Padua 1225**. A third Gloria, the anonymous *Gloria: Clementie pax* on ff. 47v–48v, also has a concordance within the Paduan fragments, in fact, within **Padua 1475** itself. On the damaged folio 44v, the lower two voices of the Gloria are present but with only the troped sections copied. We must ask why the scribe only copied the tropes. So far, the answers have been unsatisfying. The tropes could have been sung or performed by a different set of musicians,[79] but this explanation would be more compelling if we did not have the second, complete copy of the Gloria. The singers of the trope could not have performed from the same manuscript as the other singers. The tropes could have been used to augment a non-troped Gloria, such as the preceding Gloria by Johannes Ciconia. But this theory not only requires the (missing) cantus tropes to be on the following recto (an unusual but not inconceivable layout), but also supposes that trecento listeners were not picky or discerning about details such as voice ranges or clashing modalities, a conclusion I am not prepared to accept. Finally, the repetition of a work within the same manuscript is a cautionary sign to researchers. We cannot necessarily suppose that two fragments cannot belong to the same source just because they share a work in common. We will return to this point when we discuss the larger **S. Giustina Project**, below.

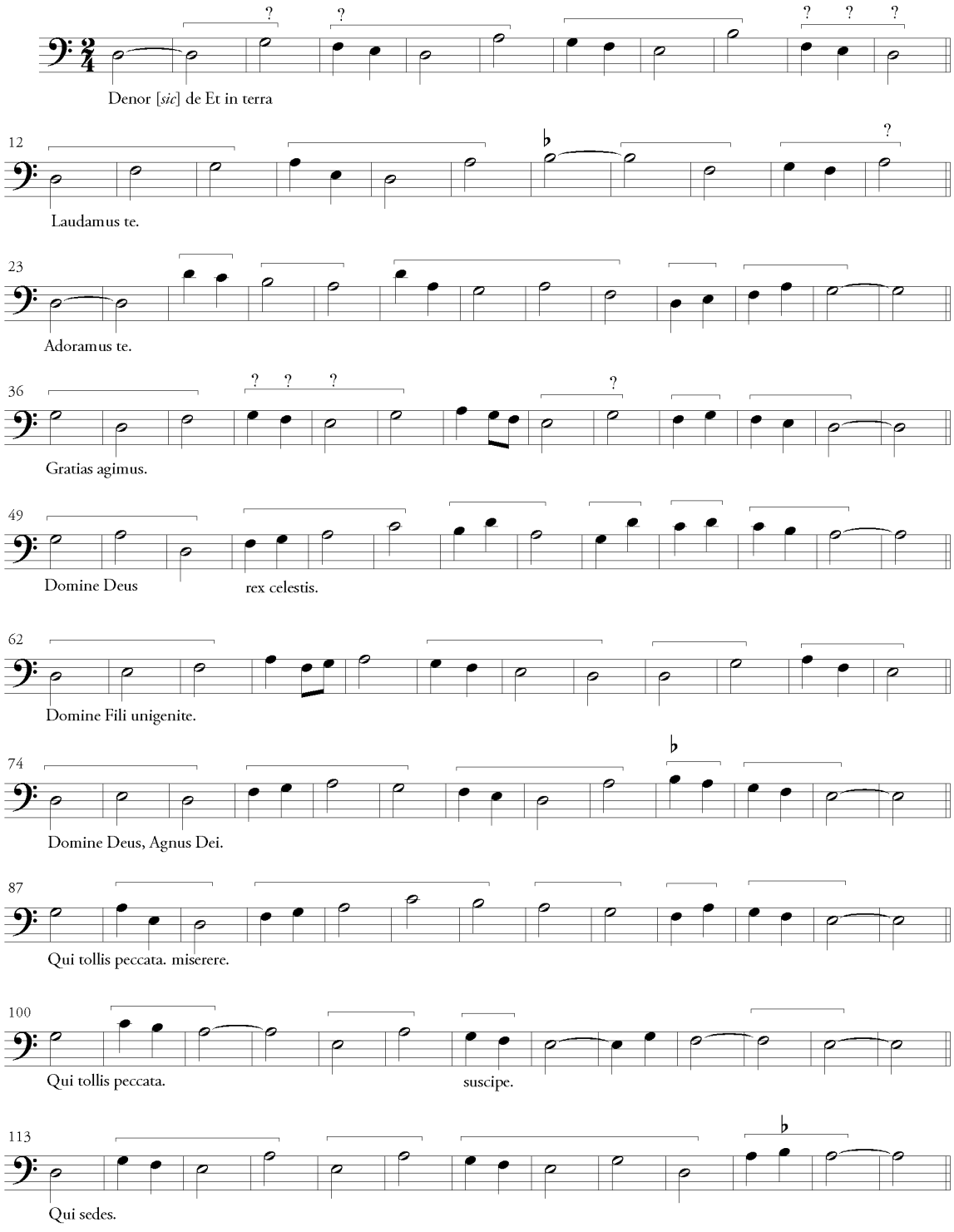
[79] Suggested by Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 194.

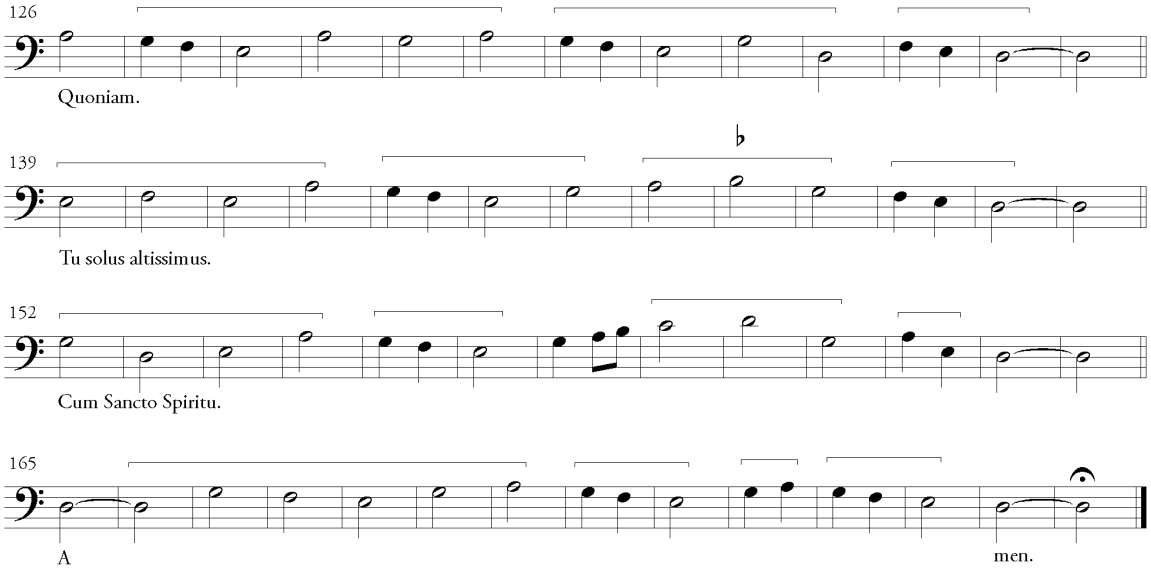
The last sacred work in **Pad A** to remain neglected in transcriptions is the tenor voice of a Gloria found on f. 50r; presumably the cantus was on the lost f. 49v. The first line of music from the Gloria (from "Et in terra" to "Dominus Deus") was folded and has been rubbed badly. Figure 2.18 reproduces a detail of the page showing the tenor voice and two initial letters. The remainder of the folio contains Francesco's ballata *Die* [or *Deh*] *non fugir*. The scribe who added the initial letters to the source evidentially was not paying attention and thought that it was a three-voice ballata and not two, accidentally putting an initial letter "D" for the tenor of the Gloria as well. (No guide letters are evident below the initials). After the first line, the remainder of the work can be transcribed with confidence, as in Example 2.19.

FIGURE 2.18: **PADUA 1475:** F. 50R, DETAIL OF TOP-LEFT.



EXAMPLE 2.19: **PADUA 1475**: *GLORIA*, TENOR, F. 50R





The Gloria is unusual in being divided into phrases all of roughly equal length. Many of the phrases echo melodic gestures from previous phrases. For instance, the phrase "Cum Sancto Spiritu" can be seen as a variant of the prior phrase "Tu solus altissimus," which itself borrows freely from the previous two phrases. It would be tempting to consider the original Gloria a piece of little imagination or consequence if we did not recall that the innovation of the upper voices in many Mass movements by Ciconia and Zachara, among others, is supported by such simple tenor lines.

Unless the upper voice is exceptionally austere and its text written almost entirely abbreviated, it would be difficult to include even an untexted contratenor on the missing f. 49v. Thus we can suppose this work was a cultural hybrid: a two-voice composition, thereby showing Italian style, with an untexted tenor voice in ligatures, thus showing French influence; in one fragment of a tenor, a microcosm of Paduan musical tastes.

Works in Padua 684

The final surviving folios of **Pad A** are found in **Padua 684**. The music fragments have been trimmed on their top and outside edges to make them fit the dimensions of

212x312mm manuscript. The trimming of the right edge of all the rectos has removed the original foliation. Since different edges were trimmed between **Padua 1475** and **Padua 684**, an estimate of the size of the original folios of **Pad A** can be determined: each folio originally measured 339–344mm in height and 217–222mm in length.

The decorated initial letters which had been present in both **Oxford 229** and **Padua 1475** stop after f. 51r in **Padua 684**. However, the scribe continued to enter black initials for works at the bottoms of pages, probably indicating that, as previously, blue and red were to be the main colors used for initials, with black used for the third initial on any page. Because of this trend, we can also see that the contratenor of the Sanctus on f. 51r (continued onto f. 50v of **Padua 1475**) was probably a later addition. The initial letters may have already been entered at the time the voice was added, and thus the scribe makes the "S"s of the word "Sanctus" larger to compensate for the lack of color. Further, the decorative marks dividing the sections of the Benedictus are not the same as the other voices'. The contratenor has full sectional endings for "In nomine" and "Domine" where smaller dividing marks are used in the upper voice.[80]

All three of the known works of the local composer Gratiosus de Padua are found in **Padua 684**. Presbyter Gratiosus was a *custos* of the cathedral chapter in Padua in 1391.[81] He may have later moved to the Abbey of S. Giustina, if six references to a "Gracioso" or "Anto-

[80] The writing of "In nomine domini" (misaligned) and possibly "Osanna ut supra" in the tenor voice is different enough from other handwriting that it may have been added by another scribe. However, there are enough similarities that it may be the case of the principal scribe accidentally using another "hand" that he knew.

[81] Anne Hallmark, "Gratiosus, Ciconia, and other Musicians at Padua Cathedral: Some Footnotes to Present Knowledge," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), p. 74.

nius Gratiosus filius Mundi" are to the composer. Five of these references come from 1397, but one shows the composer as beneficed by 1380.[82] Given the new biography of Ciconia, these dates would make Gratiosus at least ten years older than him.

Although he did not have the benefit of this biographical information in describing the works, Layton's discussions of Gratiosus's complete output are still stunning in their comprehensiveness and insightfulness.[83] Layton suggested that the Sanctus and the ballata *Alta regina* represent older, immature compositions while the Gloria was representative of Gratiosus' later style.[84] While I agree with Layton's assessment of the immense differences between the two Mass pieces, I disagree for two reasons with his dating and judgment of the relative quality of the works. First, he supposed that the French traits of the Gloria may have been learned from the venerable composer Ciconia and thus would represent a later stage in development. The new dates for Ciconia suggest that the influence could have just as easily gone in the other direction. There is also no reason to assume that French style continued to gain popularity in the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth. This is particularly true in Padua where Prosdocimus is advocating a return to earlier Italian notational styles during the early fifteenth century. Note, for instance, that even the "French" Gloria uses *divisio* letters and hockets. Secondly, Layton cites a "poverty of melodic invention" as evidence for the *Sanctus* being an earlier work.[85] I find this claim untenable. I do not find the amount of this repetition in the piece extraordinary, but more to the

[82] *Ibid.,* pp. 80–81.
[83] Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," pp. 118–28.
[84] *Ibid.,* p. 128.
[85] *Ibid.,* p. 121.

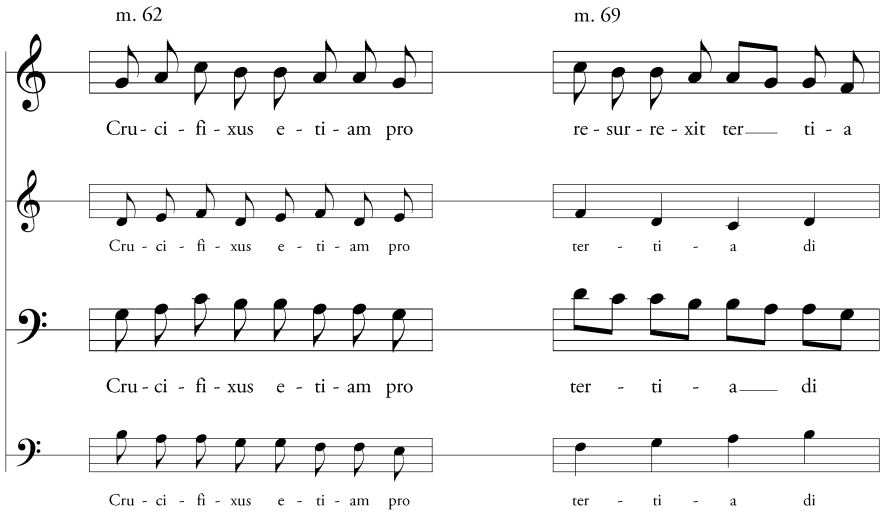
point, repetition of melodic motives is not necessarily a mark of an immature work. The Sanctus compensates for its melodic predictability with its rhythmic creativity. Particularly noteworthy is the "Benedictus" which juxtaposes *octonaria* in the cantus with *senaria imperfecta* in the other voices. This type of metrical change is also found in *Alta regina,* though there the changes are not notated. Although long passages employing two or more mensurations simultaneously are common in the *ars subtilior* repertory, the juxtaposition of these particular meters is found in several works of more modest rhythmic complexity, such as in Vaillant's *Par maintes fois*.[86]

The beginning of a Credo variously ascribed to Bonbarde, Perrinet, or (as here) Perneth is found on the verso of the back folio of **Padua 684**. Since we only have about one-quarter of the work, and it is known from seven other sources, we can keep our comments brief. Reinhard Strohm has discussed the influences and style of this work in scrumptious detail.[87] However, a detail within his discussion of counterpoint is disputable. He notes two instances of curious counterpoint between cantus 1 and the contratenor, resulting in parallel octaves (m. 62; measure numbers from his edition) and parallel sevenths (m. 69) for a whole measure each (see Example 2.20).

[86] An anonymous Gloria in **London 29987** has similar passages, but the lower voices never move more quickly than the semibreve level, thus losing the effect of two simultaneous meters.

[87] *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 26–34.

EXAMPLE 2.20: PERNETH, CREDO, MM. 62 AND 69.[88]



These parallels may not be the result of a "disregard of the upper voices for the countertenor," as Strohm states, or even, vice-versa, disregard of the countertenor for the upper voices.[89] Rather they may show conscious choices by the composer of the contratenor to create such forbidden consonances and dissonances. My reasoning is that if composers did tend to write upper voices and contratenors without regard for each other, then passages such as Example 2.20 would not be exceptional. If Strohm's theory were correct, small passages of perfect parallels or repeated dissonances would be commonplace. (They should be as common as if we took an upper-voice measure and a contratenor measure in the same time signature set to the same tenor note from two different places in the same piece and put them together!) That this passage is so exceptional implies that normally the composer of the contratenor was fully aware of what intervals it would make both with the tenor and with the cantus.

[88] Edition adapted from Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 32–33.

[89] *Ibid.,* pp. 32–33. His diagram (Figure 1) implies that the contratenor disregards the upper voices rather than vice-versa.

Pad D: Padua 675, Padua 1106, Padua 1225, and Padua 1283

In the span of one decade, the amount of musical material from the trecento increased dramatically. Between 1955–65 scholars learned of a new source for the previously marginal figure of Paolo da Firenze (**Lowinsky**, 1956), saw new evidence for the coexistence of trecento music with quattrocento music and music theory (**Siena 30**, 1957), and encountered tantalizing new fragments hinting at a larger role of polyphonic music (**Berlin 523**, **Ivrea 105**, and **Casanatense 522**, 1964). The increase in the number of sources of motets and sacred polyphony was of great importance. These sources included three in Cividale (to be discussed later in this chapter) and, discovered at either end of this decade, the four Paduan fragments which are the objects of this section of the study.

Four manuscript fragments in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Padua—675, 1106, 1225, and 1283—share similar handwriting, layout, and repertories, and, collected under the siglum **Pad D**, are generally considered part of the same manuscript. Rolandus de Casali, a monk of the monastery of S. Giustina, signed his name on two of the fragments (**Padua 1225** and **Padua 1106**). His handwriting was also quickly matched with the writing on another S. Giustina fragment, **Stresa 14**.

Although the four fragments of **Pad D** have been connected primarily based on the identification of the single hand appearing throughout, the repertory of three of the four forms an even closer group. The three fragments of **Pad D** discovered at the same time, **Padua 675**, **1225**, and **1283** (conveniently housed together as Busta 2 today) devote their contents entirely to the preservation of movements of the Mass.[90] In this context the first

[90] Discovered by Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), pp. 79–97.

fragment to be discovered, **Padua 1106,** seems quite a contrast.[91] Its three, non-contiguous folios contain parts of six motets. Considering the limited number of Italian motets—at the time of its discovery, an essay on the subject could easily begin and end with this source—the works of **Padua 1106** encompass a wide geographical and chronological range. We will begin our discussion with the three fragments of Mass movements and end with this valuable source.

Padua 1283

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/1 (from *MS 1283*).
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1283, pp. 997–98.* CCMS 3: *PadU 1283, p. 10.*

The single folio of sacred music removed from a fifteenth-century Latin grammar presents only two incomplete works, but they are each of considerable importance. The verso of the folio contains cantus 1 and the tenor of Ciconia's *Gloria (PMFC 24.9).* An attribution has been trimmed at the top of the page, though some of the descenders are still visible. Nonetheless, it is difficult to connect them to any of the words "M. Johannes," "Johes," or "Ciconia," (see Figure 2.21).

FIGURE 2.21: **PADUA 1283**, ATTRIBUTION ON VERSO

The Gloria is also known from **Padua 1475**. The two versions of the work in the Paduan fragments are close enough to each other that they may testify to direct copying.[92]

[91] Discovered by Dragan Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955), pp. 165–181.
[92] Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 204.

Bent and Hallmark argue on the basis of a missing minim stem in the **Pad D** version (m. 150.2) that it was copied from **Pad A**. The argument supposes that if **Pad A** instead were copied from **Pad D,** either **Pad A**'s scribe would have transmitted the erroneous version without realizing the (easily detected) rhythmic mistake or would have not only corrected **Pad A** but also the manuscript from which he was copying. Though this is a persuasive argument, the absence of a single minim stem (in the middle of a passage of repeated rhythms) is not conclusive evidence for direct copying of the whole of **Pad D** from hypothetically lost passages of **Pad A**. The two manuscripts share another work which we can consult for evidence, Engardus's *Gloria: Spiritus et alme* (see **Padua 1225** below). The single difference between the readings in **Pad D** and **Pad A** of that work, also suggests an error in **Pad D** where none exists in **Pad A** (a dissonant minim *a* instead of the imperfect consonance *b* in cantus 2, m. 232). But this difference is explainable in other ways as well.[93] I stress our uncertainty because of what a remarkable situation we would have if this hypothesis were true. We have no other evidence of complete trecento manuscripts having been copied from each other.[94] And, as Bent has pointed out, unlike literary stemmatics where the written text is the literary

[93] That these two Glorias are on the recto and verso of the same folio in **Pad A** but in separate sections of **Pad D** may be seen as contrary evidence for this stemma, but there are other explanations. In order to not have to wait while the ink on one side of a folio dried, compositions may have been copied on different folios, thus not preserving the order of the manuscript being copied.

[94] Though supported by copious transcriptions and detailed research, Eugene Fellin's arguments in favor of larger stemmata, featuring many hypothetical lost sources, have not received much critical support; however, his conclusions about relative closeness of different copies of madrigals remain useful and surprisingly under-cited. (Fellin, "Le relazioni tra i manoscritti musicali del Trecento," *Rivisita Italiana di Musicologica* 8 (1973), pp. 165–80). In sum: the evidence for influence of source traditions upon individual copies is clear, but for direct copying of pieces or whole manuscripts it is murky.

work, the notation of a composition is not the music.[95] Thus, even a scribe unfamiliar with a composition can play the role of musical editor by adding valuable information about performance practice though his choice in text setting, layout of parts, and use of ligatures. These differing choices enrich our knowledge of how music was performed and conceived in the Middle Ages, but simultaneously frustrate our ability to make definitive statements about the order of copying.

The recto of the fragment contains fragments of two voices of a Sanctus. The top voice is nearly illegible and was not identified as part of the Sanctus until recently. A concordance for the work in the **Boverio** codex was first noticed by Francesco Facchin who provided a transcription with critical commentary.[96] In both sources, the Benedictus is troped with "Marie filius," just as the Sanctus "Mediolano" of **Pad A** is in its concordance in the **Gerona** fragment. Because of a vertical cut in the manuscript, we are missing mm. 1–9 of cantus 1 and mm. 1–12 of cantus 2. Lucia Marchi has suggested that cantus 2 rested during the first invocation of the "Sanctus," and thus we have lost little of the work. [97] But we can note that we have only lost three more measures of cantus 2 than cantus 1. This similarity argues strongly that nearly as many notes were cut from both voices (rests being small and unlikely to take up much space).

[95] Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 296.

[96] In Agostino Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile*, Ars Nova 3 (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994), pp. 83, 87–89. A second transcription appears in Lucia Marchi, "La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il codice Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2" (Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2000)" pp. 451–58.

[97] Marchi, "La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma," p. 138.

The fragment is also important because it gives us our best information about the Paduan music manuscripts after 1409. A note on the verso reads "Iste regule sunt congregationis monachorum Sancte Justine…~~sine numero~~ 508."[98] The "regule" of the note of possession refers to the main content of manuscript 1283, the *Regulae grammaticae* of Stephanus Fliscus (Stefano Fieschi da Soncino). Thus we know that at the time the note of possession was written, the music manuscript had already been destroyed. Except for the number "508," the note is in the hand which matches Cantoni Alzati's "mano B," who wrote the prologue to the inventory of manuscripts at S. Giustina in 1453.[99] Thus 1453 is the latest possible date for the dismemberment of **Pad D**. A similar note in another hand in **Oxford 229** of **Pad A** ("Istud quo[d]lib&") also definitely refers to the host manuscript (the Quodlibet of St. Thomas Aquinas) and thus gives a latest possible date for the reuse of that manuscript at 1453 or slightly thereafter.

Though we cannot make a *definite* statement about any earlier possible date, the contents of **Padua 1283** give a *likely* range of years for its reuse. Stefano Fieschi seems to have completed his studies with Gasparino Barzaiza around 1430, and his most important work, the *Synonyma* probably comes from the middle of that decade.[100] If we suppose that the musical books were dismembered after the books they reinforce had already been written and

[98] The significance of this note for detailing the continued possession of the manuscript at Padua between 1453 and *ca.* 1465 (when hands "D" and "E" were cataloging the manuscripts around no. 508) was discovered by Prosdocimi, "I frammenti musicali." The further observations I make in this paragraph would have been impossible without her work.

[99] Cantoni Alzati, *La biblioteca*, pp. 16–19, including tables 1 and 2.

[100] Daniela Mazzuconi, "Stefano Fieschi da Soncino: un allievo di Gasparino Barzaiza," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 24 (1981), pp. 257–285. Later, after Fieschi's son Eusebio da Ragusa had joined the congrgation of S. Giustina (1465), a second note of possession was added to f. 1r of the main manuscript including this biographical detail. Cantoni Alzati, *La biblioteca*, p. 116.

acquired, then we have but a limited period between *ca.* 1435 and 1453 for the reuse of the Paduan fragments.

Padua 1225

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/2 (from *MS 1225*).
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1225, pp. 996–97.* CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1225,* vol. 3, *p. 9,* vol. 4, *p. 461.*

There is a saying in baseball that anything can happen in a short series. The same holds true for short manuscripts. We should never be surprised by the presence, or particularly the absence of a work, genre, or composer in a small collection of music. What survives in any single fragment might be an unrepresentative sample of the whole.[101] All this being well-known, we might still be tempted to think that Padua had provincial musical tastes if in the surviving fragments there were no works by the most widely distributed composer of sacred music in the trecento.

Hence, the importance of **Padua 1225**, a bifolio containing parts of four Mass movements, two of which are by Antonio Zachara da Teramo. Folio 2r contains the final page of his *Gloria, Laus Honor* while the verso begins the popular Credo, no. 21 in the

[101] On the basis of this observation, I must disagree strongly with Oliver Huck's assertion that, "if the Frammento Cialiani [**Perugia 15755**] is really of Viscontean provenance, we would surely find it surprising that none of those madrigals which Jacopo da Bologna composed in honour of members of the family is included," (review of *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.,* edited by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*). In a manuscript of at least 171 folios originally, of which we possess only four, no conclusions about the significance of a few missing works can be drawn. However, I agree with his skepticism of the manuscript's connections to the Visconti on the other grounds he gives.

PMFC 13 numbering.[102] The other folio contains both of Engardus's known Glorias, two-thirds of his entire known output.

Contrary to some published reports, the heavily abbreviated attribution "Dcūs Çacharias" on f. 2r should read "Dictus Çacharias" and not "Dominus Çacharias."[103] Combining this attribution with the following verso's, we can suppose that each opening of the Zachara section read "M[agister] Antonius Dictus Çacharias." The attributions on f. 2 reveal that the Rolandus de Casali was familiar with at least some aspects of Zachara's biography, that Zachara was a nickname whose use (to all appearances) Antonio did not fully support.[104] The familiarity with this aspect of Zachara's name seems to be a northern (or more specifically, northeast) Italian trait. The unique Credo found in **Cividale 98** (see below) is ascribed to "M. A. dictus Ç," an abbreviated form of **Padua 1225**'s attribution.

Though we have no evidence that he was ever based in Padua, Zachara may be among the other illustrious composers who were in the city for shorter periods or made their

[102] The folio numbers 1 and 2 are used merely for convenience and in keeping with prior literature; they were certainly not consecutive and may not have even been in this order. However, it is more likely that f. 2 came after f. 1 given the number of Credos by Zachara which survive. If f. 2v begins a section of Zachara's Credos, and **Padua 1225** contained even a third of the total, it is unlikely that they would finish before the end of a gathering and have room to spare for the works of Engardus.

[103] Correctly identified in John Nádas, "Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo." *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), p. 174. Unfortunately, the latest digital images available of this manuscript do not reproduce the top edge of f. 2, so old photos will need to be kept around.

[104] An autograph bull by Zachara, reproduced as Plate 2 of *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), gives his name as "A de Teramo."

existence otherwise strongly felt. An "Anthonio de Teramo," possibly the composer, witnessed the awarding of a doctorate at the University of Padua in 1410.[105]

The other composer represented (anonymously) in **Padua 1225** also has tantalizing but unclear relationships with Northern Italy. Engardus (or Egardus, or perhaps Echgaerd or Eckart) composed only three surviving works. Though we know nothing for certain about his life, research has given us many tantalizing hypotheses.[106] His name, a concordance in **Utrecht 1846**[1], and a textual relationship with Thomas Fabri, all suggest a Flemish origin.[107] But with only one other exception, all of his works are found in Italian manuscripts probably from areas north of Tuscany.[108] This exception, the Polish manuscript

[105] Nádas, "Further notes on Magister Antonius," p. 178. Anne Hallmark has also tied Zachara to the University of Padua through the citation of the "Humilior tauro," in *Je suy navrès tan fort/Gnaff'a le guagnele*. ("Rhethoric and Reference in *Je suy navvrés tan fort"* in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), p. 225). Though the "bull" has a long tradition associating it with the University, it stems from the relocation of the seat of the University to the Palazzo Bo (or "Albergo del Bove," a former butchery), which did not occur until 1493. The possibility should be raised that the line refers to Thomas Tauri (de Sancti Servatoris de Monasteriovillari) a member of the Papal Chapels at least of Gregory XI and Clemente VII. (On this figure, see Di Bacco and Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale'," p. 38). In a further digression, it can be noted that the cries of "Saccra Saccra" in *Je suy navrès,* which Francesco Zimei suggested evoke cries of the name "Zachara," are found also in the anonymous bilingual ballata *Le temps verrà,* lending further support to the hypothesis that it is by Zachara. (Hallmark, *op. cit.,* p. 218; Lucia Marchi and Elvira Di Mascia, "*Le temps verrà tamtoust aprés:* Una proposta di attribuzione ad Antonio Zacara da Teramo," *Studi Musicali* 30 (2001), p. 20).

[106] See, above all, Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish Contacts," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 41–68.

[107] Concordance identified independently by both Strohm, *op. cit*, and Bernhold Schmid, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Gloria-Motette von Engardus in den Paduaner Fragmenten," *Musikforschung* 38 (1985), pp. 195–201.

[108] Strohm, *op. cit.,* p. 41 errs when he says that both Glorias are "represented more than once in the Paduan fragments;" only the troped Gloria appears twice. Robert Nosow's *2ndNG* article on the composer ("Egardus") contains incorrect details of manuscript sigla, and about which Glorias appear in which manuscripts. A new source for the untroped Gloria is **Udine 22**, see below.

Kras., also suggests Engardus's Italian connections, since the other foreign composers represented in Polish sources have connections to Northern Italy and/or the Italian Papal chapels.

Padua 675 (and Oxford 56)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/3 (from MS 675).
RISM B IV 4*: I-Pu 675, pp. 989–90.* CCMS 3*: PadU 675, p. 6.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 56.
RISM B IV sup[1-2]*: GB-Ob 56, pp. 70–73.*

A Paduan fragment was removed from the front of manuscript 675 of the Biblioteca Universitaria and is now housed as "Busta 2/3." The fragment is usually considered part of the collection **Pad D**. The fragment proper consists of a bifolio of music, ff. 1–2, but a single folio of an unrelated text contains much of the music from f. 2v and is now an important part of the collection. Folio 2r has a troubled history. When he first discovered it, Fischer described the manuscript as containing a blank page (1r), a fragment or possibly a sketch of a two-voice work (1v), a totally faded and illegible work (2r), and a motet by "M. Jo. Ciconia" (2v).[109] The motet was soon correctly identified as the second half of the troped *Gloria: Suscipe Trinitas* and brought the only attribution to this important work, now known from five sources.[110] The text of the tropes calls upon the Trinity to remove the cloud of schism.

[109] Fischer, "Neue Quellen," pp. 84–85. Other references to the manuscript (including the photos in the DIAMM collection) have reversed the designation of ff. 1 and 2. There is no way of definitely knowing the order of the two folios, but if they are arranged in Fischer's order they cannot be center bifolio given the discovery of music on f. 2r, described below. (Even if they are arranged in the opposite order, they are unlikely to be a center bifolio given that the other folio was left blank).

[110] See Table 2.27 for the sources of this composition. *RISM B IV 4*, p. 990 updated by *RISM B IV 1-2[sup]* p. 73.

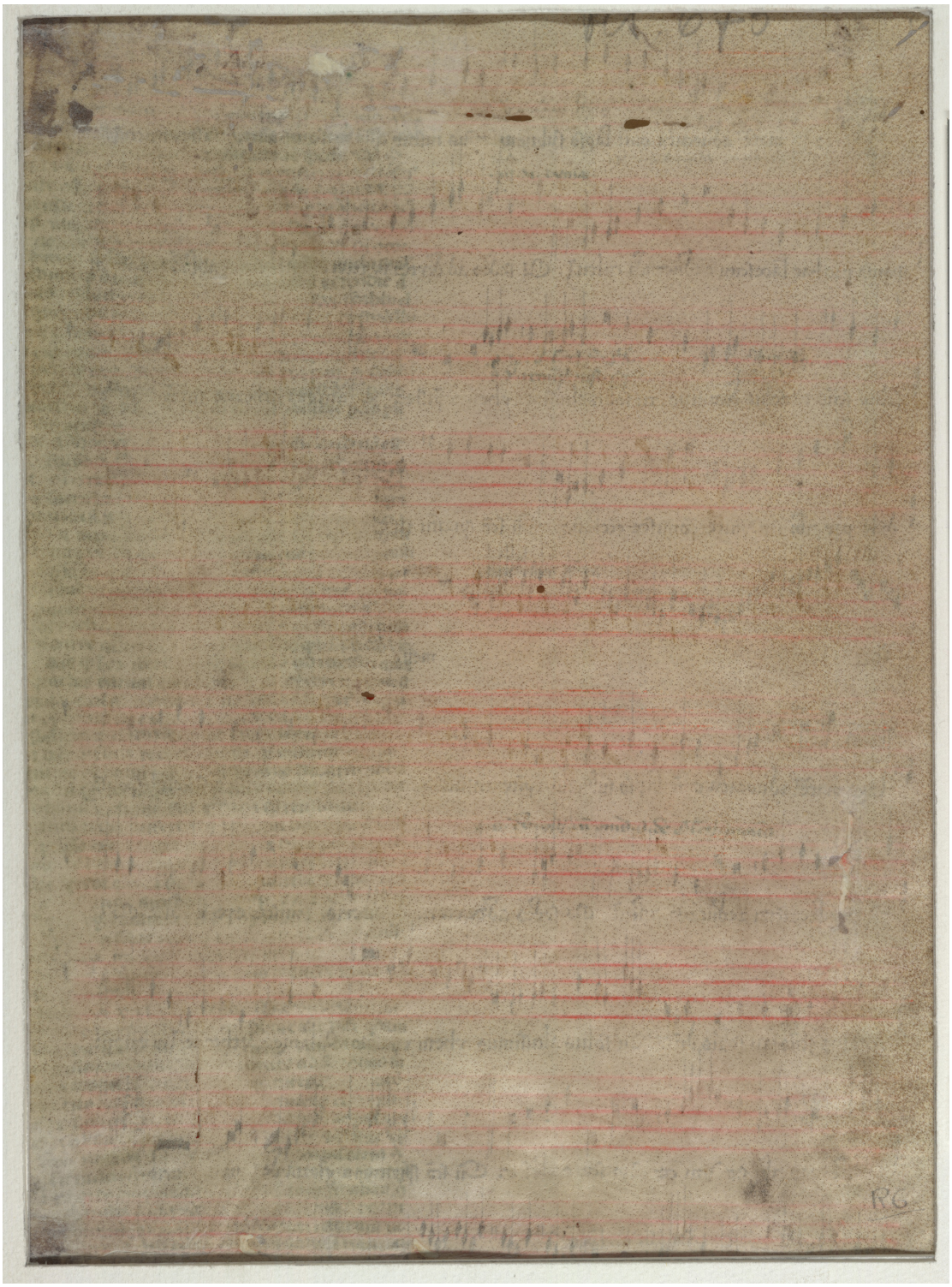
The invocation of a three-fold deity has been suggested by some to refer to the period of the three-fold schism (1409 and after), but the connection is not entirely clear.[111]

In their edition, Bent and Hallmark assert that preceding recto of **Padua 675** is "completely blank, not faded as others have claimed."[112] Their claim was probably based on observation that the dark musical notation plainly obvious on this folio is show-through from the verso. (See Figure 2.22).

[111] See, *pro,* Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 203 (commentary on the text by M. J. Connolly) and, *contra*, Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels," p. 71. If Bent and Hallmark are correct, then the manuscript would have to have been copied in or after 1409, a year when others have asserted that Ludovico Barbo banned polyphony ("Cantus figuratus vitetur omnino." See Cattin, "Ricerche sulla Musica à S. Giustina di Padova," p. 29). However, Cattin also offers the possibility that Rolandus de Casali could have copied polyphony on commission after 1409, and others have noted that Barbo's prohibition cannot be dated to 1409 itself. (Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. xiv). An insightful interpretation of the conflicting documentation appears in a footnote in Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," pp. 149–50.

[112] Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 201.

FIGURE 2.22: **PADUA 675**, F. 2R

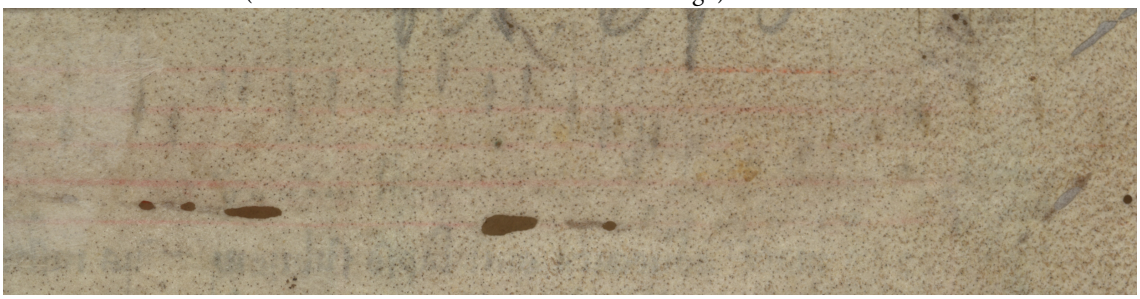


Despite Bent and Hallmark's correction to Fischer's statement, careful study of f. 2r reveals that it is not in fact blank, but instead contains the remains of the second cantus of the Glo-

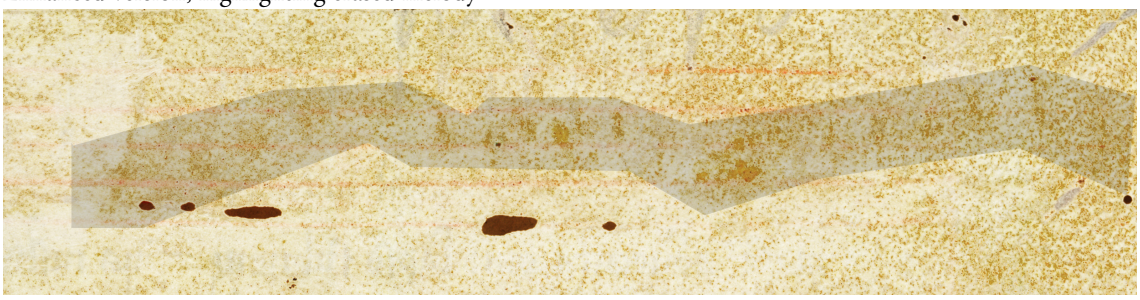
ria from f. 2v. Traces of a second, yellowish melody can be faintly discerned in high quality photographs. Figure 2.23 highlights this notation from the end of the first staff.[113]

FIGURE 2.23: **PADUA 675,** F. 2R, DETAIL OF STAFF ONE

Non-enhanced version (most dark notes and words are show-through)



Enhanced version, highlighting erased melody

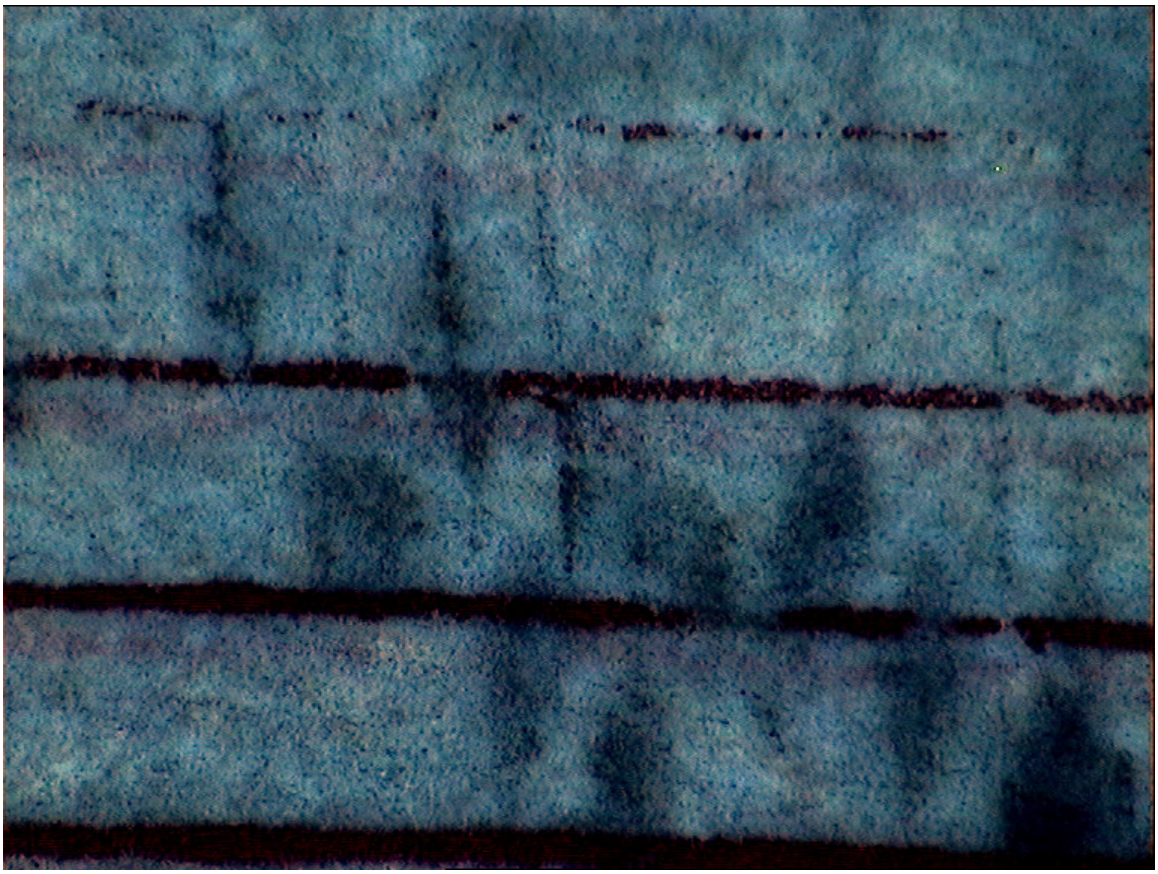


Close examination under ultraviolet light shows that notes written on the near side of the page remove part of the staff, while show-through lies under the lines. See the extreme close-up in Figure 2.24.[114]

[113] Recovery of the melody is hampered further by the show-through from the document pressed against f. 2v (appears only on the left-hand side of the page). Because this text has been reversed twice (once from the offsetting and again from the show-through) it appears that f. 2r is a palimpsest, but it is not.

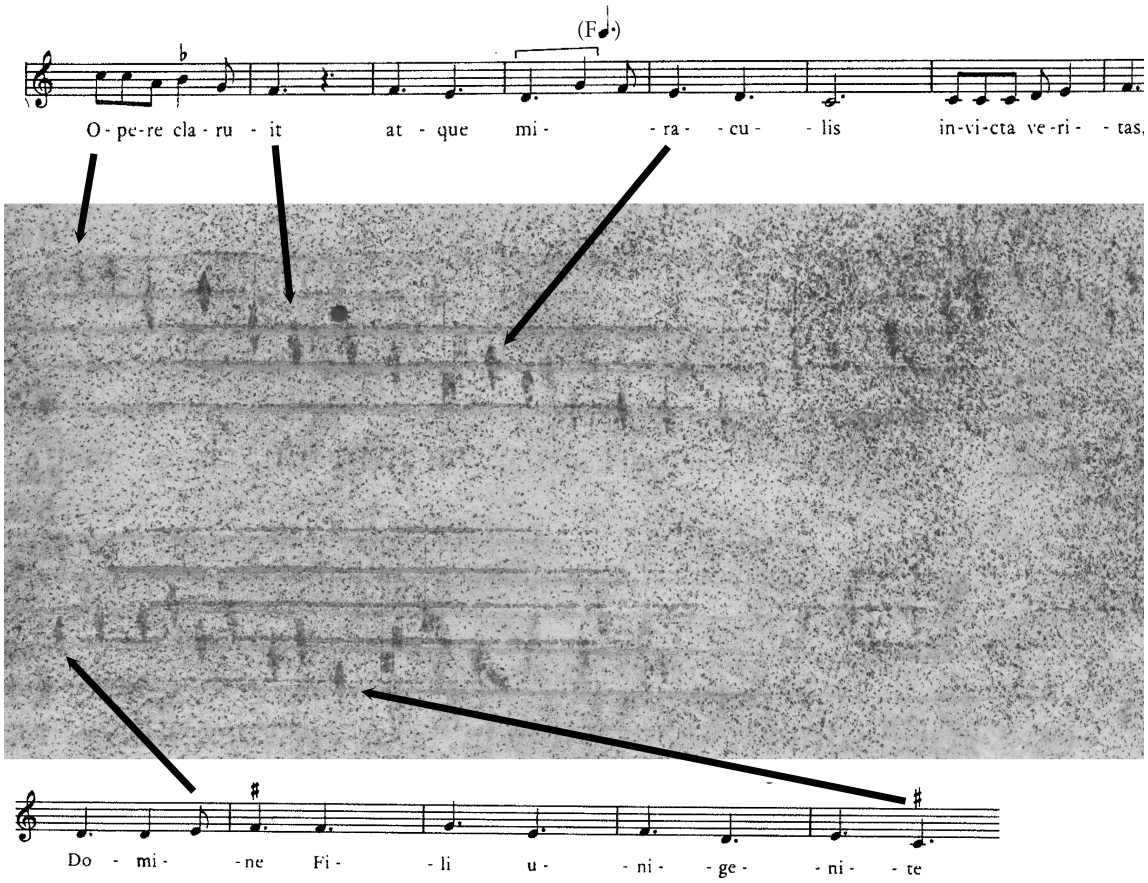
[114] I again want to thank Pietro Gnan and the staff of the Biblioteca Universitaria for unfettered access to these fragments over many years, without which this study would have been impossible.

FIGURE 2.24: **PADUA 675**, EXTREME CLOSE-UP (UV)



The remains of the notation on the fifth and sixth staves is easier to see and can be enhanced further with photo manipulation software. The post-reconstruction melody of parts of staves five and six appears in Figure 2.25:

FIGURE 2.25: **PADUA 675**, F. 2R, DETAIL OF STAVES FIVE AND SIX (DIGITALLY MANIPULATED)



The passage on staff five corresponds to mm. 94–102 of cantus 2 of Ciconia's *Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas* while mm. 112–19 are clear on staff six.[115] The few differences in this section are worthy of note. In m. 97, the Paduan source agrees with **Warsaw 378** by using two ligated semibreves *d-f* in place of the *d*♩.*-g*♩*-f*♪ reading of **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**. Again, in mm. 116–117, the four semibreves of **Padua 675** read more closely to Warsaw's reading of two semibreves and a breve than to the Grottaferrata source's two breves. (The Paduan and Warsaw sources share several readings on f. 2v not found in other sources as well). It appears that the entire voice to m. 175 is contained on the folio; no trace of any music is

[115] Measure numbers from Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24.*

visible on staff 10. Discerning other musical variants on this folio may be more easily done in the near future now that the initial identification of the contents has been made, but still remains a difficult process.

Another copy of this Gloria was discovered recently. The flyleaves of the Canonici manuscript **Oxford 56** contain several works, but only the composition on the exposed side of the front pastedown has been identified.[116] The Amen of cantus 1 of *Suscipe, Trinitas* is visible on staff two of f. 0v, though partly disguised by the less florid setting of "Patris" which is unknown in other sources.[117] As f. 0 is still pasted to the boards of the host manuscript, identification of the preceding side must be done purely on the basis of show-through.[118]

The reverse side can be identified as cantus 2 of the same Gloria. The sixth staff preserves the clef and a continuous line of music, both aiding identification. Like the version in **Padua 675**, the folio ends at m. 175; see Figure 2.26.

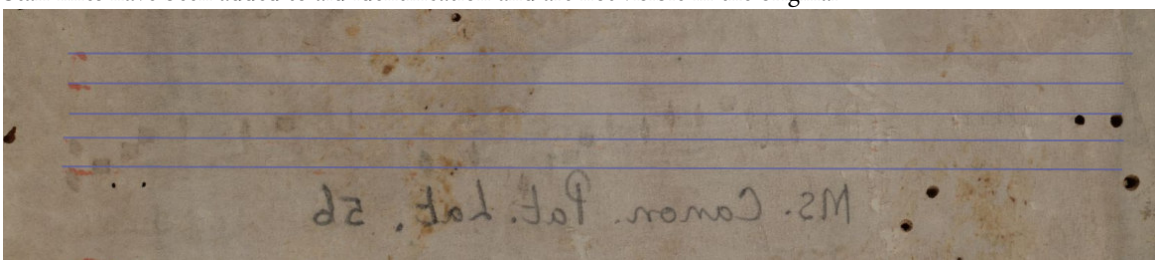
[116] *RISM B IV 1–2^{sup}*. Wathey's transcription of the incipits is a remarkable effort given the state of the manuscript. The manuscript as a whole is described in Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1854), col. 323 and in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol 2. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 49 (No. 476).

[117] Because both **Padua 675** and **Oxford 56** contain the Amen of cantus 1, a theory that one could form the continuation of the other must be dropped.

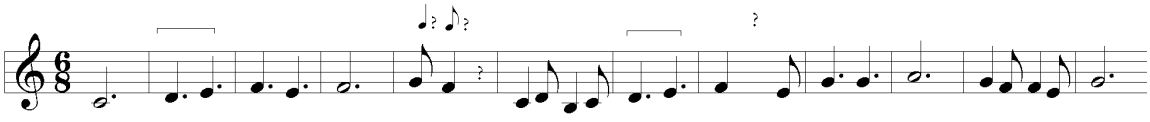
[118] The container for **Oxford 56** contains an admonition to musicologists reminding them that "do-it-yourself" attempts at lifting the flyleaf will result in expulsion from the Bodleian. Fortunately, this is no longer necessary to identifying the contents of the front leaf.

FIGURE 2.26: **OXFORD 56**, F. 0V, STAFF SIX, MIRRORED HORIZONTALLY

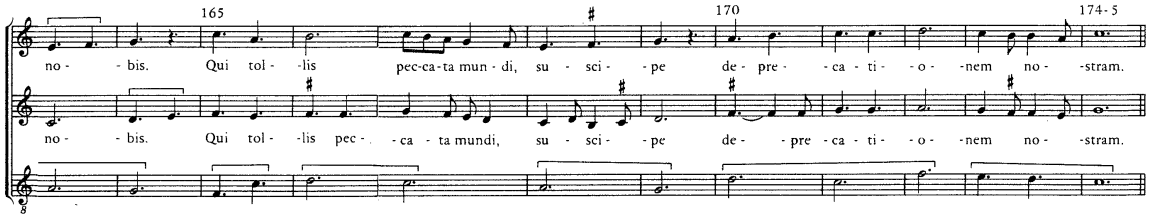
Staff lines have been added to aid identification and are not visible in the original



Transcription of this staff:



Transcription in *PMFC 24*, mm. 163–75:



A complete list of the contents of **Oxford 56**, Table 2.27, gives an idea of the context in which this work is transmitted in that source:

TABLE 2.27: **OXFORD 56** CONTENTS

front bifolio flyleaf	
f. 0r (hidden)	*Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas* ([Johannes Ciconia]): cantus 2, to m. 175
f. 0v	(continued): cantus 1, conclusion from m. 224 (mm. 175–223 cut)
	Padua 675 f. 2rv, 2^{2}; **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** ff. 9v–10v, 3^{2}; **Grottaferrata s.s.** f. Bv, 1^{1}; **Warsaw 378** ff. 25v–27r, 3
	[continued onto lost folio continuing *Suscipe, Trinitas,* cantus 2]
f. i r	Unidentified work (badly rubbed); possible C_5 clef (Tenor?)
f. i v	Gloria (PMFC 23, no. 48): cantus, m. 63–end.
	Utrecht 1846[1], f. III Bv, 2^{1}
back bifolio flyleaf, upside-down with respect to the rest of the manuscript (rectos originally versos and vice-versa)	
f. 81v (hidden)	Two low, texted voices (Ct and T?) of an unknown Gloria
f. 81r	Unidentified work (badly rubbed).
f. 80v	Unidentified work (badly rubbed). T? [119] *Tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*
f. 80r	Gloria (beginning, "Agnus dei filius patris") 3^{1}. Similar to *PMFC 24,* no. 6: Ciconia, *Gloria: Spiritus et Alme.*[120]

Though trimming of the top of the page has reduced it to eight staves, f. 0 originally had ten: we note that there is an average of 45 musical symbols per staff on the 3.5 filled staves of f. 0v. Since there are approximately 95 symbols missing between the end of f. 0r (m. 175) and the current beginning of f. 0v, it would have taken two staves to notate them. However, ff. 80 and 81 may have only had nine staves since the first surviving staff of f. 81v begins with "Laudamus te," hardly necessitating two previous staves.

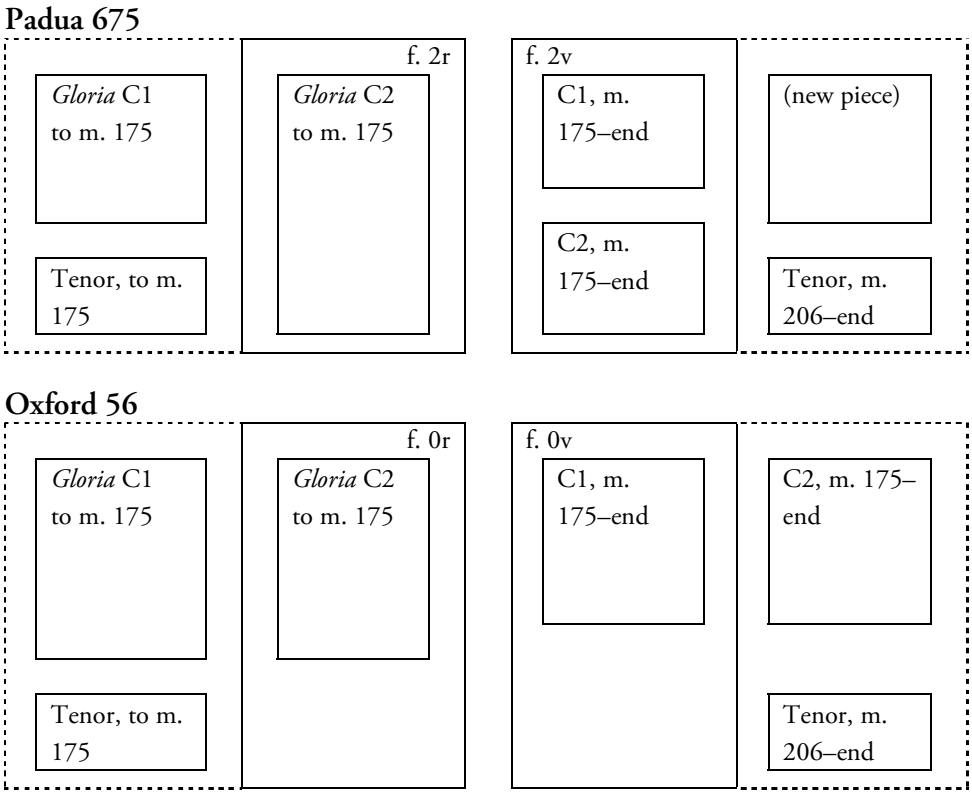
The copies of *Suscipe, Trinitas* in **Oxford 56** and **Padua 675** are similar in their layouts. They both break the end of the first opening at m. 175, after "suscipe deprecationem nostram." Much more importantly, neither of the two sources contain any trace of the tenor

[119] The incipits for f. 80v and 81r have been exchanged in *RISM B IV 1-2*^{sup}, p. 72.

[120] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, p. 257 ("exclusa") describes ff. i and 80 as containing a single Gloria, however the surviving music does not support this conclusion even for the only conceivable pairing, f. 80r (originally verso) and f. ir.

voice which, in the other sources, supports the upper voices during the non-troped sections. Since we are missing portions of each source, it is impossible to say for sure that the tenor voice is not on the absent pages, but the evidence suggests that it is unlikely. The hypothetical layouts of both manuscripts are given in Figure 2.28, below.

FIGURE 2.28: LAYOUTS OF **PADUA 675** AND **OXFORD 56** INCLUDING TENORS



The hypothetical layout of **Padua 675** would be unusual but not inconceivable. The tenor is not text-bearing and can be expressed mainly in ligatures; thus it could probably fit on a single line on the folio containing the beginning C1 and then appear at the foot of page following the end of C1 and C2. But the best hypothetical layout for **Oxford 56** borders on the bizarre. The tenor would move from the bottom of C1's page at the beginning to the bottom of C2's at the end.

The problems of layout disappear if we suspect that the tenor was not ever copied, and that the work had been adjusted to allow for performance by the two upper voices alone. Though this adaptation would be almost as unusual as an odd layout of voices, there is reason to suspect that this may have been the case. The largest problem with removing the lowest voice of a composition is the lone interval of the fourth between the upper voices. The consonant 8–5 sonority becomes a dissonance; the *C–G–c* final chord becomes a bare *G–c*.

Missed in the critical notes in the Ciconia edition is that the final note in cantus 2 is not a *G* in **Padua 675** at all, but an *F*, creating a consonant perfect fifth with the upper voice (and a dissonance with the conventional tenor, if it were present). Figure 2.29 magnifies the end of this work. The majority of the ink from the end has been lifted off of the original folio and is now present on an unrelated folio. It is clear from both folios that the G-line is clear of ink, and clear from the offset folio that a decorated final note is visible on the second space of this C_1-clef. None of this is conclusive evidence that a two-voice version was present, but the possibility should at least be considered.

FIGURE 2.29: **PADUA 675**, END OF CANTUS 2

Folio 2v

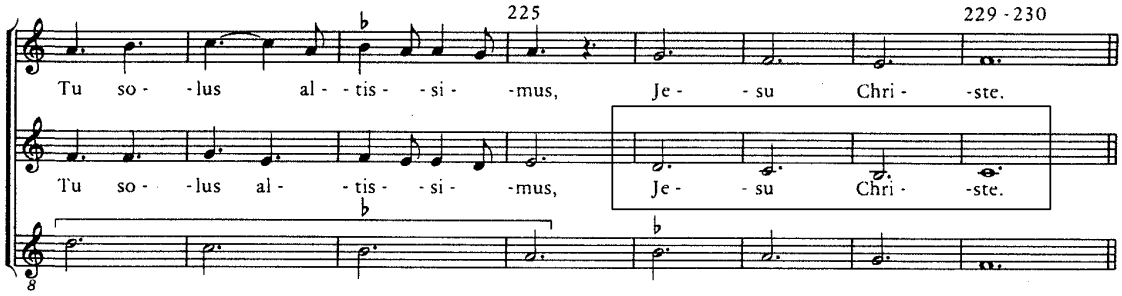
Offsetting on to unrelated folio (mirrored horizontally)

Although there still remain a few (non-passing) perfect fourths in the **Padua 675** version of the Gloria (including at least one added and not in other versions), others have been removed, often through large alterations of the cantus 2 line. For instance, in other sources the phrase "Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe," ends with cantus 2 descending to *C* below the

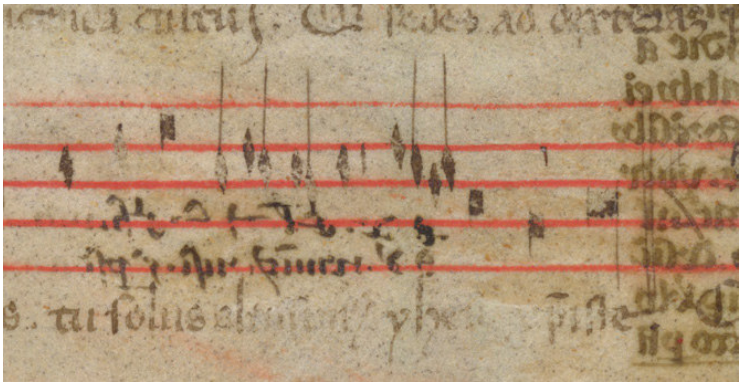
F of cantus 1. However in **Padua 675**, like **Warsaw 378**, cantus 2 ascends to *c*, an octave higher, creating a perfect fifth instead of fourth. Compare Figure 2.30 (a) and (b).

FIGURE 2.30: CICONIA, *GLORIA: SUSCIPE TRINITAS,* "TU SOLUS ALTISSIMUS," *PMFC 24* AND **PADUA 675**

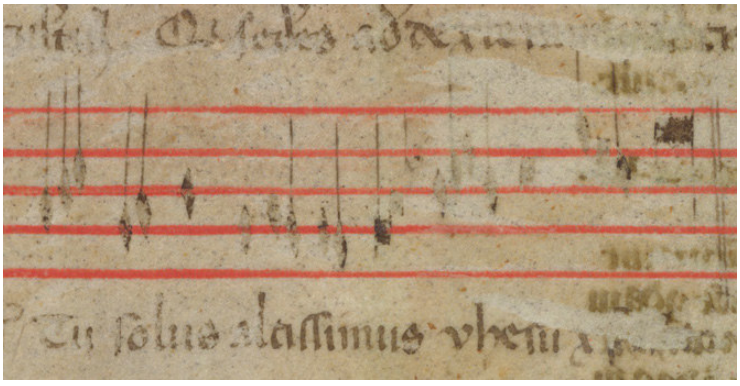
(a) *PMFC 24*, no. 7



(b) **Padua 675** (both voices, C_1 clef)



Cantus 1



Cantus 2

We observe treatment of perfects fourths in another of Ciconia's works for two equal voices, *Aler m'en veus*. In that work, perfect fourths are acceptable on both strong beats (especially

between *A* and *d*) so long as a neighbor note between these beats creates a third.[121] The version in **Oxford 56** is too damaged to make any definite judgments about its readings; it is hoped that with further digital restoration we might see if perfect fourths are also evaded in that source.

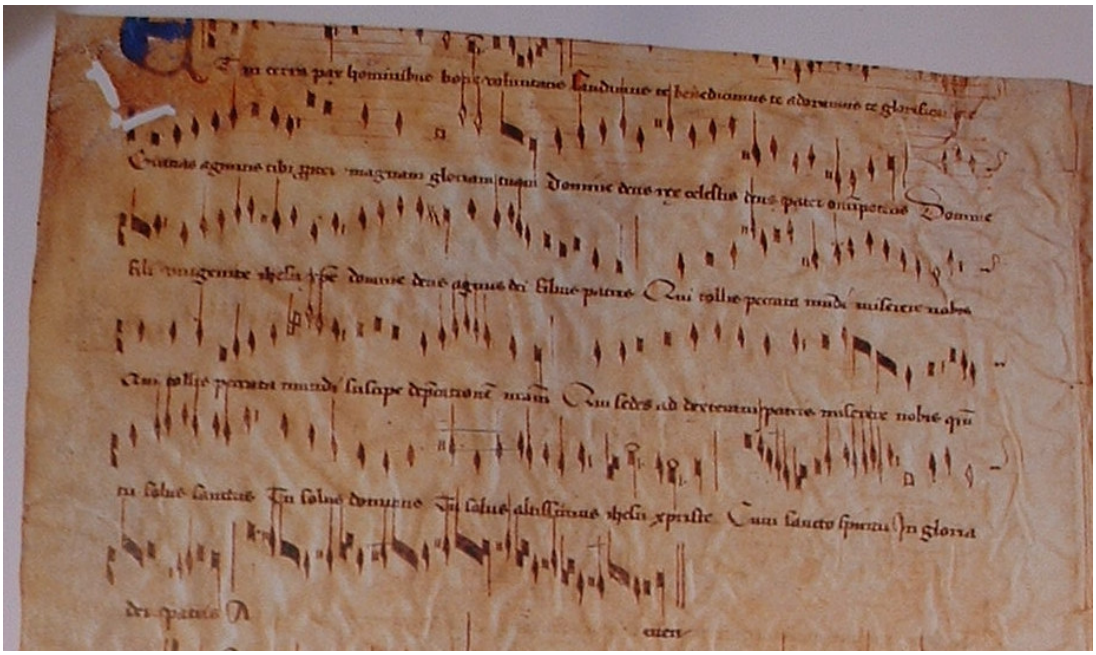
A further identification can be made in the Oxford source. The ending of a Gloria voice on f. 1v is the same as the cantus of a Gloria found in the first of three unrelated manuscripts in Utrecht bound under the shelfmark 1846. A published transcription of the **Utrecht 1846**[1] Gloria questions whether it is complete in two voices or whether a third voice is missing.[122] Unfortunately, not enough of the work survives in **Oxford 56** to answer this question, but the presence in an Italian manuscript, where two-voice works are common, suggests that no third voice need be postulated. Details of both sources appear in Figure 2.31.

[121] See m. 2 in the edition Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24,* no. 44. Also note the perfect fourth moving to minor seventh in m. 26 with a passing perfect fifth.

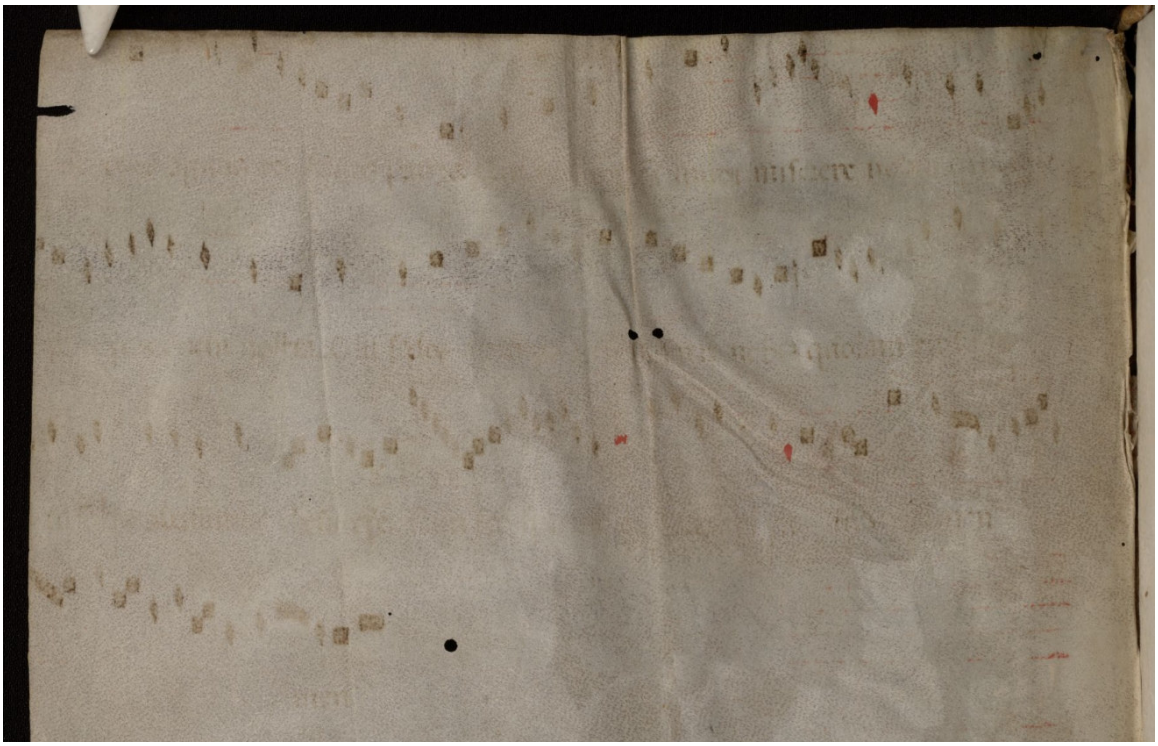
[122] Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23a,* no. 48.

FIGURE 2.31: *GLORIA, PMFC 23A,* NO. 47, UPPER VOICES

Utrecht 1846[1], f. III Bv



Oxford 56, f. 1v

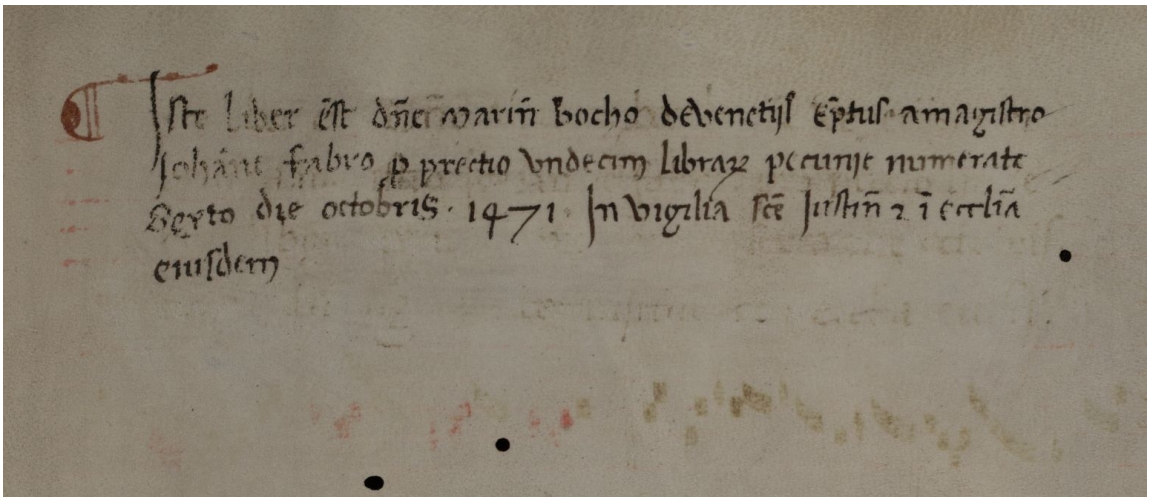


We bring up **Oxford 56** in this section also to raise a question about its connection to Padua and the fragments. Is it a Paduan fragment? It has no mark of possession from S. Giustina, nor is the hand identical to Rolandus's. We have no surviving accidentals to connect it to Paduan practice. But there are some tempting reasons to draw a connection. The repertory is one, to be sure—but on this basis alone, the manuscript could be connected with other sources of Mass music such as **Mod A** or **Cividale**. However, what draws my attention to Padua is not just its presence in Oxford's Canonici collection, which implies it was in the Veneto at the end of the eighteenth century. More interesting are two notes of possession from 1471 and 1475 belonging to the host manuscript: "Iste liber est domine Marine Bocho de Venetiis…sexto die octobris. 1471. In vigilia sancte Iustine et in ecclesia eiusdem" ("On the vigil of St. Justina and in her church," Figure 2.32) and from 1475, "Iste liber est meus Iohannes Barbus." Marina Bocho was the wife of Zuan Barbo, possibly a relative of (or even the same as) Iohannes Barbus (Giovanni Barbo?).[123] I have not yet traced down this Venetian family in the 1470s, so no definite conclusions can be made. But it is possible that this Barbo family is connected to Ludovico Barbo,[124] the reorganizer of the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua. Could this explain the significance of mentioning a purchase not only in the church of St. Justina but on her vigil?

[123] *RISM B IV 1–2*^{sup}, pp. 70–71.

[124] And from Ludovico they may be related to the powerful Venetian family which by this point had already seen one of their own, Pietro Barbo, become Pope as Pius II. On Pietro Barbo and music, see Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), pp. 43–44, 77.

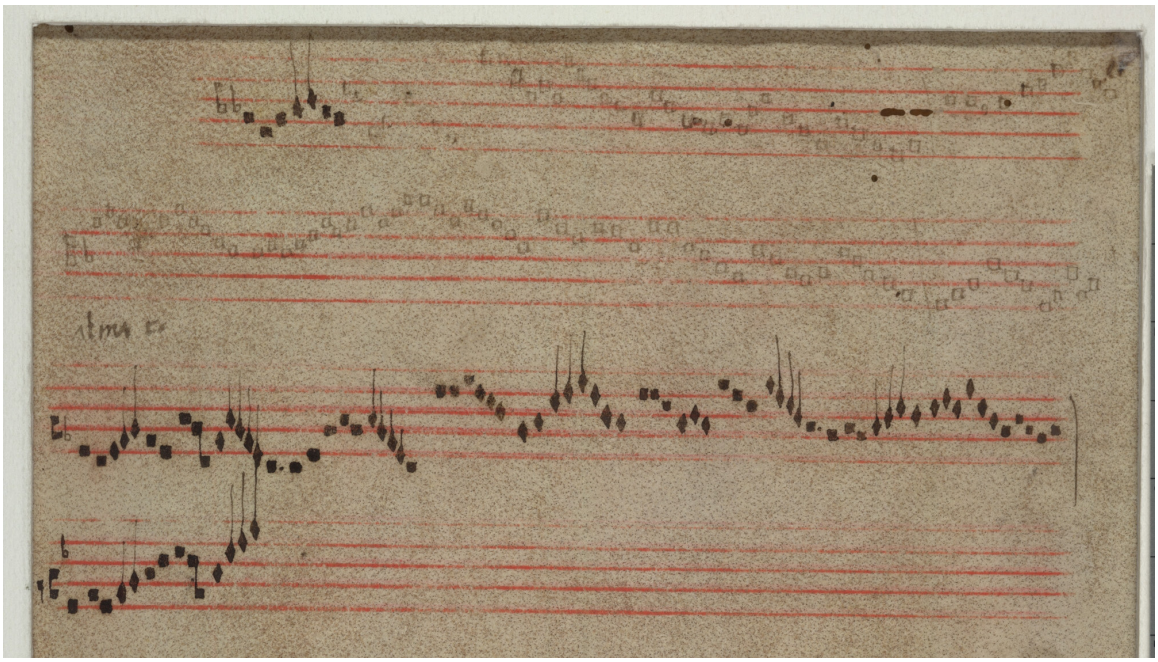
FIGURE 2.32: **OXFORD 56**, F. 80R, INSCRIPTION (UPSIDE-DOWN WITH RESPECT TO MUSIC)



The manuscript has a size and layout that recall that of the Paduan sources. The staves are slightly bigger than most Paduan staves (14.5mm vs. 13.5–14), but the manuscript probably had ten staves per page, like most of the Paduan sources. Though it is a bit heavier, the C-clef slants downward and the custos is shaped like a check. At the least, we may want to move **Oxford 56** (and perhaps **Oxford 16** also of the Canonici collection) into the circle of sources such as **Trent 60**, the **Grottaferrata** sources, and **Reina**, as a manuscript with some ties to Padua or its influence.

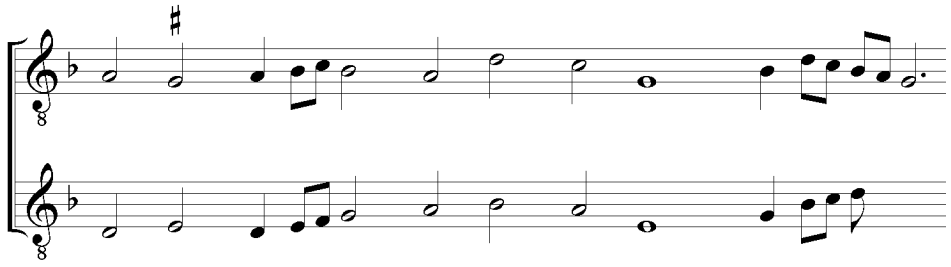
Before concluding, brief mention should be made of the other surviving work in **Padua 675**: what appears to be a two-voice composition added later in the fifteenth-century on f. 1v. A detail of the folio appears in Figure 2.33.

FIGURE 2.33: **PADUA 675**, F. 2V: *ALMA TE*



The incipit at the beginning of the page appears again on the third system but with a different clef. The melody of the second system is duplicated a tenth lower at the beginning of the fourth system—a better solution since it creates opening sonorities of 5–3–5 rather than 6–8–6. In the off-chance that it someday yields a concordance, the two-voice opening in transcribed in Example 2.34, with several errors silently corrected. (The top voice of the work seems to continue in major prolation after the bottom voice was abandoned).

EXAMPLE 2.34: **PADUA 675**, F. 2V: *ALMA TE*



Padua 1106

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1106.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1106, pp. 992–94.* CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1106,* vol. 3, *pp. 7–8,* vol. 4, *p. 461.*

Though they share a scribe and manuscript layout, **Padua 1106** contains a related but distinct repertory of works from **Padua 1283**, **Padua 1225**, and **Padua 675**. It may be for this reason that the earliest studies of these manuscripts were apprehensive about using the siglum **Pad D** for all four manuscripts.[125]

The source comprises a single folio at the front of the manuscript and a bifolio at the back of the manuscript. (The first folio is now joined to an unrelated folio with modern binding strips, but they do not form a real bifolio).[126] Each page contains a different motet (indicating, among other things, that the bifolio was not the center of a gathering). Since most of the motets occupied an entire opening, at least four of the motets are fragmentary.[127] It is an unfortunate coincidence that the only motet which is surely complete, *O Maria virgo davitica,* is also the only motet for which we have concordances.[128]

Although no attributions survive on any of the motets, tentative attributions have been proposed for four.[129] The strongest is that of *Principum nobilissime* to Francesco da Firenze. The text of that motet includes the line "me Franciscum peregre canentem," or "I,

[125] Cattin was still cautious about applying the siglum to **Padua 675** and **Padua 1283** in "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," pp. 27–28. Fischer, who discovered three of the fragments, accepted the term from the start, but was more cautious in *RISM B IV 4*, p. 990, saying, "perhaps from the same manuscript."

[126] The much later hand of the unrelated flyleaf is also found on f. 150 of the host manuscript, indicating a closer connection between that flyleaf and the manuscript than between the music flyleaves and the manuscript.

[127] *Hic est precursor* may be complete or it may be missing a second cantus.

[128] However, neither **Bologna Q15** nor **Munich Emmeram** preserve the alternate four-voice version of the motet found in **Padua 1106**.

[129] On the motets as a group, see Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment," pp. 169–74.

Francesco, singing abroad." The antiquated style and Visconti dedicatee of *Laudibus dignis* makes Jacopo da Bologna the strongest candidate for that motet's authorship. Although other composers worked for the Visconti, the acrostic "Luchinus Dux" connects it to Jacopo's two other works in praise of Luchino, *Lux purpurata* and *Lo lume vostro*.[130] Two motets with Paduan connections, *Paduas ex panis. . . serenas* and *O proles Yspanie,* have been tentatively ascribed to Ciconia, though it should be admitted that a Paduan manuscript would probably have access to more than one composer who might write a piece in praise of Padua.

Bent and Hallmark suggest that the surviving upper voice of each of the two possible Ciconia works is a second cantus. They use two pieces of evidence: the 6–8 cadences at the end of the piece and that the pages were originally rectos and not versos.[131] However, the second statement is a merely a consequence of their conclusion and not evidence for it. Without their belief that the voices are second cantus, there is no reason to believe the folios are reversed.[132] Their first assertion, however, has much merit. Indeed every motet securely ascribed to Ciconia ends with an octave between the tenor and cantus 2, with cantus 1 cadencing a twelfth above the tenor. There is a grand caveat to this assertion: all but two of these motets exist in four-voice versions, which necessitate a wider spacing between tenor and cantus 1 than in three-voice works, if all four voices have a unique cadence tone. All but two of Ciconia's motets begin with rests in cantus 2, so there is equally strong evidence that these

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[131] Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24,* p. 208.
[132] Indeed, if *O proles Yspanie* is on a verso then the back flyleaves cannot be a bifolio and my description is of modern repairs rather than the original structure.

are not cantus 2 voices. We should also consider whether these motets would be more likely to have the cadence structures of other Ciconia motets, found only in later sources such as **Bologna Q15**, or of his three-voice Mass movements, particularly those found in earlier sources. The Mass pieces are almost equally divided between those which favor 12–8 sonorities (four works) and those in which cantus 1 is an octave above the tenor (three works, or four if the one *opus dubium* composition is included). If these are cantus 2 voices, then both of the two pages with a Ciconia motet on it would have to have been bound incorrectly. There is only a 1 in 4 probability that this arrangement would happen by chance. And since the third folio has the same layout of voices as the (possibly) Ciconia works, we would then suspect that it too was bound backwards, lowering the probability to 1 in 8 (12.5%).[133] These probabilities are on top of the low probability that the person who used these folios for binding material did not care which way they were inserted. It seems that substantially more than half the separate folios used as flyleaves are bound in the correct orientation; misbound flyleaves such as **Cividale 63** are the exception.[134] Further, since the layouts of f. 2r and f. 3r are the same, and all three versos are the same, it would be hard to explain how f. 2r, which begins with two longa rests, could be a verso, since the rests clearly indicate that that folio

[133] Since each folio has a 1 in 2 chance of being misbound verso first, the probability of *n* folios all being bound backwards is 1 in 2 raised to the *n* power.

[134] Bent and Hallmark note that the tenor of *Paduans ex panis* reads "Tenor pastor bonus," which may indicate either the text of a hypothetical missing cantus 1 (if *Paduans ex panis* is the cantus 2 voice) or be an epithet for the dedicatee, Andrea Carrara (as was done for Francesco Zabarella in *Doctorum principum/Melodia Suavissima/Vir Mitis*). However, for *O proles Yspanie* they concede that the tenor is the same as the incipit of the surviving voice (p. 208). But this tenor is instead evidence to support their view. The incipit differs in detail from "O proles Yspanie," and is "O proles nobile depositī." If they are right and the surviving voice is cantus 2 then the motet could have two upper voices with similar incipits like we find on f. 1r with *O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella*.

contains cantus 2 (and thus is a recto). Thus the conclusion reached by this thesis is that whether or not the voices are by Ciconia, they are all cantus 1.

The motet *Hic est precursor* seems more closely related to secular styles than the other **Pad D** motets. It has a resemblance to **Pad B**'s *Se per dureça* or, especially in the untexted connecting passages, one of Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal such as *O cieco mondo*. Its subject matter, John the Baptist, will become important in connection with **Cividale A** and **Grottaferrata s.s.** below.

The remains of a text are found mostly trimmed at the top of f. 3v. It is much longer than a typical composer attribution, and the hand is not Rolandus's. Only two words have enough of the letters present to attempt an identification: "Sce Justine."[135] The text could thus be a note of possession of the book by the monastery of S. Giustina. There is nothing in the text of the surviving voice to connect the motet (in honor of St. Anthony) to St. Justina of Padua. These marks of possession did not begin to appear until the middle of the fifteenth-century. Thus, this text suggests that **Padua 1106** remained intact long enough to get an S. Giustina mark of possession, and thus longer than **Padua 1283**—impossible if they were the same manuscript! We know from codicological evidence that Rolandus copied at least one manuscript besides **Padua 1283**, i.e., **Stresa 14**. And we also know that other manuscripts with the same layout as **Pad D** (=1283, 1225, and 675) exist (namely, the other

[135] The rebinding of the manuscript between Plamenac's first viewing of it in 1952 and his article of 1955 might have lost us some of the ink of this inscription, which would have been on the old brown-leather covers. Thankfully, the outside boards were preserved. Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment," p. 167.

members of the **S. Giustina Project**; see below). We should then revisit the possibility that **Padua 1106** could have been a different manuscript than the other parts of **Pad D**.

Padua 14

Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, catastico VII, busta 14.
No mention in either RISM or CCMS.

The most recent fragment of sacred music from Padua to be discovered is the remains of a bifolio used as protection for part of the "registro degli istrumenti del monastero di S. Giustina."[136] Although it is a bifolio, it contains only a single work. Folio B is cut so that only 39mm of parchment remains, containing an initial letter P (= "Patrem"?) and a second letter, which is difficult to read, while f. Av is blank.[137] These blank sheets may indicated that the folio is the outside folio of a gathering,[138] but between **Padua 675** and **Padua 1027** (see below) there are enough empty sheets to suggest that the typical music manuscript in Padua was unfinished even in inner bifolios. Rather than being the remnant of a large codex, Facchin has suggested that the page could be from a *pecia*, that is, a section of a larger manuscript, usually a university approved exemplar, divided up for easier copying,[139] or the manuscript could just as easily be an apopecia, a copy made from a *pecia*,[140] but these theories are mainly speculative.

[136] Facchin, "Una nuova fonte," p. 116.

[137] *Ibid.,* p. 117. **Munich 3223** is another Italian bifolio with only the tiniest sliver of music remaining on one of the folios. All that remains from the second sheet of that source are clefs on the recto, and custodes and a hand (pointing to continuation of a voice on the following sheet) on the verso.

[138] Suggested in *Ibid., op. cit.*

[139] *Ibid., op. cit.*

[140] Defined in the writings of Father Leonard E. Boyle, including "Peciae, Apopeciae, and a Toronto MS. of the *Sententia Libri Ethicorum* of Aquinas," in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture:*

(note continues)

The recto of f. A contains a the cantus voice of a Credo attributed to Sortes (or Sortis) in some of its many concordances (including **Cividale A**, below). The work and the numerous *differentiae* in **Padua 14** were comprehensively described by Facchin.

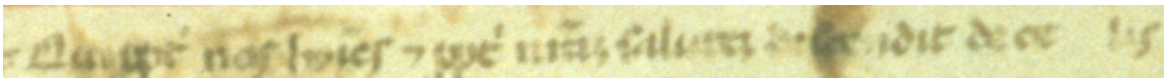
The scribe of **Padua 14** uses many signs of abbreviation in the text, enough that Facchin asserted that this usage distinguishes the fragment from the other Paduan sources.[141] However, the extreme compression of textual space may not be a scribal peculiarity, but instead a result of trying to squeeze an entire text-bearing voice of a Credo onto one folio. We should compare this voice to other such attempts in the Paduan fragments.

Indeed there is one such case for comparison, Berlatus's Credo in **Oxford 229**, f. 34v (inventory no. 5). When we compare the two works' texts side-by-side, **Padua 14**'s use of abbreviations no longer stand out (Figure 2.35).

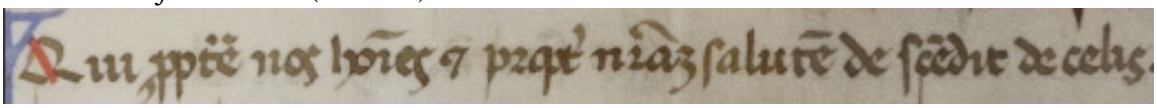
FIGURE 2.35: USE OF ABBREVIATIONS IN CREDOS

Text: Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis.

Padua 14 (Sortis)



Oxford 229 *from* **Pad A** (Berlatus)[142]



Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September–1 October 1982, edited by Peter Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 71.

[141] Facchin, "Una nuova fonte," p. 118.

[142] The text of two staves has been digitally connected at "salu–tem" and the brightness of the two lines equalized. However, obviously, the width and height of the two examples have not been altered.

Although much remains to be said about the relationship between the physical dimensions of **Padua 14** and other Paduan fragments, it is best delayed until a discussion of **Padua 1027** and the **S. Giustina Project**.

Padua 1115 (Pad B)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1115.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1115, pp. 995–96.* CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1115,* vol. 3, *pp. 8–9,* vol. 4, *p. 461.*

The fragment, **Padua 1115** or **Pad B**, consists of a single parchment bifolio of secular polyphony used as front flyleaves for a 15th century manuscript. That manuscript, rebound in modern covers, contains the *Sermones* of Hieronymus and treatises on morality. The first folio in the present ordering, designated folio A, bears on its recto side the call number of the manuscript from the catalogues of the manuscripts and books in the library of the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua from 1724 and 1740, "YY.2.n° 23" and "AC 3" respectively. The cover of the manuscript has been replaced by modern cardboard and the spine of the manuscript has become detached from the end gatherings of the manuscript, allowing easy examination of the gathering structure. There are thirteen gatherings in the main manuscript. The manuscript lacks a consistent layout, suggesting it was the work of several scribes.

The two folios of music give no indication as to their original foliation. The current foliation found in the upper-right corner of the versos is A and B. In their size and layout, the fragments resemble extremely closely **Pad A, Pad D**, and **Padua 14**. The top and bottom edges of the folios have probably not been trimmed since the fragment is smaller than the parchment of the rest of the manuscript. Folio A measures *ca.* 315mm x 230mm (height vs. width). Each page is ruled with 10 five-line staves which measure 14mm. The staff lines begin at nearly the same distance from the left margin on every staff of each page. The exception to this is found on folio Br where the first staff has been indented to allow room for

the large initial letter "E," which was never added. There are also slight variations which indicate the left margin was not carefully laid out. For example, the final stave on f. Ar begins several millimeters right of the other staves on the page. The staff lines on the right sides of the first folio end at various distances from the right margin. The sixth staves of f. Ar and f. Av, for instance, are shorter than the other staves on their respective pages.

As a source, **Pad B** represents a true mixture of Italian and French works and influence. The first surviving page (f. Ar) comprises two works: a two-voice, anonymous ballata in a clearly Italian style, along with an unidentified contratenor with a characteristically *ars subtilior* use of both red and void-red notation. The next two pages (ff. Av and Br) contrast a French work by Ciconia, a northern composer working in Italy (*Aler m'en veus*) with one by a French composer whose works are known primarily through Italian manuscripts (Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps*). The final page contains two works in Italian, but one by the immigrant northerner Ciconia (*Dolçe fortuna*) and one by a native (Antonellus da Caserta's *A pianger l'ochi)* who was not above composing French-texted works himself.

Although from a single bifolio we cannot say whether the manuscript was ever completed, the surviving layout allows us to make some remarks about the system of collecting music. The evidence from the works at the tops of f. Ar, Br, and Bv suggests that the scribe's preferred layout was to copy a piece on a single page rather than across an opening.[143] This predilection explains why we have three complete works in a single bifolio that was probably

[143] A similar preference is seen in the other fragments of the **S. Giustina Project**, and on f. Av of **Pad C**. However, the presence of just the first name "Johes" at the top of f. Av of **Pad B** suggests that "Ciconia" appeared at the top of the following recto, and that the entire opening was reserved for his works.

not the center of a gathering: an unusually high number. Ciconia's *Aler m'en veus* is an exception to this scheme. Folio Av contains the cantus of the work on the first five staves, leaving the final five blank. It has always been supposed that the second voice was copied on a lost, adjacent recto, but there is no good reason why it was not copied on the final five staves.[144] We should therefore leave open the possibility that **Pad B** never transmitted the tenor voice.

It has been asserted that **Pad B** provides us with evidence that **Reina** is Paduan. Stoessel found some evidence for direct copying of *En ce gracieux temps joli* from **Reina** to **Pad B**.[145] Certainly there are elements which connect the **Pad B** version strongly to the **Reina** version. Stoessel suggests three:

1. Incorrect text underlay in both sources, placing two syllables ("le bois") in the place of one ("vois")
2. A flat sign (B♭) similarly place in both sources.
3. Consistent use of the same ligature groupings.

The final two of these elements are disputable. The flat sign is not in fact similarly placed. **Reina** places it in the margin, three notes before it needed to be used, as if it were to become a new key signature. **Padua 1115,** on the other hand, places the symbol only one note before it is needed, but between an octave jump from *C* to *c;* i.e., at the point where the singer must switch hexachords.

While it is true that there is more consistency between the ligatures of **Reina** and **Pad B** than between either and **Mod A**, the evidence does not support the charge of "slavish

[144] Although *Aler m'en veus*'s text is unique, a contrafact of the work is found in **Bologna Q15** as "O beatum incendium." This work allows us to make statements about the number of staves needed to copy the tenor.

[145] Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," pp. 161–62.

copying." There are three ligature differences between **Reina** and **Pad B**, six between **Reina** and **Mod A**, and ten between **Pad B** and **Mod A**. Although most of **Pad B**'s differences with **Mod A** come from the triplum, the two sources agree in placing the voice below the tenor. A slavish copyist might have copied **Reina**'s placement of the voice at the top of the page. Finally, we should caution against making weighty conclusions based on evidence from one work. Most sources have individual pieces which agree closely with the reading in one concordant source. We would want more than a (slightly) higher correlation of ligatures between copies of one work to make such a strong statement about the provenance of **Reina**—a conclusion which would surely be used in the future to give provenance to other manuscripts.[146]

The first work in **Pad B**, the *unicum* anonymous ballata *Se per dureça*, could be passed over as it has already appeared in an accurate transcription.[147] However, it is in some ways a hidden gem of a piece and is worthy of a closer look. (Transcription in Example 2.36, below). The piece mixes several simple characteristics, such as unison cadences approached by ornamental parallel unisons (e.g., mm. 4–5, 6–7, 23–24). These moments,

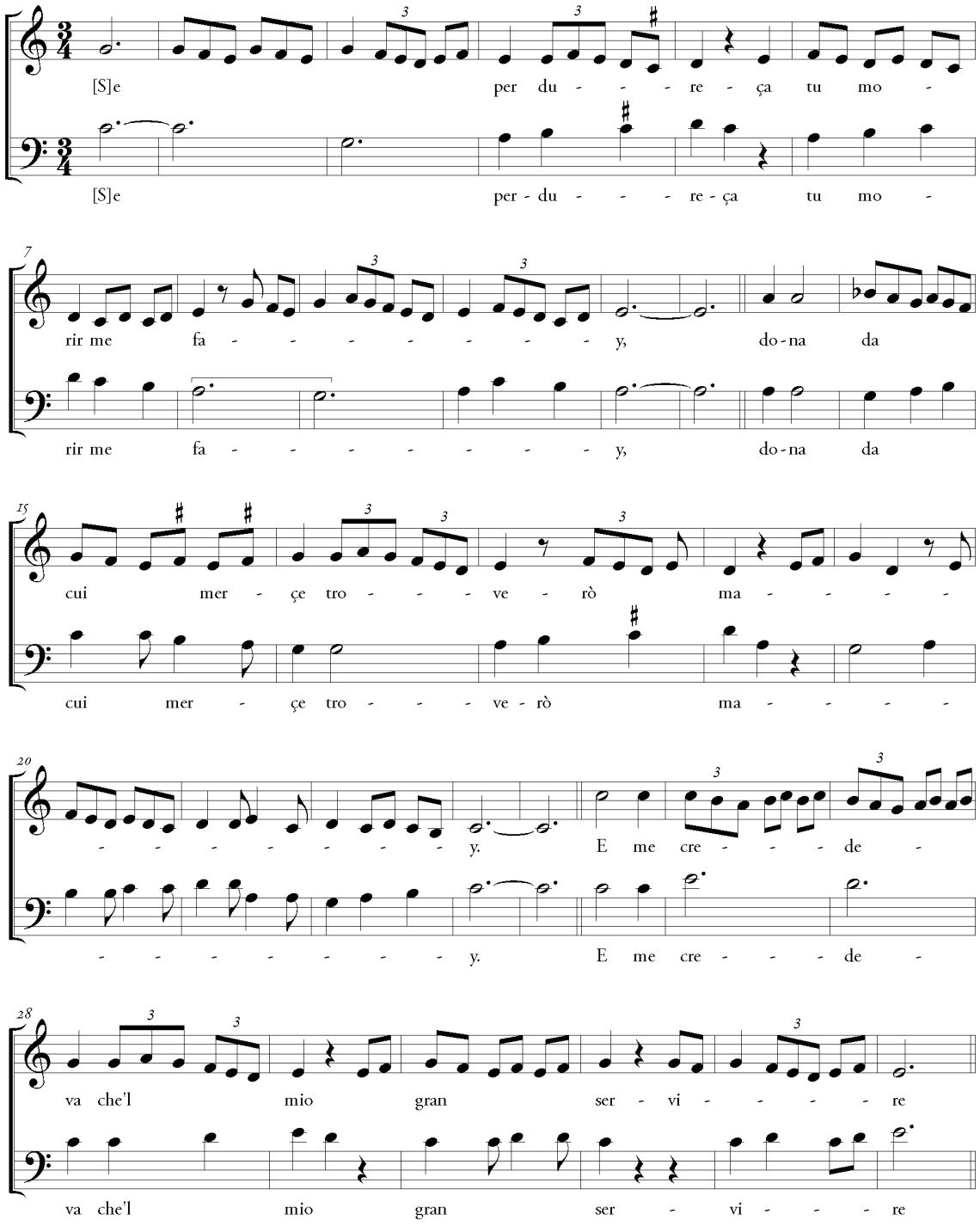
[146] Another argument in favor of a Paduan provenance for **Reina** was made in Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 187–89. Nádas argued that the large space left for an initial letter at the beginning of gathering 2 (Bartolino de Padova's section) indicates that this is a manuscript from Padua leaving pride of place for her native son. But why place him in the second gathering? Nádas suggests that what is now gathering 2 was intended to be gathering 1. But if it were meant to be the first gathering, and therefore the beginning of the book, we have enough reason for a large initial letter without suggesting a local connection. In fact, the ultimate presence of Jacopo's *Sotto l'imperio* at the beginning of **Pit.** argues even more strongly against postulating a Paduan origin for **Reina**. Surely, we cannot simultaneously argue that the Paduans were both provincial enough to give pride of place to their own *and* had thorough knowledge of Florentine traditions of manuscript organization?

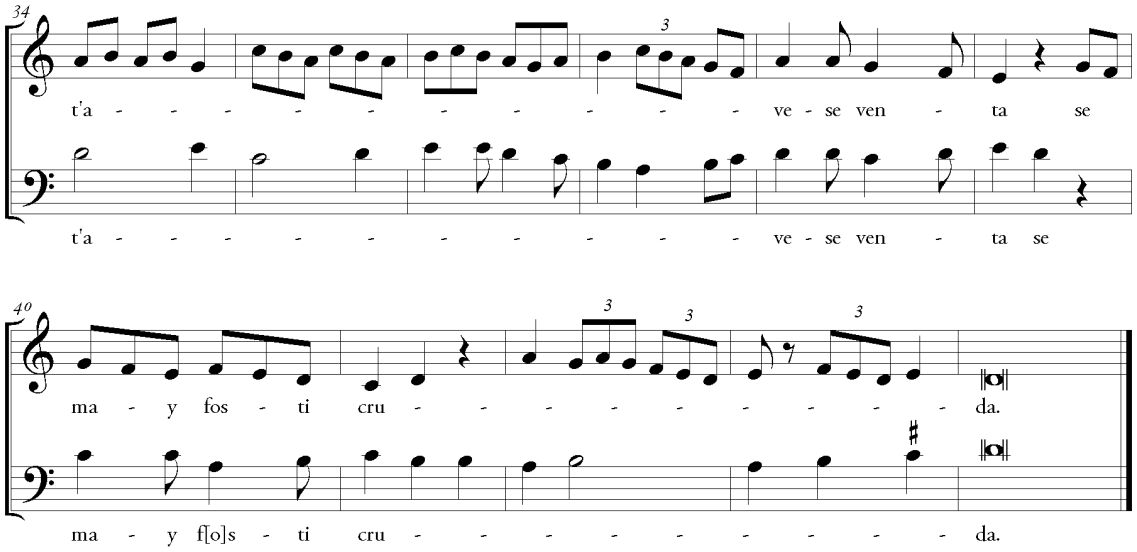
[147] Marrocco, *PMFC 11,* pp. 139–40.

along with the unabashed parallel fifths of m. 38 find some resonance in the siciliana tradition.[148] The distinguishing motive of the cantus is a three-note descending scale. The alternation between eighth notes and triplets for this motive provide uneven accents which work against the prevailing meters of the tenor (usually $\frac{3}{4}$ but also an implied $\frac{6}{8}$ from time to time). The beaming of the transcription accentuates these motives. The syncopation of a triplet group by an eighth-note in m. 18 is a rhythmic complexity which would be unusual at any point after the early quattrocento and before the twentieth century.

[148] On this tradition, see Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt*, edited by Laurence Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 271–91

EXAMPLE 2.36: **PADUA 1115**, F. AR: *SE PER DUREÇA*

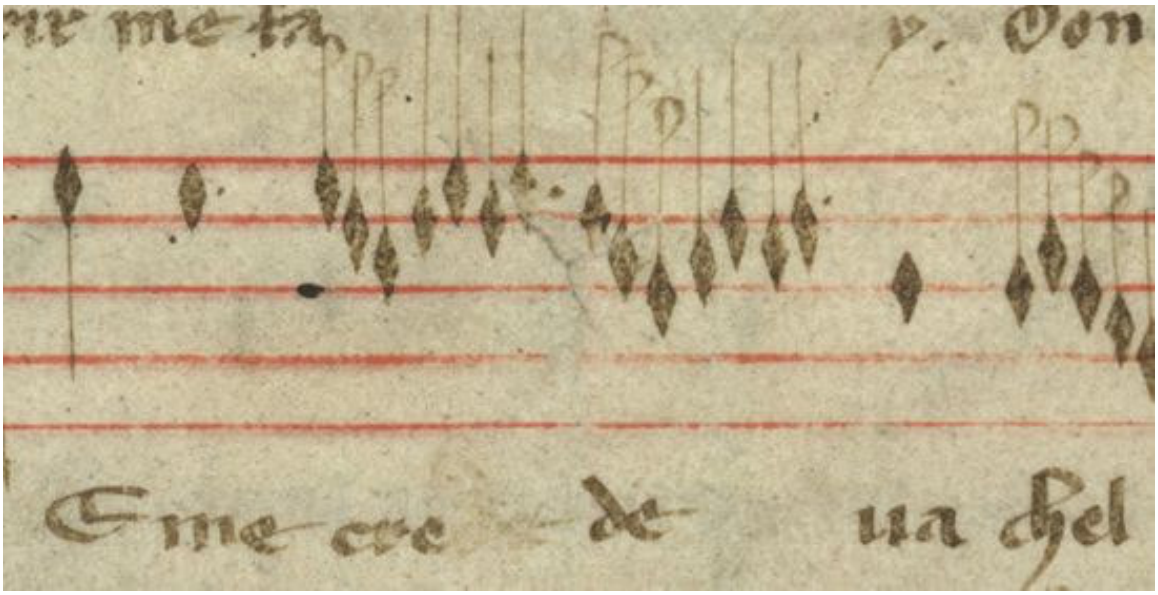




The lack of texts for the second piede and volta is another unusual facet of the work. There was certainly room on the page to copy them, so we should not assume that they were written on the (lost) preceding verso. Instead of being a typical ballata minore, *Se per dureça* may have been part of a small group of works, including the siciliana-ballata *Fenir mia vita*, in ballata style but without the textual form of a ballata.[149] The lack of these texts cannot be attributed to a lack of interest in the proper transmission of the words of the ballata. An erasure of the syllable "de," shown in Figure 2.37, demonstrates that proper placement of syllables was important to the copyist.

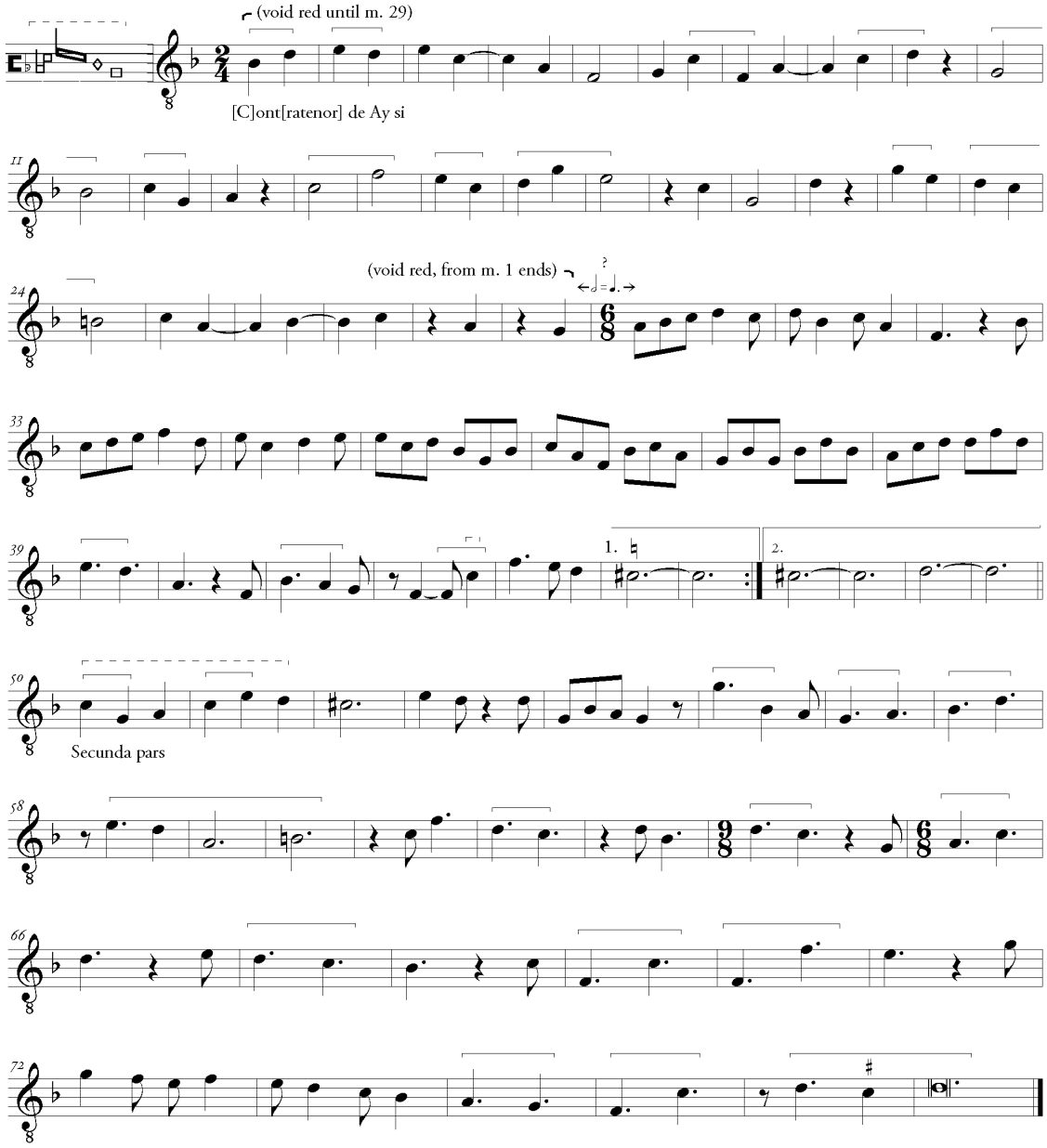
[149] *Se per dureça* has a contrafact text, *Se tu l'iniquità osservarai,* in the *cantasi come* manuscript **Florence 130** f. 23v; however, no more lines of music are extant in that source either. I thank Blake Wilson for sharing his expertise on this source with me. The presence of this text in a Florentine text source, and expectation by the scribe that the reader would know the music, means that this work was not purely local in its circulation.

FIGURE 2.37: "E ME CREDEVA CHEL" FROM *SE PER DUREÇA* SHOWING ERASURE AND REWRITING OF "DE"



The other composition on f. Ar was not made part of *PMFC*. It is an untexted contratenor of a work whose incipit, "Ay si," leaves some doubt about the language of the piece. It may be a ballade, judging by open and close endings at the middle of the music. Although it is only the contratenor, and thus probably the second most complex voice, it still presents the most complicated musical notation in the fragment (or even in the Paduan fragments as a whole, excepting *Sus unne fontaine*). The transcription in Example 2.38 begins with a long passage in void-red notes before switching to black notation with occasional solid red notes.

EXAMPLE 2.38: *AY SI,* CONTRATENOR (F. 1R)[150]



Contrary to Fischer's suggestion, *Ay si* is almost certainly not a later addition.[151] Given that the untexted contratenor occupied three staves on f. Ar, the two other voices

[150] The two *d*'s of m. 38 may be interpreted as a one-pitch ligature.
[151] *RISM B IV 4,* p. 995.

could easily have taken up the entirety of the preceding verso; thus this was not a work added to space at the bottom of a page. Instead, when taken together with Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps,*[152] the likelihood is high that the **Pad B** scribe also collected works of full *ars subtilior* complexity.

Padua 1027 and the S. Giustina Project

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1027.
No description in RISM or CCMS.

> *I had not seen my father so gleeful since he found two pages of second-century papyrus between the leaves of a Lombardic breviary.* — Evelyn Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited*

Readers who have advanced this far will, I trust, find it as easy to understand this father's glee at his discovery as to appreciate Waugh's ironic dismissal. But even an audience captivated by the scholarly advances that even a few scattered leaves can bring may be hard-pressed to feel their hearts rise at the contents of the newest source from Padua: two blank folios of ruled music paper from the trecento. The significance of this particular new discovery then comes not from its own empty contents, but for the shift it engenders in the relations among the so-called Paduan fragments.

In her catalog of the now dispersed monastic library of Santa Giustina, Cantoni Alzati wrote the following statement within the entry for the manuscript which is today Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1027: "I fogli di guardia sono frammenti di un codice con tetragramma musicale." Since I was in the process of ordering all manuscripts with musical con-

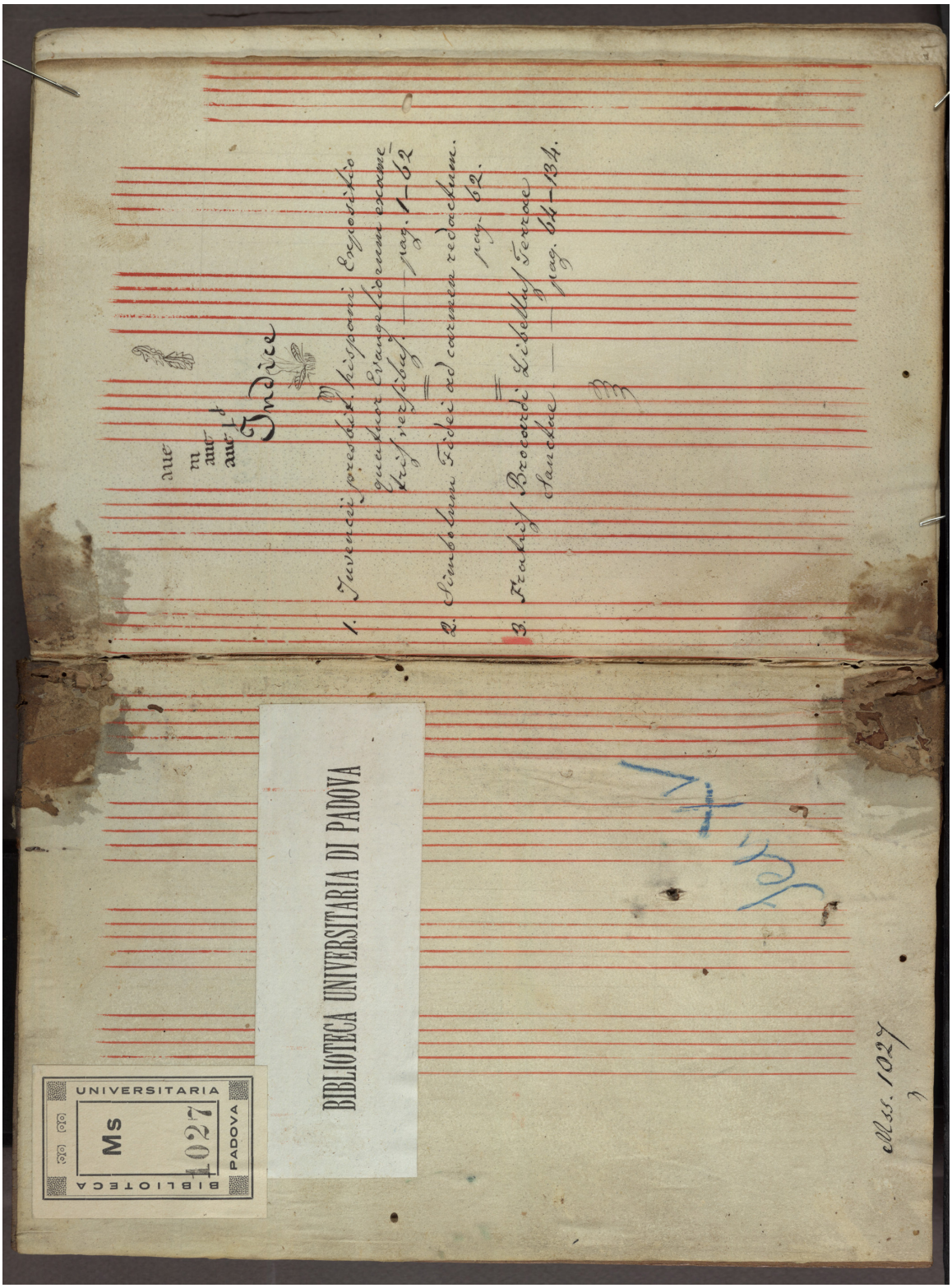
[152] Note the the third voice of this piece is designated "Contratenor de *En ce* sive triplum," and not "sine triplum," *contra* Garbelotto, "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," pt. 1, p. 12. The voice is simply called "triplum" in **Reina** and **Mod A**. Still surprising, but hardly unusual upon wider examination, are the lack of true French sources for the work. The fourth source is the Imperial manuscript **Strasbourg 222**.

tents along with manuscripts on the same fifteenth-century shelf as the known Paduan fragments,[153] even an entry promising four-line staves seemed worth a consultation.

The actual manuscript, however contained on its pasted-down front and back flyleaves not "tetragramma" but "pentagramma;" in fact they were five-line staves of a character exceedingly familiar. (See Figure 2.39).

[153] In the interest of not duplicating negative research, a list of Paduan manuscripts *without* polyphony is available from the author.

FIGURE 2.39: **PADUA 1027**, FRONT PASTEDOWN (F. AR)



After the initial disappointed that the folios were blank,[154] came the quick recognition based on the number of staves, their color, their size and that of the sheet, and the indentation for the first staff, that these sheets were part of a Paduan fragment. But which one?

Measurements revealed that the staves of **Padua 1027** were in fact approximately the same size as those of the three fragments of **Pad A.** However, **Pad B**'s, and the four fragments of **Pad D** also matched the new manuscript**.** Furthermore, the rastrum used throughout the Paduan fragments is not perfectly even. In **Pad A** and **Pad D** (and to a lesser extent, in **Pad B**), the two inner spaces are slightly narrower than the others. Precise measurements of the staves of **Padua 675** made with the Nuovo Mondo imaging machine at the Biblioteca Universitaria gave the distances as follows:

3.9 mm
3.4 mm
3.2 mm
4.0 mm

Padua 14 may also be part of this group. Its rastrum has been measured as 13mm, slightly smaller than **Padua 1027**, and Pad A, B, and D. But it is possible that the 10% or so difference can be explained by less precise instruments used to make measurements and a general creasing of the parchment which may have resulted in a slight shrinking throughout. The red ink is the same throughout Pad fragments A, B, D, 14, and 1027 (and C and 553(a)).

[154] Since half of one face on both the front and back covers are still pasted to the manuscript, there is at least the possibility that some music is on those pages. But it is extremely unlikely, especially given that there is no show-through.

Not only did the new source have the same number of staves as Pad A, B, D, and 14, the same indentations were left on the first staff for initial letters. Further, the writing space was similar to that of the known fragments. Both the slightly smaller writing space of **Pad D** and the slightly wider space of **Pad A** are found on various staves of **Padua 1027**. Table 2.40 summarizes the measurements:

TABLE 2.40: MEASUREMENTS OF SOME PADUAN FRAGMENTS

		Originally (est.)	Currently	Writing space	Staff height
A	**Oxford 229**	325 x 235 (s)	325 x 235 (s)	235 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
A	**Padua 1475**	320 x 245 (r)	275 x 240 (c)	230 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
A	**Padua 684**	325 x 235 (c)	315 x 215 (r)	230 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
D	**Padua 1225**	305 x 230 (fnq)	305 x 230 (fnq)	230 x 165 (s)	13.5 (c)
D	**Padua 1283**	310 x 240 (c)	210 x 140 (s)	[trimmed]	14.0 (c)
D	**Padua 675**	310 x 240 (c)	280 x 210 (r)	245 x 165 (c)	14.5 (c)
D	**Padua 1106**	305 x 230 (r)	290 x 205 (r)	240 x 170–75 (c)	14.0 (c)
	Padua 1027	320 x 235 (c)	290 x 215 (c)	240 x 175–80 (c)	14.0 (c)
	Padua 1115	330 x 230 (r)	315 x 230 (r)	240 x 185 (s)	14.0 (s)
	Padua 14	315 x 240 (ff)	290 x 205 (ff)	230 x 180 (ff)	13.0 (ff)

All measurements are rounded to the nearest 5mm, except staff height which was rounded to the nearest 0.5mm (where such precise data was available). I have purposely chosen to take measurements from as many sources as possible to avoid the bias that could result from measuring every fragment myself, since manuscripts can be measured at any number of places to get slightly different results. The following abbreviations are used for the citations:

(c) Cuthbert, new measurements and estimates.
(ff) Facchin, "Una nuova fonte."
(fnq) Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts."
(r) *RISM B IV 4.*
(s) Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," p. 151.

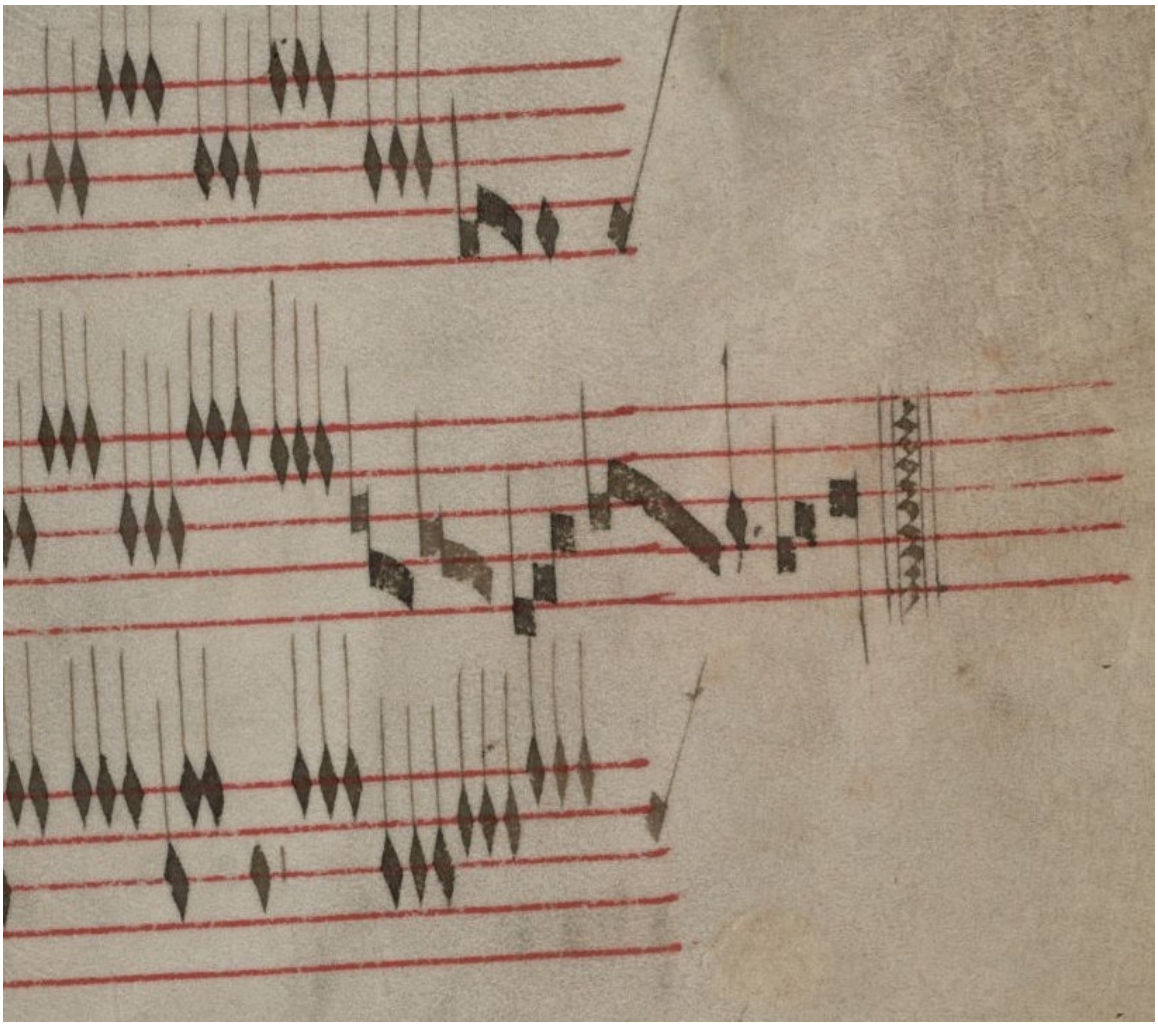
The column marked "currently" is the least important for studying the original relations among the fragments. The original size is the most important, but since they are all estimates (even the supposition that **Oxford 229** is not trimmed is an educated guess), it is also the least accurate. Thus writing space and staff height are the least affected by the interventions of time and scholarly judgment. Although Table 2.40 does not show complete

agreement in every detail among the sources, none differs more than by a centimeter or two in their estimated size or writing space. Note also that even within the **Pad A** and **Pad D** groups some variation in size occurs. Variations between the different groups manuscripts may be exaggerated since most of the estimates did not take into account the possibility that fragments outside the **Pad A** group could have margins (especially bottom margins) as large as those in **Oxford 229**. Taking such a possibility into account (as I did for my **Padua 1027** and **Padua 684** estimates, but not for **Pad D**) would reduce the differences among fragments dramatically. In short, the ten fragments did not differ codicologically from each other in any significant way that would make it possible to decide from which of these Paduan fragments **Padua 1027** comes.[155]

The significance of a blank, but ruled sheet of parchment would be diminished if such leaves were prepared long in advance of the manuscript itself. Perhaps such a ruled sheet could be purchased from merchants outside the scriptorium, prepared by scribes with no connection to the later production of the polyphonic manuscript. This was not the case, however, as evidence from **Oxford 229** shows (Figure 2.41).

[155] Many readers will note that several fragments, nearly universally discussed with the Paduan fragments, have been omitted from discussion here. These are **Padua 656**, **Padua 658** (**Pad C**), **Padua 553**, and **Stresa 14**. Their relationship with these sources will be taken up shortly.

FIGURE 2.41: **OXFORD 229,** F. 37R, *SONES CES NACHARES,* ADDED STAFF



(Figure 2.41 continued): Detail of staff alignment:

The scribe realizes that he is running out of space and, in the midst of copying the music, adds a few extra centimeters of staff. The rastrum and the ink that he uses match up perfectly with the rest of the page, showing that he had access to the materials used to prepare the page. Thus we can be sure that the preparation of the page was integral with the copying of the music.

Is it unusual to have ten fragments, presumably from several different manuscripts, with the same page preparation? Yes. There are no similar cases of fragments from different manuscripts having the same material, size, ink colors, rastrum width, and number of staves

and staff lines. In fact, in all other cases I have been able to find, having the same page preparation is sufficient to establish that two fragments come from the same manuscript,[156] even if they have no contiguous pieces, their repertories differ significantly (as in the case of **Cortona 1** and **Cortona 2**),[157] or if there is a change of scribal hand or decoration (such as in the Cividale manuscripts; see below). Facchin expresses this dictum most succinctly when, writing on the fragments **Frosinone 266** and **Frosinone 267** (see Chapter 3) he says:

> i due frammenti non erano contigui nel codice dal quale provengono, presumibilmente lo stesso vista l'identità degli specchi di scrittura.
>
> *The two fragments were not contiguous in the codex from which they originated, presumably the same [codex] given the identity of their writing spaces' size.*[158]

This statement is accepted despite the change in hands between the two fragments.[159] The closeness of two sources necessary to consider them a single manuscript has been loosened even further in some cases, such as the manuscripts **Trent 1563** and **Krakow 40582**, about which Martin Staehelin wrote:

> Nun ist bisher übersehen worden, daß dieses Blatt innerhalb der mehrstimmigen Überlieferung dieser Zeit und Gegend nicht allein steht: es existieren sogar zwei Blätter, die offensichtlich der selben Provenienzhandschrift entstammen.
>
> *Up until now it has been overlooked that this leaf* [**Trent 1563**] *is not alone as the contents of the polyphonic tradition of this time and region: there also exist two folios* [**Krakow 40582**] *which seemingly come from the same original manuscript.*[160]

[156] Indeed, Cantoni Alzati, working entirely on codicological rather than repertorial grounds, claimed that all these manuscripts came from the same source, excepting **Padua 1027** and **Padua 14** about which she was unaware (*La biblioteca*, pp. 23 and 57).

[157] Most recent and best description in Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels," pp. 82–85.

[158] Francesco Facchin, "Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana alla luce degli ultimi ritrovamenti: parte prima," *Fonti musicali italiane* 2 (1997), p. 13.

[159] Identified in Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, "Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone," *Studi musicali* 24 (1995), p. 189.

[160] "Reste einer oberitalienischen Messenhandschrift des Frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Studi Musicali* 27 (1998), p. 8

For Staehelin, the clear evidence that **Krakow 40582** has ten five-line staves while **Trent 1563** has nine six-line staves could be overridden by similar handwriting and repertorial considerations.[161]

Though the necessary codicological similarities have been satisfied by these Paduan fragments, there are still two main reasons (beyond scholarly inertia) that the sources are not considered a single source: concordances between **Pad A** and **Pad D**, and handwriting differences among the groups. Concordances would seem to at least rule out uniting those two groups of sources (though not the others), but is it so rare to have the same work copied twice in the same manuscript? *Tra verdi frondi in isola 'n sul fonte* by Paolo appears twice (ff. 36v–37r, 46v–47r) in **Pit. Bologna Q 15** has a number of pieces with multiple copies, particularly noticeable when removed pieces on the backs of reused initial letters are included. We also note that manuscripts that already have at least one work copied twice, such as **Pad A** with its *Gloria: Clementie pax,* are more likely to have further works appear multiple times. **London 29987**, for instance, has several pieces copied more than once: the madrigals *O dolce appress'* (ff. 1v–2r and 3v–4r), *Quando la terra* (ff. 13v–14r and 20v–21r) and the fragmentary caccia *In forma quasi* (ff. 31r and 68v).[162] So though we concede that this repetition

[161] Compare the two parallel photographs, Plates 2 and 3, in *ibid.* Even the repertory of the Krakow fragment—N. Zacharie and Legrant—is later than the Zachara Gloria of the Trent source. The Krakow leaves have the same number of staves as the Paduan sources just described, but their dimensions are larger. A similar difference between five- and six-line manuscripts was not noticed by Brumana and Ciliberti in the binding strips of **Perugia 15755**. Fortunately, the differences were also noted by Oliver Huck who also discusses its implications in his review of their *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*.

[162] Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 16–18. Inventory, Giuliano

(note continues)

makes it less likely that the fragments came from a single source, it is nowhere near impossible.

The changes in handwriting are the final important reason given to reject a single-manuscript hypothesis. It has long been known that the four fragments of **Pad D**, along with the codicologically different (though still similar) **Stresa 14**, share a single hand, that of Rolandus de Casali who signed his name in two of the fragments. Important work on the scribes in the other fragments has recently been conducted, advancing our knowledge of these manuscripts.[163] Still needed is a reassessment of some of the fundamental assumptions of manuscript relationships and paleography in Padua.

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di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (London, British Library, Additional 29987)," *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991), pp. 223–33.

[163] Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," pp. 151–55. Since all but one of Stoessel's text scribes accords with a single music scribe, I believe we can state that the same hand copied both text and music. The only exception is the manuscript **Trent 60,** which Marco Gozzi has proposed is a Paduan fragment on the basis of scribal connections with **Oxford 229**, and from there, one assumes, the rest of **Pad A** ("Un nuovo frammento trentino di polifonia del primo Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 21 (1992), pp. 238–39). There is not the place for a full discussion of this source, but some brief remarks are needed on why this study does not integrate the new manuscript. Not only are the codicological features entirely different (including the fact that the manuscript is a palimpsest on a chant source), but there are many paleographical differences. The F-clefs are not at all similar. The characteristic sectional divisions of **Pad A** are not present. **Trent 60**'s use of "Z" instead of "Ç" is seen in the Paduan fragments only in **Padua 553(c)**. And I cannot find the scribe's "S" form anywhere in **Oxford 229**. Two of Gozzi's two principal pieces of evidence linking the source to Padua are the checkmark-style custodes and the flat sign with a dot in it. Neither of these styles are unique to Padua. At least 17 non-Paduan manuscripts use the check style custodes, while the somewhat rarer flat-with-dot can be seen also in **Siena 207** and possibly other manuscripts. We will return to the unusual mensuration of **Trent 60**'s "Di vertù vidi" under the discussion of **Padua 553(b)**. Finally, it should be noted that I have not been able to successfully create a canonic line out of the fragment, *…chi cava'l morso fuore*. Gozzi and Stoessel have independently reported in correspondence that they too were not able to align two lines to their satisfaction. Therefore, for the present we should reclassify the work as either non-canonic or as an extremely active tenor to a caccia.

Important similarities among the hands in these manuscripts have been overlooked because these similarities have been considered common to Paduan paleographic style. These characteristics, including flats and sharps with dots in them, and C-clefs which slant downward, create a local style only if they were used by multiple scribes working independently from one another. If these fragments instead represent a single manuscript or even a single concentrated effort to produce manuscripts, then the notion of Paduan paleography disappears.

In particular one should not discount the importance of the similarity, even identity, among the sectional decorations of **Pad A**, **Pad D**, and **Stresa 14**. Is it even possible to distinguish the scribes of the decorations in Figure 2.42?

FIGURE 2.42: DECORATED SECTIONAL DIVIDERS IN THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS.[164]

John Nádas has rightly cautioned against the use of decorations or other more conscious marks of scribal initiative to identify scribes.[165] However, he wrote in the context of

[164] The first is from **Stresa 14**, while the third is from **Padua 1225**. The other three come from **Pad A**.

[165] Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," p. 80.

differentiating scribes working together on a single manuscript, a situation where scribes would have good reason to imitate each other's style. There is no reason a scribe would (or could) imitate the style of a scribe working independently on a different manuscript. If we encountered these decorations in any other manuscript fragments, we would conclude that we are either dealing with a single scribe or a single manuscript.

Complementing the idea that these sources were in fact written by a single scribe or, perhaps more likely, a group of scribes working in concert, is the lack of uniformity within a single scribal section. The handwriting even within **Pad D** is not nearly so even as is often asserted. Within a single fragment, **Padua 1106**, the diversity of letter forms was noted soon after its discovery.[166] The letter "D" in **Padua 1115** is written in more different ways than one can count.[167]

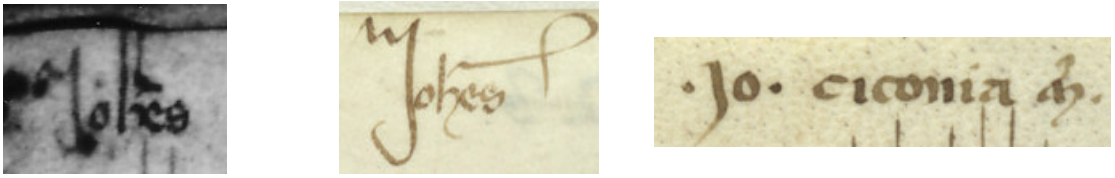
Even in cases which look almost certainly to be by different scribes, there are tantalizing moments where different hands intervene, disrupting the received view of independence among the sources. Are we sure we do not see the Rolandus's hand in the other Paduan fragments? Let me give a suggestive moment from **Padua 1115** (**Pad B**) in Figure 2.43.

[166] Garbelotto, "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," part 3, p. 27. Garbelotto noted in particular differences among the forms of the capital letter "I" and miniscule "l" between f. B and the other two folios.

[167] In addition, two consecutive F-clefs from the tenor of Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps* are written in totally different styles. However, the second looks to me like it was originally a C-clef which the scribe then corrected to F.

FIGURE 2.43: THREE ATTRIBUTIONS TO CICONIA

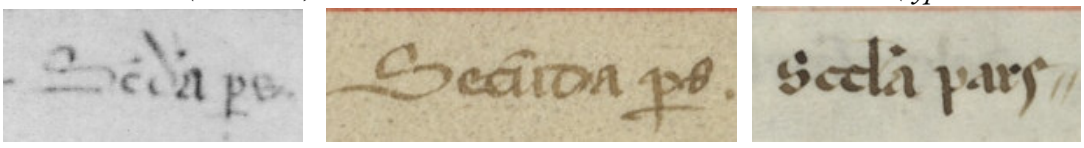
Stresa 14 f. 1v *(Rolandus)* **Pad B** f. Av **Pad B** f. Bv *(typical **Pad B** hand)*



The handwriting of the **Pad B** f. Bv "Jo. ciconia M." is similar to most of the rest of the manuscript; the f. Av attribution is an aberration. It is much closer to the attribution found on f. 1v of **Stresa 14** than to the rest of the manuscript. Although the "h" of "Johes" differs between the two sources, it is actually the **Pad B** version which is closer to Rolando's typical usage and not the Stresa source. An indication of "Secunda Pars" on f. Ar of **Pad B** may also be by Rolandus (Figure 2.44).[168]

FIGURE 2.44: THREE WAYS OF WRITING "SECUNDA PARS"

Stresa 14 f. 2r *(Rolandus)* **Pad B** f. Ar **Pad B** f. Br *(typical **Pad B** hand)*



It seems that Rolandus had access to the manuscript **Pad B** and made additions and clarifications from time to time. Nothing is proven, but the possibility is worth considering. The intact Florentine manuscripts are the work of multiple scribes; we should not be surprised if a major Paduan source was prepared the same way.[169]

[168] In addition, the whole composition *A piançer l'ochi*, f. Bv is in a different hand, more similar to Rolandus's than the **Pad B** scribe, but not close enough to make a definite connection.

[169] The lack of foliation on all sources except **Pad A** is not an insurmountable obstacle to the single manuscript hypothesis. Many musical and non-musical manuscripts (including **Bologna Q15**) are partly foliated, but in general we need not even invoke this explanation. The only surviving foliation numbers (found in **Oxford 229** and **Padua 1475**) begin above the first staff and at least 1.5cm to the right of it, that is, in a space that has been trimmed from every fragment except **Padua 1115**.

What then is to be done? Do we only have two choices: (1) unite ten fragments with two works in common, slight variations in writing space, different handwriting, and somewhat independent repertories, or (2) leave them separate and ignore the vast codicological and paleographical evidence which binds these fragments more closely than many other sources that we refer to as a single manuscript?

Fortunately we can create a third choice and avoid the false dichotomy conventional classification systems force upon us. Whether a single manuscript or not, these ten fragments were certainly part of a single project to copy mensural polyphony at the Abbey of S. Giustina sometime around 1405–1410.[170] Because we are certain that they came from a common origin, we can make many statements about the tastes of the project's scribes and music collectors even without deciding if these fragments came from one manuscript. Yet it is important not to fall back on the old term, "Paduan fragments," which includes several sources in different styles and perhaps from different times, and which opens the door for any future Paduan discovery to be lumped with these manuscripts without careful scrutiny of the discovery's relationship to other sources. I therefore propose introducing the term the **S. Giustina Project** for these ten fragments.

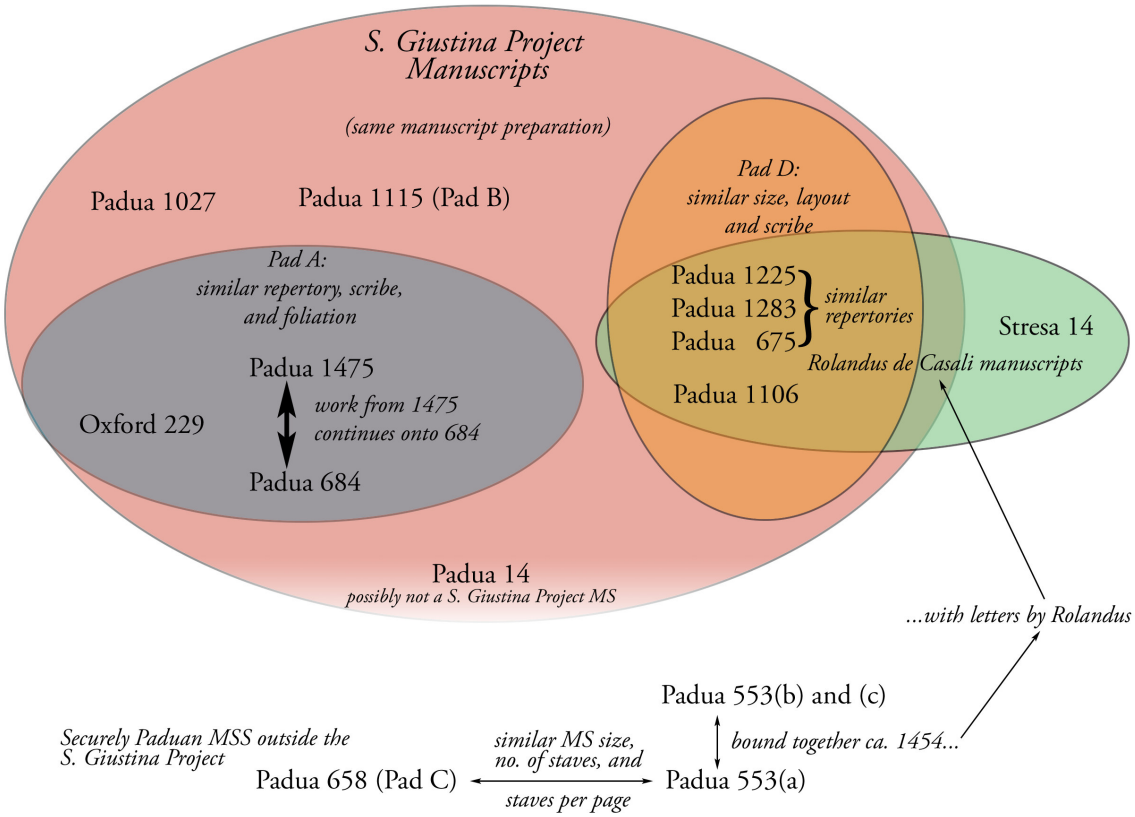
The term "project" calls to mind other grand manuscript endeavors such as the Machaut manuscripts created in his lifetime—none of which are identical but which we see were created within certain parameters and a unified purpose. The designation of a new group of sources is an attempt to supplement rather than supplant older groupings. Indeed

[170] If **Padua 1106**, with its dedicatory motets, were removed from this set, the range of probable dates would increase dramatically.

in separating out three fragments of **Pad D** from **Padua 1106** earlier, it was my intention not only to continue using the older, smaller groupings, but to create new small groupings as well. Sources can, of course, belong to more than one group; certainly **Stresa 14** belongs in a group with **Pad D**, on the basis of a shared scribe, even if it not part of the **S. Giustina Project.** Scholarship has overemphasized the identification of common manuscripts and scribal concordances (many of which are never accepted by others in the field) to the detriment of flexible collections of sources, repertories, and scribal features, that identify specific features in common among manuscripts.

Some of these relationships among Paduan fragments are summarized in Figure 2.45. Not only do these connections not exhaust the possible groupings of Paduan sources, they do not begin to explore the many connections these sources have with those outside Padua. And so we must continue to expand our definitions of manuscript, manuscript project, and manuscript group when dealing with these fragmentary sources. Paradoxically, it is only when we begin to group the Paduan sources for comparison that we are able to seriously study each one on its own.

FIGURE 2.45: *RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS*



Beyond the S. Giustina Project: Other Sources and an Overview of Music in Padua

*Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte. MS 14 (*olim *Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario).*
RISM B IV 4: *I-STr 14, pp. 1039–41.* CCMS 3: *StreBR 14, pp. 166–67.*

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 658.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 658, pp. 988–89.*

Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina 553.
No mention in RISM or CCMS.

That several sources lay outside the **S. Giustina Project** in the previous figure says nothing about their importance to the history of music in Padua or the trecento.[171] We will

[171] **Padua 656** is not really a Paduan *fragment* since the music was never part of a larger manuscript, and thus will be discussed with similar sources in Chapter 5; it is, however, an important part of

(note continues)

cover each briefly before turning to an overview of the musical situation in Padua around the turn of the century.

Stresa 14 has the strongest connection to the **S. Giustina Project**. It was copied by Rolandus de Casali, scribe of **Pad D**, although its collection of five secular works—three by Ciconia and one each by Zaninus de Peraga de Padua[172] and Jacobus Corbus de Padua—puts it more in line with the contents of **Pad B**. The highest surviving folio number, 141, informs us that we have lost such a substantial manuscript that, even if the **S. Giustina Project** represented only a single source, we would still have no reason to doubt Padua's importance as a center of polyphony.

The two works by Zaninus and Jacobus Corbus are their only surviving compositions. As Hallmark has discovered, the only known connections of people with these names in Padua are from quite earlier periods. A Jacobus Corbus was active in 1357 while a Zaninus was a captain in 1373.[173] If these are our composers, then we see an interest on Rolandus's part in older music than we would otherwise suspect based on **Pad D**.

Another Paduan fragment also takes a keen interest in older music. Though **Pad C** (**Padua 658**) is generally treated as if it is as much like Pad A, B, or D as they are to one another, it is in fact part of a completely different project. It has six-line staves, double vertical margins on both sides, a thicker pen, and uses a more curved custos. The small fragment comprises two single folios of secular compositions which were formerly pasted down to the

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Paduan music history and will be included in the overview at the end of this section. Giulio Cattin was the first to single it out for special treatment among the Paduan sources in "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 28.

[172] On a possible connection between him and Cividale see p. 275 below.

[173] Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 202–3.

inside covers of manuscript 658, which contains *Diadema monachorum*, or "The crown of the monks," an exemplar on the monastic life.[174] The two folios contain a total of four secular compositions, one per side. One composition, Jacopo da Bologna's *O cieco mondo,* is preserved in its entirety. The two compositions on the second folio, *Or sus vous dormés* and *Apollinis eclipsatur*, are missing their beginnings and endings, respectively. The final composition, found on the recto of f. A, is the ritornello *Si e piena la terra* from Jacopo's caccia in madrigal form, *Ogelletto silvagio*. Though these compositions show a more conservative taste and a greater interest in the music of older composers than the other Paduan fragments, we must tack on a caveat that we might get the same impression if only two random folios had survived of **San Lorenzo 2211** or of another innovative manuscript.

The presence of *Apollinis* in **Pad C** is important because it signals at least some Paduan interest in the older French motet style.[175] Similarly, *Ogelletto silvagio* is the only canonic composition found in Padua. Hallmark notes that the references to serious music and to theorists in *Apolinis ecclipsatur* and in the third terzetto of *Ogelletto Silvagio* are unsurprising considering Padua's tradition as a center of music theory.[176] Jacopo's other composition

[174] An edition of the *Diadema monachorum* is found in Italian translation as *Corona de' monaci: testo del buon secolo della lingua compilato da un monaco degli angeli ora per la prima volta pubblicato*, translated by Casimiro Stolfi (Prato: Tip. Guasti, 1862).

[175] I want to take a moment to make an important correction to the RILM English summary of the most important article on *Apollinis*, Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, "Une version à cinq voix du motet *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum signis* dans le manuscrit E-Bcen 853," *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985), pp. 5–44. Gómez Muntané does not assert that "it is impossible to find the reason for crediting the work to Bernard (or Bertran) de Cluny." She expresses doubt only about Bernard's authorship of the added voices in the Barcelona version and finds no reason why his work would be popular in Aragon since he is no longer to be considered among the list of people in its royal household.

[176] Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," p. 198.

in **Pad C**, *O cieco mondo,* is (somewhat) present in **Oxford 229**, but the more typical transmission in this source reassures us that music could be carried without major modification between Padua and Florence.

Although **Pad C**'s eight, six-line staves with double marks on the side have some similarities to **Reina** (even though the notation does not), they are more similar to **Padua 553(a)**.[177] This final Paduan group is composed of three musical sources (and several non-musical), of which only the first is well-known. **Padua 553(a)** is one of the few surviving sources of keyboard music from the trecento. Unfortunately, only little more than a system of this music has been preserved: the final syllables of the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" and the Amen of a setting of *Gloria GR IV*.[178] The rest of the folio is blank, but it is this blank section which provides the link to **Pad C**. Like **Pad C**, the source is parchment and has a writing space of *ca.* 210x165.

Though the keyboard work formed the main cover for the main contents of **Padua 553**, an expense book of the funds of Guido Gonzaga, other documents were formerly stuffed in the covers and have now been removed.[179] Many of these documents seem to have come from the collection of Rolandus de Casali, including two letters written to him re-

[177] **Cividale A** (see below) is also similar, though it has ten staves. Note that the final page of **Pad C**, has nine staves. Since bifolios were usually ruled across an opening, this feature suggests that the two folios were not originally a bifolio.

[178] Donata Bertoldi's parallel transcription with the same setting from **Faenza 117** should not be overlooked. ("Problemi di notazione e aspetti stilistico-formali in una intavolatura organistica padovana di fine Trecento," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 5 (1985), pp. 24–27.)

[179] Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," pp. 32–36.

questing the copying of music;[180] for this reason, the manuscript is connected to both **Pad D** and **Stresa 14** in Figure 2.45 above.

Among these documents are two folios of mensural music. Folio 3, which I will designate **Padua 553(b)**, contains the single voice of a unique *Ave, Mater nostri Redepmtoris* on one side and (without staves) a letter on the reverse. **Padua 553(c)**, on f. 6rv, contains two *sicilianas* recast as ballate. Neither of these folios can be part of the **S. Giustina Project**, since they have black staves and, more significantly, are written on paper. Fragments of music written on paper are rare—among the Italian sources, only **Boverio**, **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, and **Ivrea 105** come to mind—not necessarily because such manuscripts were unusual in the late trecento, but because individual sheets from these sources they were useless as flyleaves or notarial covers.[181] In all likelihood they were discarded at a much higher rate than parchment codices. Despite their other similarities, according to Cattin's measurements, **Padua 553(b)** and **Padua 553(c)** cannot have come from the same original source since the former is substantially wider than the latter.

A shared text is the only musical detail in common between the *Ave, Mater nostri Redemptoris* of **Padua 553(b)** and the version by Johannes de Lymburgia found in **Bologna Q15** (De van no. 265) and **Trent 92** (ff. 176v/177r).[182] The text in the Paduan version is as follows:

[180] *Ibid.,* pp. 37–38.

[181] The music written on paper in **Vatican 1419** and parts of **Seville 25**, which are not technically fragments, is discussed in Chapter 5. A fuller discussion of the differences between paper and parchment fragments appears in Chapter 1, p. 43.

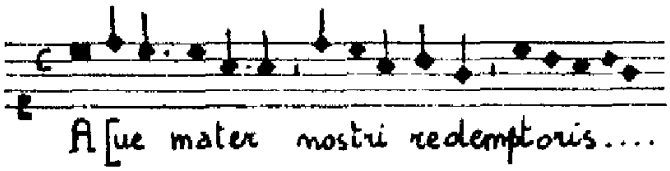
[182] Transcribed in Jerry Haller Etheridge, "The Works of Johannes de Lymburgia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 291–96.

Ave, Mater nostri Redemptoris
Dei et hominis mediatoris
Ave, pudicicie, castitatis
Virgo, alma, et flor virginitatis
Ave, lilium et rosa sine spina
odor agri atquem stella matutina
[end of text in Pad 553 – two more couplets and Amen lacking]

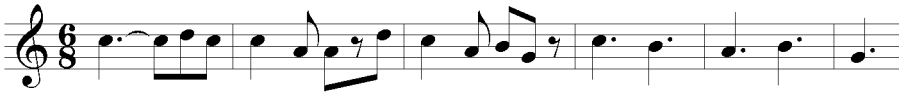
Cattin provided a transcription in original notation of the opening; the transcription into modern notation is surprising. See Example 2.46.

EXAMPLE 2.46: *AVE MATER NOSTRI,* INCIPIT

Cattin's transcription[183]



In modern notation



Despite the clear indication of ⊂ at the beginning of the piece, the work is evidentially in triple time. As we mentioned in the discussion of *Sus unne fontaine* under **Oxford 229** above, this usage might be a Paduan characteristic, along with the traditional meaning of ○. There is one more such usage of ⊂ in a manuscript which might be connected to Padua, the madrigal *Di vertù vidi* in **Trent 60**. Gozzi has transcribed the work in $\frac{6}{8}$ despite the indication of ⊂.[184] (The work switches into ○ at the ritornello). Although I have some doubts both about whether some of the work is not better transcribed in $\frac{2}{4}$, if Gozzi's transcription and interpretation of the source's provenance are correct, then we would have three pieces of

[183] Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 35.
[184] Gozzi, "Un nuovo frammento trentino:" explanation, pp. 244–45; transcription, p. 250.

evidence for a separate Paduan interpretation of "French" mensural signatures.[185]

The two siciliana-ballate of **Padua 553(c)** conclude our discussion of Paduan fragments. Gallo argues that the source is from a decade after **Reina**, in part because its copy of *Fenir mia vita* uses *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* where **Reina**'s copy uses *octonaria*.[186] He uses Prosdocimus's oft-cited statement of 1412 about the neglect of the Italian art in favor of that of the French to argue that the Paduan source was written in this later period. How to interpret Prosdocimus is not so clear, however. If his lament were the *vox clamantis in deserto* protesting a recent change in systems of notation, then Gallo's interpretation would be correct. If, on the other hand, Prosdocimus were part of an established, successful movement advocating the re-adoption of native Italian notational systems after a period of Francophilia, then **Reina's** *octonaria* could be the later version. If **Reina** were Paduan then it would be more likely to be part of Prosdocimus's school.[187] Further, although Gallo asserts that *octonaria* is a musical trait of sicilianas, caution should prevail before accepting this statement. Saying that sicilianas are natively in *octonaria* rather than *quaternaria* or *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* implies that they were conceived with a specific

[185] Another piece of evidence suggests that this interpretation of mensural signatures was not entirely Paduan. Two works of Frater Andrea da Firenze use ⊂ and ⊃ to mean *tempus imperfectum* with major and minor prolation respectively. These works are *Donna, se per te moro* in **Squarcialupi**, f. 191r, and *Donna, se' raççi* in **Pit.**, ff. 49v–50r. Contra Marrocco *PMFC 10*, p. 148, I do not believe ⊃ indicates diminution. *Donna, se' raççi* also appears in **Squarcialupi**, f. 185r, but begins with no sign and then uses and the conventional ⊂ for major prolation.

[186] F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del II Quattrocento: due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–77), p. 49.

[187] See the discussion of *En ce gracieux temps* under **Pad B** where I argue that there is not currently enough evidence to tie **Reina** securely to Padua, though I do not dismiss the possibility.

written form. This contradicts the evidence that they were originally an unwritten tradition. Sicilianas were indisputably conceived with two levels of binary division, but that does not mean they were created with either Italian or French notation in mind.

At the end of the tour through the Paduan fragments it seems important to take stock of the musical situation in Padua as a whole. While the details of a composition or the observations of notational systems can at times be interesting in themselves, it is when we step back and see the relationship between these findings and the Paduan music tradition as a whole that the full significance of each oblique-stemmed semibreve or untrimmed bifolio reveals itself. These fragments were certainly not the only musical sources produced in the city. Some of the fragments tentatively connected to Padua in other publications will find secure ties in the future. Many other manuscripts have been lost over the centuries, and doubtlessly many pieces known widely in the trecento were never written down. Other written sources preserve traditions outside the realm of this study, but without doubt they were known to not only the general populace but also those who sang, composed, and copied polyphony. Sacred monophony was not only a tradition which tied Paduans to greater Western Christendom, but also one which they varied and made their own.[188] The newer styles of

[188] See Anna Vildera, "Tra S. Giustina e Cattedrale: Un esempio di rapporto liturgico-musicale," presented at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa,* Padua, 15 June 2006, and many of the papers in Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato, editors, *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, Fonti e ricerche de storia ecclesiastica padovana 24 (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1992).

cantus simplex figuratus (cantus fractus) were also being cultivated at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[189]

Examples of polyphony in Padua stem from early in the century (and the richly developed thought of Marchettus's writings tempt us with the prospect of an even earlier flowering of polyphony). Two processionals from the cathedral of Padua, **Padua 55** and **Padua 56**, survive with polyphony integral to the manuscripts. The styles of these pieces are similar to, but possibly slightly later than, the Marchettian motets of **Venice San Giorgio** and **Oxford 112**. One of the two manuscripts, **Padua 56**, has a set of polyphonic additions in white mensural notation, perhaps entered near the middle of the fifteenth century. These additions allude to a continuous use for the sources and for their polyphonic style over the entire trecento and early quattrocento.

The variety of different polyphonic styles and genres practiced in Padua is nearly staggering in its completeness. Table 2.47 attempts to capture the genres and large differences in subgenres.

[189] Facchin, "Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana," pp. 26–27; Marco Gozzi, "I Credo mensurali nei codici trecenteschi di origine padovana," presented at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa,* Padua, 15 June 2006.

TABLE 2.47: POLYPHONIC GENRES PRESENT IN PADUA *CA.* 1400

Mass movements[190]
Benedicamus settings
Processional songs (**Padua 55** and **Padua 56**)
Sequences (*Ibid.*)
Motets
    In Ciconian style
    Bi-textual, with isorhythmic tenor
    In an earlier, Marchettian style (**Oxford 112**)
Cacce (**Pad C**)
Keyboard diminutions (**Padua 553(a)**)
Ballate (2vv & 3vv)
    Including sicilianas recast as ballate
Madrigals (2vv & 3vv)
    From the first flowering of trecento madrigals
    From the resurgence towards the end of the century
Virelais[191]
    Including *ars subtilior* compositions
Rondeaux (*Ma fin est mon commencement* in **Oxford 229**)

The Mass movements include both troped and untroped versions. Locally composed works mixed with those borrowed from the French. The nearly obsolete isorhythmic style was collected by those who were also embracing the newest (and English influenced?) works with fauxbourdon harmonies. Though compositions such as Ciconia's *Dolçe fortuna* and Zachara's *Gloria: Laus Honor* are different, they both look toward the music of the present and the future. However, the Paduan fragments preserve much music from earlier in the fourteenth century. Jacopo da Bologna, who wrote most of his works *ca.* 1340–60, has as many secular compositions in the fragments as anyone except Ciconia or Francesco da Firenze.

[190] We can include Kyries in the list of the types of Mass movements composed in Padua. A reference from 29 April 1433 states that Rolando da Casale notated "Kyrieleison" in addition to "ymnos" and "Gloria." Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 17.

[191] And possibly also ballades depending on the ultimate classification of *Ay si* in **Pad B**.

The remarkable mixture of styles and periods were not meant for separate audiences. As Hallmark notes, Prodenzani describes:

> musical evenings [where] Jacopo, Landini, Bartolino, Ciconia, and Zachar are sung and played side-by-side, and different modes and manners are celebrated in one evening, mixing sacred and secular repertoire in another. [192]

Indeed it is even difficult to describe Padua as having succumb to French influence, since there is no evidence that it was ever a separate part of their musical consciousness. The term "influence," implies displacement of a native or local form by something foreign. It has never been shown, for instance, that the Paduans ever avoided French features such as open and closed endings. Even the idea that Marchettus's teachings fully dominated in Padua cannot be conclusively demonstrated.[193]

The picture of Paduan musical traditions revealed by its fragmentary sources is, in itself still fragmentary. But like the narrator in Eco's *The Name of the Rose*, we gather every scrap of knowledge we can and patiently reconstruct our sources, secure in the knowledge that our lesser library is a symbol of the far greater, vanished one.

Cividale and Polyphony in the Friuli

Even in a time of schism, the prestige of the pope is not confined to his seat of power. It moves with him and his retainers wherever he decides to travel. The decision of the Roman pontiff Gregory XII to call a council at Cividale del Friuli beginning 6 June 1409 thus provides all the justification we need for the existence of the remarkable musical collection of this small town located on the northeast outskirts of modern-day Italy. Not only

[192] Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," p. 201.

[193] Indisputable evidence that the **Rossi** Codex was from Padua would aid in promoting this generally-held belief.

would the splendor and quality of the Pope's chapel be on display in the city, but also that of the retinues of cardinals and bishops and every type of secular power from Italy, the Empire, and other parts of Europe which remained under Roman obedience. If Cividale were barren ground artistically before 1409 the conciliar displays would have lain the rich ground for a musical flowering thereafter. But even before 1409, musical culture was far from absent.

The visiting musicians encountered a city (and region) that was already musically vibrant, that had a long tradition of polyphony, and that was already producing singers and composers whose reputations and travels took them far beyond the Friuli. According to a note from 1367, the priest Albertino da Mantova left to the church of S. Maria Maggiore three manuscript items, of which the second is most important to us:

1. Item v quaternos unius psalterii non completi.
2. **Item i quaternum a motetis.**
3. Item i quaternum.[194]

Among other towns connected to Udine and the Friuli, we find within a 1408 inventory of the 150 books (many liturgical) in the cathedral church in Aquileia this entry, "Item unus liber de cantu mensurato copertus corio rubro, qui incipit 'Patrem omnipotentem' et finit 'Osanna in excelsis'," suggesting a polyphonic kyriale.[195] In documents after 1409 we see further manuscript evidence of thriving musical culture via sources that may or may not

[194] Cesare Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel baso medioevo: Il caso Friuli* (Padua: Editrice Antenore: 1995), no. 104. The motets are germane to the discussion of fascicle manuscripts in the context of **Vatican 1419** in Chapter 5. A note from October 1475 referring to "Quinternus unus in carta edina in musica antiquus" is also relevant to manuscript structure in the Du Fay era and begs the question of how old is antique (Scalon no. 493, item 165).

[195] *Ibid.,* no. 176, item 46; first printed in Vincenzo Joppi, "Inventario del Tesoro della chiesa patriarcale d'Aquileia compilato nel 1408," *Archivio storico per Trieste, l'Istria ed il Trentino* 2 (1882), pp. 54–71.

have been copied before the council. In 1423 Niccolò di Filippo, deacon in Cividale since 1415, made his will. Among his possessions were six books, including the following:

> 3. Item legavit eidem capitulo **unum librum a biscantium** volens, iubens et mandans et ordinans quod portetur in choro ecclesie quando videbitur expedire.
>
> 6. Item legavit capitulo Civitatensi predicto suum breviarium magnum cum ista tamen conditione, quod ipsum capitulum teneatur et debeat facere fieri unam cathenam ferream et ipsum breviarium incatenare in sacrestia inferiori maioris collegiate ecclesie ad hoc ut quilibet, qui voluerit dicere divinum officium, possit et valeat dicere pro anima ipsius domini testatoris et sic ibidem voluit perpetuo stare et permanere.[196]

Jumping out from this will is the distinction between the potential usage for the book of biscant, "which may be carried when it might be seen expedient" and the stricter conditions placed on the donation of the breviary. Were it not so dangerous to speculate from only a single example, one would be tempted to suggest that the polyphony of the time was seen as impermanent and would be replaced by a different style while a chant book was thought as having value for all time. Finally, a late document from 1431 details the possession of two books seemingly of keyboard music:

> Item unum [librum] par organorum in capsa sua, que organa pulsantur cum duobus manticis. [i.e., which sounds with two bellows]
>
> *(following "Unum librum ad cantandum laudes in missa:")*
> Unum [librum] par organorum supra choro.[197]

Both before and after the council, the region was connected to the musical life Padua, the largest nearby musical center. Around 1370 Cividale acquired a collection of antiphonaries, graduals, psalters, and missals from Padua.[198] The liturgical dramas contained in

[196] Scalon, *op. cit.,* no. 196. A "Nicolao quondam Philippi de dicta Civitate" is mentioned as a canon in September 1390 raising the probability that the books had been copied before 1409.
[197] *Ibid.,* no. 224.
[198] *Ibid.,* no. 108.

the processional manuscripts **Cividale 101** and **Cividale 102** share their contents with Paduan collections, and parts of the repertory may have originated there.[199] Finally, the composer Rentius, who held a benefice in Cividale and whose only know compositions appear in two Cividalese fragments, was either Paduan or of Paduan descent. (Further details under **Udine 22**, below).

A tradition of note-against-note liturgical polyphony is Cividale's best-known musical legacy. These non-mensural works, called *cantus planus binatim* by the music theorist Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (another Paduan connection), appear in Cividalese antiphonaries and graduals beginning in the late fourteenth century.[200] Although there are isolated Kyries and motets, most of the *cantus binatim* in Cividale are tropes of the Benedicamus Domino, useful both in the Mass and the Office. The gradual **Cividale 56** contains (primarily in a single continuous section) all the *cantus binatim* found in other manuscripts in Cividale, though the numerous variations in upper-voice melodies and intervals used make all the manuscripts valuable testimonies.[201]

[199] Giulio Cattin, "Tra Padova e Cividale: nuova fonte per la drammaturgia sacra nel medioevo," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 1 (1994), pp. 7–112.

[200] On *cantus binatim* see, above all, F. Alberto Gallo, "'Cantus planus binatim,' Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive," *Quadrivium* 7 (1966), pp. 79–89; idem, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 13–30 (along with many other articles by other researchers in the volume); Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo, editors, *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura* (from the conference by the same name in Venice, 2–4 May 1996), (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002); Francesco Facchin, editor, *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28-30 dicembre 2001* (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004).

[201] The complete polyphony of **Cividale 56** was transcribed and reproduced in facsimile in Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Congresso internazionale "Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa:" Catalogo della mostra* (Cividale del Friuli: Associazione per lo Sviluppo degli Studi Storici ed Artistici di Cividale

(note continues)

Musical innovation did not halt in the periods after the Great Schism. Additional works were added in the fifteenth century to **Cividale 57**, an antiphoner that also contains *cantus planus binatim*, and to the processionals **Cividale 101** and **Cividale 102**. Most significantly for the long-term musical history of the town, two early sixteen-century polyphonic manuscripts were produced in Cividale and remain there, **Cividale 53** and **Cividale 59**.[202] The latter source combines a wide-ranging knowledge of current music and of other large manuscripts with an interest in preserving local music.[203]

Given the musical vitality of the region, the presence of *ars nova* fragments is of absolutely no surprise. The remainder of this chapter will focus on these sources.

Three Cividalese Sources: Cividale 98, 63, and Udine 22

Two single folios found separately (**Cividale 63** and **Udine 22**) along with two, formerly contiguous bifolios (**Cividale 98**) hold the tantalizing promise that they could have originally been part of the same, larger codex. Let us examine each separately before looking at them as a group.

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del Friuli, 1980). Variations in intervallic structure are discussed in Maurizio Grattoni, "Il 'Missus ab arce' nella tradizione e nelle fonti di Cividale," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 131–37, and in an unpublished paper by Noriko Toda.

[202] Lewis Lockwood, "Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli: The Manuscripts 53 and 59 of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale," *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 1.2 (1994), pp. 249–314. I thank Prof. Lockwood for information and advice on the sources in Cividale, his recollections of research in the commune, and his enthusiastic support of this project.

[203] *Ibid.,* pp. 278–79.

Cividale 98

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XCVIII.
RISM B IV 4: *I-CF 98, pp. 751–52.* CCMS 1: *CivMA 98, p. 155.*

The fourteenth-century lectionary, **Cividale 98**, contains among its flyleaves a remarkable collection of Credos (with scattered pieces of secular music) which has never been fully understood, let alone closely studied. At either end of the 38-folio volume is a bifolio. The bifolios were once glued to their boards, and lifting them has made those pages nearly illegible. The difficulty in reconstructing the structure of **Cividale 98** has meant that neither of the two published inventories has correctly established either the order of the folios or their contents.[204] The inventories leave unnoted the two most important relations among the bifolios:

1. The rear flyleaves, ff. 41–42, form the center bifolio of a gathering.
2. That bifolio was originally placed within the front flyleaves, ff. 1–2, forming a continuous unit of four folios (1, 41, 42, 2) and leaving only the compositions on 1r and 2v incomplete.

Using these observations as a base, several conclusions followed:

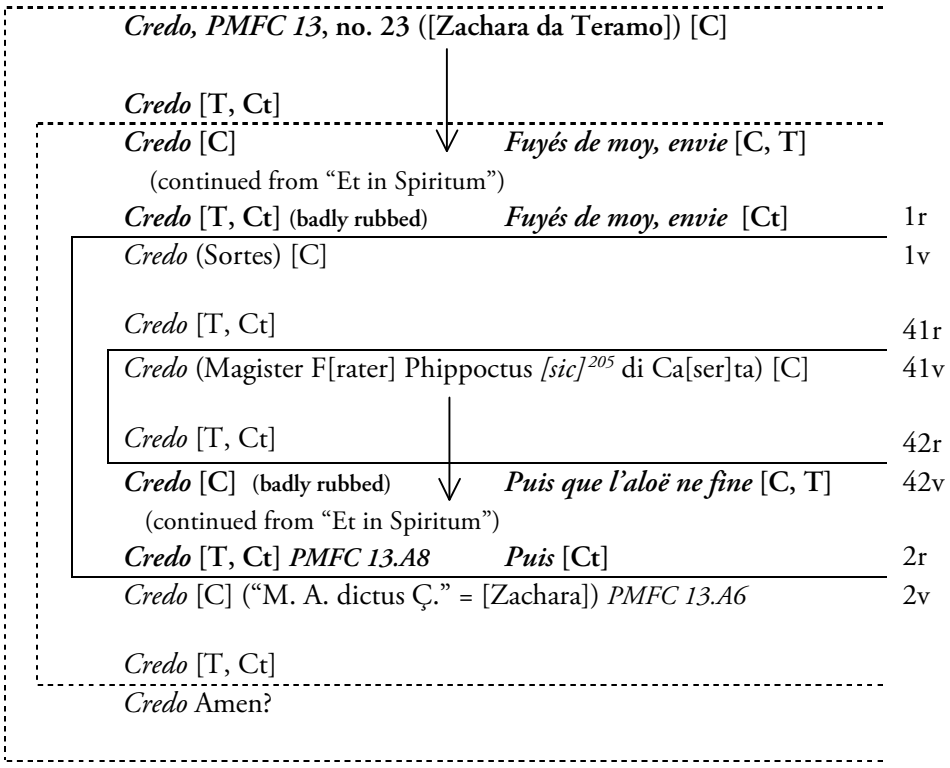
3. The isolated voice "Contratenor puis" on f. 2r finds its cantus and tenor voice on the previous verso, the nearly illegible f. 42v.
4. The Credo by Philippoctus da Caserta begun on ff. 41v–42r continues on the following opening f. 42v–2r.
5. Thus only one of the two badly rubbed folios, f. 1r, had contents needing identification.

A new inventory and gathering diagram shows these contents and those of five missing pages (2.5 folios); see Figure 2.48.

[204] *RISM B IV 4*, pp. 751–52 and better in Lockwood, "Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli," pp. 250–51.

FIGURE 2.48: RECONSTRUCTED CONTENTS OF **CIVIDALE 98**

Bold type indicates newly identified compositions.



Folio 1r seemed to have three voice-parts, all of which are in terrible condition, with much of the music either left on the front boards or completely lost. (Figure 2.49).

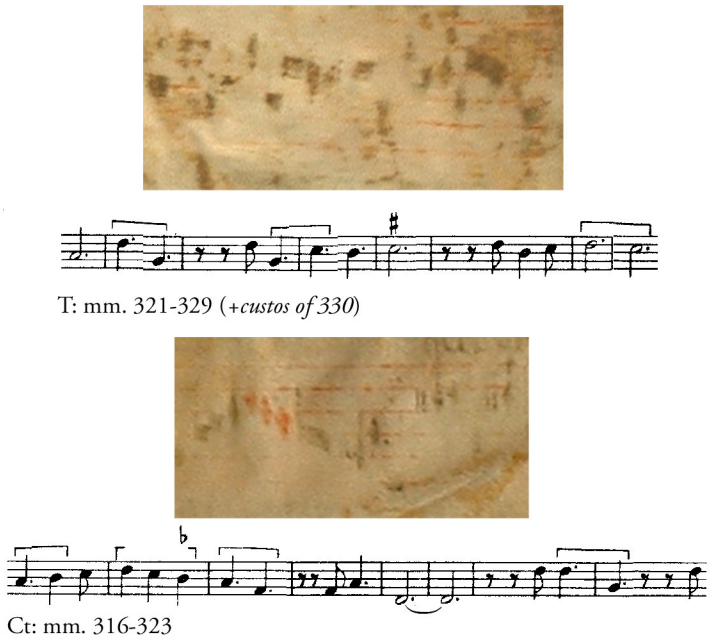
[205] Scalon transcribes this attribution as "Magister Fliphippoctus(!)."

FIGURE 2.49: **CIVIDALE 98**, F. 1R

I was able to find a few places on f. 1r with consecutive legible notes to search for concordances. Judging by the rest of the contents of the manuscript, I searched among the known polyphonic Credos and discovered a match among one of the most popular compositions of the trecento, Zachara's *Credo (PMFC 13.23)*.[206] The tenor and contratenor voices from "Et in Spiritum" to the end are present; presumably the cantus was on the preceding verso. The state of the page nearly leaves the identification as a leap of faith to readers who do not have direct access to the manuscript. However, two passages can be isolated as proof; see Figure 2.50.

FIGURE 2.50: **CIVIDALE 98**, F. 1R, ZACHARA, *CREDO (PMFC 13.23),* EXCERPTS

(First image digitally enhanced; transcriptions condensed from *PMFC 13;* no clefs are given since identifications were made based on relative intervals)



T: mm. 321-329 (+*custos of 330*)

Ct: mm. 316-323

[206] See Chapter 1, pp. 69–70 for the argument that this work was definitely more popular than an average Mass movement, and for a list of sources.

Judging from the length of the work in concordant manuscripts, the Credo probably occupied two openings, identifying for us the contents of the previous recto and two versos.

A single, unidentified voice remained at the bottom of the folio. It was definitely not part of the cantus of Zachara's Credo. I determined that it must be a shorter piece, probably secular, which filled in space at the end of the Credo. The line is textless, probably indicating a tenor voice, unless there were enough space on the preceding verso to place two voices, in which case this could be a contratenor. The only surviving words appeared to be "ultima pars," indicating a work with at least three if not more sections. Though the absence of text and the designation "ultima pars" held open the possibility that the work could be a monophonic instrumental composition—a rare find—the rhythms were not typical of these types of works. This left the ballade repertory as the most logical place to search, especially considering there seemed to be *ouvert* and *clos* endings in the middle of the work. The third complete search through *PMFC* and *CMM 53* was fruitful.

The voice is the textless contratenor to *Fuyés de moy*, the most copied French ballade from the trecento, now attributable to "Alain" (Johannes Alanus?) thanks to a source in Todi.[207] The complete, known musical sources are listed in Table 2.51.

[207] Valeria Sargenti, "Una nuova fonte di polifonia trecentesca in lingua francese conservata nell'Archivio storico comunale di Todi," *Esercizi: Musica e spettacolo* 13 (nuova serie 4) (1994), pp. 5–15. The text of the poem is by Wenceslas of Bohemia, Duke of Brabant. See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 168.

TABLE 2.51: SOURCES OF *FUYÉS DE MOY*

Reina, f. 82r	"Fuiies demoy ami"	C, Ct, T
Todi Carità, f. 92v	"Fuyes de moy, Anvy,"	C, Ct, T
Cividale 98, f. [1r]	No surviving text	Ct
Trémoïlle, f. 45r	[Lost]	
Prague 9, f. 249v	"Fies de moy" (only text)	C, T
Strasbourg 222, f. 16v	"Quam pulchra es"	C incipit only survives
Melk 391, f. 1r	Textless	C, T
Wolkenstein A, ff. 15v–16r	"Wolauff gesell wer jagen"	C, Ct, T
Wolkenstein B, ff. 23v–24r	"Wolauff gesell wer jagen"	C, Ct, T

Recent editions: *PMFC 20*, pp. 137–42, *CMM 53/ii,* pp. 50–51.

Figure 2.52 is a detail of the wood cover (more legible than f. 1r), flipped horizontally. The end of the contratenor of the Zachara Credo is shown along with the ballade on the final two lines.

FIGURE 2.52: *FUYÉS DE MOY*, FROM **CIVIDALE 98** (FRONT COVER; PHOTO REVERSED HORIZONTALLY)

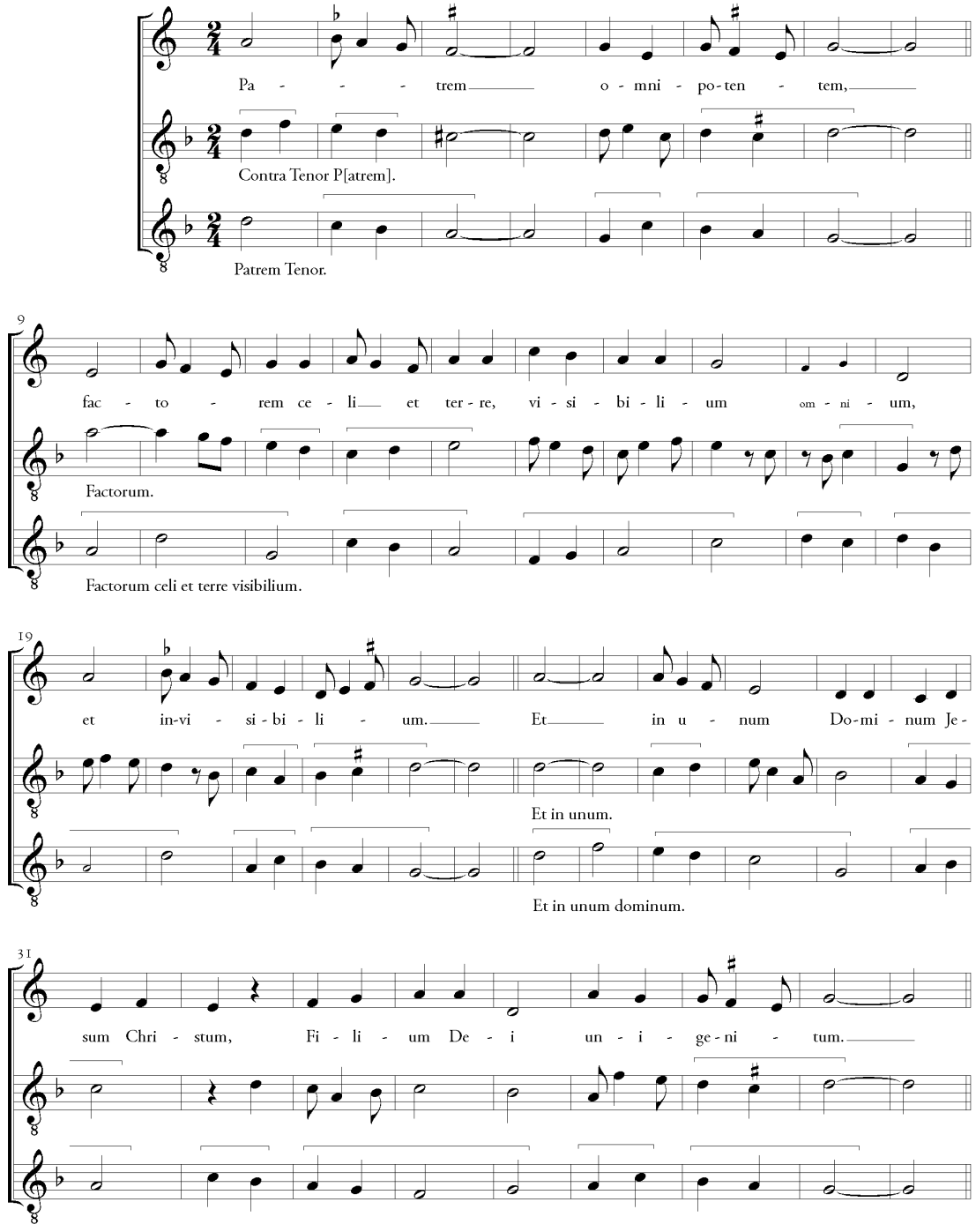
The following folios, ff. 1v and 41r, have already been identified as a clear copy of Steve Sort's Credo known from ten sources. (See no. 54 on the inventory of the Paduan fragments, above). It is the only one of the four Credos which is not Italian. Its presence shows that, although the Italians had a strong interest in their own sacred music, they were ultimately omnivorous in their tastes.

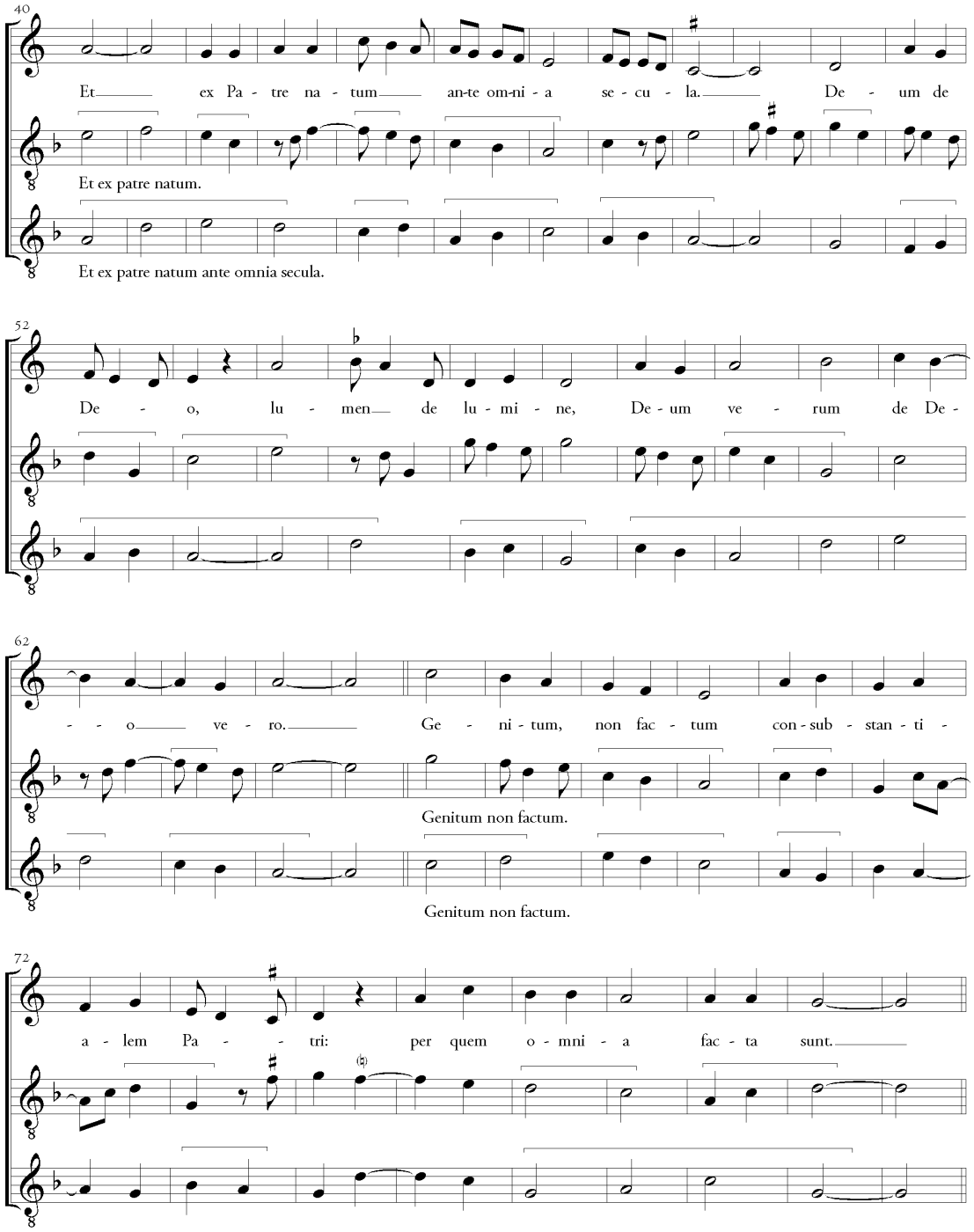
The following opening (ff. 41v–42r) is equally clear, but contains one of the two unique works in the fragments, Philippoctus da Caserta's Credo. The published transcription of Philippoctus's Credo ends, ironically, at "non erit finis." The editors inform us that the next folio is "illegible, the following folios lacking."[208] However, the following folios are not lacking, the piece instead continues on f. 2r. Since this connection was not identified, the editors were unable to make use of the quite clear tenor and contratenor voices there; instead those voices appeared in an appendix later, identified as from an unrelated Credo whose complete upper voice and first half of tenor and contratenor were missing.[209]

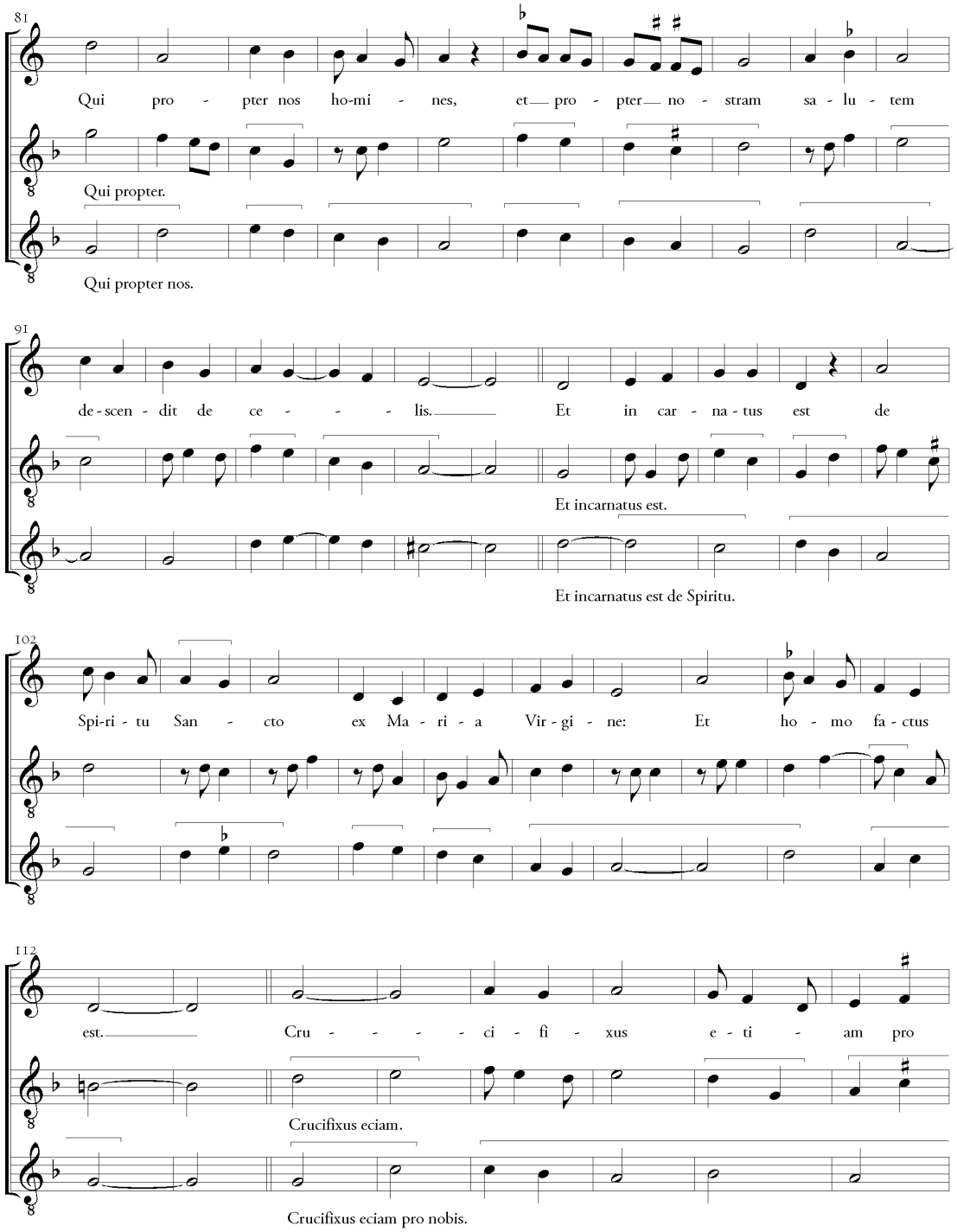
The upper voice on f. 42v is quite damaged and at present no complete edition can be made. However, given the almost formulaic gestures from the first half of the Credo, completions of the work can be made from the partial edition in Example 2.53, and the work will finally be audible in its entirety.

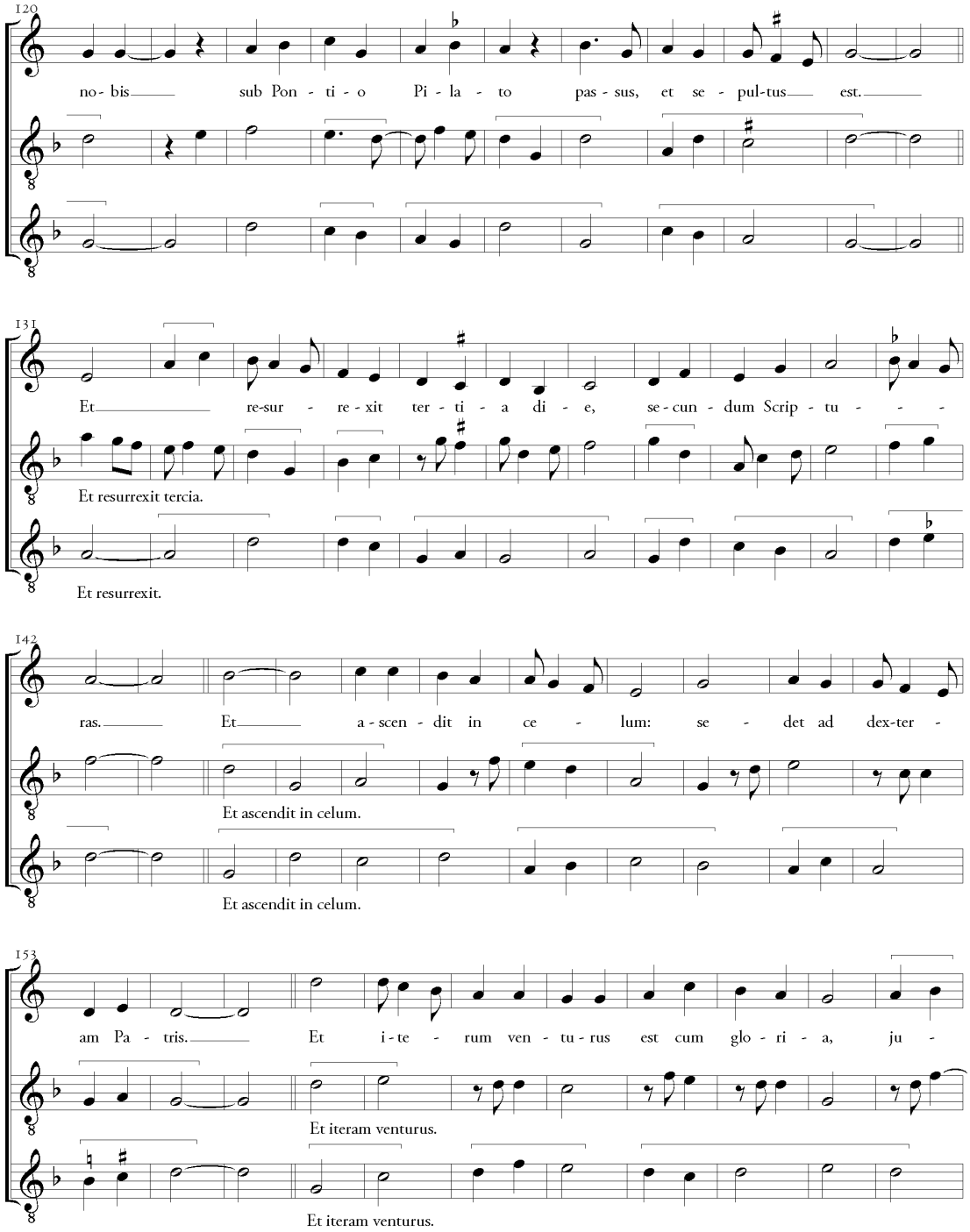
[208] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12,* no. 14, p. 196.
[209] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13,* A8, pp. 237–38.

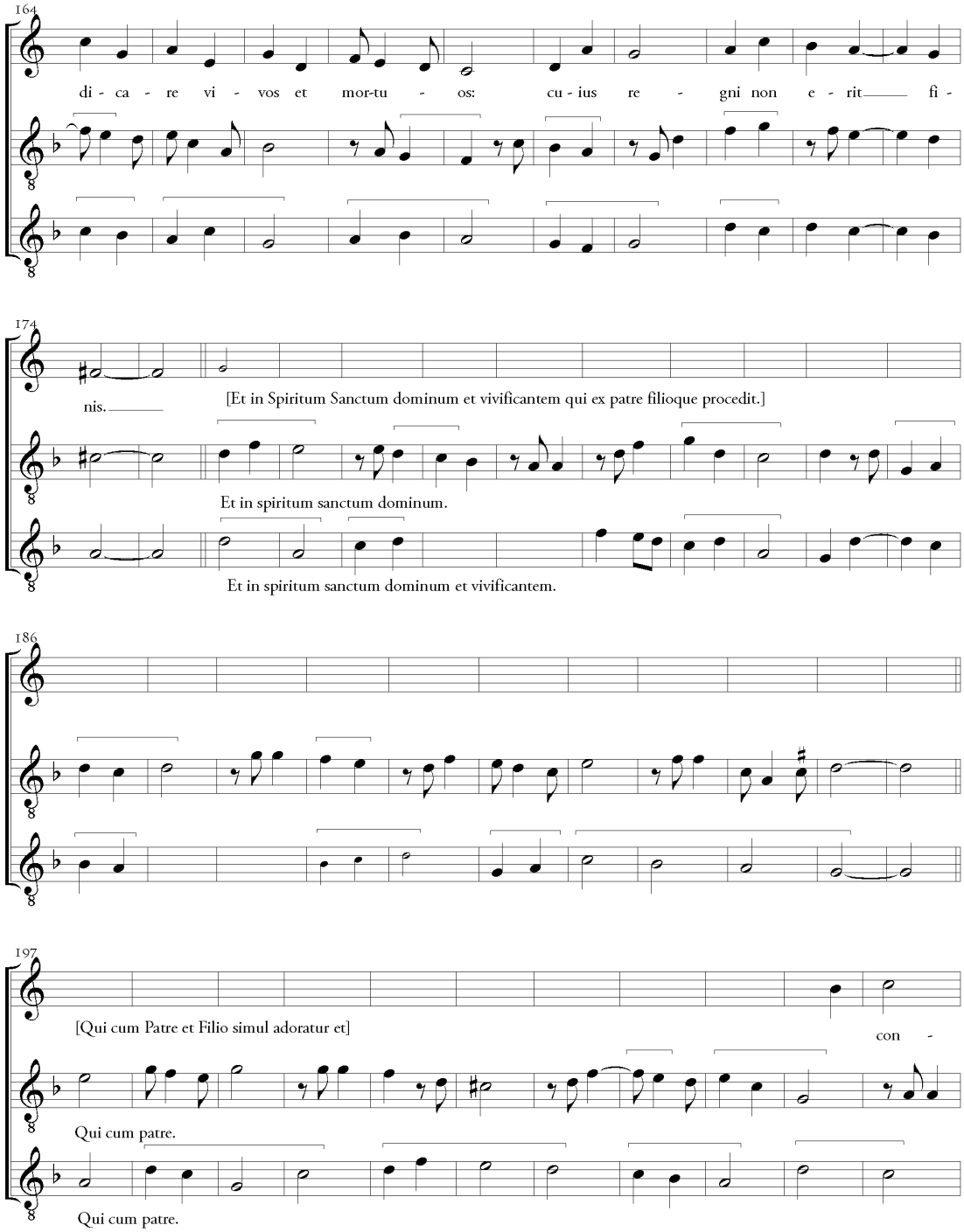
EXAMPLE 2.53: **CIVIDALE 98**, FF. 41V–42V, 2R: PHILIPPOCTUS DA CASERTA, *CREDO*

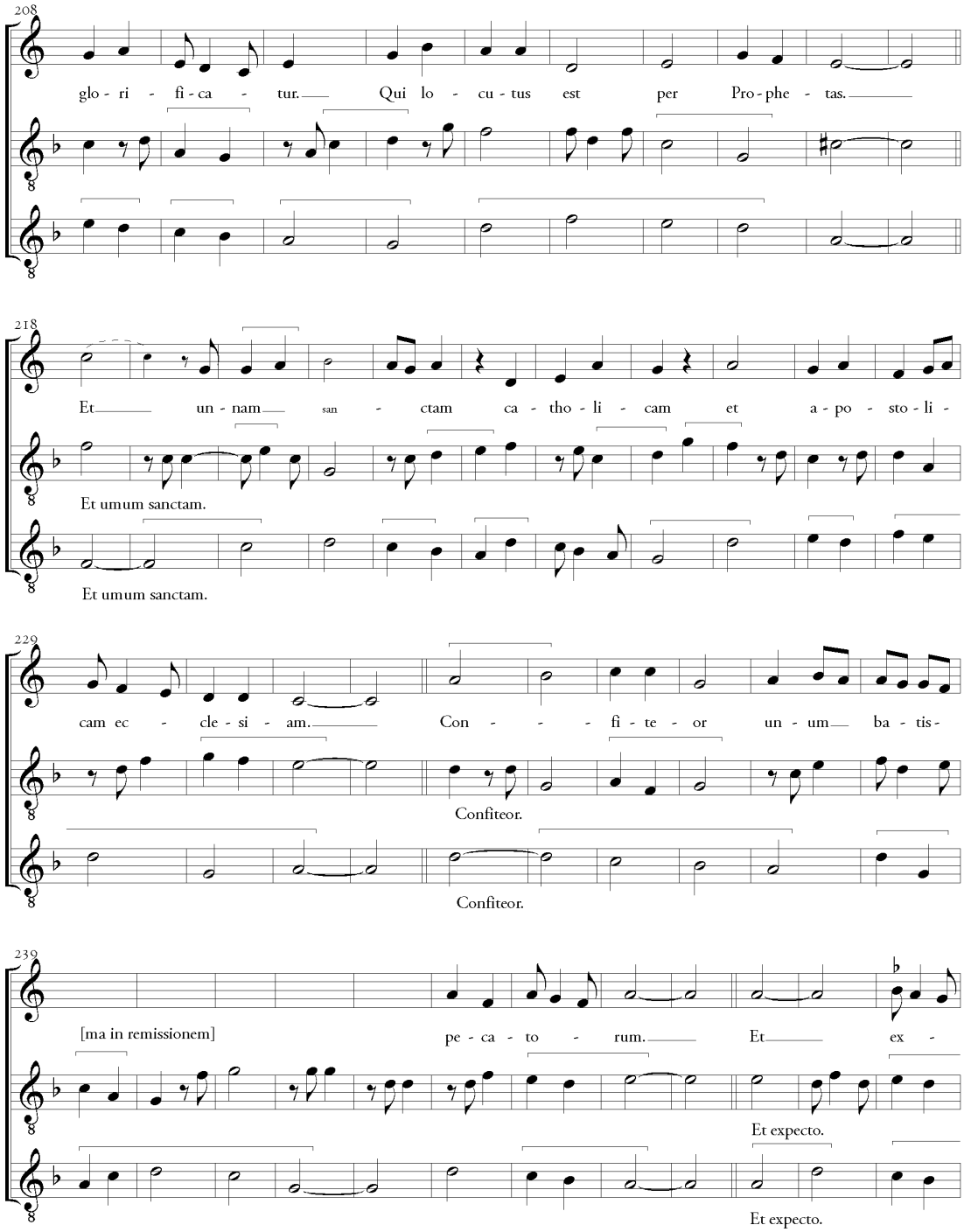


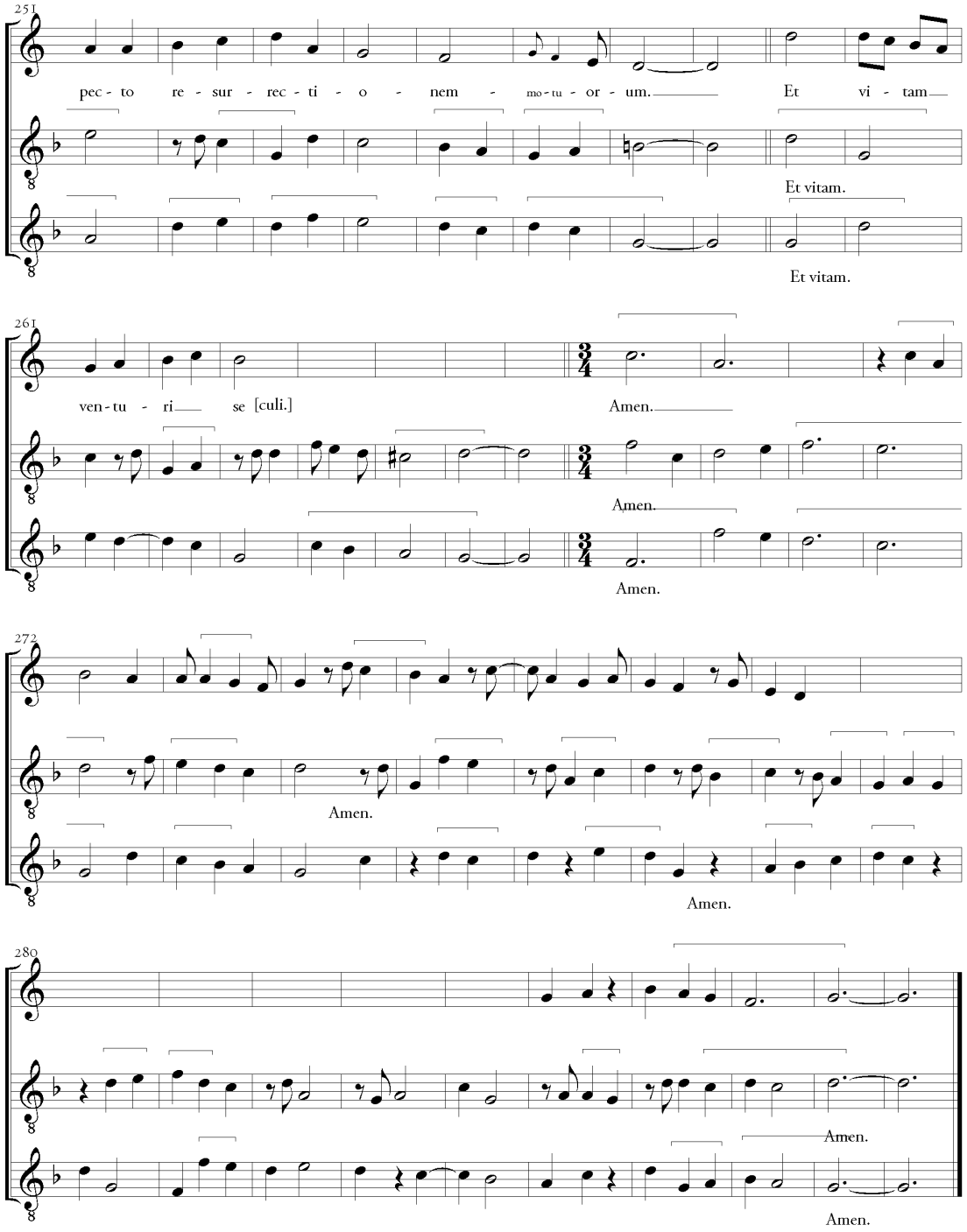

40
Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an-te om-ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de
Et ex patre natum.
Et ex patre natum ante omnia secula.
52
De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De -
62
- - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum con - sub - stan - ti -
Genitum non factum.
Genitum non factum.
72
a - lem Pa - - tri: per quem o - mni - a fac - ta sunt.


81
Qui pro - pter nos ho-mi - nes, et pro - pter no - stram sa - lu - tem
Qui propter.
Qui propter nos.
91
de-scen - dit de ce - - - - lis. Et in car - na - tus est de
Et incarnatus est.
Et incarnatus est de Spiritu.
102
Spi-ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Et ho - mo fa - ctus
112
est. Cru - - - - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro
Crucifixus eciam.
Crucifixus eciam pro nobis.


120
no- bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to pas - sus, et se - pul-tus est.
131
Et re-sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e, se - cun - dum Scrip - tu - - -
Et resurrexit tercia.
Et resurrexit.
142
ras. Et a - scen - dit in ce - lum: se - det ad dex-ter -
Et ascendit in celum.
Et ascendit in celum.
153
am Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju -
Et iteram venturus.
Et iteram venturus.


164
di - ca - re vi - vos et mor-tu - os: cu - ius re - gni non e - rit fi -
174
nis.
[Et in Spiritum Sanctum dominum et vivificantem qui ex patre filioque procedit.]
Et in spiritum sanctum dominum.
Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem.
186
197
[Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et]
con -
Qui cum patre.
Qui cum patre.

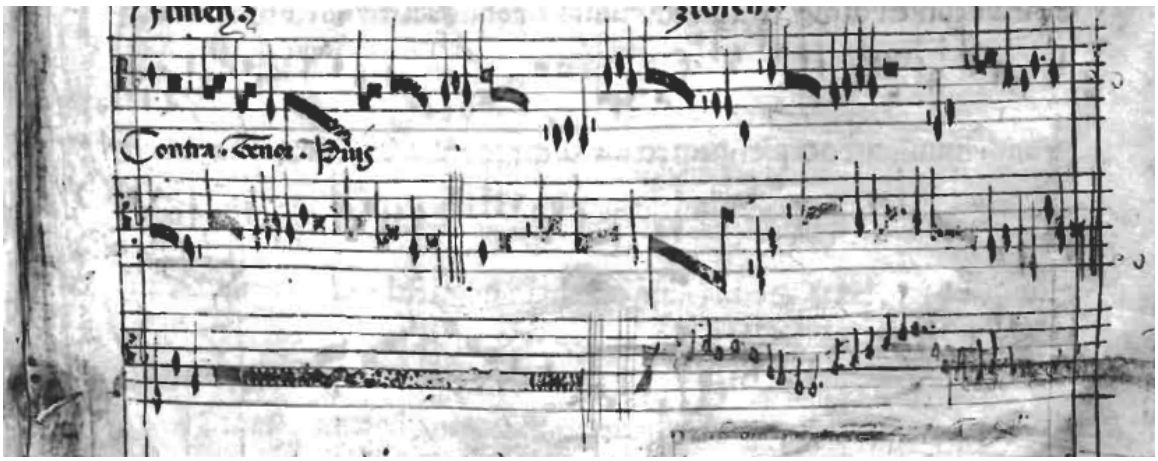

208
glo - ri - fi - ca - tur. Qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas.
218
Et un - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li -
Et umum sanctam.
Et umum sanctam.
229
cam ec - cle - si - am. Con - - - fi - te - or un - um ba - tis -
Confiteor.
Confiteor.
239
[ma in remissionem]
pe - ca - to - rum. Et ex -
Et expecto.
Et expecto.



On the bottom folio 2r, we find the second secular composition among the flyleaves: a single voice-part with the incipit "Contra Tenor Puis." The work seemed to be a virelai in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*; indeed this is all the information we need to make

an identification. We find the same contratenor in the **Reina** codex on f. 83v, attached to the virelai with a slightly different incipit, "Plus que l'aloë." (Detail in Figure 2.54).

FIGURE 2.54: CONTRA TENOR, *PUIS QUE L'ALOË* FROM **CIVIDALE 98**



The work has appeared numerous times in transcription from the Paris source, though now we can confirm that Willi Apel was correct in emended the reading from **Reina**'s "plus" to "puis" to make proper sense of the first line:

Puis que l'aloë ne fine
De canter des qu'il est jour
Et la violete affine
Si plaisant et noble oudur

Recent editions: *CMM 53/iii*, no. 220, pp. 53–54; PMFC 21, no. 51, p. 177.

The contours (and little else) of the cantus and tenor can be made out at the bottom of f. 42v. As with Zachara's *Credo (PMFC 13.23)* and *Fuyés de moy*, the identification of the work alone will need to suffice until better technology allows us to take advantage of these new nearly illegible readings in our editions.

The final work in the fragment suggests that our losses are much greater than a few concordances of extremely popular works. On a verso headed by the inscription "M. A. dictus Ç," we find the divisi cantus voice of an otherwise unknown Credo. Zachara's work uses

void notes to indicate divisi, while red notes substitute *tempus perfectum* for *tempus imperfectum*. The work is not compatible with a contratenor and tenor of a Credo with similar characteristics in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth,** f. 12r.[210] The presence of this unique work implies that although some of Zachara's sacred works had wide distribution, there may still be unknown Mass movements of his to be found.

The manuscript was illuminated with beautiful initial letters (including T's and C's for tenor and contratenor voices) appearing on every legible work. Notes added to f. 42r and f. 41v inform us that the music manuscript was had already been dismembered (or at least treated as "scratch paper") by 1527 and November 1565 respectively. The host volume shows long use into modern times. Folio 15 was repaired with scraps from a heightened neume chant manuscript. Traces of that chant manuscript are also found in the binding of the spine of the host, but none of the binding strips come from the polyphonic source.

Udine 22

Udine, Archivio di Stato. Frammento 22 (olim Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773).
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

Another manuscript from the Cividale area was discovered in Udine and reported on in 1988.[211] The source is a single folio used to protect documents of Francesco Paciani, a notary in Cividale in 1533.[212] The size and layout of the manuscript immediately connected it to the polyphonic fragments from Cividale, **Cividale 63** and **Cividale 98**. The source

[210] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13.A9.*

[211] Gilberto Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria cividalese di Rentius de Ponte Curvo," *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 4 (1988), pp. 235–41.

[212] Scalon, *Libri, scuole e cultura nel Friuli medioevale: "Membra disiecta" dell'Archivio di Stato di Udine* (Padua: Editrice antenore, 1987), p. 103.

measures 320x205mm, with a writing space of 280x(est.)190 and, like the Cividalese sources, contains 10 six-line staves per folio.[213] The announcement article was devoted to transcribing and discussing the work on the verso, a new Gloria by Rentius de Ponte Curvo, known from another Gloria in **Cividale 63**.[214] Although the name "Ponte Curvo" could refer either to the name of a city in central Italy or (more unusually) a district in southeast Padua, the composer's full name makes the latter more likely. Documents which also show that he was a singer in the papal chapel of Gregory XII name him Laurentius Nicolai de Cartono de Pontecurvo.[215] It is likely that "Cartono" is a mistranscription or misreading of "cantono" or "cantone,"[216] or district, a term still used to designate sections of Padua.

Since the Ponte Curvo Gloria transmits the opening of cantus 1 and 2, it is more likely the verso of the folio. That the preceding side has a contratenor and the end of a tenor of a Gloria argues strongly that that would be the preceding recto. (See Figure 2.4 of **Oxford 229**, above, for an example of this layout). Ponte Curvo's Gloria in **Udine 22** was transcribed prior to a restoration which unfortunately lost several notes from the manuscript.[217] The first-generation photocopies of the fragment made before the restoration should thus be treated with care normally reserved for a medieval source.

[213] *Ibid.,* p. 236. Pressacco estimates the writing width at 180mm, but this seems too small given the amount of missing music. Staves are 19mm with 10mm interstaff distance.

[214] Pressacco reverses the verso and recto, as will soon be made obvious. The manuscript also received mention by Cesare Scalon with the correct recto and verso but with the incorrect statement that both Glorias were by Rentius de Ponte Curvo. (Scalon, *Libri, scuole e cultura*, pp. 67, 103, and plate 14).

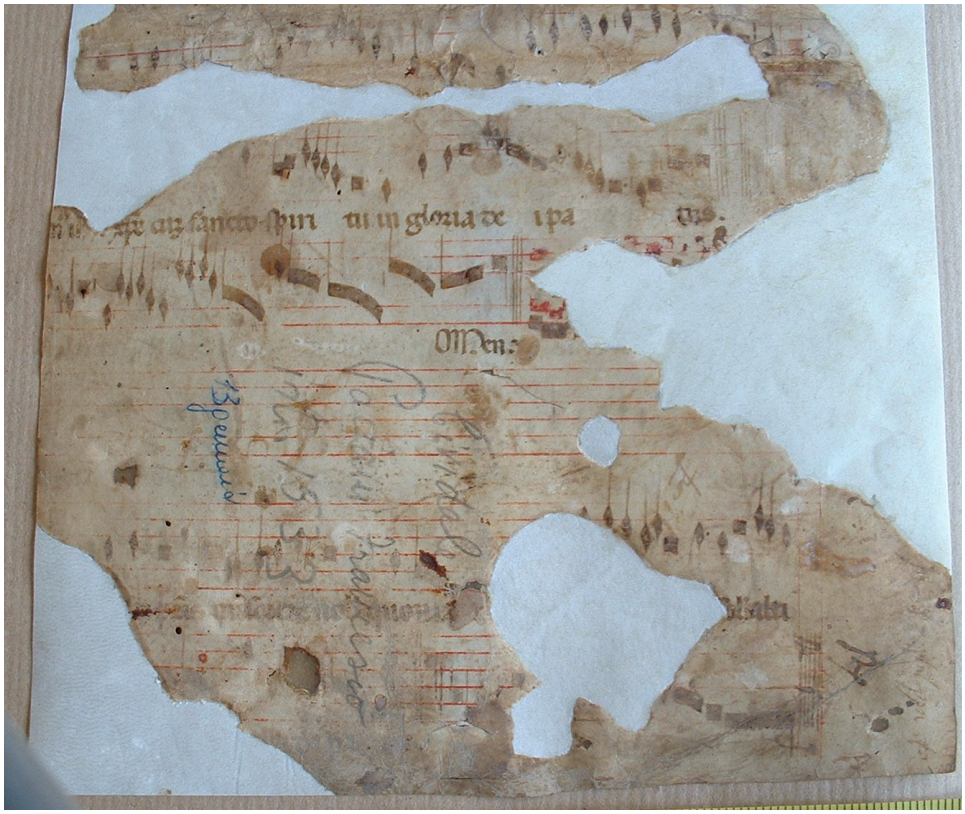
[215] Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels," p. 49, with a brief biographical sketch showing that Rentius had a benefice in Cividale.

[216] Suggested by Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin at the conference "I frammenti musicali tra *Santa Giustina* e la diffusione della musica in Europa," Padua, 15 June 2006.

[217] Francesco Facchin provided the transcription in Pressacco, *op. cit.*

The reverse side of **Udine 22** was largely ignored. A suggestion was made that it could be a continuation of Ponte Curvo's *Gloria: Descendit Angelus* of **Cividale 63**,[218] but transcription of the two works would have disproved this theory. A more careful examination of the recto of **Udine 22** shows that it contains Egardus's untroped Gloria (contratenor and end of the tenor) transcribed in *PMFC* 12, no. 7 (discussed in the context of **Padua 1225**, above). The Amen of the contratenor provides a particularly clear identification. (See Figure 2.55).

FIGURE 2.55: **UDINE 22**, RECTO, DETAIL



[218] Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria," p. 238.

This identification brings the total known sources of the work to five, though only three of these sources are complete (Table 2.56).

TABLE 2.56: SOURCES OF EGARDUS'S UNTROPED GLORIA

attributed
Mod A, ff. 21v–22r (Egardus): complete
Kras., ff. 204v–5r (Opus Egardi): complete

unattributed
Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, ff. Dartmouth-verso and 4r: complete
Padua 1225, f. 1v: C complete, T to "suscipe deprecationem nostram."
Udine 22, recto: Ct complete, T from "Qui sedes ad dexteram patris."
Grottaferrata/Dartmouth and Udine 22 are also missing some small sections due to trimming or deterioration.

The layout of **Padua 1225** and **Udine 22** are extremely similar, and break the tenor voice at the same place; unfortunately in the first manuscript we have the material before the tenor's break, and in the later, the material after. Since they share no music we have no way of knowing whether their musical readings are similarly related.[219] The differences between **Udine 22**'s reading and the other sources definitely connect this source more closely to the other Italian sources and not the Polish manuscript.[220]

[219] A second *ars nova* fragment in Udine is not connected to this group of sources. **Udine 290** contains fragments of two French motets, one of the Vitry era and one somewhat later. (Description and discussion, Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Due motetti francesci in una sconosciuta fonte udinese," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 4 (1966), pp. 201–14). Though there is some speculation that the manuscript may be Italian (including, Ursula Günther, "Sources, MS: VII. French Polyphony 1300–1420; General," s.v., in *2ndNG*), the repertory and the notation (particularly the lack of custodes) argue against this hypothesis.

[220] Differences between the Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12* edition and the reading in **Udine 22** are as follows: *Ct.* 1–2: missing; 15–17: text and music missing; 18–19: nearly illeg.; 20: illeg (B SB *a* SB alt?); 24: illeg; 32.2–33.1.5: missing; 34–39.2: nearly illeg.; 35.1–2: B *a* (instead of SB, SBr ?); 48.2–50: music and text missing; 51.1: missing syllable; 55: SB lig. *c.o.p.* 56: C♯ (implies F♯ in cantus); 62–63: no lig. (text obscured); 66–67.2: music missing; 66–80: text missing ("Qui sedes…Altissi[mus]"); 69–70: missing (69 reconstructible from M stems); m. 80–83.1.5: music missing; 86.2–87.1: SBr missing, SB lig. *c.o.p.*; 91.2–3: SB lig. *c.o.p.*; 97: SB lig. *c.o.p.*, second SB

(note continues)

Cividale 63

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LXIII.
RISM B IV 4: *I-CF 63, p. 749.* CCMS 1: *CivMA 63, pp. 154–55.*

The grand codex **Cividale 63** is primarily a collection of sermons stemming from the thirteenth century.[221] The manuscript is mentioned in Cividalese inventories in both 1350 and 1455/6; thus it probably never has left Cividale.[222]

There are flyleaves at the front and back of the volume, both from music manuscripts. The front flyleaf, marked f. i (Scalon calls it f. III; his ff. I-II are modern flyleaves added during restoration) is a leaf from an antiphonal of smaller dimensions than the host volume.[223] Its 15 four-line staves are each 10mm in height.[224] Initials and rubrics are decorated with red ink. In a surprising case of either local style or scribal concordance, the flyleaf uses the same type of custos as the first music flyleaf of **Cividale 79**, f. 1v, but as the dimensions are not the same it is not from the same manuscript.

The back flyleaf of **Cividale 63** is of greater interest. On 10 six-line staves, it contains fragments of two Glorias, one ascribed to Rentius de Ponte Curvo, the other anonymous. Neither work has any concordances. Like **Udine 22**, the layout of **Cividale 63** demonstrates that the folio has been bound with the opposite side in the binding than was originally intended. The current recto (the hair side) was the verso, with a cantus 2 or con-

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alt.; 100–104.1: missing; 104: punctus add.; 109: SB lig. *c.o.p.* *T* 1–68: missing; 74: C♯ (?); 78–80: missing; 81–83.1: text missing; 85–90(?): missing; 91–102: nearly illeg.; 106–110: missing.

[221] Brief description in *RISM 4*, p. 749; full description, Cesare Scalon and Laura Pani, editors, *I codici della Biblioteca capitolare di Cividale del Friuli* (Florence: Sismel,1998), pp. 219–224.

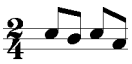
[222] Scalon and Pani, *I codici,* p. 223.

[223] *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, no. 16, p. 381.

[224] Scalon and Pani describe one of the staves as five-line, probably referring to the first staff, which is a four-line staff directly below the ruling for the top margin.

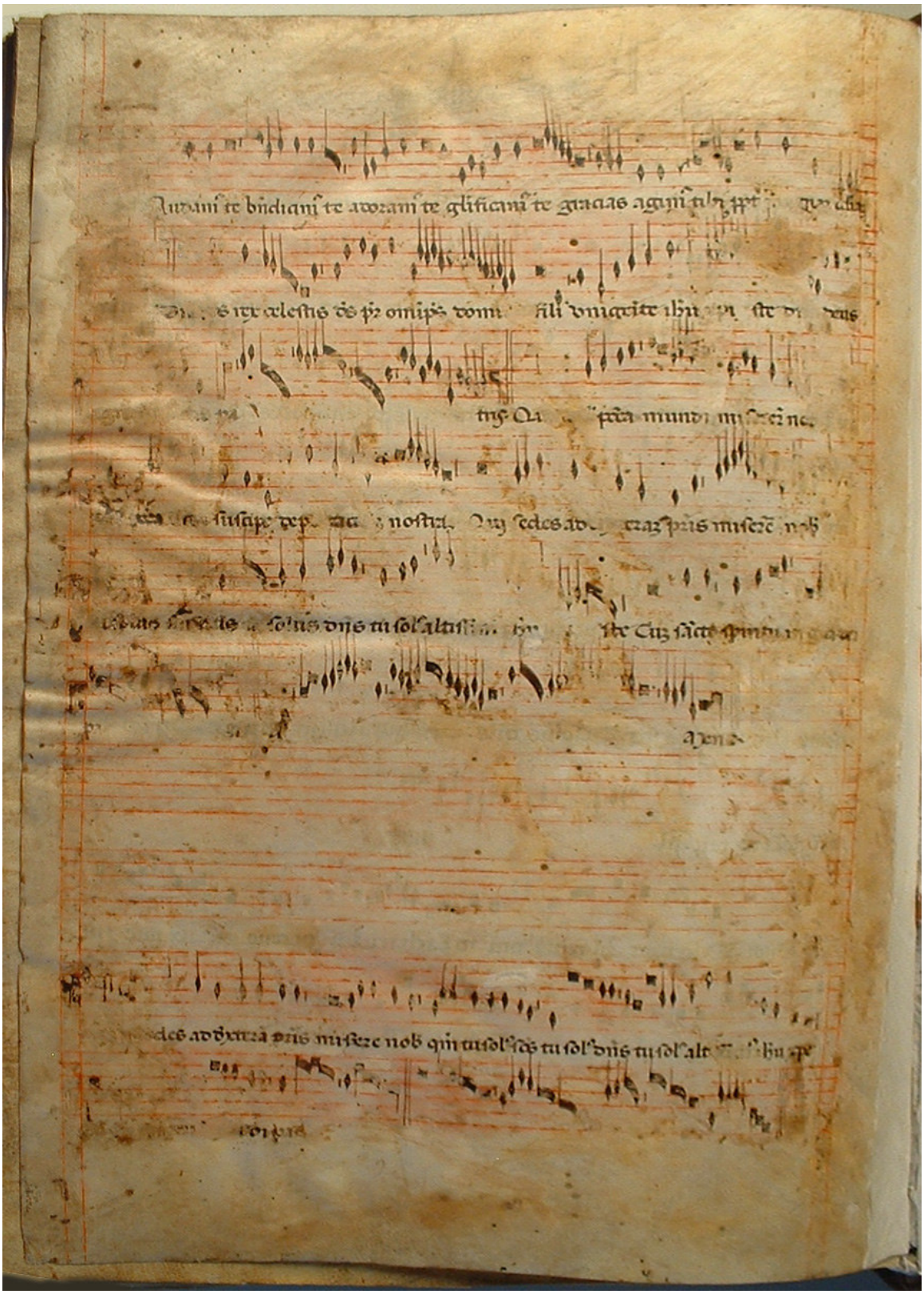
tratenor voice probably on the facing recto.[225] Conversely, the current recto is obviously a verso since it contains a complete contratenor and the last section of the tenor voice (from "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris"). In accordance with the precedent of **Udine 22**, I will use the designation of the original foliation and not how it is currently bound.

The scribal hand changes between the Rentius Gloria on the verso (hand I) and the recto (hand II). Hand I uses capital letters often ("Benedicamus te. Adoramus te," vs. "benedicamus te, adoramus te"), longer marks of abbreviation, more decorated capitals (one can compare the Qs of "Qui tollis" or "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris"), squarer letters throughout, and a different custos type (a check instead of a curled form written in pencil). The same differences distinguish the two hands of **Udine 22**, though no custodes survive from its verso. Also similar to **Cividale 63**, the Rentius Gloria of **Udine 22** (hand I) has more capital letters and squarer letters throughout than hand II. In both manuscripts, hand II uses decorated lines in groups of threes to indicate the end of the work; the surviving marks on the verso of **Cividale 63** (hand I) are in pairs.

The anonymous Gloria (not a Credo, contra *PMFC 13*, p. 257) survives only in a difficult to read contratenor voice and the conclusion of the tenor. It prominently uses the Machaut-era motive  throughout the contratenor and at the end of the Amen in imitation (see Figure 2.57).

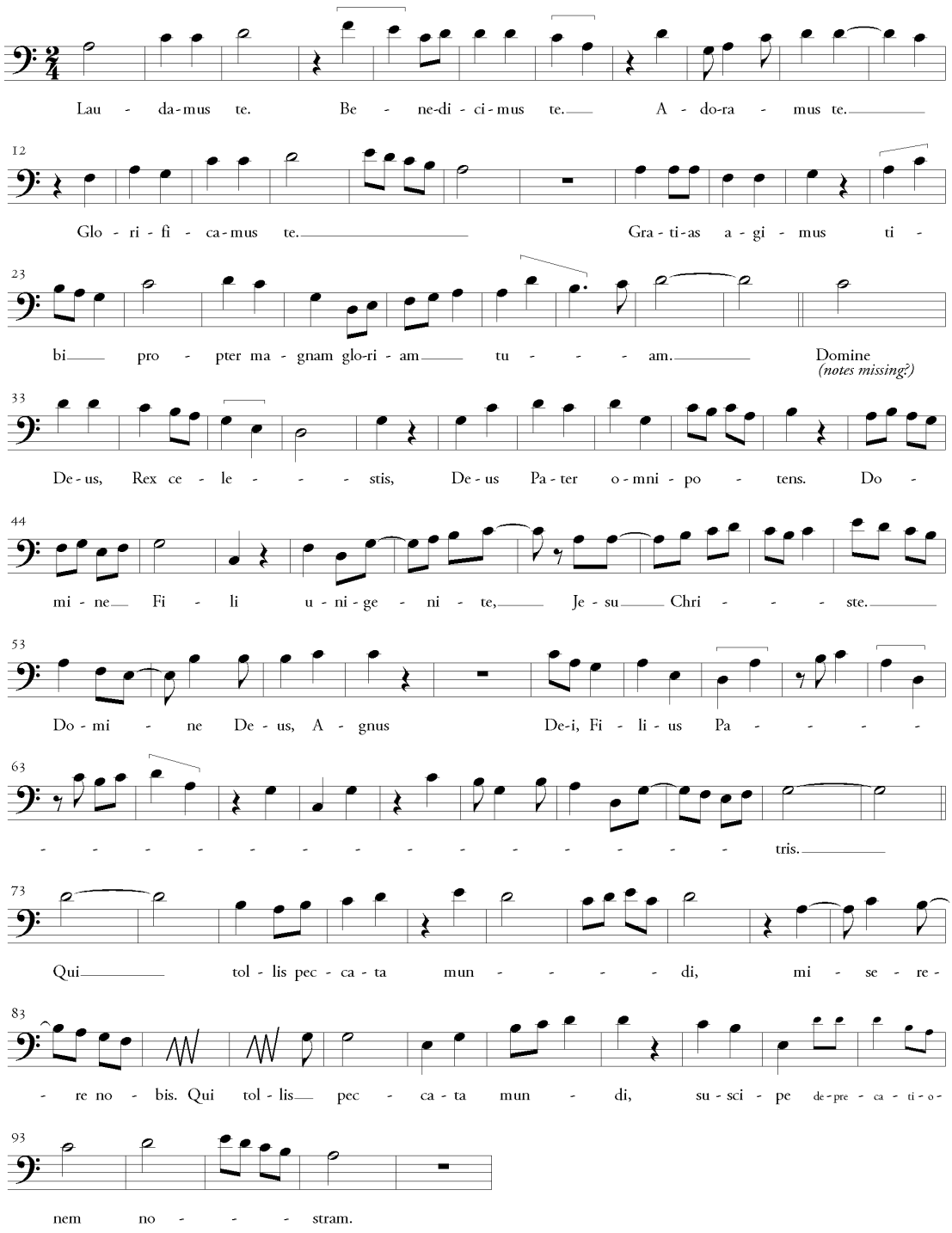
[225] *RISM B IV 4*, p. 749.

FIGURE 2.57: **CIVIDALE 63**, ORIGINAL RECTO (PERSPECTIVE DIGITALLY CORRECTED)



Even if some liberties are taken with the underlay, the text-setting of the anonymous Gloria is not idiomatic. The contratenor begins with "Laudamus te," which indicated that the opening was a solo or duet, the latter either with cantus and tenor or with a divided cantus. Up to "suspcipe deprecationem nostram," only the contratenor survives. With some caveats and some interpretation it can be transcribed (Example 2.58).

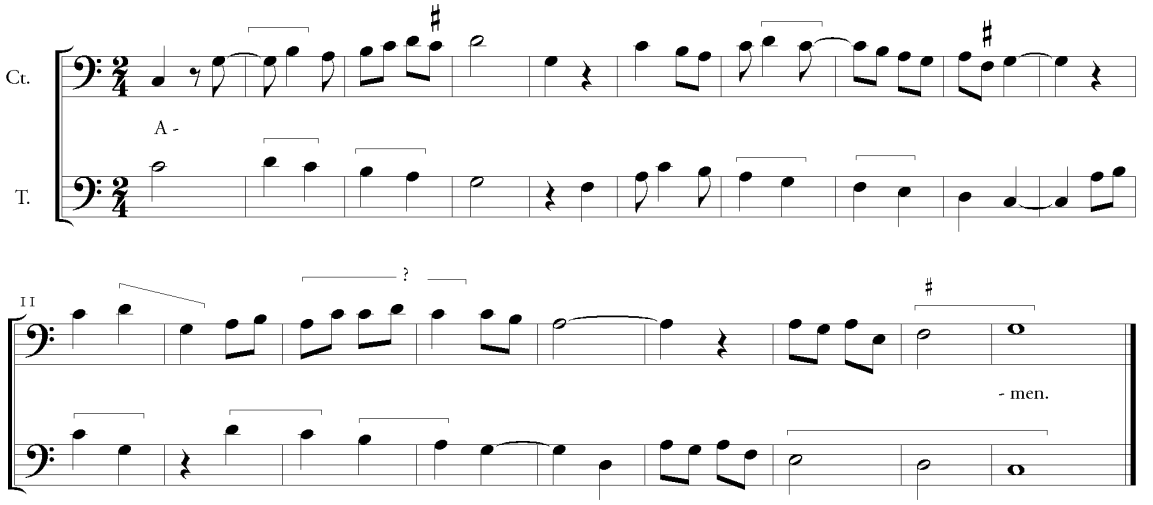
EXAMPLE 2.58: **CIVIDALE 63**, ANONYMOUS GLORIA, CONTRATENOR



The tenor appears at the "qui sedes," but despite some clear passages, I could not satisfactorily transcribe the two-voices together. The voices certainly do not declaim the text

simultaneously and there may also be a change of clef in one or both voices—clefs in general are obscured on this leaf. The verso was originally pasted to the back cover and we know from other examples that the process of lifting leaves missing ink on the cover boards. Though the binding of the manuscript is old and possibly original, a recent restoration job has covered the outside boards with modern flyleaves. The back flyleaf should be lifted so the boards can be photographed. Fortunately, the Amen is legible by-and-large, and Example 2.59 provides a transcription.

EXAMPLE 2.59: **CIVIDALE 63**, ANONYMOUS GLORIA, AMEN



Cividale 63, Grottaferrata s.s., and References to John the Baptist

The original verso contains the complete cantus (1?) and tenor of the unique *Gloria: Descendit Angelus* of Rentius de Ponte Curvo. The work is much better preserved than the Gloria on the recto and has already been transcribed.[226] Rather than having the text of the Gloria, the tenor is a mensural version of the chant, *Descendit Angelus,* from the feast of the

[226] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, A3.

Nativity of John the Baptist. Though the text (an adaptation of Luke 1:11–13) also appears as a responsory, it is the music of the antiphon which we have here.[227] John the Baptist was (and as Figure 2.60 attests still is) revered in Cividale, though the town certainly did not have a monopoly on the veneration of such an important saint.[228] The three-voice hymn, *Iste confessor* found on f. 308r of **Cividale 57** may also dedicated to John the Baptist.[229]

[227] The antiphon appears in [André Mocquerau], *Paleographie Musicale*, série 2, 1: "Antiphonale du B. Hartker," (Solesmes, Imprimerie Saint–Pierre, 1900), plate 273(–*79*). It does not appear in the twelfth-century antiphoner from Lucca also in the series.

[228] Nino Pirrotta, "Zachara da Teramo," in idem, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), note 22, p. 398; reprinted in English translation (with additions) as "Zacarus Musicus," *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), p. 161.

[229] Lockwood, "Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli," p. 251states that *Letare Felix* concerns John the Baptist while another work in **Cividale 57**, *Iste confessor* is dedicated to San Donato, another patron saint of Cividale. However, *Letare Felix*, is dedicated to San Donato, while in the manuscript **Pavia 361** the text is changed to "Ut Queant Laxis" and explicitly honors John the Baptist.

FIGURE 2.60: CONTINUING TRADITIONS OF VENERATION OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN CIVIDALE

Outside of the Cividale manuscripts there exists another Gloria with connections to John the Baptist. This source may also have a Cividalese connection. **Grottaferrata s.s.**, a fragment discovered first by Oliver Strunk then rediscovered by Anne Hallmark, contains four incomplete Glorias on its two folios.[230] Ciconia's *Gloria: Suscipe Trinitas* on f. Bv is the only previously known work. An anonymous and untroped Gloria on f. Ar alternates between ⊂ and ⊂. Another untroped Gloria is ascribed to "Fr[ater] Antonius." Among the

[230] Brief description in Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 223–24.

known composers named Antonio, the Dominican friar Antonio da Cividale is the most likely candidate for this identification. Antonello Marot da Caserta is a possibility since he has called "abbas" in **Parma 75** and a "frater Antoniello de Caserta" is mentioned in a 1402 document.[231] However, his name is given exclusively as some form of "Antoniello" or "Tonelus" and not "Antonius" in the known documents. Furthermore, he wrote no surviving Mass movements. Antonio Zachara da Teramo, an obvious Antonio, was not in a religious order. Nothing is known of the biography of Antonius de Eugubio from **Macerata 488**, whom Paolo Peretti had at one time suggested may have been identical with Zachara.[232] Anthonius Clericus Apostolicus, author of a single ballata in **Strasbourg 222** (once called "a rather vapid piece melodically and harmonically")[233] is usually identified with Zachara.[234] Antonius Romanus is a slightly later composer who remains a possibility if only because we have no details about his life that would completely rule out the identification; if this were the case, the Gloria would have to be an early work. After reviewing the possibilities, Antonio da Cividale is still the most logical choice, raising the potential for tying **Grottaferrata s.s.** to Cividale.

[231] Ursula Günther and Anne Stone, "Antonello da Caserta," s.v., in *2ndNG*.

[232] Peretti, "'Antonius de Eugubio': un altro nome per Zacara?" in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 383–90.

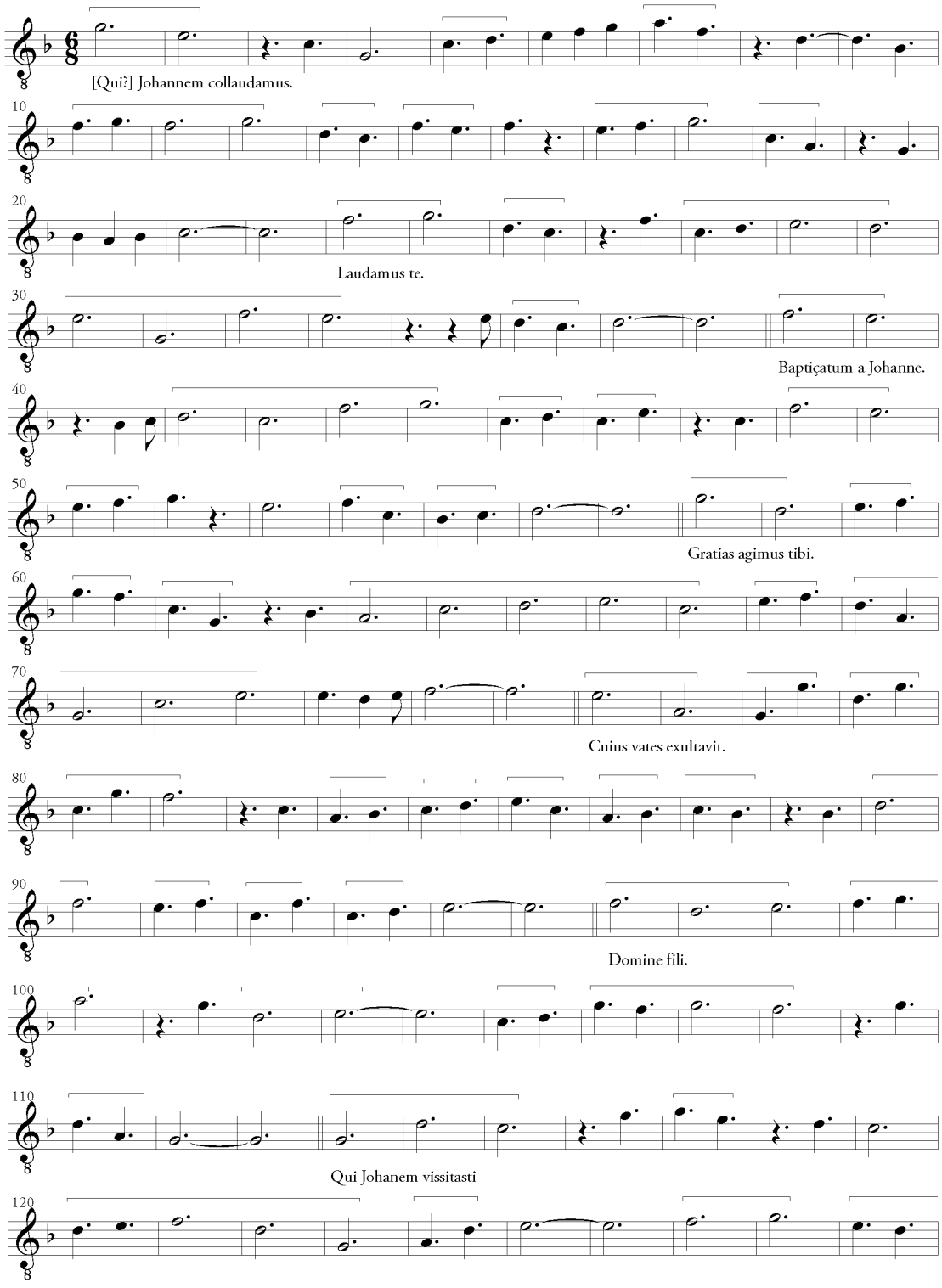
[233] Marrocco*, PMFC 10,* p. X.

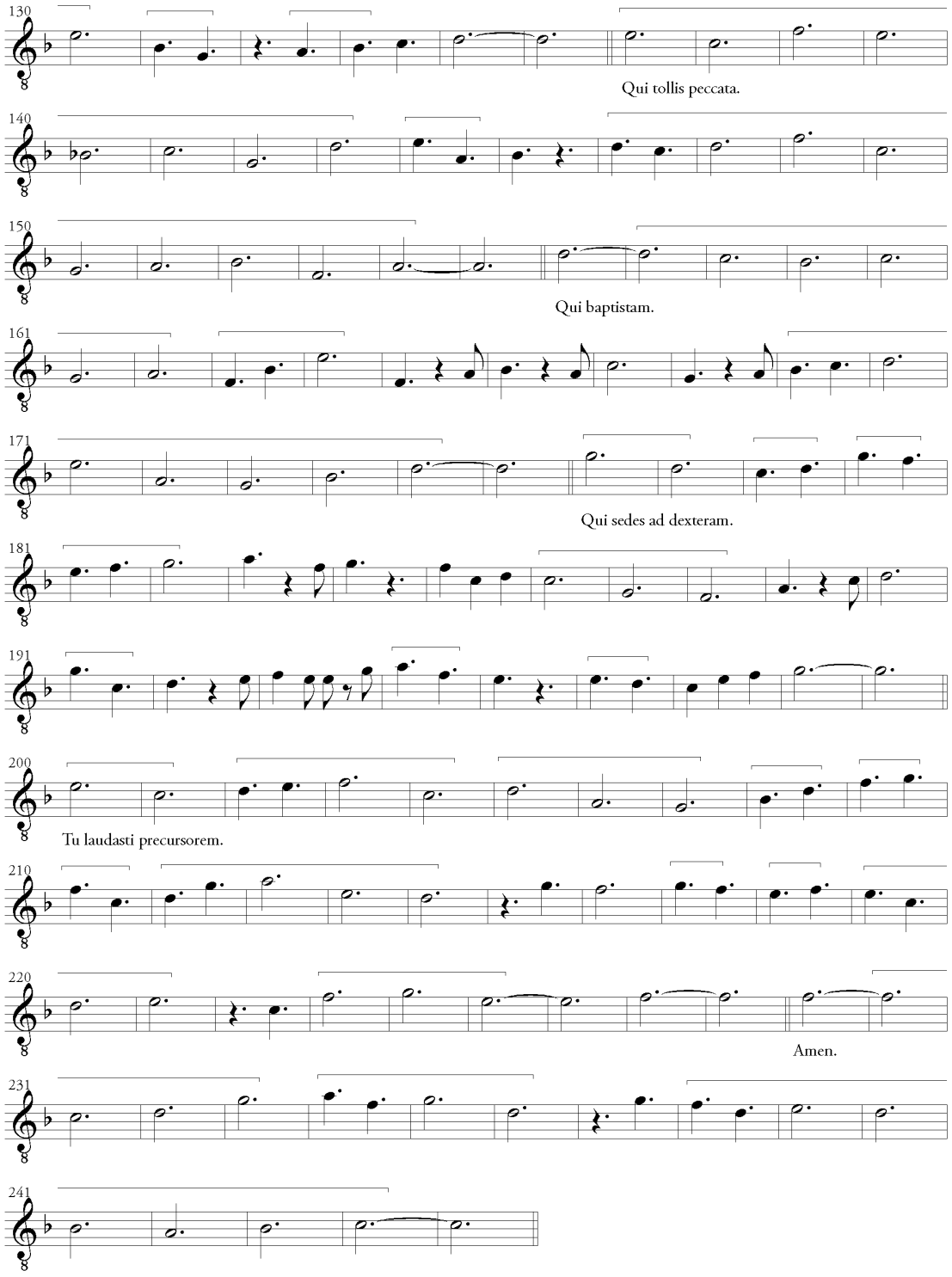
[234] John Nádas, "Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), p. 173; On the same page, Nádas correctly identifies the title of the Credo "Scabioso," a detail which would go unnoticed (even by Nádas!) until the independent rediscovery of the same by Lucia Marchi in "La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma," p. 105.

The fourth Gloria of the manuscript is connected most strongly to **Cividale 63** and the town itself. All that survives is a tenor voice with incipits for each section of the text. The text is troped and praises John the Baptist. Example 2.61 transcribes the folio.[235]

[235] The transcriptions from **Grottaferrata s.s.** were made from a low-quality black and white micro-film whose first staff was difficult to read. Therefore the transcriptions do not have the level of accuracy one would otherwise expect. Given that the fragment has been known for decades without transcription, it was thought that producing even a non-authoritative edition would be better than omitting these examples.

EXAMPLE 2.61: **GROTTAFERRATA S.S.**, F. BR: *GLORIA: [QUI?] JOHANNEM COLLAUDAMUS*

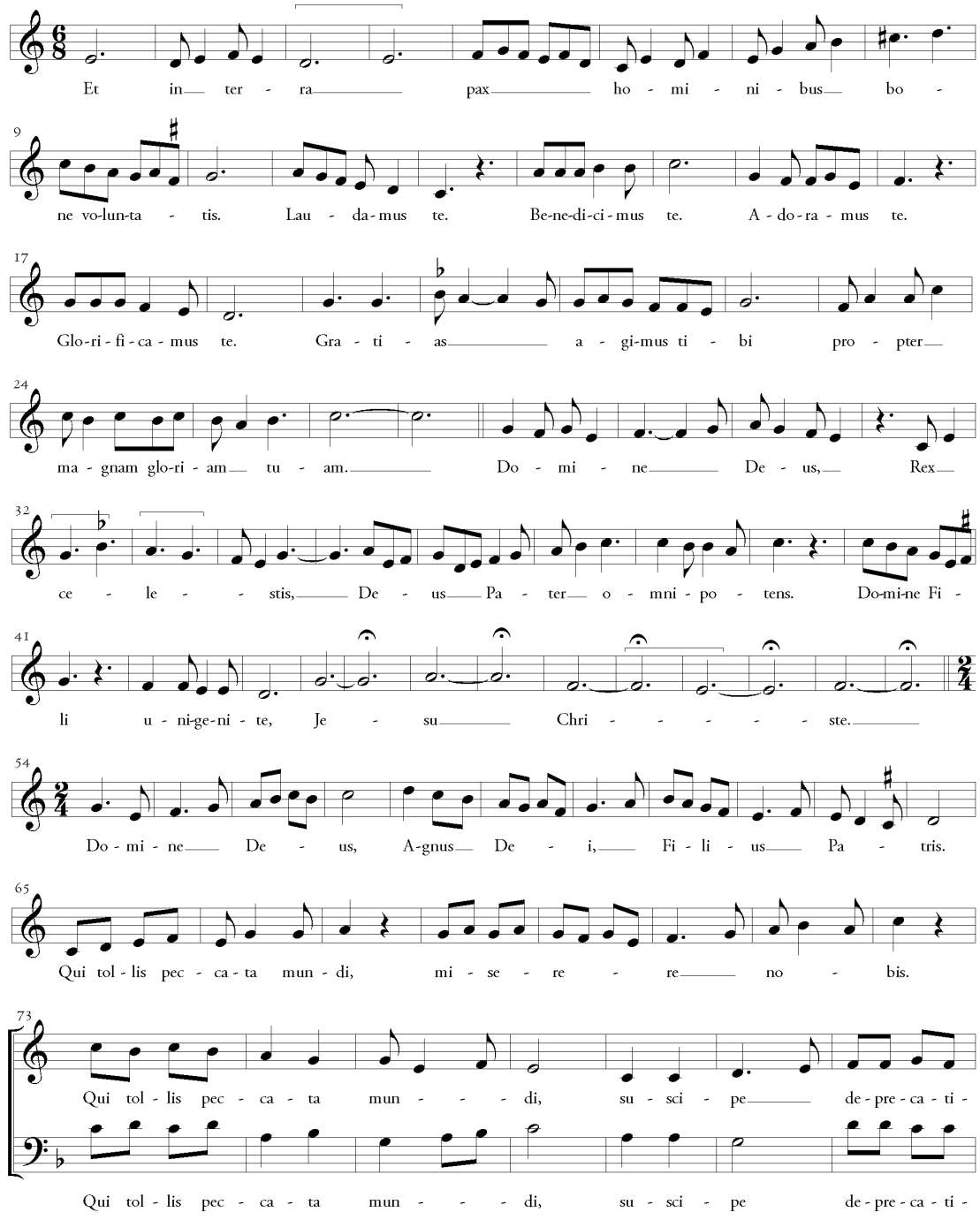


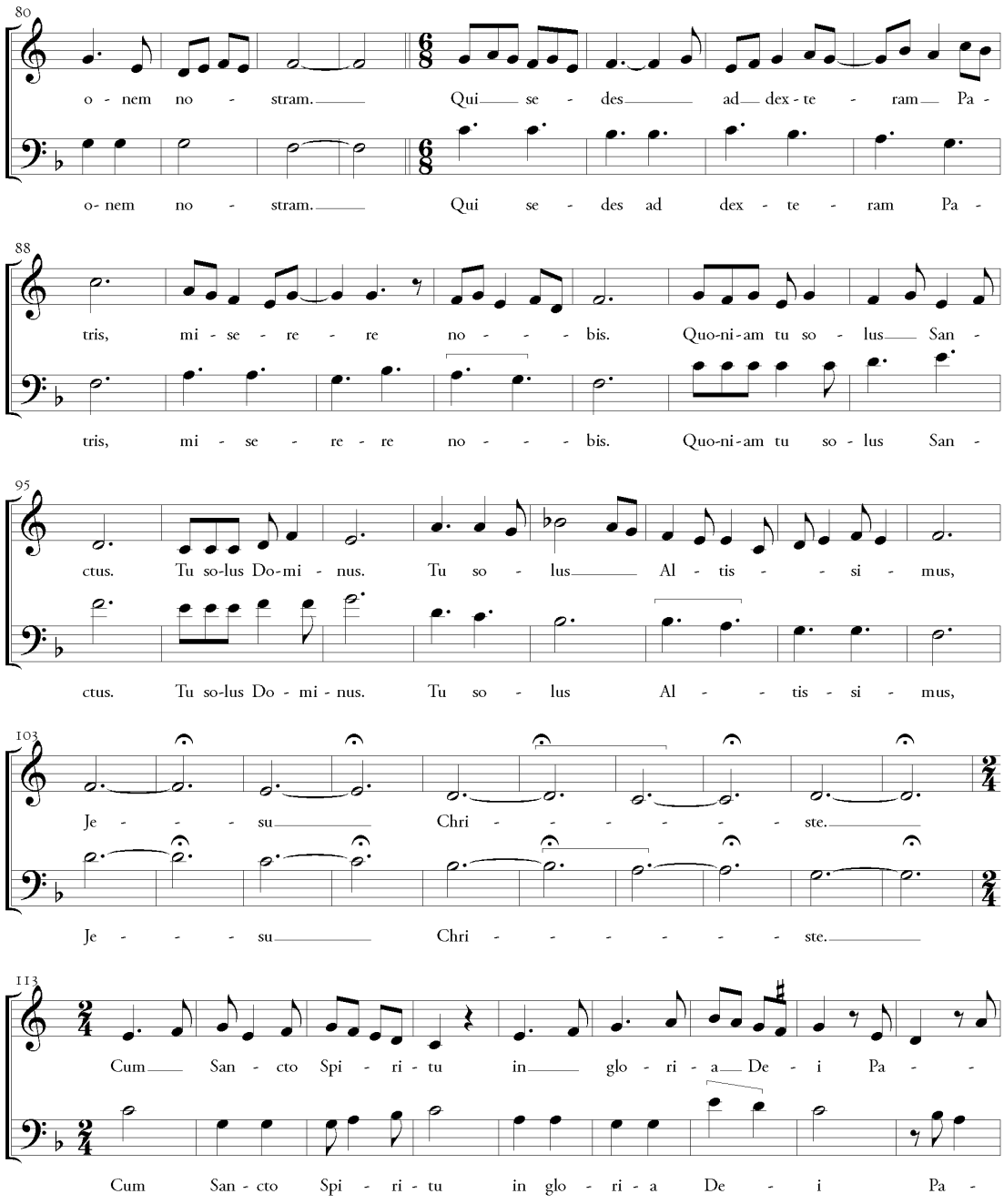


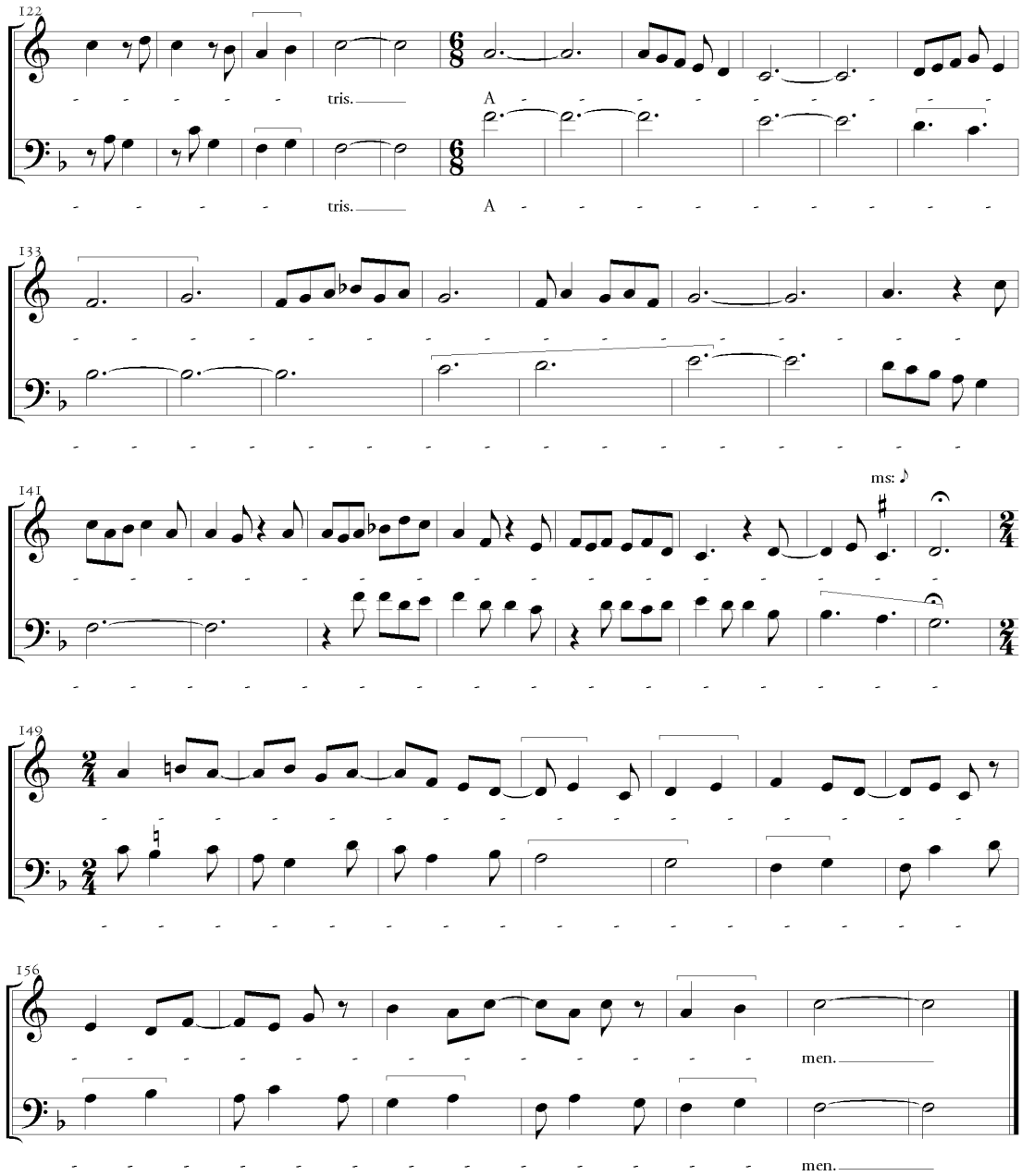
The surviving voices of the two other Glorias would fit stylistically with the repertory of any of the three Cividale manuscripts. In particular, the untroped Gloria on f. Ar has similarities to Philippoctus's Credo. Renewing the caveat from the last Gloria about the pro-

visional nature of these transcriptions, both other *unica* Glorias are given as Examples 2.62 and 2.63.

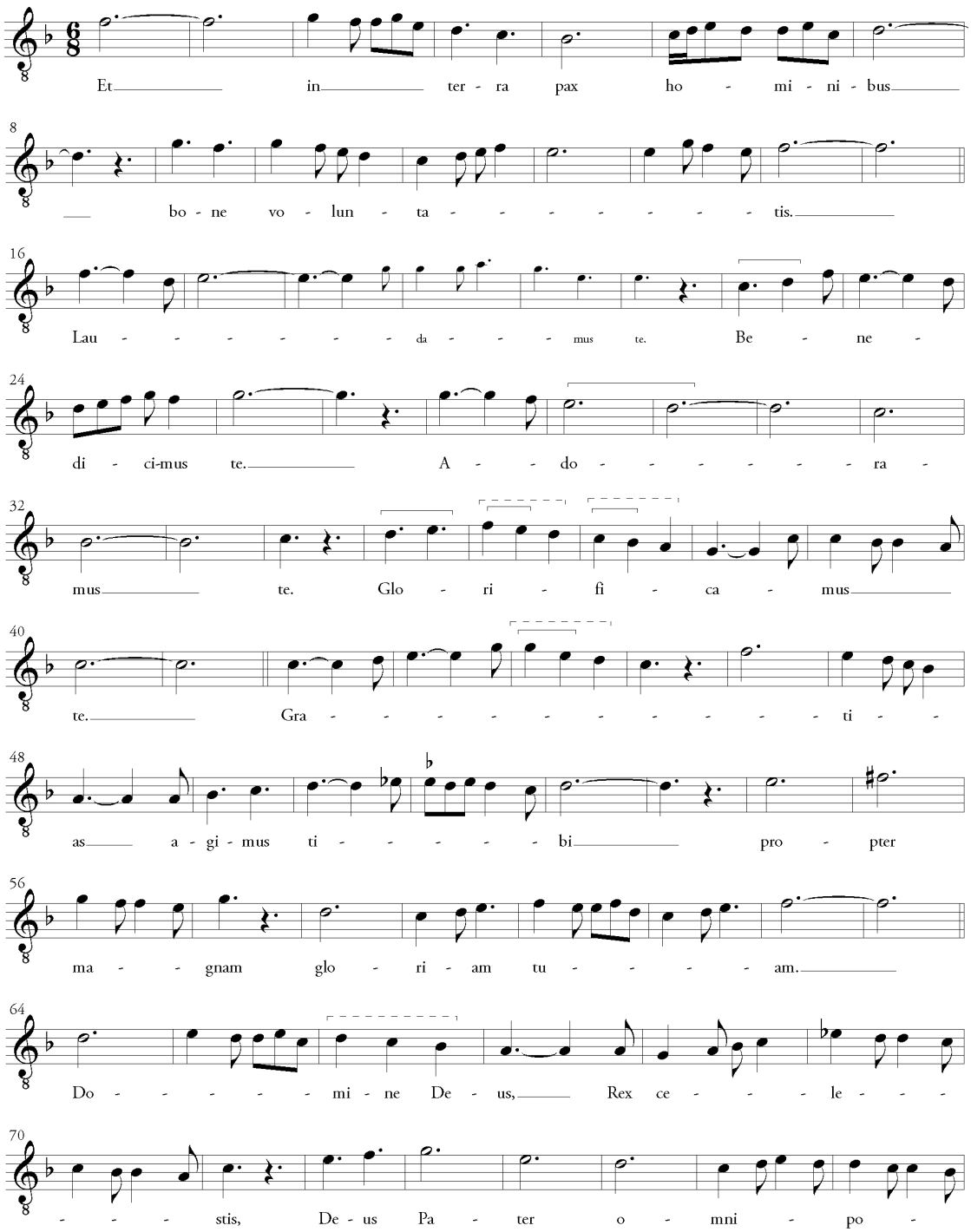
EXAMPLE 2.62: **GROTTAFERRATA S.S.**, F. AR, *GLORIA*

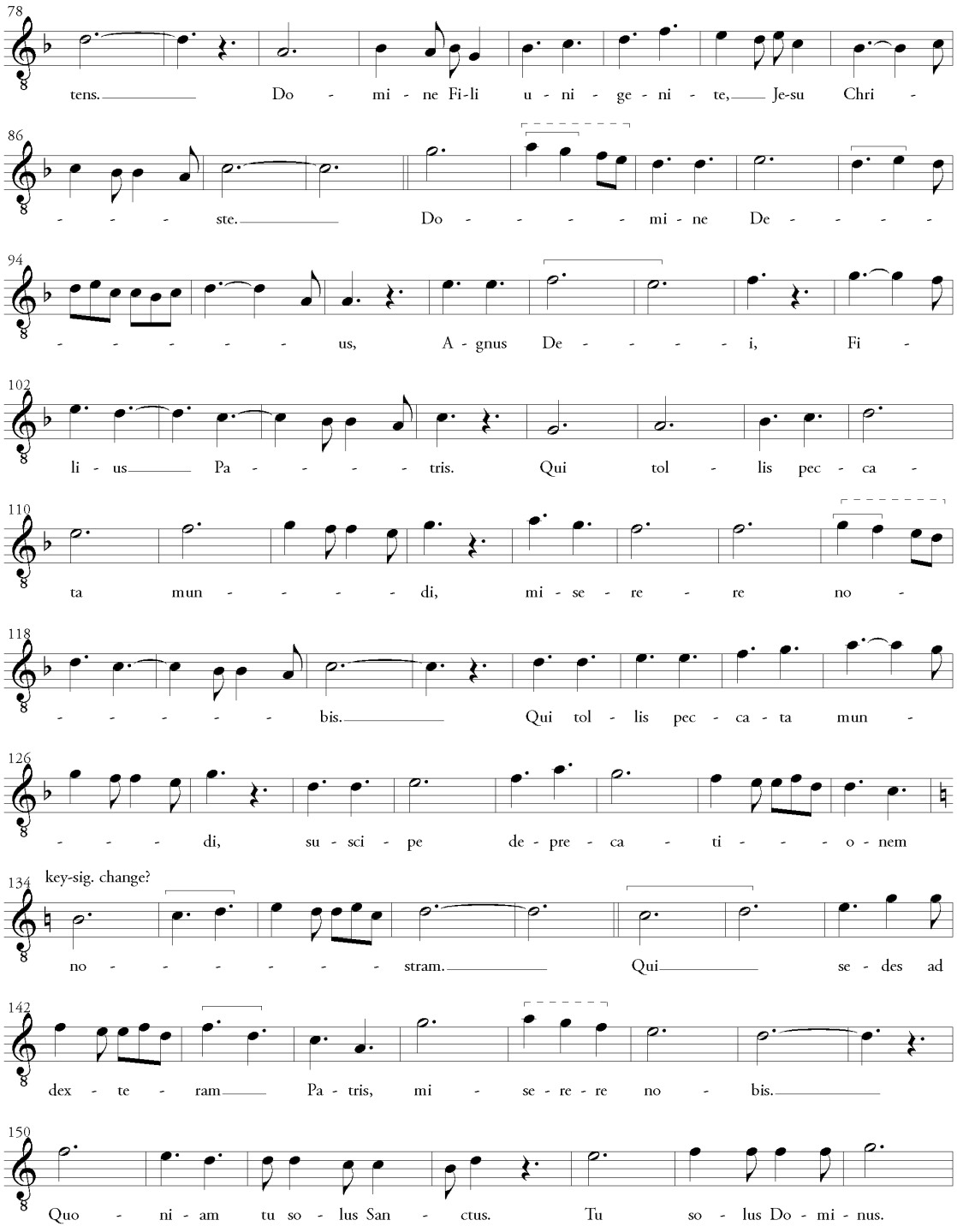


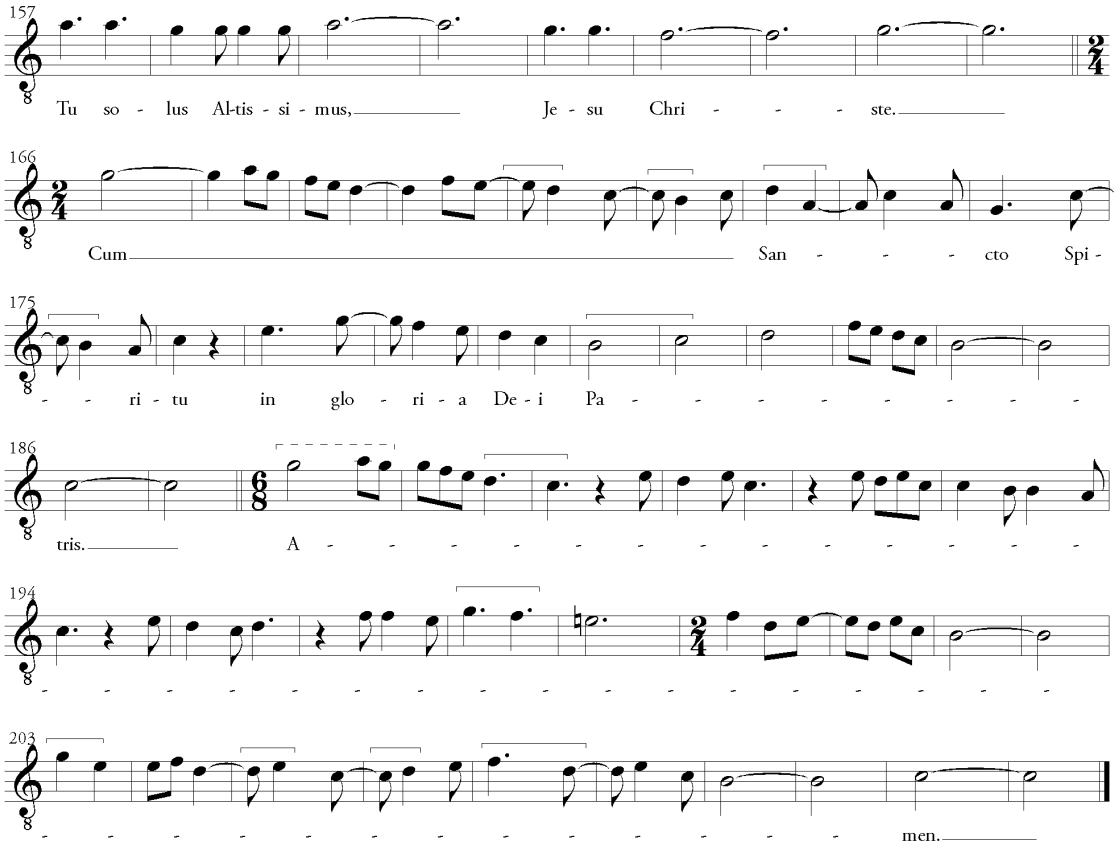

80
o - nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa -
o- nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa -
88
tris, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis. Quo-ni-am tu so - lus San -
tris, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis. Quo-ni-am tu so - lus San -
95
ctus. Tu so-lus Do-mi - nus. Tu so - lus Al - tis - - si - mus,
ctus. Tu so-lus Do - mi - nus. Tu so - lus Al - - tis - si - mus,
103
Je - - - su Chri - - - - - - ste.
Je - - - - su Chri - - - - - - ste.
113
Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - -
Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -


122
tris.
A
tris.
A
133
141
ms:
149
156
men.
men.

EXAMPLE 2.63: **GROTTAFERRATA S.S.**, F. AV GLORIA (FRATER ANTONIUS)




78
tens. Do - mi - ne Fi-li u - ni - ge - ni - te, Je-su Chri -
86
- - - - ste. Do - - - - - mi - ne De - - - - -
94
- - - - - - - us, A - gnus De - - - - - i, Fi -
102
li - us Pa - - - - - tris. Qui tol - lis pec - ca -
110
ta mun - - - - - di, mi - se - re - re no -
118
- - - - - - bis. Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
126
- - - - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - - - - o - nem
134
key-sig. change?
no - - - - - - - - stram. Qui se - des ad
142
dex - te - ram Pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no - bis.
150
Quo - ni - am tu so - lus San - ctus. Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus.



Though the scribal hand of **Grottaferrata s.s.** is not the same as either of the hands in **Cividale 63**, there are other similarities. Both manuscripts use 10 six-line staves, and have writing areas in the ratio of about 1.7:1. **Grottaferrata s.s.**'s use of French mensural signatures appears also in **Cividale 98**, as a ○ in the Amen of Philippoctus's Credo. These similarities are not enough in themselves to give a definite Cividalese provenance to the manuscript. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to remind us that when we consider the provenance of a new discovery, we have other choices than Florence or Padua.

Cividale A as a whole

As a final perspective, I wish to consider these three sources as a group and possibly as a single manuscript. All three fragments are the same size, use 10 six-line staves of the same color, and delimit the writing area on both sides with two vertical lines.[236] Further, they have similar repertories of Mass movements. In particular, the scribe favors three-voice works with active contratenors and tenors. The same two types of custodes, both check and curled, are found throughout the manuscripts.

Pressacco commented on some important differences among the fragments.[237] **Cividale 98** has complete decorations while **Cividale 63** and **Udine 22** have none. However, many manuscripts have some sections which are decorated and others which are not; **Pad A** is one such example. He also argued that **Cividale 63** and **Udine 22** use color abundantly (**Udine 22** uses both red and void red), while **Cividale 98** uses red notation only for "archaic rhythmic figures" such as breves and longae. However, the closer examination of f. 1r provided above shows red semibreves in the contratenor voice of Zachara's Credo, so this caveat may now be removed. The difference in musical hands across manuscripts may be raised, but the same hands are seen within each source, and f. 42v of **Cividale 98** employs both hands. The two hands on that page seem to merging into each other, which raises the possibility that they may actually be a single scribe. The strongest point of resistance against (conceptually) uniting the fragments into a single, original manuscript is the lack of overlap between one part and another. This is a serious charge. It may be leveled against many

[236] Noted by Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria," p. 238
[237] *Ibid.,* pp. 237–38.

other manuscripts as well, such as Siena 326 and 327 (now called **Siena 207**) or **Cortona 1** and **Cortona 2**. But as the examination of the Paduan group showed earlier, there are important gains to be made by understanding which groups of sources are closely related and which are less close, without making the final statement about their original relations. Though in fact every pair of sources either was or was not part of the same original source, given our current knowledge we cannot make definite statements about these relationships in every case. Fortunately, we are not forced to.

Thus, even if we cannot show definitively on the basis of continuous foliation or shared works that these three Cividalese sources formed a single manuscript (as is the case with **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** or **Padua 684** and **Padua 1475**), they certainly were part of the same project of manuscript production. Let us optimistically designate this composite manuscript group **Cividale A** in the hopes that additional Cividalese manuscripts will be discovered in the future.

The similarities between **Pad A** and **Cividale A** are numerous. Both groups are primarily devoted to the transmission of Mass movements, mixing the music of local composers (Gratious and Ciconia in the case of **Pad A,** and Rentius and Antonio for **Cividale A**) with those of other Italian and international composers (including in both cases Zachara and Engardus). The copying of secular compositions to be sure was a secondary concern, but it would be wrong to consider it an afterthought. In both sources, the principal scribe notates these works. This attention indicates that they were intended from the start to occupy available spaces. The connections between Padua and Cividale are increasing in importance, and we may in time come to see the northeast of Italy as an even stronger counterweight to Florentine cultural power.

Other Manuscripts in Cividale

Although **Cividale A** is the most important testament to mensural polyphony in Cividale *ca.* 1400, several other sources refine and add color to our view of the musical situation. The most important other source comprises the four flyleaves at the front of **Cividale 79**, a fifteenth-century gradual. The first and fourth flyleaves are from one musical source with a continuous repertory of ff. Av and Dr. The second and third are from another document with a different scribal hand and manuscript layout. Folios A & D have nine five-line staves per page while ff. B & C use ten four-line staves. The outer leaves contain a Credo in mensural notation (often called *cantus fractus*), a non-mensural Alleluia, and the chant *Alma mater pietatis Helisabeth* (probably also related to John the Baptist) in mensural notation, all monophonic. The inner leaves contain a monophonic, non-mensural *Kyrie, fons bonitatis* along with a polyphonic Gloria and Credo. The Gloria is securely attributed to Antonio da Cividale. The second, based on the *Credo* "Cardinalis," begins on the same page as the Gloria and thus may also be by Antonio.[238] The Credo is incomplete, but a complete, two-voice version of the work can be found in an addition to the 1345 **Gemona Gradual**, from nearby Gemona del Friuli.

The presence of mensural monophonic chant in Cividale complements the collections of non-mensural polyphonic singing for which the town is better known. There is a further major source of so-called *cantus fractus,* the four passion settings of **Cividale 24**.[239] As

[238] The Gloria is edited in *E15cM 5,* no. 6; the Credo in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13, A7* with the suggestion that it may be part of the same piece as **Cividale 58**, f. 354v.

[239] Discovered by Lewis Lockwood and Pierluigi Petrobelli and reported on by Petrobelli, "Nuovo materiale polifonico del Medioevo e del Rinascimento a Cividale," *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi* 46 (1965), p. 214, and Lockwood, "Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli," p. 252.

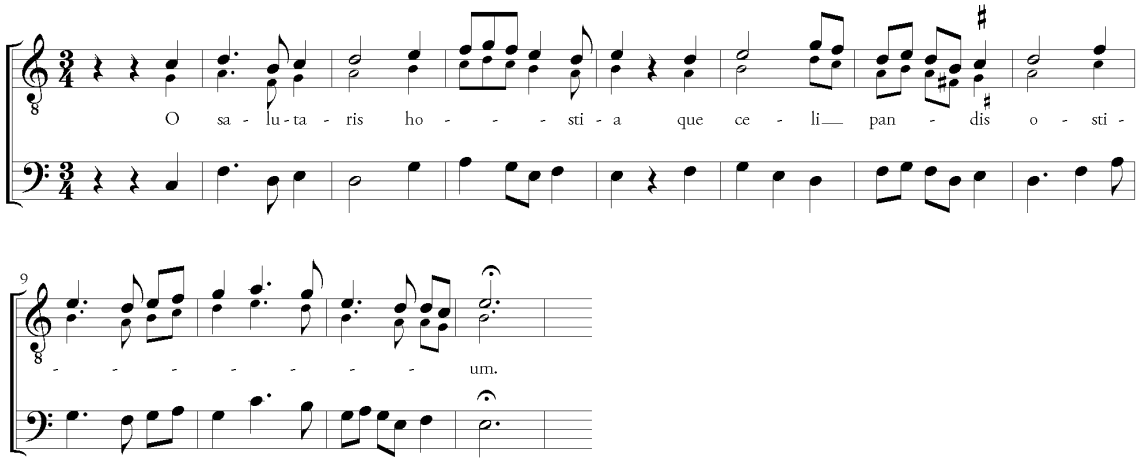
Lockwood notes, the source is possibly the largest known setting of mensural monophony from the first half of the quattrocento. The autograph inscription reports that the canon of the cathedral of Cividale Comuzius della Campagnolla,[240] "scripsit, notavit et in figuram cantus reduxit."[241] The inscription further says that Comuzius was "natus magistri Zanni de Padua," whom other documents show had died in 1427.[242] Could Comuzius be the son of the Paduan composer Zaninus de Peraga de Padua known from a single work, *Se le lagrime antique* in **Stresa 14**? The death date seems plausible. Further work in the archival documents before 1427 in Cividale will be needed to answer this question, but at the least by Comuzius's name alone we have established another Cividalese composer with Paduan connections.

A few other isolated works of mensural polyphony are found in the Cividale manuscripts. Two hymns were added to empty spaces in **Cividale 57** by two different hands, neither of which copied the main part of the manuscript. On f. 308, *Letare felix civitas,* a hymn for two upper voices with tenor, has been added.[243] On f. 326r the three-voice hymn dedicated to a confessor, *Iste confessor domini* has been written. Though the work is known from 11 sources, **Cividale 57**'s contratenor is both unique and the most active of any of the voices in any version.[244] The final work to consider is *O salutaris hostia,* a piece out of our time period. It is notated as a two-voice composition and was written probably just after the middle

[240] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*
[241] Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro,* no. 320.
[242] *Ibid., op. cit.*
[243] Transcription Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13,* no. 40.
[244] Transcriptions Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13,* no. 39, and from all 11 sources in Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23b,* no. 83a.

of the fifteenth-century on f. 82v of **Cividale 101**.[245] Margaret Bent singles it out as unusual for being a piece of fauxbourdon (though unlabeled) in a manuscript of simple polyphony.[246] Example 2.64 transcribes the first line with an added, implied fauxbourdon voice.

EXAMPLE 2.64: **CIVIDALE 101**, *O SALUTARIS HOSTIA*, FIRST LINE



The mixtures of high and low art inherent in fauxbourdon make it an apt metaphor for the mélange of styles and audiences found throughout the Cividale manuscripts. No study bound within the traditional research areas of chant, simple polyphony, or *ars nova* could capture the totality of musical flowering in this remarkable town. The wide musical variety of Cividale therefore begs us to develop an equally wide view of music history.

[245] Both processionaries have recently been described by Michel Huglo in the second volume of his study, *Les manuscrits du processionnal, RISM B XIV 2* (Munich: Henle, 2004), pp. 305–7. Huglo notes that St. Bernardine of Siena, who was canonized in 1450, appears in the litany of the saints in the manuscript.

[246] Bent, "The Definition of Simple Polyphony: Some Questions," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), p. 38. She notes also that **Venice 145** is indiscriminate in its holdings.

3 OTHER SELECTED MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS

Understanding fragmentary sources in isolation is as difficult as solving a crossword puzzle on the first pass and on the basis of the clues alone. Fragments yield some of their secrets easily. But just as some crossword clues can only be solved when other answers have filled in some of the letters, so can many fragments only be understood in the context of other manuscripts and documents. The more inscrutable aspects of fragments become comprehensible only after repeated examination, always in the light of recent discoveries and new theories.

This chapter revisits six such sources. Like the fragments discussed in Chapter 2, each appears to be the remnant of a larger polyphonic collection, equivalent to those which remain mostly intact today. Most of these sources have received little attention since 1925.[1] Though it is my intention to present these manuscripts as a representative sample of manuscript fragments, in fact these sources also form a group. All of these sources are currently in the vicinity of Rome, a city whose importance as a center of trecento holdings today is increasing in the same measure as our perception of its stature in the fourteenth century.[2]

[1] Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2 (1925), pp. 167–252.

[2] Three further sources in Rome, **Vatican 1419**, **Vatican 129**, and **Casanatense 522** (the last of which may or may not be part of a larger manuscript) are discussed in Chapter 5. On Rome and the Papal Chapels, see especially, Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian

(note continues)

Vatican 1969

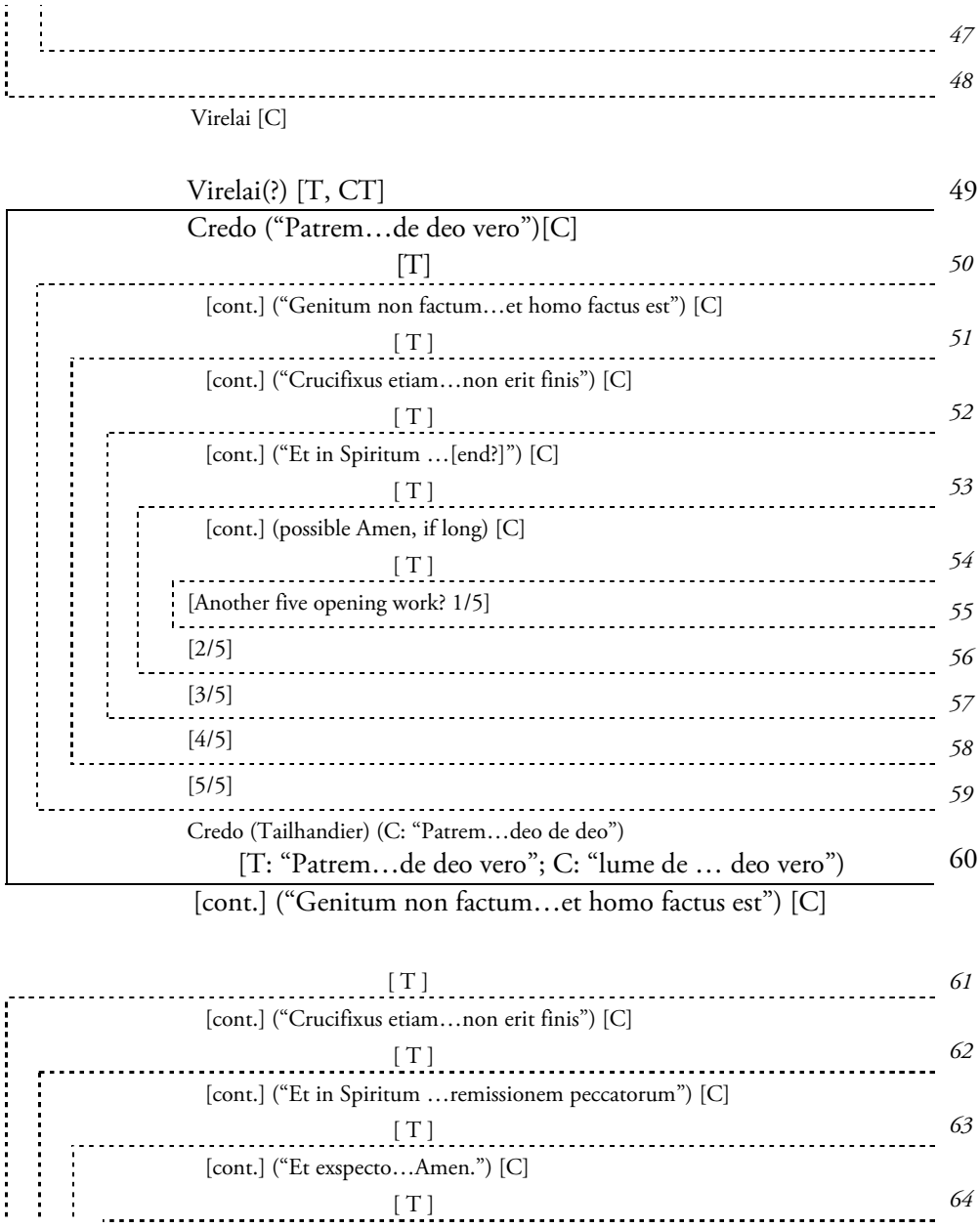
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1969.
RISM B IV 4*: I-Rvat 1969, p. 1034.* CCMS 4: *VatO 1969, p. 21.*

At the front of the tiny volume of the Satires of Juvenal of Aquino, lies an equally tiny bifolio, now used as a pair of loose flyleaves but which seems to have once been bound to the front cover. The document, containing parts of a secular composition and two Credos, forms an important link between the musical style of the trecento and the types of Mass compositions familiar throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. The flyleaves are 140mm in height and 105mm in width, of which the inner *c.* 5mm is bent around the main corpus, emerging between ff. 8 and 9. The partially cut-off decorated initial letter on the first verso shows that the leaves have been trimmed slightly on the outside edge (though this trimming may have occurred before it was bound into the host manuscript), but the writing space of 110x90mm, has not been disturbed. The five-line staves are of normal or even largish size (17mm with *ca.* 27mm from system to system); that there are only four staves per page allows the manuscript's diminutive size.

A red foliation number on the top right recto reads 49 for the first folio and 60 for the second. If the numbering is original, as it probably (but not certainly) is, it indicates that the manuscript was of substantial length at some point. The remains of three compositions are preserved on the two surviving folios, but the small size allows us to posit the contents of several lost folios, as Figure 3.1 describes. The gathering structure showing sexternions is an educated guess, but seems likely since larger gathering sizes are uncommon.

Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 44–92.

FIGURE 3.1: HYPOTHETICAL GATHERING RECONSTRUCTION OF **VATICAN 1969**



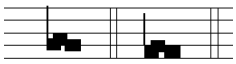
The manuscript contains the remains of three pieces, the first of which is mostly illegible and cannot be reconstructed. The second and third are two Credos, the second of which is known to be written by Tailhandier with concordances in **Apt 16bis**, **Barce-**

lona/Gerona, **Barcelona 2**, **Barcelona 853b**, **Munich 29775.8**, and the burnt codex **Strasbourg 222**.[3] Both Credos are listed among the exclusa of *PMFC 13*, probably indicating that Fischer and Gallo were unaware of the Tailhandier concordance which was published soon thereafter as *PMFC 23b* no. 54. The manuscript does not appear anywhere in Layton's study of Italian mass music, suggesting he was unaware of the source rather than convinced of entirely non-Italian contents.

The first work is nearly illegible. It has been called a ballade probably on account of the open and close endings (visible at the beginning of the second staff) which are then followed by further music.[4] A closer examination reveals a change of clef after the close ending (from C5 to C4), thus probably indicating a new voice part, and another "clus" ending at the bottom of the fourth (i.e., final) staff. The remaining text of the last line seems to read, "da pars con…or" (="secunda pars contratenor"), making it more likely that we possess the lower voices of a three-voice virelai. (There are some ballate with open and close endings at the end of the piece, but this format is more commonly found in virelais). The visible use of two adjacent minim rests in line four along with the void coloration in the second and third lines indicates *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* ($\frac{6}{8}$). The folio is a palimpsest; thus ultraviolet light only hinders the reconstruction by making the underwriting more legible (to the relative detriment of the notes). The open and close endings of the tenor line are distinctive, as Figure 3.2 shows:

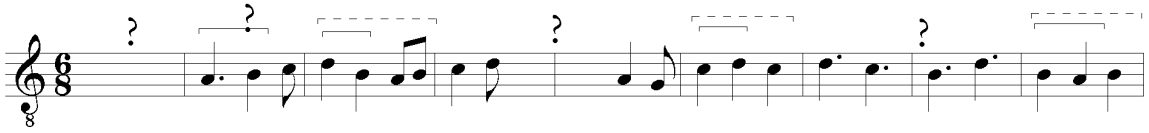
[3] See the section on **Barcelona 2** in Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of its concordances.
[4] *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1034.

FIGURE 3.2: **VATICAN 1969**, F. 49R TENOR ENDINGS



The pattern of ascending and descending seconds before the cadence note in both the open and close is unknown in other surviving pieces, and will help in future searches for concordances.[5] The cadence tones are probably A and G, respectively, though the clef cannot be made out for certain. Although the beginning of the contratenor cannot be read with any confidence, much of the rest of the first two lines can be transcribed. It is a low voice with frequent use of void notation. Example 3.3 attempts a transcription; again, unfortunately no concordances could be found.

EXAMPLE 3.3: **VATICAN 1969,** F. 49R, CONTRATENOR, OPENING



At the top of the folio are two words which tantalize with the possibility of an attribution but are best read as "fecit cantum."[6] This attribution suggests that the name of the one who made the song would have appeared at the top of the previous page.[7]

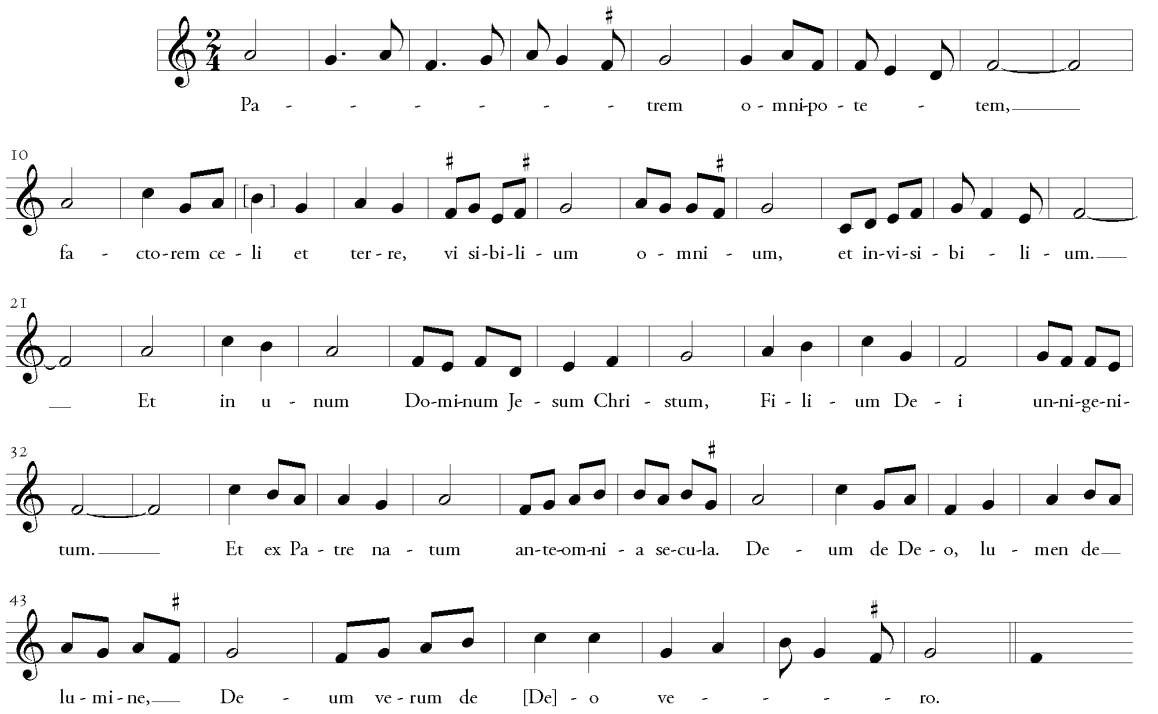
[5] Surprisingly, the closest matches for this distinctive tenor ending are found in the Cypriot codex **Turin 9**. For instance, the perfect modus ballade, *Contre tous maulz*, no. 42 in Hoppin's edition, has open and close tenor endings at the same pitch level as **Vatican 1969**'s work. (Richard Hoppin, editor, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 21* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960).)

[6] "Cantum" is abbreviated as "cāt" followed by a sign of truncation.

[7] The head of the page also contains the old shelfmarks, V.2.32 and Q.13.17. The manuscript comes from the collection of Dukes of Altemps; the arms of Pope Pius VI (reigned 1775–99) on the cover give approximate dates for the (re-?)binding of the manuscript.

The verso of the folio contains one voice of the opening of a Credo in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*. The surviving music implies a simple work, similar in phrase length, meter, and gesture to the Tailhandier Credo or Matteo's Credo, *PMFC 13* no. 24, but with less syncopation than either. But perhaps the most similar work in the Italian trecento repertory is Philippoctus de Caserta's Credo, formerly thought to be incomplete, but transcribed in Chapter 2, above. The figure ♩. 𝅘𝅥𝅯 is the only significant detail of this Credo lacking in Philippoctus's. Example 3.4 provides a transcription of the **Vatican 1969** Credo.[8]

EXAMPLE 3.4: **VATICAN 1969**, F. 49V



[8] *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1003 gives the Credo beginning on f. 140v of **Parma 9** as a concordance for this work. This is incorrect and probably refers to the polyphonic credo of **Vatican 657** instead (see Chapter 4).

In its range, use of the figure ♩. ♪, cadence patterns, nearly syllabic setting, and probable two-voice structure, the work also resembles the Credo of **Houghton 122** (*PMFC 13.A10*). Unfortunately, only the end of that work is preserved, so there is no music or text in common with **Vatican 1969**.[9]

The size of **Vatican 1969** is similar to other tiny sources from the fifteenth century, such as the composite **Venice 145** and **Parma 3597**, a manuscript of plainsong with one polyphonic work in Stimmtausch.[10] The connection to the Venetian source, the copying of a virelai (or ballade), and scribal interest in French Mass music (exemplified by Tailhandier's Credo) make a northern provenance more likely for the source, but a more precise location is impossible.

[9] There is not the space for a detailed consideration of the Houghton source (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Houghton Library, fMS Typ 122), but the possibility should be raised that it is not an Italian source at all. It omits custodes; this occurrence is common outside Italy, but rare in Italian sources of the trecento and early quattrocento. The serifs on letters and on square notes such as breves and longae are more pronounced than normally seen in Italian sources. The notation shows no Italianisms and uses French mensural signatures throughout. Though I defer to Margaret Bent's assessment of stylistic connections between the motet *…cordis psalteris* and Ciconia's motets ("New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 9 (1980), pp. 181–82), it is rare to find in Ciconia's works a fifty measure passage where neither the tenor nor cantus 2 have a long rest to change the texture as we see in the Houghton source. That there are stylistic connections between this Credo and the English and French Gloria settings in **Foligno** (*Ibid.,* p. 184) does little to hint at an Italian origin for the Cambridge source or its contents. A date for the source from later in the fifteenth century would alleviate some of these concerns about provenance, but would make the motet's presumed subject (the three-fold Schism) no longer topical.

[10] Giulio Cattin has written two invaluable articles on these manuscripts, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145," *Quadrivium* 4 (1960), pp. 1–57, recently reprinted in Cattin 2003 (q.v.), pp. 37–96, and "Persistenza e variazioni in un tropo polifonico al *Benedicamus*," in *L'ars nova Italiana del Trecento* 5, edited by Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova Italiana del Trecento, 1985), pp. 46–56. Although the dates and contents of these manuscripts put them beyond the scope of this dissertation, they will figure again in the discussions of liturgical polyphony in Chapter 4.

Vatican 171

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barberinianus latinus 171.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat 171, pp. 1018–20* CCMS 4: *VatB 171, p. 11.*

Another fragmentary source of sacred music with Northern Italian connections is found in the Barberini collection of Latin manuscripts in the Vatican. **Vatican 171**'s music is found at the rear of a manuscript of miscellaneous medical tracts.[11] The remainder of the manuscript has nothing to do with music. The source opens with a palimpsest bifolio whose first folio was formerly pasted to the front cover, apparently dealing with arithmetic problems. The first verso contains the old siglae 766 and IX.40 in addition to the current Barb. lat. 171. The following verso contains a modern inventory of the manuscript. Approximately half the source (ff. 1r–114v) is dedicated to the Sinonima of Magister Simonis de Janua (Simon of Genova), a dictionary of Greek and Latin medicine translated into Latin. The remainder of the manuscript is dedicated to four treatises "de simplicibus medicinis."

Tipped into the back of the manuscript are several parchment leaves mounted on four modern preservation sheets. The first two of these sheets are a bifolio on which has been mounted two strips of music; the third is a single folio of music. The final sheet, which will not be discussed, contains a letter of 1447 also cut into two strips, between Pope Nicholas V and "Henricus" (Enrico Rampini di Sant'Allosio, archbishop and cardinal of Milan). The contents of the letter show no connection with the music manuscripts. The distance in time between the production of the music manuscript, the writing of the letter, and the cut-

[11] The manuscript is described in Theodore Silverstein's study, *Medieval Latin Scientific Writings in the Barberini Collection: A Provisional Catalog* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), pp. 43–45, with some errors concerning the musical contents and the concluding letter.

ting and reuse of both give little reason to suspect either a Roman ("apud Sanctam Petram") or a Milanese provenance for the music section of the manuscript.[12]

The remainder of this section will naturally focus on the three music folios. Because they have been referred to by so many different systems of foliations, it is important to present the different systems in Table 3.5 below:

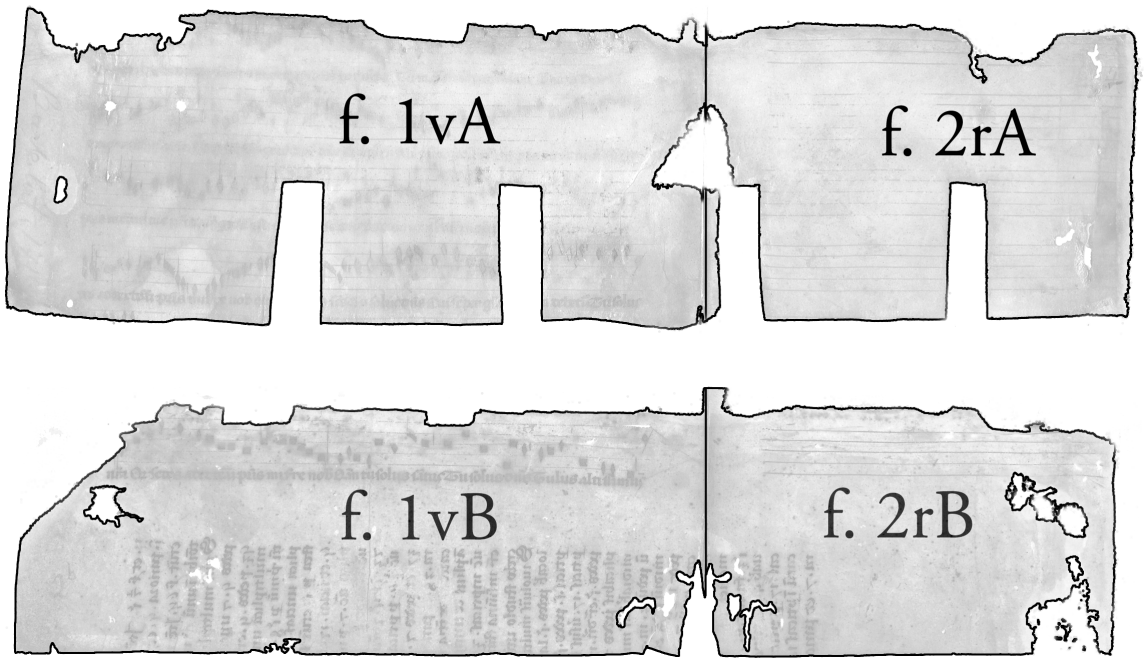
TABLE 3.5: FOLIATION SYSTEMS IN **VATICAN 171**

Numeration on fragments	Layton/Cuthbert	MS Folio/*PMFC/RISM*	Besseler
1a + 1b (also 2)	f. 1r (A + B)	f. 223r	f. 2r
2a + 2b	f. 1v (A + B)	f. 223v	f. 2v
3a + [no mark]	f. 2r (A + B)	f. 224r	[blank folios]
4	f. 2v (A + B)	f. 224v	[blank folios]
5 (also 2)	f. 3r	f. 225r	f. 1r
[none]	f. 3v	f. 225v	f. 1v

A schematic showing the bifolio when it is fully opened appears in Figure 3.6:

[12] Although the month of the letter does not survive, the year and location lead to the suspicion that Rampini was still in Rome for the election of Nicholas V.

FIGURE 3.6: INNER BIFOLIO OF **VATICAN 171**



The oddly-shaped vertical cuts show that the fragments were wrapped around the spine of the book where spaces were left for the four chords which joined the front and back covers.

For the sake of not introducing another system of foliation, I will use Layton's in this study, adding designations for fragments A and B, despite two misgivings. First, I will argue that, unlike what other authors have written, fragment A of bifolio 1–2 is not from the same leaf as fragment B. Second, ff. 1 and 2 were not originally adjacent; more likely they were near the outside of a gathering. Folio 1v concludes mid-movement with a custos indicating continuation, while what remains of f. 2r is blank. The non-adjacency is seen in the following list of contents, Table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7: **VATICAN 171** CONTENTS:

f. 1r A: **Troped Gloria fragment,** beginning: "te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te." Probably missing one line of music. With troped, divisi duo sections, "O redentor noster pu[ri]ssime resspice nos tam[?] clementissime ut uiuam tecum purissime feliciter." Ending: "Agnus dei filius patris. D.[uo] Alme de." Single voice, C2.

f. 1r B: **Troped Gloria fragment,** with full text: "...quos libriata [?] salutris [?], Jesu Christe. Cum sancto spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Am[en]." Single voice with red coloration indicating divisi, C2.

f. 1v A: **Troped Gloria fragment**, with illegible beginning. Ending: "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam ...s sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Qui semper gl...a debetu[r?]. Tu solus." Single voice, C2.

f. 1v B: **Gloria fragment**, with full text: "nostra. Qui sedes a dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus dominis. Tu lus [*sic*] altissimus." Single voice, possibly tenor, F-clef fragment, probably F3. Also, offsetting from the front (former) pastedown.

f. 2r A: Four blank staves.

f. 2r B: A blank staff and offsetting from the front pastedown.

f. 2v A: Four blank staves

f. 2v B: A blank staff.

f. 3r: **1. Gloria fragment**, two voices, beginning: "Tu solus dominus." Incipits only ("Tu solus dominus; Tu cuncta; Cum Sancto Spiritu; Amen"). No denomination of first voice, second voice labeled "Tenor." Identifiable as [Contratenor] and Tenor of *Gloria: Clementie Pax*, concordant with **Padua 1475**. **2. Gloria fragment**, beginning, "Et in terra pax." Ending: "In gloria Dei, Patris." Single voice, C3.

f. 3v: Eleven blank staves.

Since the staves are similar in color and size on all pages (14mm in height with 24mm intersystem distance; first line indentation 2.5mm), all the fragments were probably from the same manuscript. Given this conclusion, we can estimate an original size for the pages: 332x220 with a writing space for eleven staves of 259 (from the first line of the first staff to the last line of the last; plus 5mm for a hypothetical final line of text) by 175mm. The size is comparable to the Paduan fragments (which also have 14mm staves) or **Florence 5**.

The handwriting is largely similar on all pages, though one may identify a change of hand on f. 3. The handwriting of "Benedicimus te" of f. 1rA and of the second Gloria on f. 3r allow a comparison. Folio 3 uses more capital letters and a more prominent horizontal mid-line. Continuing to "Gratias agimus," we see that f. 1's decorated capital "G" is more

elongated than f. 3's, and that not only does f. 3's hand use more rounded P's ("propter") but the abbreviation is different. But as a general family of hands, the two are compatible, and given the assumption of lost intervening folios, it is possible that the two hands may belong to the same scribe at different times.[13] The last point is important to make given the influential work tracing changes in scribal hands in large manuscripts such as **Bologna Q15** and **Oxford 213**.[14] Such changes would explain some perceived differences between scribal hands. We would identify fewer different hands both within and between fragment collections if more of the original manuscripts survived today. Since these sections do not survive, our decisions about what do or do not comprise independent scribal hands must be more tentative.

The Glorias on f. 3r are the best preserved and are the only to have already appeared in modern transcriptions.[15] The first four systems of the page contain the end of the contratenor and tenor of the Gloria "Clementiae Pax," known from **Pad A**, where it is copied twice, once with tropes alone (see the section on the Paduan fragments in Chapter 2). The ending of the cantus voice was presumably on the preceding verso and the beginning of the composition on the opening before this. Below these voices one voice of another, otherwise unknown Gloria is written. The activity of this voice, combined with the low C3 clef, suggests

[13] Both hands use two forms of a terminal *s*, one resembling a modern *s*, another like a lowercase *c* with a small hook.

[14] Margaret Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 183–201, especially p. 187; Hans Schoop, *Eintstehung und Verwendung der Hanschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1971), especially pp. 44–45.

[15] Gloria f. 3r, 1: Guillaume de Van, *Les monuments de l'ars nova: la musique polyphonique de 1320 à 1400 environ* (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1946), pp. 31–41; Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12,* pp. 30–37 and pp. 194–95. Gloria f. 3r, 2: Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13,* pp. 232–33, p. 287.

that it may be a low second cantus; however, C3 top-voices do exist (Zachara, Gloria "Rosetta," for instance). This work is the only of the Glorias in **Vatican 171** definitely not in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (no minims appear on f. 1vB, so the prolation of that fragment cannot be determined).

The other Gloria fragments have been much less discussed. Three of the fragments (1rA, 1rB, 1vA) contain sections of troped Glorias with C2 clefs. The fragment on f. 1vB is the only fragment besides Gloria 2 of f. 3r not to contain a trope (in the small amount of text which survives). Understanding the overlap among the four fragments is difficult but essential to understanding the source. Figure 3.8 provides the (standard) text of the Gloria along with any tropes from any of the sources. The use of highlighting, italics, underlining, and sans-serif fonts show which parts of the text survive in each of the four fragments. Text which has more than one formatting change indicates that it survives in more than one copy.

FIGURE 3.8: **VATICAN 171**, GLORIA FRAGMENTS, F. 1R AND 1V.

Bold = tropes. Yellow highlight = f. 1rA. Italics = f. 1rB.
Underline = 1vA (speculative parts in dotted underline). Sans-serif = f.1vB.
Text with no special formatting does not survive in any of the four fragments.

[Gloria in excelsis Deo.]
Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te.
O redentor nos pu[ri]ssime,
resspace nos tam clementissime ut vivamus tecum purissime feliciter.
Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.
Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.
Panis vivus sanc…a viva caro lux rectaque via noc dinge matins pre ...signiguit[?]
Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christi.
[Illegible trope]
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.
Alma de…
Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
[Illegible trope]
Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.
[Illegible trope]
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.
Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus.
Qui semper gl…a debetu[r]
Tu solus Altimissmus,
…quos libriata salutris
Jesu Christe.
Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris.
Amen.

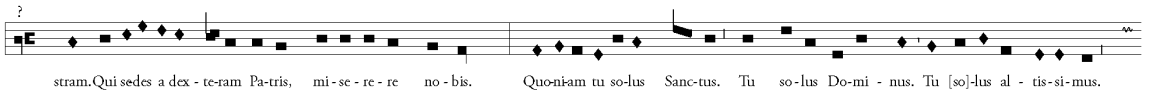
We will use this text and transcriptions of the surviving music to show that none of the four possible pairs of fragments come from the same Gloria or the same folio.

It can immediately be seen that the two settings on f. 1v (A + B: underlining and sans-serif, respectively) are textually incompatible with one another, since fragment 1vA contains an intralinear trope "Qui semper gl…a debetur" which 1vB omits. Further, the two fragments move through their texts at different rates. For instance, the phrase, "miserere nobis" which follows "Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris" requires four breves in fragment 1vA

and seven (assuming imperfect modus) in fragment 1vB. The other comparable sections are similar in length.

Fragment 1vB is also musically incompatible with the second Gloria of f. 3r: the repeated notes of "miserere nobis" cannot be made to fit with the same passage on f. 3r no matter which hypothetical clef is employed. To see this, compare Example 3.9 to *PMFC 13*, pp. 232–33.[16]

EXAMPLE 3.9: **VATICAN 171,** F. 1V, B.



Since it seems unlikely that two complete, texted Gloria settings could share a single opening, we must conclude that fragments A and B of f. 1v stem from different bifolios, both of which end with a blank folio.

Now we turn to f. 1r to see if it supports this conclusion. The two fragments of f. 1r present problems similar to, though less striking than, those of f. 1v. As Figure 3.8 showed, the two fragments do not share any text in common. Fragment 1rA begins with "te. Benedicimus te," from near the beginning of the Gloria. This beginning suggests that only a single line is missing and that we possess staves 2–5 (and a small section of line 6).[17] Fragment 1rB preserves what is undoubtedly the final staff of both the folio and the composition. It is thus possible from the perspective of the folio's layout that the two fragments could pre-

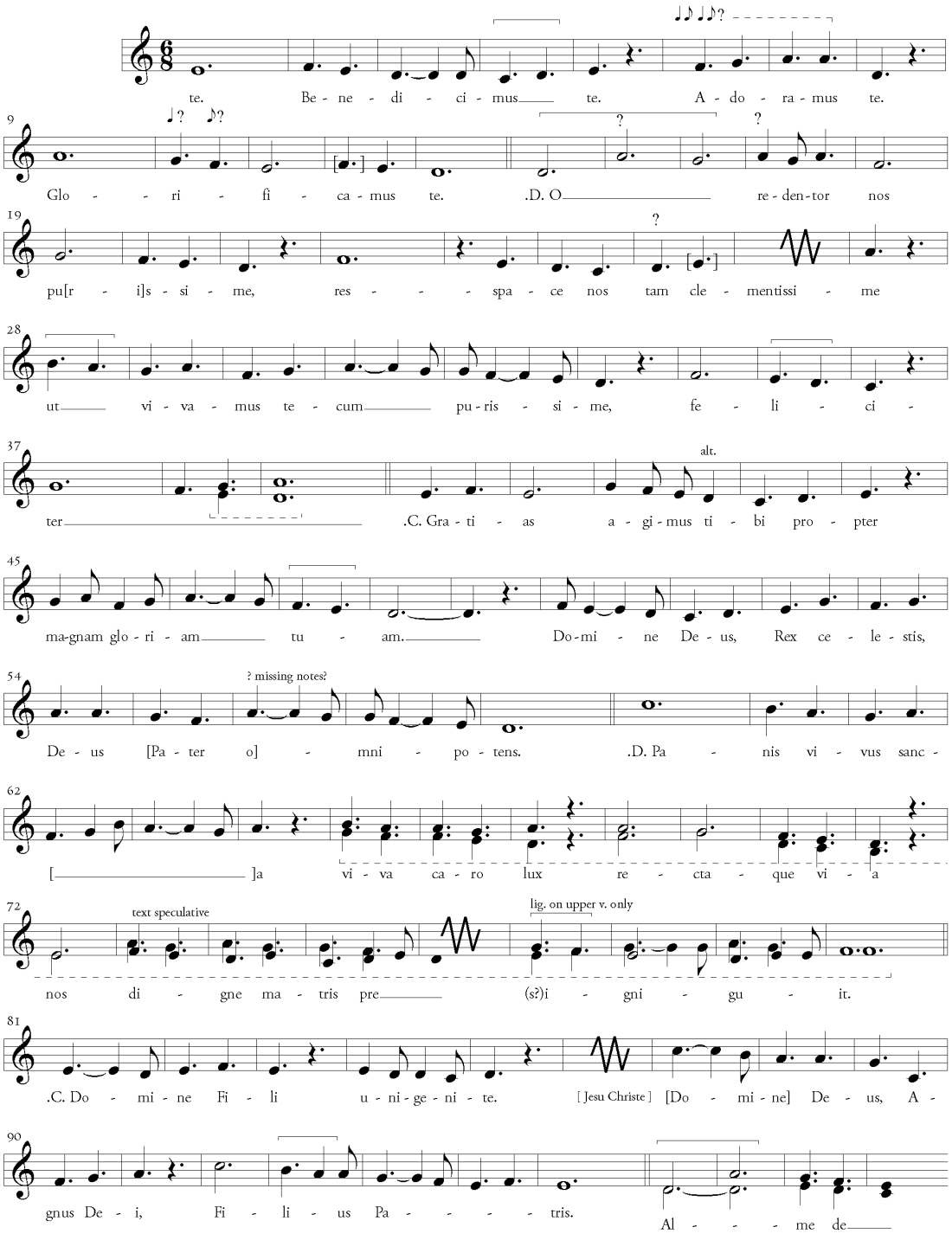
[16] A future study will compare all untroped French and Italian Gloria fragments to find previously unidentified concordances. It should be noted though that **Vatican 171** shows no match with the "Legrand" Gloria fragment of **Krakow 40582** or the Gloria on f. 2v of **Cortona 2**.

[17] If there were a long trope between "bonae voluntatis" and "Laudamus te," such as is found in Gloria, "Clementiae Pax," then we could be seeing the third staff on the page.

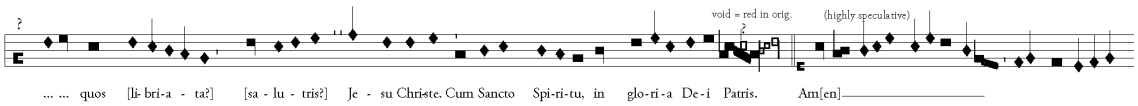
serve the beginning and end of one voice of a single-opening Gloria. But there are differences between the two parts which call this speculation into question. The tropes in fragment 1rA appear between the lines of the text as separate duo sections. The one surviving trope in fragment 1rB, on the other hand, interrupts the line "Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe." It is thus similar to the use of tropes in fragment 1vA where "Qui semper gl…a debetur," also falls within the expressions of "Tu solus."[18] Although difficult to read, even under ultraviolet light, a divisi passage at the end of "in gloria Dei Patris" of fragment 1rB also highlights a difference between the two fragments. The divisi appears not in a trope but in the main text of the Gloria. It also appears to end on a bare perfect fourth (D-G), necessitating a 8-5 sonority created by a supporting lower voice G. By contrast, in fragment 1rA, the divisi passages stand on their own, using fifths, thirds, and unisons (hence, the marking of "D[uo]"). Examples 3.10 and 3.11 allow a comparison of the transcription of f. 1rA with a (partly hypothetical) reconstruction of the damaged f. 1rB.

[18] For an example of short intralinear tropes in this section of the Gloria text, see the *Gloria: Corona Christi lilia* in **Boverio**. This work uses both intra- and interlinear tropes, which is unusual.

EXAMPLE 3.10: **VATICAN 171**, F. 1R FRAGMENT A



EXAMPLE 3.11: **VATICAN 171** F. 1R FRAGMENT B



The only combination of fragments which has not been ruled on codicological, textual, or musical grounds is fragment 1rB with fragment 1vA. This manuscript combination is possible if fragment B comes from the bifolio immediately following fragment A in the same gathering. However, this pairing too is unlikely (though not impossible) on notational grounds. The Gloria on fragment 1vA is the only one to use red notation to indicate a temporary shift to *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori*. In fragment 1rB, however, red notes indicate divisi. Although it is not impossible that a scribe would use red notation to mean two different ideas in the same work, in the absence of other positive evidence it is safest to conclude that these also are independent compositions. On the basis of the current study, descriptions of **Vatican 171** should be revised to indicate six independent Gloria settings, of which five are unknown from other sources, and at least three of those are troped.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the works in the source, we can observe the unusual use of divisi in the best-preserved, unpublished Gloria, fragment 1rA. The divisi sections enter into the duos slowly, emerging more fully with each successive section. The first duo section in the work ("O redentor noster") divides the line only for the last two notes of the section. The second section ("Panis vivus") divides from approximately the midpoint of the line and continues in divisi until the end.[19] The last surviving divisi section ("Alme de…") commences with divisi notation (to be heard as divisi after the first unison).

[19] The text also recalls a similar trope in the Gloria, Clementiae Pax, which reads "Panis vivus iriticeus." The rise in the use of the expression may be related to a growth in Eucharistic cults in

(note continues)

Like the divisi sections of Zachara's Credo 23 (see Chapter 1) in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, it is assumed that, unless otherwise specified, the voices begin in a unison; thus, only one note (in black notation) is used at the beginnings of the divisi passages.[20] However, for unison notes in the middle of phrases and at the ends of passages, both red and black notes are written, the black on top of the red, but the red visible by being offset slightly from its normal position. In this way, the use of divisi notation is similar to the use of white notation in the same Zachara credo in the **Boverio** codex. Although Zachara's authorship should be suspected any time divisi notation is employed, the long sections of "duos" in unison finds no precedent in his work. The shift to red ink brings with it one other change in notation: the red custodes are in the shape of gruppetti : ∽.

Fragment 1vA contains the only other fragment of significant length not yet transcribed. Unfortunately we can reconstruct only part of the work (mainly the last line), owing to its miserable state of preservation. The text is extremely difficult to apprehend; even finding the non-troped sections of the Gloria among the general smear of text is only possible in places. Thus what is offered in Example 3.12 is provisional. The first line is too damaged to reconstruct (excepting a small passage) and is thus omitted. The stems of line two (the first line of the transcription) could not be discerned for the most part, so notes which are semibreves may have been minims.

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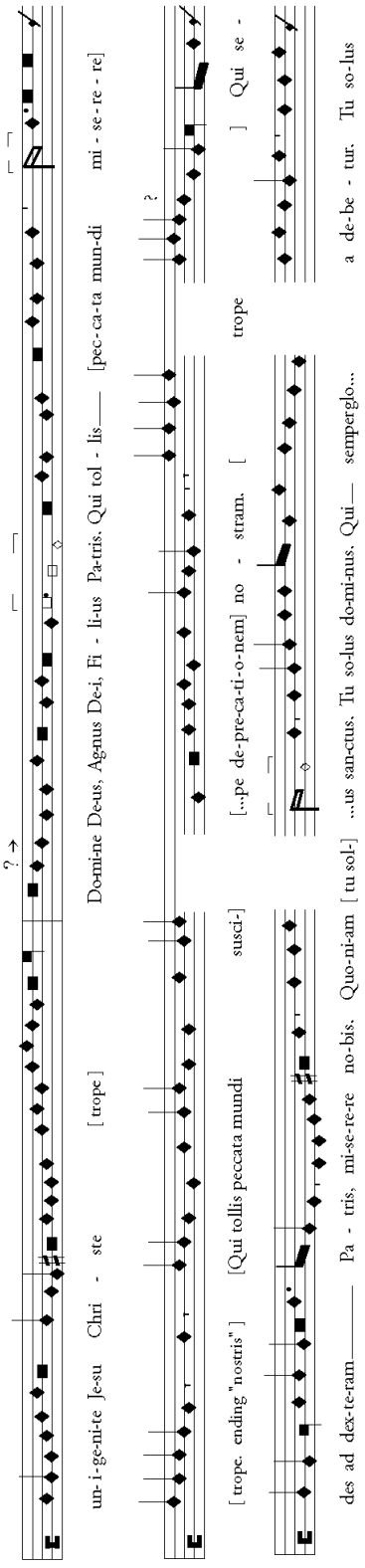
the fourteenth century. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 143–44.

[20] Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels," p. 78.

EXAMPLE 3.12: **VATICAN 171**, F. 1V, FRAGMENT A.



No concordances could be found for either of the fragments on the bottom (B) fragment. Fragment 1vB (Example 3.9) has unusual pacing. It begins the "Quoniam" with two semibreves rather than the typical breve or a longa. Only the fragmentary Gloria on 3r and the Glorias *PMFC 23b* nos. 111 and 116 share this feature.

Whether the music of **Vatican 171** is Italian in origin or not remains an open question.[21] The rhythmic notation shows no specifically Italian traits, but the divisi passages are not uncommon in Italian mass sources. The use of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* in simpler sacred works is perhaps even more an Italian trait than a French one. One notes, for instance, the many Benedicamus Domino settings in this mensuration. In the end, it is the absence of any of these works from French manuscripts that is most striking in arguing for their Italian origins. If in style they betray nothing of the legacy of Marchettus or of Gherardello's truly Italian Gloria, that may have been the intention of Francophile, but Italian-born composers.

Vatican 1790

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1790.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat 1790, p. 1033.*

Like a middle child, never fully ignored, but never the center of attention, the Vatican manuscript, Ottob. lat. 1790, known by musicologists since 1913, has never be the ob-

[21] More to the point, I believe that Margaret Bent's statement about **Bologna Q15** can be pushed further back in time when it comes to turn of the century sacred music, "It makes little sense to consider French and Italian music of the early fifteenth century separately" ("A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style," p. 183).

ject of special study nor had more than a single page reproduced in facsimile.[22] The first identification of the source's contents remains the last significant discussion of the manuscript: a footnote by Friedrich Ludwig in 1923.[23] There are, of course, reasons for this neglect. **Vatican 1790** contains no complete pieces—three sides of each folio have been trimmed—and of the four identifiable works, each is known from at least four other sources. Further, the manuscript gives neither a hint of a broader context for its contents nor the vaguest indications of its provenance. It is in order to make some headway toward understanding these puzzles that a brief description of this source is presented below.

The musical contents of **Vatican 1790** were not the concern of the binder of the source. The main subject of the manuscript is the lives of Cicero (by Plutarch, incipit: "Ocioso mihi nuper ac lectitare aliquid cupienti: oblavus est libellus") and Virgil.[24] The manuscript was once owned by Giovanni Angelo, Duke of Altemps (d. 1620).[25] Two older shelfmarks remain on the first folio of the corpus: Q.12.12 and V.9.55. The parchment hides a palimpsest—the underwriting is rotated ninety degrees with respect to the main text. But examining the remains of this text makes plain that what lies below is of no musical concern. The main corpus is numbered from 1–76 in the top right recto in modern numbering, a numbering which includes the rear flyleaf as f. 77. The script is a humanistic cursive book hand, probably of the fifteenth century.

[22] A brief description of the manuscript appears in Henry Marriott Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina,* 2 volumes (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1913), p. 188. A facsimile of *La bella stella* appears as plate 130b.

[23] "Die Quellen der Motetten Ältesten Stils," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923), p. 201.

[24] f. 76v, "Vita M.T.C et P. Virgilij Maronis."

[25] f. 76v, "Ex codicibus Joannis Angeli Ducis ab Altaemps." See also **Vatican 1969** for another Altemps manuscript.

A musical flyleaf from the trecento or early quattrocento appears at the front (labeled f. I in a modern pencil hand) and back of the manuscript (f. 77 in the modern numbering; f. II in this dissertation's usage). To serve as covers for the manuscript, the pages have been rotated ninety degrees to the left and trimmed to *ca.* 110x170. The original length of the staves (see below) was *ca.* 145mm. Based on the concordances of the works in the manuscript, we can see that the trimming has removed only a few notes from the sides. Sometimes nothing except the clef or custos and sometimes just a single note has been removed (see for instance, the end of the second and beginning of the third full staves of f. Iv, where only the clef of the third system is missing). Thus, if we suppose a equal inside and outside margins, the original width must have been around 200mm. Manuscripts of similar size (**Reina** and **London 29987**) would lead us to suppose a height of 260–280mm as normal.[26]

The five-line staves of the manuscript were drawn by a rastrum and measure 17mm on the front flyleaf and 16mm on the back flyleaf. The distance between systems also differs between folios: 32mm on the front and 30 on the rear leaf, but the difference between these two measurements may be due to greater warping of the rear leaf.

The contents of **Vatican 1790** are summarized in Table 3.13:

[26] *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1033 gives a larger estimated size of 300x220mm.

TABLE 3.13: **VATICAN 1790**, CONTENTS

f. Ir [originally verso]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *Più non mi curo* (M)
[C: strophe only, lacking first line of music]
Panciatichi ff. 53v–54r, **London 29987** ff. 17v–18r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 1v–2r, **San Lorenzo 2211** ff. 4v–5r, **Venice Giorgio Maggiore** f. 2v (fragment of the text only)

f. Iv [originally recto]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *La bella stella* (M),
[T: complete except first line of music]
Panciatichi ff. 47v–48r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 1v–2r, **San Lorenzo 2211** ff. 17v–18r, **Pit.** ff. 19v–20r, **Rossi** f. 23v (Cantus only), **Florence Conservatorio** f. 2v (Cantus only), **Seville 25** f. 59v (Cantus only),[27] **Florence 1041** f. 47v (text only),

[Unidentified work. Possibly cantus of a madrigal][28]

f. IIr [originally verso]: [Lorenzo da Firenze], *Vidi nell'ombra* (M)
[C: end of strophe and the complete ritornello][29]
Panciatichi ff. 78v–79r, **London 29987** ff. 32v–33r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 47v–48r, **Pit.** ff. 23v–24r

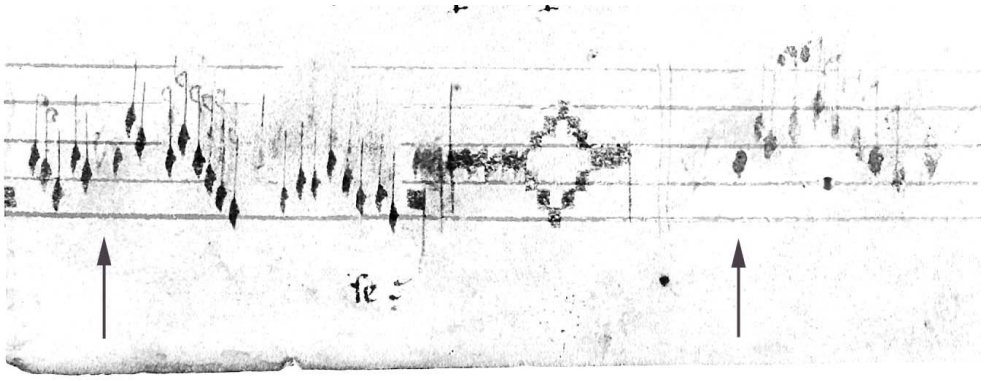
f. IIv [originally recto]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *Nel mezo a sei paon* (M)
[C and T]: Ritornello only, plus the text of the final syllable of the strophe, ["-na"]
Panciatichi ff. 55r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 3v–4r, **Reina** f. 32v, **San Lorenzo 2211** f. 1 (Jacopo da Bologna!). Cited by Prodenzani in *Sollazzo 48*.

[27] Oliver Huck generously shared his identification of this textless version. It is written mainly without minims and skips from m. 51 to the ritornello. See Chapter 5 for more on **Seville 25**.

[28] The presence of additional music was noted by Fischer in *RISM B IV 4* (p. 1033).

[29] After the end of the work, an arrow, nine notes and a custos are written by a different hand. These notes reproduce notes from the final staff of the work (beginning with the final solid semibreve) but with the last six notes up a third. An examination of the manuscript shows that from this point on, the work was originally transmitted up a third, but was scrapped and rewritten a third lower. The correct version requires both groups of nine notes, one a third higher than the other. What has happened is that the scribe has copied the first group correctly and then skipped the second group, thus writing the cadence a third too high. The copyist then realized he had made a mistake, but rectified it incorrectly by notating only the second group of notes and the cadence (at correct pitch). A latter hand (one who performed from the manuscript, perhaps?) realized this mistake and added an indication within the melody of where the second group of notes was to be placed, see the detail in Figure 3.14.

FIGURE 3.14: *VIDI NELL'OMBRA* CORRECTIONS ON FINAL STAFF



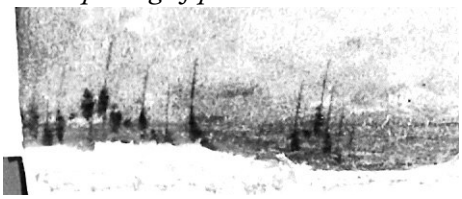
Each of the flyleaves has been reversed, so that their original rectos are now versos. For instance, we can suppose that the cantus of *Più non mi curo* was originally on the left side of an opening, with the tenor on the opposite recto, while the cantus and tenor of *La bella stella* filled the previous opening. (Since we can know nothing else about the manuscript's structure, nor the relationship between the front and rear flyleaf, a gathering diagram would be meaningless).

Below each of the pieces which survive there may have been an additional work, possibly written with the cantus on the recto of the opening and the tenor on the preceding verso to maximize the use of space. (Such a layout can be seen in **Panciatichi**, beginning in the section transmitting Francesco's madrigals, f. 41v and following).

The hypothetical layout of the leaves is significant since another, neglected composition occupies the flyleaves. At the bottom of *La bella stella,* the top two lines of the staff of another, unidentified work are preserved. Bannister's cropped facsimile of the folio makes recovery of this line impossible, but in fact at least 18 of the initial notes can be read. Further, the scribe is extremely consistent with stem heights, making at least some further minims recoverable (See Figure 3.15).

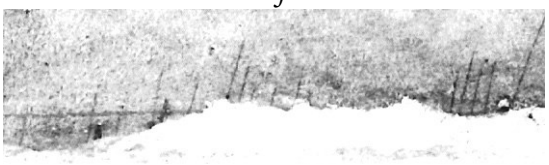
FIGURE 3.15: **VATICAN 1790**, DETAILS OF UNIDENTIFIED PIECE ON F. IV

Near opening of piece



Middle of line

End of line



Given the other contents of the manuscript, the most likely match for this line would be the beginning of a Florentine madrigal. However, I could find no work with the same opening or similar gestures at other logical places to begin a new page (such as ritornelli of madrigals or piedi of ballate). There are several distinctive features from the surviving line which should aid future searches:

(1) We lack at the beginning at most a single note or ligature, so we can easily place the notes which survive. The work may begin directly with a minims rather than with a longer note. Such works are rare (particularly those with a mordent-like figure). Niccolò da Perugia's ballata *Molto mi piace* (*PMFC 8*, Niccolò no. 22) is the only example I found.

(2) The figure: 𝅗𝅥. 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥 | 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥 , that is with a descending second after each eighth note, is unusual. The opening of Donato da Firenze's madrigal *L'aspido sordo* (*PMFC 7*, Donato no. 10) is similar, as is the melisma on "Amor" from Lorenzo's madrigal *Vidi nell'ombra* (*PMFC 7,* Lorenzo no. 16; seen in f. IIr of this manuscript) and Vicenzo da Rimini/Imola's caccia *Nell'acqua chiara* (*PMFC 7.* Vicenzo no. 6). However, we may be seeing an idiosyncrasy of this source which is not replicated

in other sources (or at least in our published editions), see the discussion of *La bella stella,* below.

(3) The fourth and fifth notes are the highest notes of the line (probably the first quarter of the piece?) and most of the work lies a fourth or more lower. Pieces which begin near the top of their compass are not exceedingly unusual, but typically the highest notes are rearticulated many more times before descending than we see here. Francesco da Firenze uses this pattern far more often than other composers, not only at the beginnings of ballate but also at the beginnings of the piedi.

(4) The eleventh and twelfth surviving notes are a descending *c.o.p.* ligature. Ligatures are unusual for upper voices, but the number of minims also makes identification as a tenor unlikely.

(5) Densely-packed notes at the beginning imply a melisma, suggesting that the work is indeed a madrigal (or caccia).

(6) Leftward flagged notes (in the detail in the middle of the line) imply either semiminims or, more likely according to the usage of f. IIr, triplets.

As the manuscript concordances may suggest, **Vatican 1790**'s gathering together of early trecento madrigals in one section is similar to the organizational strategies of the Tuscan, retrospective trecento manuscripts. These sources include **Panciatichi**, where three of **Vatican 1790**'s pieces also appear in close proximity, **Squarcialupi,** where all three Giovanni da Cascia works appear near the beginning of his section, **London 29987,** and **San Lorenzo 2211**. Also included among these sources are fragments such as **Florence Conservatorio**, which shares one work in common with the Vatican source, and **Florence 5**, which shares

none of the same pieces but also demonstrates somewhat similar organizing principles (all works in a single genre by one composer).

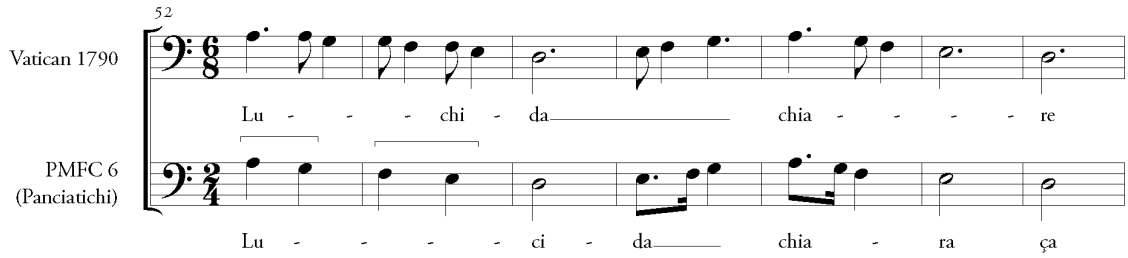
The notation of these "classic" trecento works shows few native traits. Dots of division are not used, but *puncti additionis* are common. Leftward-flagged minims indicate triplets on f. IIr. No Italian (or any other) mensuration symbols appear in the manuscript. No coloration is present in the source.

Though the only initial letter is a red "P" on f. 1r, any other letters would have been trimmed. The C-clef has no slant to it (unlike some northern sources, such as the Paduan fragments, among other sources), while two different F-clefs are employed, one with a plica joined to a C-clef and one with a single dragma joined to a C-clef. What custodes survive are all "checkmark" type but at different angles.

Some readings in **Vatican 1790** connect the source more closely to **Pit.** and **Squarcialupi** than to **Panciatichi**. For instance, the tenor of *La bella stella* remains in $\frac{6}{8}$ in the first three sources throughout a passage that is in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* in the last manuscript.[30] In Example 3.16, **Vatican 1790**'s reading accords with both **Pit.** and **Squarcialupi** in m. 52, with **Pit.** alone in m. 53, and with **Squarcialupi** alone in m. 55—thus no direct filiation can be seen.

[30] John Nádas discusses the notation of some of the works which appear in **Vatican 1790** though without a discussion of this source, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 96–98. The critical notes to Marrocco, *PMFC 6* omit discussion of the Vatican source.

EXAMPLE 3.16: COMPARISON OF TWO VERSIONS OF A TENOR PASSAGE FROM *LA BELLA STELLA*



It is difficult to definitively decide between the arguments for northern and Tuscan origins for the fragment.[31] The repertory of **Vatican 1790** (and its apparent organization by composer) is certainly closer to that of the typical Tuscan collection than most Northern sources. We would be more willing to consider it central Italian if it had six-line staves, but the staves have five. The leftward-flagged triplets of f. IIr are generally considered central Italian,[32] but this argument is no longer easily sustainable in the face of many new fragments. The orthography of *La bella stella* in **Vatican 1790** is closer to the presumably northern **Rossi** than to the Tuscan sources. For instance, the two sources in the Vatican use "sua fiama" where **Pit.** and **Panciatichi** write "suo fiamma." Further evidence for a northern provenance comes from the frequent use of "ç," for instance in "ça" instead of "gia" found in the Tuscan manuscripts.

[31] Northern: Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters," p. 226. Tuscan: Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik*, p. 97.

[32] Kurt von Fischer, "Ein neues Trecentofragment," in *Festschrift für Walter Wiora*, edited by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), p. 267 and Idem, *Studien zur italienischen Musik,* p. 119.

Rome 1067

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica. MS 1067.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

A little-known source of polyphonic music is found as a single folio in the middle of manuscript 1067 of the Biblioteca Angelica of Rome. The source, known since 1982, provides the only concordance for a ballata found in **Reina** (f. 3r), *Deh, non mi fare languire*, along with an illegible second work whose incipit was identified as "Spera[vi]," but which will be shown to be voices from the well-known composition, *Esperance qui en mon cuer*.[33]

The music folio is found within a collection of sermons by the fourteenth century Camaldolite monk Antonio de Azaro da Parma.[34] The first 41 folios of the 100-folio manuscript contains his *Sermones dominicales*, folios 45r–90v contain his *Expositiones evangeliorum quadragesimalium*, while the final folios (ff. 90v–100r) present miscellaneous sermons. The manuscript had two previous shelfmarks, "VI(?).6.32," written (and partially cut off) on the top of f. 1r, and R.8.21.

An explicit on f. 41v tells us that the manuscript was copied by the Augustinian Andrea da Chieti in 1400.[35] A note of possession on f. 100v reveals that the manuscript re-

[33] Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca della ballata 'Deh, no me fare languire'," *Studi medievali* serie 3, 23 (1982), pp. 303–9.

[34] Information on the manuscript is found in Henricus [i.e., Enrico] Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica Olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini De Urbe, Tomus Prior: Complectens codices ab instituta bibliotheca ad a. 1870* (Rome: Ludovici Cecchini, 1892), p. 436. Antonio de Azaro da Parma is mentioned by Jacques Quétif and Jacobus Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis prædicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati* (Paris: J. B. C. Ballard, 1719–21; reprinted several times in the twentieth century, including Paris: A. Picard, 1934), vol. 1, pp. 529–31.

[35] "Frater Andreas de ciuitate Th[eatin]a ordinis he^{rum}. amen deo gratias. Factus est sub anno dni M^{o} cccc^{o} 4^{o} die Iune [com]p^{e}li [=complevi?]." Carboni and Ziino read an extra X after the "M^{o} cccc^{o}" and moving the date of the manuscript to 1410. The reading of "Iune" (Monday) must be amended to "Junii," that is, June 4. I thank Thomas Forrest Kelly for assistance with this reading.

(note continues)

mained in Andrea's library after the copying was completed. (All foliations, given in the top right recto of the manuscript, are modern). It is impossible to say whether the Augustinian order of the copyist has any bearing on the manuscript's current location within the library of a former Augustinian monastery. Nor can we, without other evidence about Andrea da Chieti's life, speculate an Abruzzese origin for the manuscript.

The parchment of the manuscript is inconsistent in terms of size and preparation. If, as it seems, Andrea acquired his parchment from many different sources, then it is unlikely he ever possessed a complete music manuscript, and a search for further music among works he copied may be fruitless.[36]

The manuscript is primarily organized in quaternions with guide words on the bottom, center verso of the last folio of a gathering. The exceptions are the fifth gathering (with the music folio) which is a sexternion and the last two gatherings, a ternion and quinternion respectively.[37] The music of **Rome 1067** lies in a gap between the main items in the manu-

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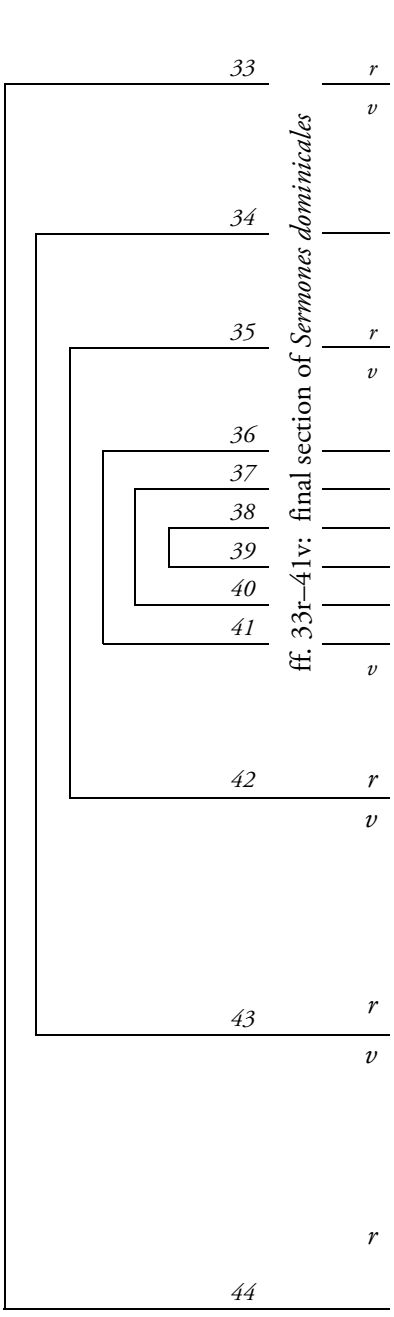
Neither previous transcription of this explicit, i.e., those of Carboni and Ziino and of Narducci, report the final word of the explicit. A similar explicit on f. 90v spells out Chieti (Theatina) fully, but omits a date. That explicit gives the only other biographical information about the scribe: the sermons were "scripti a uenerabile studente frater Andrea." The expression "heremitorum" usually refers to the order of St. Augustine, but without further elaboration could also mean the Camaldolese.

[36] It seems that at least some gatherings were acquired as a group. The folios of gathering three, for instance, were pricked (and probably ruled) as a group.

[37] The last gathering, ff. 91–100, is probably misbound, as a guide word appears at the bottom of f. 99v which does not appear at the head of f. 100r. Further, the connections between 90v (the final folio of a gathering, but without a guide word) and 91r and between 91v and 91r are unusual. However, the note of possession on f. 100v, "Iste liber est mei fratris Andrea de civitate theatina ordinis heremitorum," leaves no doubt that the current ordering was present during Andrea's possession.

script, which helped preserve it for posterity. The entire contents of the gathering are important for our understanding of the origin of the music section, and are given in Figure 3.17:

FIGURE 3.17: **ROME 1067,** GATHERING FIVE



33	*r*	red, five-line staves can faintly be seen, but no music can be made out. These staves are ignored by Andrea in favor of a new black-ink ruling. On verso, a red "S," oriented 90 degrees counter-clockwise with respect to the main manuscript (henceforth 90deg CCW) can be seen in the right margin (c.f., f. 42v)
	v	
34		
35	*r*	remains of red, five-line staves; these are more easily seen than those on 33rv. These lines were later used for ruling the text, with a black line inserted between each system to make the page's ruling basically consistent
	v	
36		
37		
38		
39		
40		
41		
	v	explicit of *Sermones dominicales*, plus six blank, ruling lines
42	*r*	8 blank ruling lines at the top of the page, over an erased text (90 deg CCW)
	v	text (90 deg CCW), scraped. Red letter "X" still visible. At bottom of page, one hand-drawn, five-line staff (on top of scraped text). Clef, C4 (see below). Text underlay illegible. The staff itself has also been rubbed out.
43	*r*	blank
	v	beginning (?; space left for initial letter) of a treatise on Latin grammar; older than rest of the manuscript. Erased at top and bottom. Rotated 180 degrees with respect to the rest of the manuscript
44	*r*	*Deh, non me far languire* written on top of another document (90 deg CCW). Previous document trimmed. Music erased at top.
	v	*[E]speranc[e] [qu'en mon cuer]* erased poorly. Some traces of underwriting, but may be show through.

Folio 44 has been erased twice, first to remove a Latin text (rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise with respect to the rest of the manuscript), then to remove the music which had been added on top. The second erasure has particularly affected the verso of the manuscript, leaving the show through more prominent than the material on the page.

The recto of the leaf is not difficult to read, particularly after the first two staves.[38] Folio 44r transmits the two-part ballata, *Deh, non me fare languire,* which Ziino and Carboni have identified as containing elements of the *siciliana* tradition.[39] **Rome 1067** thus joins a small but distinguished and diverse group of sources which transmit these reworked Southern songs as ballate: **Reina**, **Padua 553**,[40] and **Mancini**.[41] These three sources are all of probable Northern Italian origins. (Since the **Mancini** *siciliana*-ballate are by Antonello da Caserta and thus in the section of the manuscript with Pavian connections we are prevented from speculating an origin at Padua (or at least in the Veneto) for all these sources).[42] Based on textual evidence in the piece, Ziino and Carboni suggest that the version in **Rome 1067** reads better (the rhyming of "pianto" with "tanto" replaces **Reina**'s worse "tempo" and "tanto") and, based on the explicit on f. 41, that the music precedes **Reina** (supposing a date

[38] A facsimile of f. 42 taken under ultraviolet light appears as Tables 1 and 2 of Carboni and Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca."

[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 305–6. Against the identification as a *siciliana*, see Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des Frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), p. 125.

[40] See the discussion of this source above and F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del II Quattrocento: due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1978), pp. 43–50.

[41] Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View: A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt*, edited by Laurence Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 288–91.

[42] On Antonello in the **Mancini** codex see Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 39–40.

after 1400 for that codex).[43] The piece is transmitted in Italian notation (senaria perfecta) without division signs but with *puncti divisiones*, used particularly regularly in the tenor.[44] The text of this ballata will need to be reexamined in light of the recent discovery of another copy of this text on some **Bologna Archivio Covers**.[45]

The music on the reverse side cannot easily be understood. It appears to contain four voices, all untexted, labeled "Speranc," "Tenor contra," "Tenor, "Contratenor," and with incompatible initial tones, *d, F, G, G*.[46] The lengths of the various voices also vary widely; the last contratenor, for instance, has far too few notes for the rest of the work. Though much of the folio is difficult to read, the distinctive tenor opening allows us to identify the work. It is *Esperance qui en mon cuer,* a French-texted rondeau known from many "peripheral" sources in the international repertory, but not from the principal French manuscripts. See Table 3.18.

[43] The discovery of pre-existing staves on ff. 33 and 35 assures us that the music must precede 1400. The musical folios had to be in the manuscript before completion of the *Sermones domincales*. Further, the erasures of the notation on f. 42 indicate that music was already written on the manuscript before they were used by Andrea.

[44] One *punctus additionis* is used in the piece, missed by Carboni and Ziino. The ligature *c.o.p.* in m. 3 of their edition has a punctus on the first note and should thus be transcribed "𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥." instead of "𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥". **Reina** uses a one-pitch ligature to achieve the same reading. Another correction to Carboni and Ziino's tenor is the substitution of "𝅗𝅥 𝄽" for their "𝅘𝅥 𝄽 𝄽" in m. 8; only one rest appears in the manuscript and the semibreve has a tail. This reading differs from **Reina**.

[45] Armando Antonelli, untitled presentation at *Dolci e nuove note: Convegno internazionale del Centro Studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, Certaldo, December 2005.

[46] Facsimile in Carboni and Ziino, Figure 2.

TABLE 3.18: SURVIVING COPIES OF *ESPERANCE QUI EN MON CUER*

Sigla and folio	*Incipit*	*Voices and text notes*
Rome 1067, f. 44v	Speranc	C, Tenor contra = *d*, T; no text
Pit., ff. 6v/7r [47]	Esperanse qu'en mon cuer	C, T, Ct = *a*; no text
Ascoli Piceno 142 f. Nv	Esperance qui en mon cuer senbat	C, T, (Ct lost?); texted with residuum
Prague 9, f. 247r	Espirance	C, T; no text
Strasbourg 222, f. 72v	Esperange (in **Brussles 56.286**)	C, T, Ct?; Only incipit of C survives
Tongeren 490, f. Bv	[lost due to trimming]	Text residuum and T or unknown Ct(= *c*?)[48]
Vorau 380, f. 87v	D'esperancze	C, T, Ct = *b*; no text
Gent 133, ff. IIIIv–Vr	Espirance qui en mon cuer senbat	C, Tr, Ct^1 = *c*, Ct^2 = *d*, T; text to one strophe
Groningen 70, f. 1rv	Aspirance de xij semiminimis…	2vv. keyboard version
Helmond 215, f. 97v	[textless]	Tenor only in stroke notation
Cambridge 5943, f. 165r	Esperance, ki en mon quer	C, T; text to one strophe
***Philadelphia 15**, f. 66r*	*Esperance, qui en mon cuer*	*Text only*

Despite being badly smeared and seeming to have always been missing some minim stems, the cantus of *Esperance* is now easily identified in **Rome 1067**. But the search for a match for the contratenor or contratenors is more difficult. In fact a number of different versions of these inner voices exist; I have labeled them *a–d* in Table 3.18. The contratenors found in **Pit.** *(a)* and **Vorau 380** *(b)* are unique to these sources.

The greatest number of additional voices is found in the copy in **Gent 133**.[49] The source is an inner bifolio bearing the folio numbers IIII and V, containing three Glorias and

[47] The index to **Pit.** calls the work "Speranza Rondello." See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, p. 154 for this observation and others which go far beyond the call of duty for a summary catalog in also listing quotations in "En attendant Esperance conforte" and "Je voy mon cuer," a possible citation in Prodenzani's *Saporetto,* sonnet 25 (which I mention with some reservations), and a basse danse with the same title from 1449. The quotations were identified by Reinhard Strohm, "Filipotto de Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia," in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1989), p. 70.

[48] Karl Kügle, "Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music Fragments in Tongeren: I. The Fourteenth-Century Music Fragment," in *Musicology and Archival Research*, edited by Barbara Haggh, et al., Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, Extranummer 46 (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1994), p. 478 identifies this voice as a tenor, but the small fragment also matches contratenor *c*.

[49] Facsimile in Eugeen Schreurs, editor, *An Anthology of Music Fragments From the Low Countries*. Leuven: Alamire, 1995, p. 17. Inventory in Strohm, "Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," pp. 112–14.

two French-texted songs added by a different hand.[50] The Gent version contains three voices not previously published, no more than one of which can be performed with the cantus and tenor without making dissonances and parallel perfect consonances. (Which is not to say that this type of performance would never be done!) The triplum of **Gent 133** is, thus far, unique. The first countertenor *(c)* may be the same as the small fragment of music, **Tongeren 490**, f. Bv, which also contains the text residuum of *Esperance*.[51] The second contratenor of **Gent 133** *(d)* is actually a concordance for **Rome 1067**'s contratenor, but what seems to be a major scribal error in **Rome 1067** makes the identification difficult. The second contratenor section (staff six) is the opening of contratenor *d* (though the rhythm "𝅜 ♦ 𝅜 ♦" is replaced with the simpler "♦ ♦"). This line is then continued above on staff two—eliminating what seemed to be an intractable problem of an opening note *F;* the note simply becomes an internal longa.

The abundance of recently discovered texted copies free us from needing to use **Cambridge 5943**, a later manuscript in white notation with corrupted French texts, if we want a texted version as our principal source.[52] We can also underlay the text of the residuum, found in a non-musical source and recently edited.[53] However, the damaged state of **Rome**

[50] Strohm, *op. cit.,* p. 117 identifies spelling choices which identify this second scribe as Flemish.

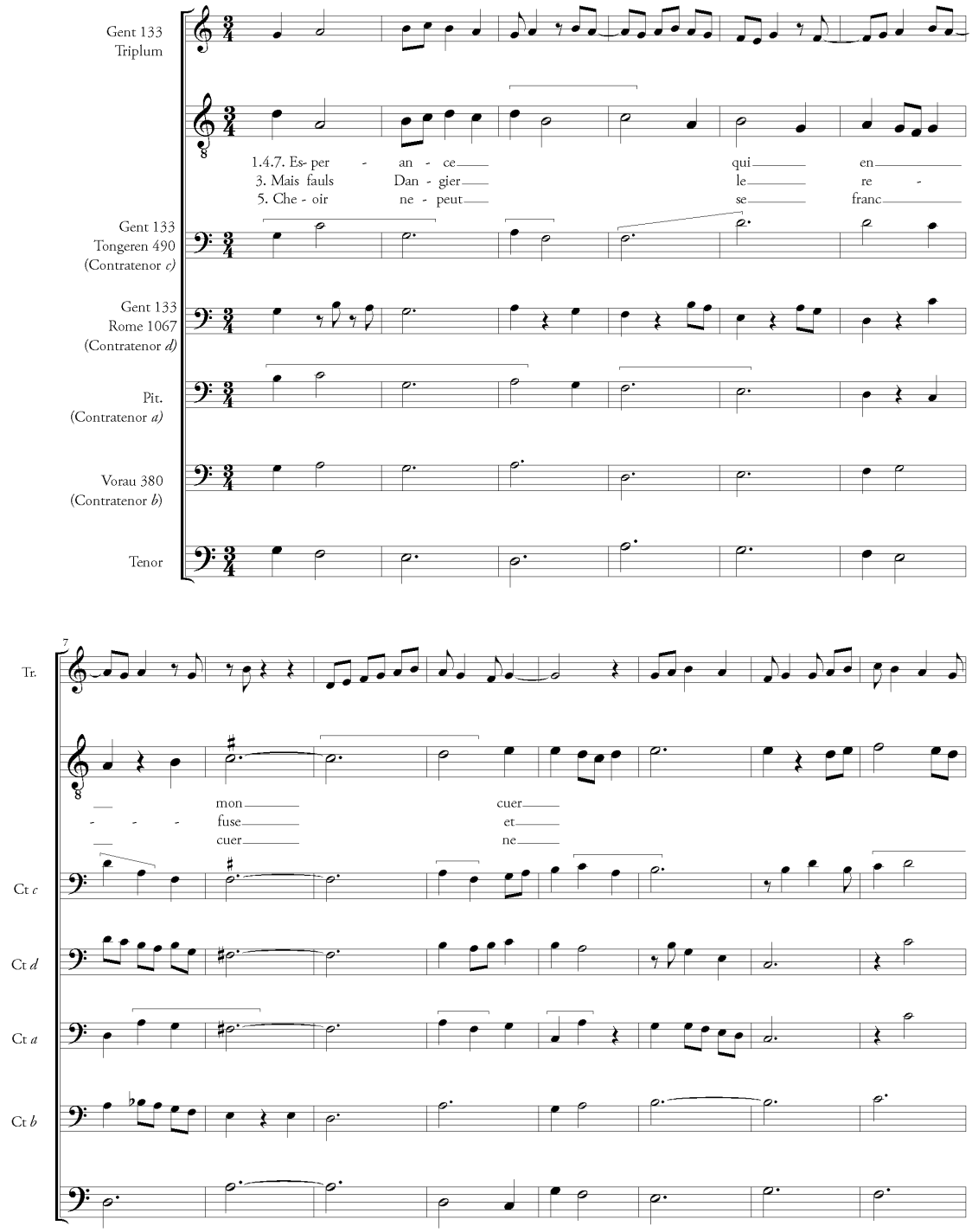
[51] Fascimile in Schreurs, *An Anthology*, p. 22. The large ligature toward the end of the line matches a similar ligature at the bottom of **Gent 133**, f. Vr.

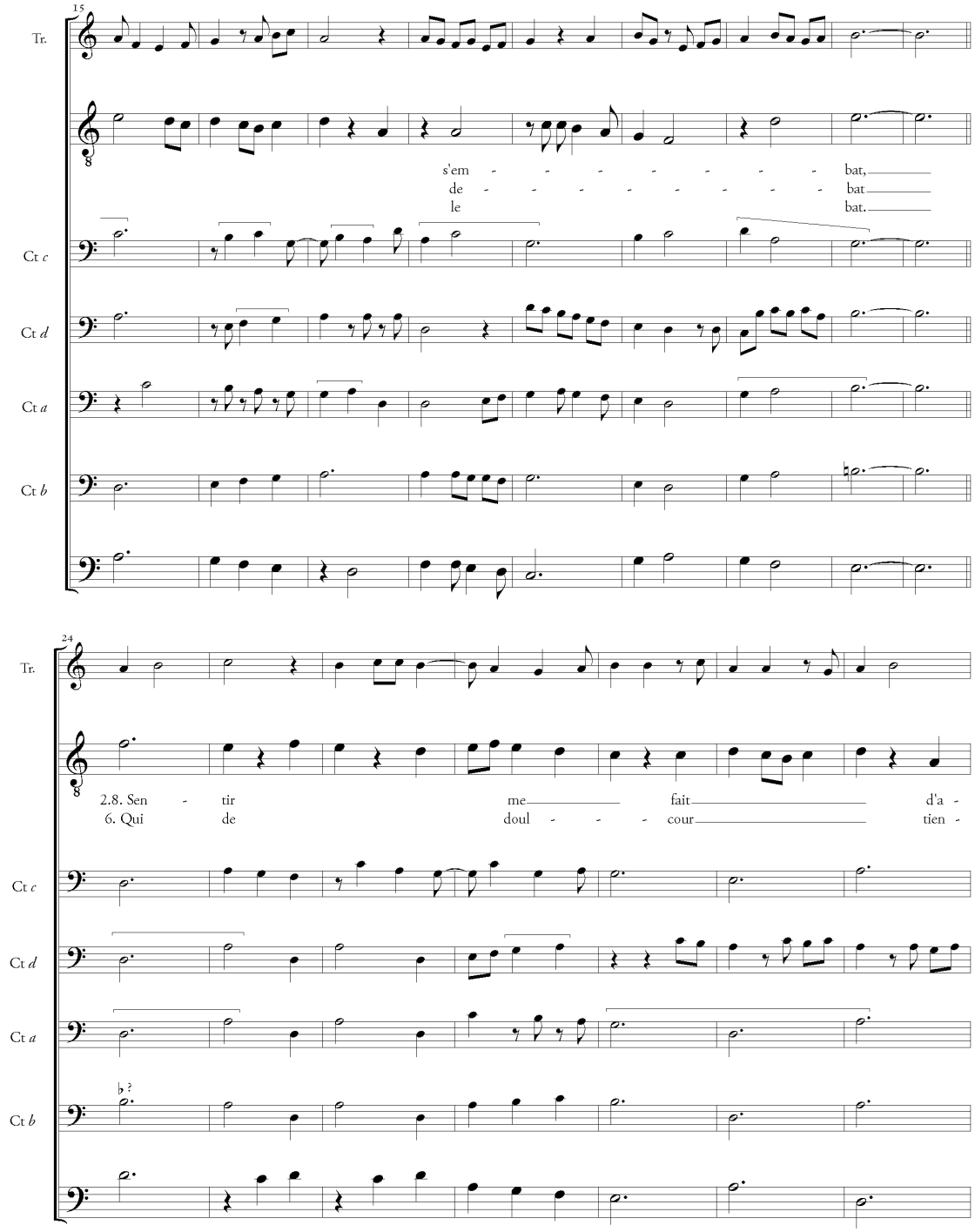
[52] Willi Apel's edition following **Pit.** ignores the Cambridge version but is otherwise commendable, particularly for emendations of the Vorau manuscript's contratenor which make it concord better with the cantus. (*CMM 53/3*, pp. xxv and 89–90). The Gent reading of the cantus usually accords best with **Prague 9** or **Vorau 380** and only occasionally with **Pit. Cambridge 5943**'s readings, while occasionally musically smoother as in its approach to the internal cadence, are unique.

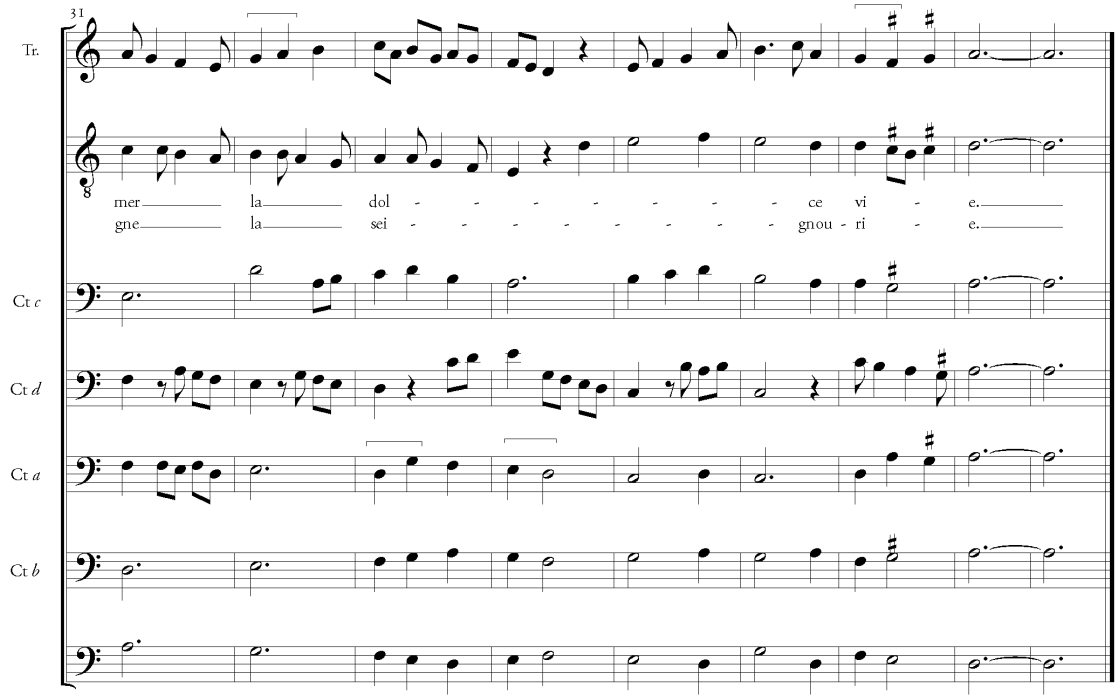
[53] David Fallows, review of Richard Rastall, *Two Fifteenth Century Song Books, Early Music* 20 (1992), pp. 348–49.

1067 also precludes use; thus Example 3.19 uses **Gent 133**'s clear text as its base reading. The example presents all known contratenors since performing groups may wish to switch among them between repetitions of the musical sections.

EXAMPLE 3.19: *ESPERANCE QUI EN MON CUER*




15
Tr.
s'em - - - - - - - - - bat,
de - - - - - - - - - - bat
le bat.
Ct c
Ct d
Ct a
Ct b
24
Tr.
2.8. Sen - tir me fait d'a -
6. Qui de doul - - - cour tien -
Ct c
Ct d
Ct a
Ct b



Critical notes on the version in **Gent 133:**

Cantus:
m. 21: *B* instead of *d*
m. 22: *c* instead of *e*
m. 25 and m. 26: ˌ instead of '

Triplum:
m. 12/2: ♦ with punctus in MS

m. 19: ˌ instead of '

(note that omitting both of these two emendations would result in a long syncopated passage from mm. 12–19).

Text:
senbat for *s'embat*
d'amours for *d'amer*
douche for *dolce*

The added contratenors are independent but show some influence on each other. The alternation of D and A in the first few measures of the second part is particularly striking. *Esperance* joins works such as *Je voy mon cuer* (which quotes the incipit of *Esperance*)[54] in possessing many copies some of which have undergone striking transformations (diminutions, stroke notation, contrafact) while leaving no trace of their original composer or country of origin.

Although it was the only sheet studied by Carboni and Ziino, f. 44 is not the only folio with musical notation. On f. 42v, a single, hand-drawn five-line staff (of greater sloppiness even than those of f. 44) has been added at the bottom of an erased Latin text. The contents of this staff are difficult to read since it too has been erased. It appears to be a single line, probably a tenor voice judging by the number of ligatures, but even possibly a melismatic section of a work in square notation.

That ff. 42 and 44 are not isolated sheets but parts of bifolios immediately necessitated a search for music on the opposite sheets, ff. 33 and 35. Although discolorations similar to those on f. 44v may indicate erasures underneath the densely-packed overwriting, I could find no traces of music notation on either folio. Red five-line staves that match those of ff. 42 and 44 can, however, be seen on both folios 33 and 35. On f. 35, the neatly drawn staves were used as ruling for the tiny text; between staves, an extra line has been added in

[54] See Chapter 5 for more on this quotation. Further on *Esperance, Je voy mon cuer,* and related songs in the *En attendant* group, see Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late 'ars nova': the case of 'Esperance' and 'En attendant' songs," *Early Music History* 18 (1999), pp. 287–363 (esp. pp. 317–19), and more specifically on notational issues of the borrowing works, see Jason Stoessel, "Symbolic Innovation: The Notation of Jacob de Senleches," *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999), pp. 136–164.

the black ink used to rule the rest of the gathering. On f. 33 the staves are ignored and written over. Since no notation can be found even with a detailed search, most likely these staves were never used. Musical staves do not surface on any other folio of the manuscript.

Rome 1067 was probably not part of any other known trecento source. When we consider their size and number of staves, the folios of the music section differ from all other trecento sources. **Rome 1067**'s dimensions, *c.* 205 x 145, are similar to those of **Florence Conservatorio** and **Vatican 1419**, but **Rome 1067** can be distinguished from the other two by the number of staves per page (6 as opposed to **Florence Conservatorio**'s more normal 7) and by its material (parchment instead of the paper of **Vatican 1419**).[55] The staves (drawn without a rastrum) on f. 44 vary in width. The first on f. 44r is 17mm with 25mm between staves; the last is 24mm with 28mm between staves.

The early date for the destruction and reuse of **Rome 1067**—hinting at a date not much later then 1390 for the copying of the music—impels us to reassert the ephemeral status most music manuscripts had in the trecento. We have the remains of a manuscript, perhaps only a fascicle and almost certainly never finished, whose preservation was of no concern to the one who acquired it after the initial scribe. Andrea da Chieti's desire to copy Antonio de Azaro da Parma's sermons expressed itself in a voracious appetite for recycling parchment, probably acquired piecemeal: the layout of the manuscript changes at least 21 times, often reflecting preexisting ruling patterns. In part, we as researchers should be given hope from palimpsest sources such as **Rome 1067**, and especially the reused folios 33 and

[55] Folio 35 of **Rome 1067** does, however, have seven staves, each of 20mm with 24mm of intersystem distance. There are still other reasons, including differences in custos, which discourage a connection with the **Florence Conservatorio** manuscript.

35: hope that many more polyphonic sources lie under the surface of manuscripts, and hope that advances in technology will recover these lost caches of trecento practice.

Frosinone 266 and 267

Frosinone, Archivio di Stato. Collezione delle pergamene 266 (31).
Frosinone, Archivio di Stato. Collezione delle pergamene 267 (38).

New polyphonic discoveries, however small, are always significant enough to be worth the concern of scholars. An even more significant event is the discovery of new manuscript sources which bring with them collections of new music, completely unknown from previous finds. The two parchment bifolios, **Frosinone 266** and **Frosinone 267** thus spark a great deal of interest with their contents: eight secular works in French and Italian all brought to light for the first time.[56]

The two sources (which are also referred to by a second set of signatures, 31 and 38 respectively) were formerly covers for documents stemming from the notarial archive of the district of Ceccano, approximately five miles south of Frosinone (where they are currently housed in the Archivio di Stato). **Frosinone 267** was used as a cover for documents from 1523–25 copied by the notary Jacobellus Augustini Paniscaldi (protocollo 12 from Busta 3) while **266** protected documents from 1525–27 (protocollo 21 from Busta 5) written by an unnamed notary, but possibly also Paniscaldi.[57] Surviving foliation numbers, 133 on **266**

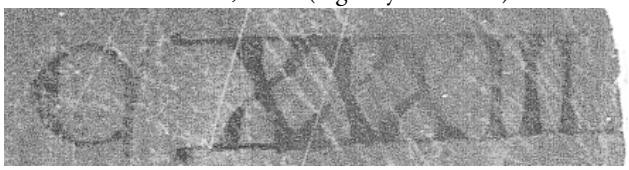
[56] The music folios were first mentioned by Viviana Fontana, "La collezione delle pergamene dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone," in *In the Shadow of Montecassino: Nuove ricerche dai frammenti di codice dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone*, Quaderni dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone 3, (Frosinone: Archivio di Stato, 1995), p. 96 [*sic;* cited incorrectly elsewhere]. Fontana described their contents simply as "music polifonica dell'Ars Nova italiana datati intorno alla fine del XIV secolo."

[57] Gialdroni and Ziino, "Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana," p. 185.

and 217 on **267**, reveal that both bifolios were once part of large manuscripts. They may have come from the same manuscript, but the number 133 is written in roman numerals while 217 is newer and in arabic.[58]

FIGURE 3.20: **FROSINONE 266** AND **267** FOLIATION

Bifolio 266, f. Wr (digitally enhanced):



Bifolio 267, f. Yr:

The bifolios were unfolded and then refolded along their widths to form long, narrow covers for the notarial documents. Like certain of the **Mancini** folios which were used for similar purposes, this reuse has caused the loss of music along the middle of most pages. Most of the contents of the folios can, however, still be read. When refolded along the original (that is, music manuscript) folds, a single work is transmitted on each page. Three of the works survive in their entirety, five incompletely, as Table 3.21 shows:

[58] **Squarcialupi** is an example of a codex with two different styles of foliation, both original. The smaller, black ink, folio numbers were presumably the guide for a later, larger set of folio numbers.

TABLE 3.21: CONTENTS OF **FROSINONE 266** AND **267**

	Foliation			
Bifolio	Original	G.-Z.	Cuthbert	Contents
266	CXXXIIIr	Bv	Wr	*La rire bande mortal*, ballade (C, T, Ct)
266	[CXXXIIIv]	Ar	Wv	*De cuer, de cors*, virelai (C, T)
266		Br	Xr	*Venes a moy,* virelai (C, Ct, T)
266		Av	Xv	*Le […] vendra que tant desir,* virelai (?) (C) [inc.]
267	217r	Br	Yr	*Messere, chanta che vuogli*, ballata (T) [inc.]
267	[217v]	Av	Yv	*Fili parien ben d'oro,* ballata (C, T (inc.)) ("d.L.")
267		Bv	Zr	*Tout jours,* virelai (Ct, T) [inc.]
267		Ar	Zv	*De bone foy et de loial desir,* virelai (C) [inc.]

In studying these fragments, I have, reluctantly, assigned new foliations. The foliation designed by Gialdroni and Ziino has the advantage of deemphasizing order among the folios—we do not know whether f. W precedes or follows f. X, for instance—but at the expense of removing connections between a folio's recto and verso, and even calling some verso faces (containing only cantus voices) rectos.

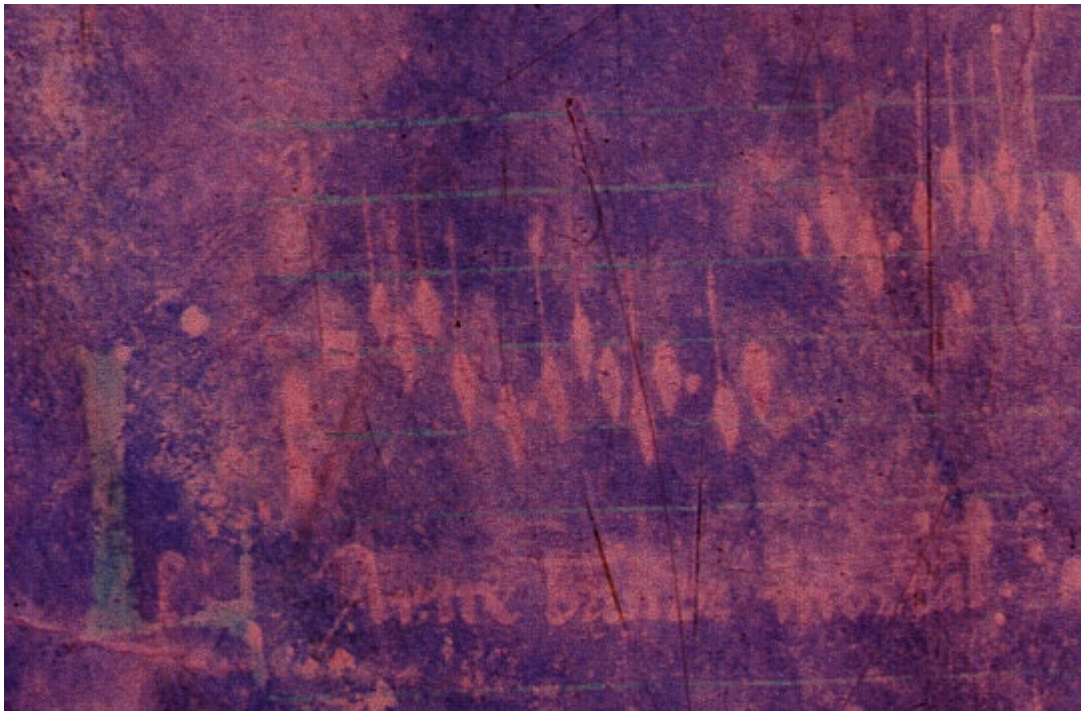
All of the compositions contained are anonymous, with the exception of *Fili parien ben d'oro* which is preceded by the initials ".d.L.," (the reading of "L" is somewhat speculative; it may be a "C" instead). Although no true attribution can be made of such an abbreviation (perhaps a name such as "Don Lorenzo"?), the shortened form typically is used in the middle of a section dedicated to a single composer's works. As a verso page, it would stand for the beginning of the composer's name and not the end (i.e., not "X de Lymburgia" etc.).

There is no doubt about the Italian origin of the fragment, even despite its largely French-texted (though not necessarily French-composed) contents. Italian notational features appear even in the virelai, such as the use of the sign ".q." for *divisio quaternaria* and the Italianate designation "Seconda parte" in *De cuer, de cors* on f. Wv, or the label "chiusa"

[*sic*] at the end of the contratenor of *Venes a moy* on f. Xr.[59] Surprisingly, neither of the two pieces in ".q." appear to be re-notated from the truly Italian mensuration of *duodenaria*.

Some works' features show a real mix between the French and Italian systems. For instance the beginning of the cantus of the textless ballade *La rire bande mortal*[60] (shown in Figure 3.22 with the colors inverted to facilitate transcription) juxtaposes the *quaternaria* sign ".q." with foreign *puncti additionis*.

FIGURE 3.22: *LA RIRE BANDE MORTAL*, F. WR, OPENING



The folio as a whole ranges from simple to read to frustratingly illegible. See Figure 3.23:

[59] The unusual text forms of these works, the first with its four-line refrain substitute, the second with its short text residuum, are also worth noticing. See Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–88 and 191.

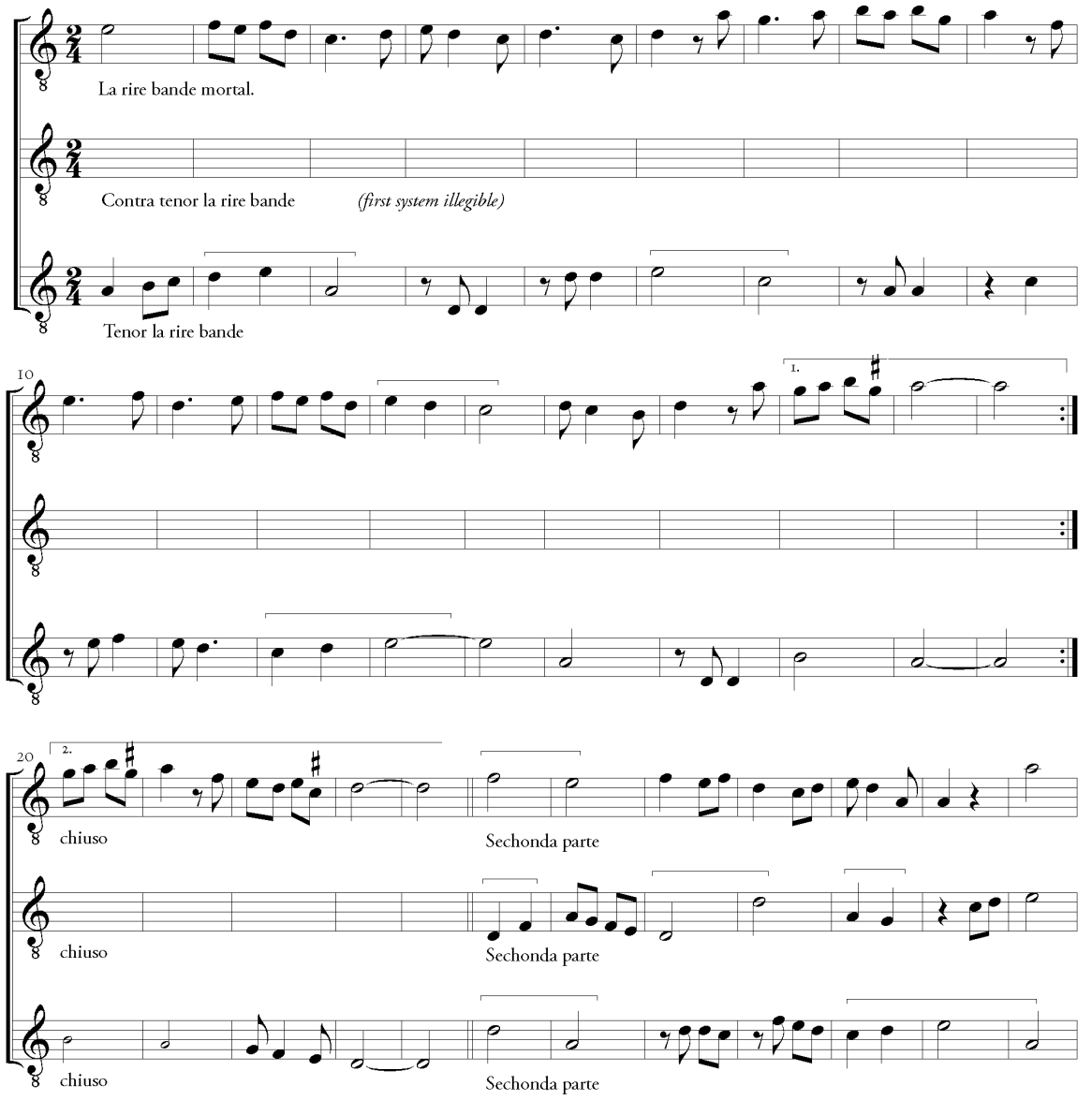
[60] Gialdroni and Ziino's statement that the first stanza appears in the cantus (p. 187) is incorrect.

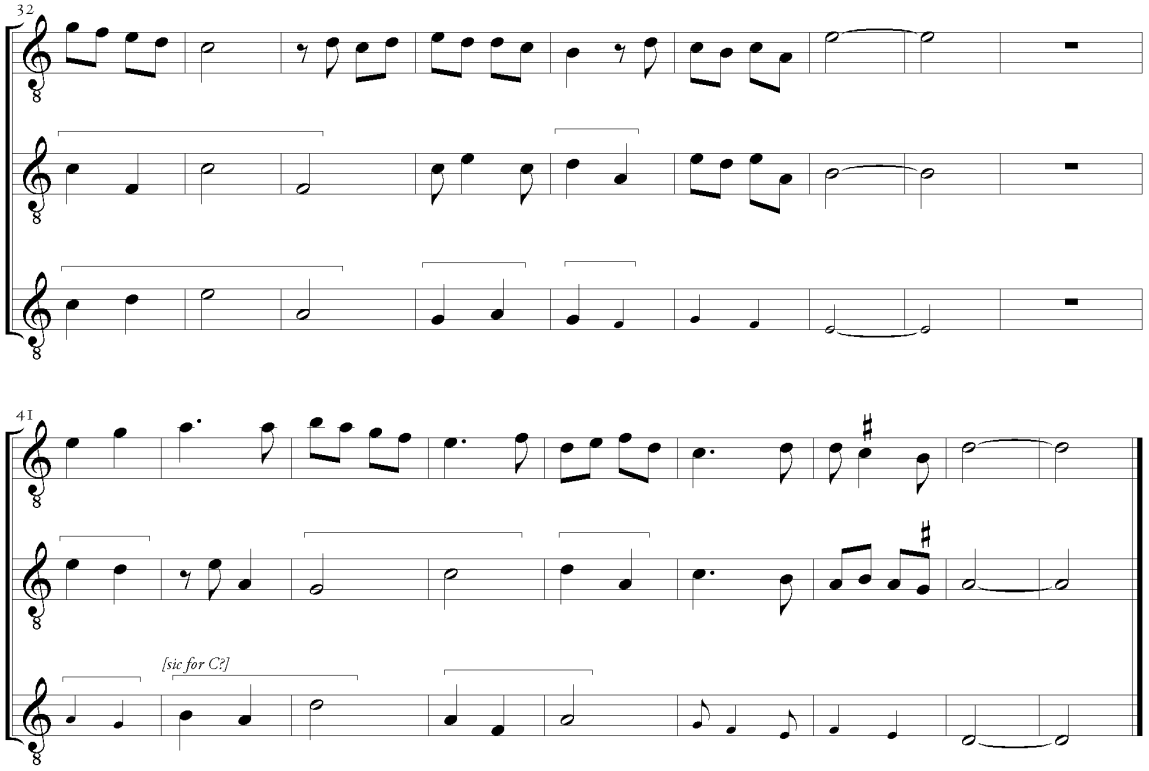
FIGURE 3.23: **FROSINONE 266,** F. WR (DIGITALLY LIGHTENED WITH MARGINS TRIMMED)

Unfortunately, the first half of the contratenor is nearly illegible, and there are multiple gaps in the second half of the tenor line. Further, mm. 5–6 and 8–11 seem weak in their

two-voice skeletons. However, the provisional transcription in Example 3.24 is still sufficient to give an aural impression at least of the second half of the work.

EXAMPLE 3.24: *LA RIRE BANDE MORTAL*





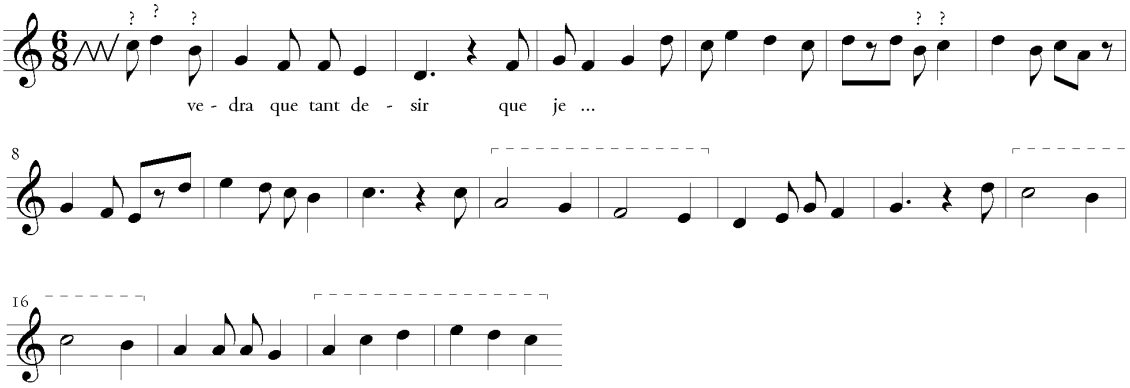
In mm. 12–14 of the tenor, the scribe uses an usual ligature: a *c.o.p.* pair followed by an oblique upward ligature, yielding ♦ ♦ ■. The absence of text is not accompanied by any other suggestion of instrumental performance except perhaps for the contratenor. Although it is dangerous to make such judgments based on a fragmentary reading, there is little in the work to suggest a particularly rich, creative imagination.

The other work not yet transcribed is even more difficult to read. *Le … ve[n]dra que tant desir* (the ellipsis represents a hole in the manuscript) contains only a cantus voice. The work is a presumably a virelai, though the double-texting characteristic of the piedi does not extend to the end. This "excessively long *refrain*" is indeed unusual,[61] but is not unique. We see a similar usage in Ciconia's *Aler m'en veus* in **Pad B**. Example 3.25 transcribes the music

[61] Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

of the opening (unfortunately missing the first few measures) to give a sense of the work and its use of red coloration; the transcription of the text awaits another visit with the source.

EXAMPLE 3.25: *LE … VE[N]DRA QUE TANT DESIR*, CANTUS INCIPIT



Messere, chanta che vuogli has a text which features solmization syllables set to appropriate pitches. The text, following the incipit, carries the instruction, "Or, va! leggi la ma[no] se vuo[i] 'parare." "Now go, read the [Guidonian] hand if you want to learn." Though it is certainly a didactic work,[62] the rhythmic content of the piece does not accord with an interpretation where the singer is just learning to read music. The work uses void notation for 4:3 ratios, dragmae for 3:2, and without doubt imitative passages; and all this in the tenor, the only surviving voice.[63] One presumes that the cantus would have been even more florid. The text of the second piede is nearly the same as the first, consisting of the

[62] Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[63] In the second part of the ballata, each entrance of the tenor is separated by three breves of rest followed by two breves of music, implying that the tenor cannot be giving an exact imitation of the missing cantus. This theory may be supported by the text residuum at the end of the tenor music: the text may be present here not because there was not room after the cantus but instead because the text (i.e., the solmization syllables) differs between voices. The absence of a text for the volta, which would have been the same between voices, may support this interpretation.

same solmization syllables, but ends with a plea, "et non m'ingannare:" "and do not deceive me." One may even take this line to be an admonition against the use of *musica ficta*.

Gialdroni and Ziino have identified three scribal hands at work for the text of the two folios and two musical hands, both types changing between the two bifolios.[64] The hand of the Italian texted pieces (A) on **Frosinone 267** was thought to be different from that of the French pieces (B). (Gialdroni and Ziino's Hand C copied **Frosinone 266**'s texts.) They consider hand B closer to a "French Gothic" (while arguing for an Italian writer) without giving specific examples. However, the variation between the two scripts in **Frosinone 267** seems slight. Both of these theorized hands use the same two types of punctuation to end lines, an elevated single dot and four dots arranged in a diamond. Further, there is hardly enough text left on f. Zr to make subtle scribal identifications. Compounding our difficulty in making such judgments is the lack of consistency even within scripts considered written by the same hand. Gialdroni and Ziino note, for instance, that the semiminims of *De bon foy et de loial desir* are roundish and point to the left but that those of *Fili parien ben d'oro* are triangular and point to the right. (One must recall their contention that the music hand, but not text hand, of all of **Frosinone 267** is the same). Further suggesting that the text and music hands do coincide is the pattern established in many larger sources such as **Reina, Panciatichi,** and **Pit.** of compilation of words and music by the same scribal editor.[65]

That there is a change of hands between the two bifolios is easier to sustain on such grounds as changing F-clefs and a change of primary graphical style, from elongated and

[64] Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.,* p. 189.
[65] Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," p. 261.

streamlined in the case of **266** (scribe B[!]) to the "more accurate, geometric, and elegant" hand of **267** (A).[66] Nevertheless, important elements remain the same between the two sources allowing a counterargument to be mounted.[67] Both scribes use C-clefs which slope downward, do not curve, and are drawn at the extreme edge of the staff. Both scribes inscribe the number "27," "251," or "21" (or perhaps "r [et]"?) in the decorated final barlines of works; these numbers cannot be explained.

The Frosinone scribe or scribes use the same hook-shaped custos: a distinctively uncommon mark. It is primarily known from the scribal complex responsible for certain works of **Pit.**, **Lowinsky, Mancini, Ciliberti,** and **Florence 5**, where the left "tail" of the custos is often shorter than the right.[68] While other scribal details rule out a connection between the Frosinone scribe(s) and this group, a connection may be possible to the newly-discovered fragment, **Brescia 5**. Stefano Campagnolo has linked the scribe with this larger group, and tentatively to the scribe of **Florence Conservatorio** (who is also linked to the first folios of

[66] Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[67] See also the argument raised in the context of **Vatican 171** above that we are less likely to see smooth evolution of scribal hands in fragments than in complete manuscripts.

[68] Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova," *Musica Disciplina* 10 (1956), pp. 65–66. Idem, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs, California: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961), p. 18–19. Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23.2 (1966), pp. 89–92. Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 273–75. Idem, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition," in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1989), pp. 41–64, esp. pp. 51–52. Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), pp. 76–77.

London 29987).[69] The second-initial letters (e.g., the "E" in Tenor) and custodes of **Brescia 5** are similar to the same elements in **Frosinone 266** and **267**; despite other differences, such as his use of curved C-clefs and "Clos" instead of "Chiuso," a connection between these sources should be pursued.

No definite provenance can be assigned to the manuscript; as Gialdroni and Ziino put it, "in the absence of meaningful data, every hypothesis is valid."[70] Despite their caveat, they offer four hypothetical locations of origin in the region near Frosinone: (1) Angevin Naples (that is, the Court of Anjou) under King Louis II or Ladislaus (I might add Charles III); (2) one of the feudal houses of lower Lazio; (3) one of the numerous ecclesiastical courts in Rome; (4) one of the many flourishing monastic centers in the area. In any case, their suggestions are indicative of the broader view of polyphonic center in the trecento offered by the study of manuscript fragments.

[69] Stefano Campagnolo, "Un nuovo frammento di polifonia del Trecento," presented at the conference *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo* (December 2002) but omitted from the conference proceedings.

[70] Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4 THE POLYPHONY OF LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The preceding chapters expanded our view of the trecento by placing fragmentary manuscripts on an equal footing with those which survive more or less completely. Despite the widened perspective afforded by such a study, we still have not considered all of the types of polyphonic music which would have been heard in Italy during the fourteenth century. A rich variety of works is found in a group of manuscripts which are not fragments at all but which have often been considered with manuscript fragments.[1] These are codices, nearly always of liturgical chant, which were never intended to be solely collections of polyphony.[2] In many cases what survives today is exactly what the compiler of the manuscript intended to be preserved—a collection of monophonic music with a few polyphonic pieces contained in the corpus. In other cases we have what might be considered the opposite of a fragment: additional polyphonic works added to already completed codices, mostly at the back of the book or at the bottoms of pages. In neither case is it correct to call these sources fragments.

The study of liturgical sources of polyphony in the trecento deepens our knowledge of existing musical styles—several compositions known from other manuscript types reap-

[1] See Chapter 1, note 65 for *2ndNG's* division of trecento sources into "principal individual sources" and "other fragments."

[2] Those non-fragmentary manuscripts which are not liturgical will be discussed in Chapter 5.

pear along with a few new compositions by previously known composers—while also giving us a view of new genres, new notational styles, and new performance contexts. In contrast to the principal secular sources, these manuscripts have pieces which span the whole of the fourteenth century, seamlessly connecting this period's polyphonic practice with styles of the duecento and quattrocento. By considering these styles as an extension of those found in the secular manuscripts, what we lose from what we thought was the uniqueness of the trecento, we more than gain in historical completeness.

Notation and the Idea of Repertory: or Was Polyphony Special?

The story of polyphonic works in liturgical manuscripts is a complicated one. A question rarely asked but of utmost importance is why we consider polyphonic additions separately from chant at all. We suppose that the singers of polyphony were among the more talented singers whose performances would have been in high demand when they were available.[3] We can show that the surviving polyphonic pieces were more likely to be locally composed and transmitted, compared to chant which was, at least in theory, common to all Western Christendom;[4] if we presuppose an interest in the compositional innovation of specific regions, we need no further justification for our interest in polyphonic development.

[3] An unfortunate fact is that incontrovertible evidence for this view is hard to come by. One might point out that the groups we would suppose to be comprised of the best singers, such as the Papal chapels, also performed more polyphony than average groups; again we have no clear proof on account of this that they sang polyphonically more often because they were better singers. That the first polyphonic elaborations of chant were from the soloist's section of the chant is also strong but ultimately circumstantial evidence. But see Chapter 1, fn. 48 for an important caveat to the association of difficult music with better performers.

[4] Important differences among traditions of chant in the late-Middle Ages should not, of course, be glossed over. However when placed in the context of the overwhelming differences among regional languages of secular song and polyphonic practice, Reinhard Strohm's characterization of

(note continues)

We also know that polyphony was used to make certain occasions more solemn or special. The polyphonic Benedicamus Domino which are additions to the fourteenth-century antiphoners **Aosta D16** (formerly 9-E-19) and **Aosta C3** (formerly 9-E-17; Figure 4.1) testify to an association of greater solemnity with polyphonic performance. The rubrics provided to the polyphonic additions (Table 4.2) strongly imply that the occasions for polyphonic singing were in most cases feasts of high solemnity.[5]

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the disparities among regional chants as both "fiercely defended" traditions and "local dialects" is apt. (*The Rise of European Music: 1380–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 3.)

[5] Distilled from Frank Ll. Harrison, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source," *Acta Musicologica* 37.1-2 (1965), pp 35-36. It should be noted that the added *monophonic* pieces, mostly troped Benedicamus, of the added folios 78r-85v are also generally for the more solemn feasts. Thus it could be argued that the correlation of polyphony with solemn feasts might be a result of an indirect causation. That is, if troped Benedicamus gave added solemnity to certain feasts and if listeners preferred to hear the Benedicamus sung polyphonically, then polyphonic Benedicamus may have been heard on solemn feast days without the polyphonic aspects themselves adding to the solemnity of the occasion. An analogy may be in order to clarify this complex point: the presence of a professional football squad may lend prestige and importance to a city, and sales of pretzels and fried dough may be highly correlated with football matches, but it would be a mistake to imply that sales of these snacks in themselves give prestige and importance to the city.

Aosta D16 and the similar **Aosta C3** do not contain *mensural* polyphony and are thus not included in the main part of this study, though **Aosta C3** contains some music with distinct note shapes among the monophonic pieces, implying rhythmic performance.

If we are willing to reach further back to an earlier repertory, we can regard the *Ordo Officiorum* of Siena from 1215 as strong further evidence for use of polyphony (including Benedicamus Domino) specifically on more important festivals, although some organum was also sung at First Vespers on nearly every feast day. See Frank D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 56. On the **Siena Ordinal** and the role of polyphony in the early duecento, see also Kurt von Fischer, "Das Kantorenamt am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli, 1962*, edited by Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1962), pp. 155-160; idem, "Die Rolle der Mehrstimmigkeit am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19 (1961), pp. 167-182. One would prefer to have a greater number of sources which show a preference for singing polyphonically on higher feast days before declaring the evidence incontrovertible. See also Reinhard Strohm's discussion of the relationship between feast solemnity and the singing of polyphonic Benedicamus Domino in "Neue Quellen des Mittelalters in Italien," p. 79.

FIGURE 4.1: **AOSTA C3**, F. 67R

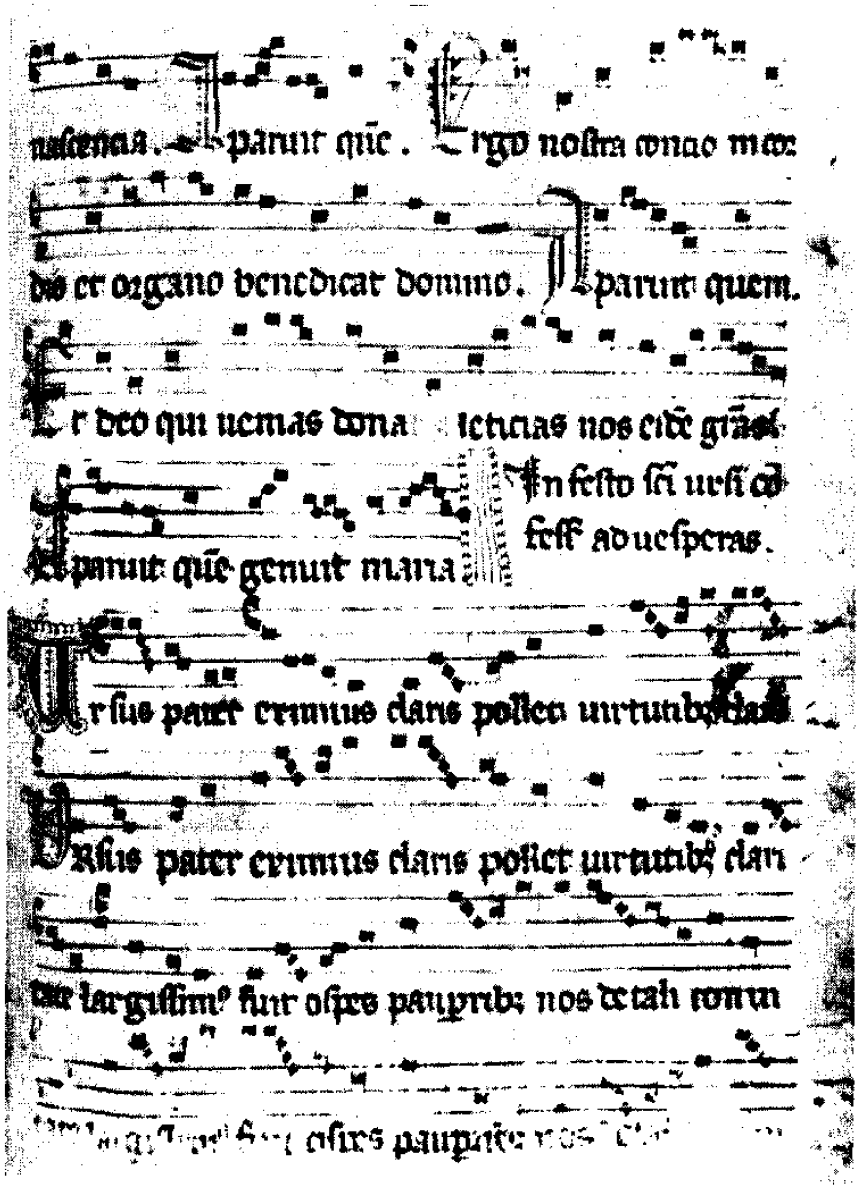

TABLE 4.2: POLYPHONIC ADDITIONS TO **AOSTA D16** WITH THEIR ASSOCIATED FEASTS

Ad cantus leticie, ff. 78r-v. In vigilia nativitatis domini ad vesperos [sic] benedicamus
Laudemus cum ermonia, ff. 79r-v. In die nativitatis domini ad vesperas benedicamus
Benedicamus Domino, f. 81r. In magnis festivitatibus benedicamus
Voce digna corde, f. 81v. In die sancto pasche ad vesperas benedicamus

Documents also show that performers of polyphony were in some cases paid more than singers of monophony. An early citation of extra payments for singing polyphony is

found in an article by Fétis in *Revue Musicale* in 1827 where he (colorfully) mentions that the French were:

> so fond of this cacophony [i.e., polyphony of the Gothic age] that those who caused Masses to be sung consented willingly to pay the singers *six deniers* for having the pleasure of hearing it, instead of the two deniers due for plainchant.
>
> *On était même alors si friand de cette cacophonie, que ceux qui faisaient chanter des messes consentaient volontiers à payer aux chantres* six deniers *pour avoir le plaisir de l'entendre, au lieu de deux deniers qui étaient dus pour le chant simple*.[6]

The documented need for specifically hired musicians, in particular brass and wind players to perform polyphony also supports its separate examination.[7]

Separation and Continuity between Polyphonic and Monophonic Repertories and Practices

We thus might wish to consider polyphonic works separately from monophonic works because of the different performing forces employed and the greater importance accorded to some polyphonic expression. Two other commonly stated reasons for studying the two repertories separately are the preserving of the different repertories in different types of manuscripts and the copying of polyphony only in cosmopolitan centers. The remainder of this chapter will confirm these two reasons in part, but will argue against them in important ways. In particular, the chapter shows that among the several manuscripts which preserve both monophony and polyphony, the interactions between chant and polyphony (and be-

[6] François-Joseph Fétis, "Découverte de plusieurs Manuscrits intéressans pour l'historie de la musique: Premier Article," *Revue Musicale* 1 (1827), p. 5. Translation from Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 159. The source of Fétis's statement is unclear.

[7] The hiring of "banditoribus," "tubatoribus," and "biffaris" for polyphony at St. Peters in 1409 has been shown in Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), p. 20.

tween the physical features of the source and its contents) are not casual, but are vital to our understanding of music production and performance in the trecento. Recent discoveries of fragmentary manuscripts throughout the peninsula, along with the argument (first by Di Bacco and Nádas) that the mobile papal chapels were polyphonic centers in their own right, have already been used in the preceding chapters to weaken the argument that polyphony is the exclusive property of a few cultural centers. That many locations included mensural polyphony in their liturgical manuscripts also raises objections to using cosmopolitanism as a reason for considering polyphony and chant separately. (The cases where sacred contrafacts were made of Francesco's ballate will arise as a further argument for the wider distribution of high art forms.)

The Special Role of Rhythm in Liturgical Polyphony

Though polyphony is defined solely by the presence of multiple lines, in written sources the rhythm of polyphony has always been the most varied element in its notation. Thus, the notation of rhythm gives rise to some of the most difficult questions of performance practice in both repertories. We should therefore divide the works of polyphonic music in liturgical manuscripts into two groups: pieces with definite rhythm (called mensural regardless of whether they fit in strict meter or mensuration) and music written without rhythmic indication. Much recent literature calls two-part works of the latter group *cantus planus binatim*.[8] Although the non-mensural works are beyond the scope of this project, the

[8] For background on the *cantus binatim* traditions, see F. Alberto Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-*

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gap between the two genres is not as large as is often thought. Indeed, polyphonic works of all degrees of rhythmic complexity, or lack thereof, exist in this period. Some of the pieces under study exist in both mensural and non-mensural versions in different manuscripts. And as we shall see, scribes of every degree of sophistication and experience with mensural notation exist as well.

Performers of mensural music who were learning from written sources (as opposed to by ear) needed specific training in the reading of the rhythms of musical notation. Many of the most significant theoretical writings on music from the late thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries are, at least in part, the products of this need to train performers in the reading of notation. Although the discussions of rhythmic interpretation that are mainly philosophical or theoretical have received the most attention from modern scholars,[9] many treatises, including such famous works as Marchettus's *Pomerium* and the treatise by Anonymous IV, concern themselves with seemingly mundane features such as the interpretation of drawn figures such as tails, stems, or lozenges. The emphasis on understanding written

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24 agosto 1980, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 13-30.

[9] Among the purely philosophical discussions, one may mention Marchettus's defense of the "via naturalis," which places the longer part of the beat after the shorter note. Marchettus argues his position by cites mathematics as an authority. He stresses that just as we cannot conceive of "two" without first conceiving of "one," so too can we not conceive of the two-unit note (altered breve) without first conceiving of the one-unit note. (Marchettus, *Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi, pp. 92–93; trans. Renner, p. 91). Earlier, in explaining why tail stems on the right side of notes make them perfect (i.e., longer and stronger), but added to the left side (as in descending ligatures) make them imperfect (shorter and weaker). This placement seems to contradict the natural way suggested by the human heart, the source of strength for living creatures, which is placed in the left side of the body. Marchettus explains that the heart, though it lives in the left, or weaker side of the body, first sends its blood rightward, and therefore the right side of the note is stronger. (Marchettus, *Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi, pp. 51–52; trans. Renner, pp. 25–27.)

rhythm stands in contrast to discussions of pitch in treatises of the same time. In those treatises, knowledge of physical features, such as clefs and the staff, is largely assumed. The focus of the chapters on pitch is mainly on the inflection and execution of what has already been read on paper, rather than puzzling difficulties inherent in what is to be read.

Like those authors of treatises on pitch, writers of treatises on rhythm also discuss the inflection of the written shapes before they are to be executed according to their context. These inflections include alteration and imperfection of note forms (in both French and French-inspired Italian notational systems), along with (in the purely Italian *divisiones* of octonaria and duodenaria) deciding to which of the two rhythmic levels a given semibreve belongs. Performers of rhythmic music are thus trained in how abstract basic shapes (or "primitives" in the language of modern graphic design) arrange themselves into conceptual forms such as longs, semibreves, or ligatures *cum opposita proprietate* which, by their interactions, become sounding durations such as 1, 2, or 3 tempora.[10]

In addition to the performers, when discussing written mensural polyphony we are also dealing with another group of experts: the scribes who were notating the music in the surviving manuscripts. To notate *cantus planus binatim* or other forms of non-mensural polyphony requires little additional training beyond what is used in chant. The scribe need only align the voice parts when the parts are notated in score; it therefore requires absolutely

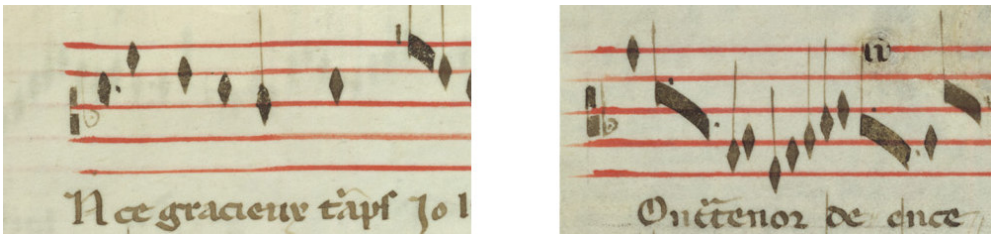
[10] The breaking down of the elements of rhythmic notation in this way has analogues in many systems of teaching Western music notation but has its closest compliment in the programming of optical music recognition systems. In OMR systems, the stages typically are clearly demarcated and error correction is performed by considering the recognized symbols by the context in which they relate to each other.

no special expertise if the parts are written consecutively, as happens most often.[11] To notate mensural music, particularly music which has not been previously notated or written in a different rhythmic system, requires a much wider skill set.[12] These skills extend beyond knowing the interpretation of ligatures and the understanding of proportions between note lengths—skills which were also needed by performers, as discussed above. When not directly copying from a previous source (of which we have little evidence when art polyphony is concerned) scribes needed to make difficult decisions about the choice of rhythmic system—many scribes seemed to have been familiar with French and Italian notational systems along with hybrids—and of different ways of notating syncopation, alteration and imperfection. Additionally, texted mensural music typically begets far greater problems of word alignment than texted non-mensural music; a stream of semibreves and minims may be separated quite differently in those voices where each note is texted than in those where the whole line carries a single syllable. (See Figure 4.3])

[11] In some cases, what appears to be a copy in score may be successive copying, arranged so that each voice part occupies exactly one complete staff, with little attempt at aligning parts. **Todi 73** and **Reggio Emilia 408** transmit mensural works in this manner, while **Vatican 4749** and the fifteenth-century **Bergamo 37** are examples among many non-mensural sources for following this practice.

[12] The contrary opinion, that just about any professional scribe could have notated polyphonic music, was presented by the paleographer Teresa De Robertis (Università di Firenze) at the Dozza conference of 2003. This view states that the professional scribes could have at least preserved the look of a page that they were copying. I do not dispute that graphical similarity could be achieved, but the tiniest slip could have rendered long passages meaningless. We would also have to posit the existence of identically notated exemplars of pieces from which these untrained scribes copied. The paucity of evidence for direct copying among trecento sources chafes against this view.

FIGURE 4.3: VARIED SPACING DEPENDING ON THE TEXTING



These two examples are taken from two voices of Senleches's *En ce gracieux tamps joli* in **Padua 1115** (f. Br). The first is an excerpt from the texted superius part showing wide spacing between notes. The second is from the untexted contratenor part (the text reads "[C]ontratenor de *En ce*") where the notes are spaced much more closely.

Scribes noting polyphonic mensural music may have needed training in reading the mensural values of what they were writing in order to know which notes would coincide between voices. This knowledge would be vital to apply accidentals to avoid certain harmonic dissonances,[13] or to check their work.

Finally, we might add that discussing mensural music separately from plainchant is not merely a phenomenon of modern times. The distinction between *musica mensurata* and *musica plana* was also of great interest to theorists of the early fourteenth century, Marchettus and Jacobus of Liège in particular. Such a division continues in treatises throughout the century.[14]

[13] That the accidentals often go unapplied and errors missed can be attributed either to a lack of this expertise, though in the case of ficta two other oft-heard arguments are also compelling: that the notes were altered without comment, or that modal conflict was common.

[14] See Kurt von Fischer's discussion of the theoretical distinction between *mensurata* and *plana* in, "The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 100 (1973–74), pp. 146–147. This distinction is blurred in practice. Fischer may be incautious in equating Prosdocimus's discussion of the rhythmic implications of the ligatures of *cantus planus binatim* with the sort of rhythmicized binatim which comes down to us in surviving manuscripts. (These form group (b) in his list of style groups, which I have paraphrased in Chapter 1, Figure 1.7).

As we shall see, the rhythmic notations of cantus binatim are varied and rhythms implied by one source are at times incompatible with other sources. Prosdocimus may be implying a certain con-

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The Rhythm of Polyphony and the Rhythmicization of Monophony

A larger study of mensural notation, including its use for monophonic works, is needed because of disagreement about its broader significance. Scholars have tried to link the mensural writing of monophonic chant with unwritten polyphonic practices. There is a sense that the former may shed light upon the latter. In an article in the Gallo Festschrift, Agostino Ziino advances three different reasons for writing a piece of chant in mensural rhythm:[15]

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fusion in ways of singing the rhythm of binatim. Fischer reads Prosdocimus as saying that only the knowledgeable knew binatim. My reading of the passage takes the theorist to mean that, among modern singers, only the knowledgeable apply to cantus planus binatim the ways of singing the rhythms of the *antiqui*:

> Propter quod est sciendum, quod antiqui in cantando cantum planum sive organicum et hoc binatim, dum ligaturam aliquam inveniebant semper primam figuram ipsius ligature in valore brevis proferebant, alias vero figuras in ipsa ligatura sequentes sub minori valore quam sub valore brevis pronuntiabant. Et ista de causa antiqui ipsum valorem brevis prime note ligate in cantu plano pro proprietate attribuerunt, qui sibi soli conveniebat et omni tali et semper, ut dictum est. Talem etiam modum cantandi cantum planum binatim habent aliqui moderni, licet non omnes, sed solum scientes, et est modus dulcissimus cantandi ubi voces pares et dulces inveniantur.

(Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Opera 1: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*, edited by F. Alberto Gallo. Antiquae Musicae Italicae Scriptores 3 (Bologna: Arti Grafiche Tamari, 1966), p. 163). The Catania manuscript, one of only two to preserve the text, omits both mentions of "binatim." The second omission in particular strengthens the reading that it was the sweet way (i.e., the rhythm) of singing and not *what* was being sung that the knowledgeable moderns knew.

[15] Agostino Ziino, "Dal latino al cumanico, *ovvero* osservazioni su una versione trecentesca della sequenza *Sagïnsamen bahasïz kanïnï* in notazione mensurale," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), p. 41.

1. To convey greater solemnity.
2. To allow an instrumental accompaniment, especially on the organ.
3. To sing an improvised "contracantum" on top of it.

Although the first reason does not relate to polyphony it needs discussion. Ziino cites as evidence for the first reason that mensural notation is present on particularly important feasts within the context of liturgical manuscripts, particularly feasts for St. Francis in Franciscan manuscripts. But in stating his first reason he seems to suggest that it is the complexity of this *notation*, "with respect to the so-called 'square' or 'chorale'" notation, and not necessarily its rhythmic *performance*, which conveys the prestige.[16] The greater solemnity is thus felt only by the reader and not the listener. This view (if it is indeed the view Ziino intended) would not necessarily rule out a mensural performance for those pieces (i.e., the vast majority) which are not written in mensural rhythm.

The second and third reasons are directly connected with polyphony (or heterophony at least). If true, they also would greatly enlarge the repertory of chant which was performed mensurally or with polyphonic accompaniment. If mensural notation of chant was introduced in order to coordinate instrumental accompaniment (Ziino's second hypothesis), then presumably it is because the organist must know the duration of each note to create an accompaniment. However, if (non-mensurally notated) chants were normally performed in equal note values, then the durations of their notes would always be known! Consequently, any chant which was sung in equal notes could just as well be accompanied with the organ.

[16] The full quotation is as follows: "La presenza della notazione mensurale, proprio in virtù della sua maggiore complessità rispetto a quella cosiddetta 'quadrata' o 'corale,' avrebbe potuto attribuire al componimento liturgico stesso una maggiore solennità, una maggiore sacralità e quindi un maggior prestigio." *Ibid., op. cit.*

Only those chants sung *but not notated* with unpredictable, or irregular rhythms could not be accompanied. A nuance must then be added to Ziino's statement that "this [second] hypothesis accords very well with the first."[17] Only if a region wished to increase the solemnity of a chant by both a mensural performance and an improvised accompaniment would the chant need to be written in mensural rhythm.

For the third reason—the improvisation of polyphony above the chant—Ziino notes that the *Cronica* of Salimbene de dam da Parma describes such a "making" (facere) of a contracantum (though not necessarily on mensural chant) by one Vita da Lucca. The contracantum seems similar to those made on top of a Credo which is always mensurally notated, Credo IV, also known as Cardinalis, and to be discussed later.[18] (I will leave for another time whether "facere" should be better translated as singing, that is improvising, or composing; the evidence in this case is not clear cut.)

Evidence from surviving manuscripts poses a problem for the third hypothesis. There are a number of pieces in mensural rhythm with polyphonic Amens, such as **Todi 73** and **Siena Servi G** (both of which Ziino mentions). And we might note in addition that in

[17] *Ibid. op. cit.*

[18] Among the most exciting recent additions to the scholarly tradition of relating mensural chant to polyphonic practice are contributions by Marco Gozzi to our understanding of the *Credo* "Cardinalis," a chant he believes (on the basis of its opening intervallic structure among other reasons) was originally conceived to be sung polyphonically. (Gozzi's arguments have recently appeared in print as "Canto Gregoriano e Canto Fratto," in Giulia Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto nei manoscritti della Fondazione Biblioteca S. Bernardino di Trento*, Patrimonio storico e artistico del Trentino 28, (Trent: Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2005), especially p. 30, but also pp. 34–45. On the later life of the chant see idem, "Il canto fratto nei libri liturgici del quattrocento e del primo cinquecento: l'area trentina," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologica* 38.1 (2003), pp. 3–40.

some manuscripts there are monophonic mensural pieces in the vicinity of polyphonic mensural pieces, such as in **Florence 999**.[19]

The problem arises that the notated polyphonic sections are often of the simplest type; note against note (or almost note against note), often simplified with *Stimmtausch* (an exchange of voices where each part performs the part the other voice had just performed previously). If these simple works were the type which needed to be notated, are we thus forced to imagine an even simpler style for improvised polyphony? Or should we instead suppose that these sections with preserved notated polyphony are in some ways exemplars toward which the improvisations strove? Were these the few places where multiple singers performed the biscantus and thus needed coordination?

Ziino's theories connecting the relationship between mensural monophony and polyphony are provocative, and potentially open up huge new repertories of unwritten polyphonic music. However, they rest on an understanding of mensural monophonic chant which is still largely incomplete. The task of filling these scholarly gaps has only recently been taken up *con brio* among musicologists, but the potential rewards are great.[20]

Notational Adaptation in the Trecento

For the musically literate in fourteenth-century Italy, there was no single way of writing music which could be called trecento notation. Italian, French, and the so-called mixed

[19] A list of the mensurally notated monophonic works in **Florence 999** appears as Table 4.11.

[20] Among those contemplating mensural monophonic chant (the so-called *cantus fractus*), Marco Gozzi should again be singled out for his efforts to bring together scholars to solve this task. The papers from the conference he organized, "Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano: Raphael in Plainchant" (December 2003), are eagerly awaited.

notation are the categories most familiar to modern scholars, but these terms do little to describe the mélange of mensural notational systems available to scribes in Italy around the end of the fourteenth century. As many trecento sources make clear, notation stretched itself to accommodate the needs of repertories and of individual works. Scribes, theorists, and probably composers as well, invented new signs and broke old rules in order to notate newly received or newly composed works.

We can only begin to discern whether new rules and signs were created only when circumstances absolutely demanded it or, alternatively, with little regret or even glee at the inventor's own cleverness. For instance, several of the newly created *ars subtilior* noteshapes duplicate forms which were already in circulation. Often it is difficult to tell whether a particular scribe or theorist knew of the preexisting form. However, on occasion the scribe's knowledge of existing forms is clear. One such occasion is when two forms are used by the same writer in the same piece. (The numerous ways of notating three imperfect semibreves in the space of two perfect semibreves or three minims in the space of two minims are exemplary).[21] Anne Stone and Anne Hallmark have extensively discussed the invention of new mensural signs (or more specifically, new meanings for old signs) in the **Oxford 229** (**Pad A**) copy of Ciconia's *Sus unne fontainne*.[22] I have also remarked on the unnecessary use of the sign ♦ in the context where imperfection of the semibreve by the semiminim is allowed (see

[21] See for instance, Francesco's ballata *Nessun ponga* from **Squarcialupi,** f. 162v where both ◊ and ♦ take the space of ♦♦.

[22] Anne Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain," pp. 361–90; *eadem,* "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song," pp. 169–94, esp. 169–76. Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 207–12. See also the discussion in the context of **Pad A** in Chapter 2, p. 136.

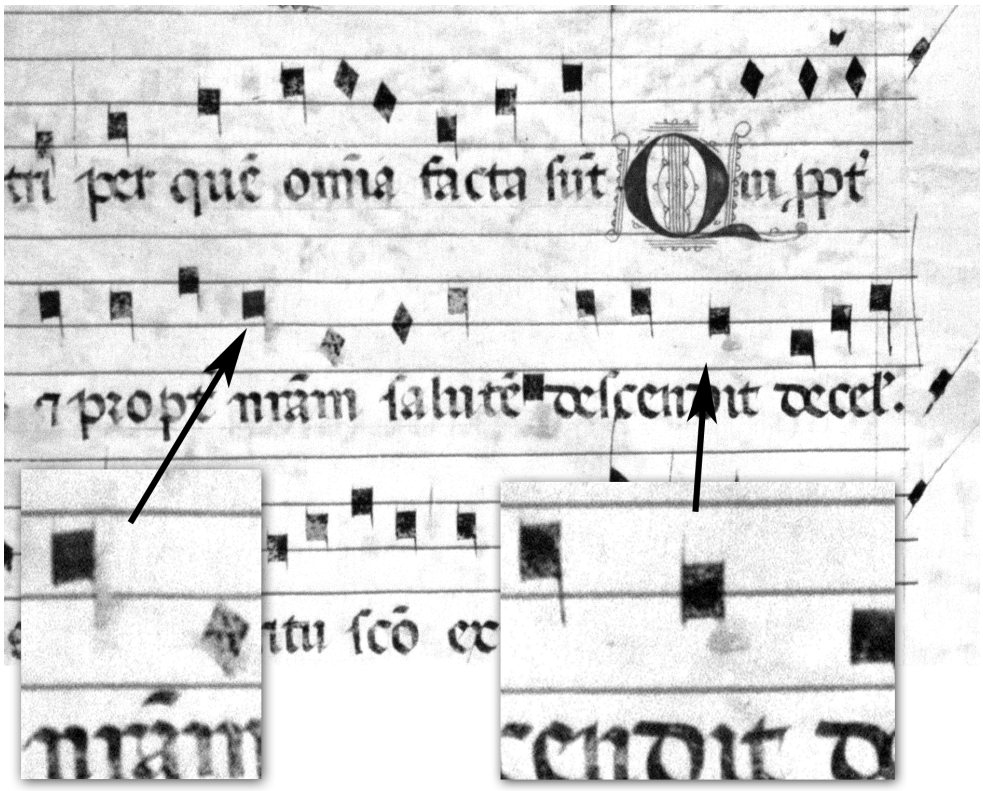
Chapter 2, note 69). These examples hint at differing levels of willingness, from eager to adverse, in the invention of new figures to write music of increasing complexity.

Simplified or Seemingly Incomplete Rhythmic Systems in the Trecento

Within the polyphonic mensural repertory found in liturgical manuscripts, the other extreme of notational adaptation, that of simplification, occurs frequently. This simplification of notational systems to accommodate simpler pieces, or perhaps inexpert scribes and performers, has, however, received little attention.

Many simple liturgical works in mensural notation exclude the breve or use breves and longs interchangeably. For instance, a monophonic, mensural version of Credo I (Credo du Village) found adjacent to the single polyphonic work in **Siena 10** uses exclusively longs and semibreves on the first page of the credo (opening 324r; modern f. 320r; see below) but uses breves and longs separately on the following pages; in fact, the tails of two longs have been removed on op. 324r, converting them to breves (specifically from "propter ***no***stram salutem descen***dit***"). See Figure 4.4:

FIGURE 4.4: **SIENA 10**, DETAIL OF OP. 324R SHOWING ERASED TAILS AND LACK OF BREVE



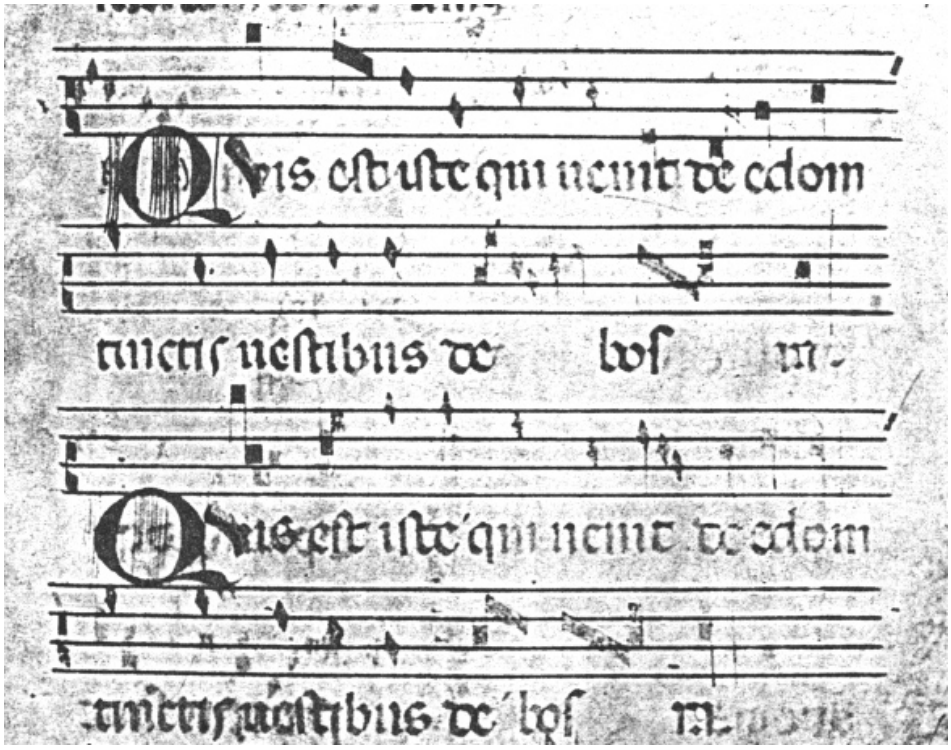
A mensural monophonic Kyrie on the page preceding the only polyphonic work in **Parma 98** is also written with long/breve equivalence; but, disagreeing with Fischer and Gallo, and agreeing with Reaney, I see an English provenance for the source and the polyphonic addition.[23]

[23] Fischer and Gallo: *PMFC 13*, pp. 181 and 279; Reaney: *RISM B IV 2,* pp. 304–5. As evidence, I offer the Sarum Rite in the gradual (noted by Reaney), the English handwriting, and the piece itself, a Deo gratias, a text more commonly set in English manuscripts (see, for example, London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 146 (Misc. 26), London, British Library, Additional 38651, Durham, Cathedral Library C. I. 20, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 55). Among Italian sources, a *Deo gratias conclamemus* appears in **Munich 3223** (a motet known in Germany also), while among Italian-influenced sources, a *Deo gratias papales* is among the works in the German fragment, **Nuremberg 9**. Before leaving this source entirely for students of English music, it is worth noting that we are seeing an early use of the so-called "filled notation," that is, black mensural notation which is cre-

(note continues)

The early trecento processionals **Padua 55** and **Padua 56** also contain works which seem to use ars nova notation as an inexact shorthand for a different conception of rhythm.[24] An example from the processionals is the two voice *Quis est iste qui venit de Edom*, which presents several other problems for mensural interpretation. A facsimile of the work was published by Gallo and Vecchi as well as in selected copies of Vecchi's edition of the Paduan manuscripts. (See Figure 4.5).

FIGURE 4.5: **PADUA 56**, F. 51R

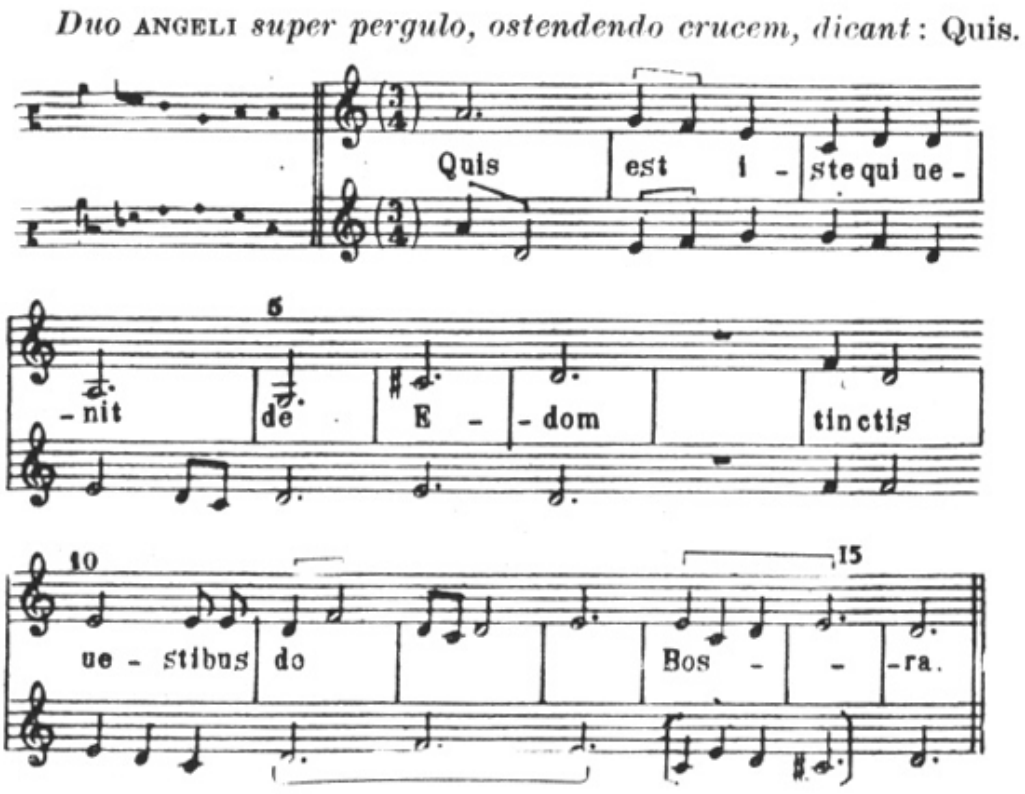


ated by first drawing the outline of the lozenge-shaped notehead, and then filling it; a notational style more common in later in the fifteenth century.

[24] **Padua 56** also contains later pieces in white mensural notation, indicating that it was used throughout the trecento and beyond. See the section on the Paduan fragments in Chapter 2.

Vecchi provides a transcription of the work which can be sung satisfactorily, complete with a newly contrapuntal second line in place of the unison ending; see Example 4.6.[25]

EXAMPLE 4.6: VECCHI, *UFFICI DRAMMATICI PADOVANI*, P. 108



This edition of *Quis est iste* obscures some of the unusual notational features of the work. The first note of the lower voice is a breve, which Vecchi has transcribed as a quarter note. The notes in the second measure are semibreves, which he also transcribed as quarter notes. Later, in measure 4, a semibreve *caudata* is transcribed as a half-note, twice as long as the first breve of the piece: Further, the ligature on the antepenultimate syllable, "de-" in Vecchi's transcription, appears from his edition to be an impossible ligature of three longs.

[25] Giuseppe Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici padovani* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1954), p. 108.

Table 4.7 shows the correspondences between fourteenth-century and contemporary note values implied by Vecchi:

TABLE 4.7: HIERARCHY OF NOTE VALUES IMPLIED BY VECCHI:

■, m. 1 (C) = 𝅗𝅥

■, mm. 5–7 (C+T) = 𝅗𝅥.

■, mm. 11–13 (T) = 𝅗𝅥.

■, m. 1 (T) = ♩

♦, m. 2 (C+T) = ♩

♦, m. 4 (T) = 𝅗𝅥

The edition by Fischer and Gallo contains the same irregularities while noting that "there is no distinction between the shape of B [breve] and L [long]. The one-bar note is normally written as a L, but despite this the Lig. c.o.p. fills one bar only."[26] The concluding word, "only" seems misplaced: we would normally expect a trecento ligature *cum opposita proprietate* to fill the space of a breve, either one-third or one-half of the space of a long, and never more. Even their interpretation of the lack of distinction between breve and long does not explain some of the notational eccentricities of the work. Perhaps the most important is the use of the semibrevis caudata (m. 4) as a length which exceeds that of the breve (m. 1, tenor). (Unlike Vecchi, Fischer and Gallo transcribe the semibreve as a dotted-quarter note, but the argument remains the same.)[27] These statements are not meant to be criticisms of

[26] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 114. It should be noted that Vecchi, Von Fischer, and Gallo had access to both **Padua 55** and **Padua 56** while my work was conducted on the basis of **Padua 56** alone. However, Von Fischer and Gallo's critical notes (p. 200) suggest that the two manuscripts are in agreement on the points I have outlined above.

[27] There is theoretical precedence for semibreves caudate of the same length as breves. Alba Scotti, in the questions and answers to her paper, "Individualità e pragmatismo delle notazioni di brani di

(note continues)

the published transcriptions—I have not been able to make other editorial choices which provide a workable option given the notational peculiarities of the piece.[28] The transcription from **Parma 3597** later in this chapter makes similar compromises to create a performable piece. But the difficulty we have in finding solutions for these notational choices illuminate the continued need for study of incomplete notational systems in the trecento.

The Trecento as a Continuation of a Tradition: The History of adding Polyphonic Music to Liturgical and Paraliturgical Monophony

By the late fourteenth century, the practice in Western Europe of using polyphony within the liturgical year was already hundreds of years old. Polyphony on the Italian peninsula must have existed at least by the turn of the millennium. Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus,* written before 1033, discusses organum in quasi-parallel fourths where the lower line is re-

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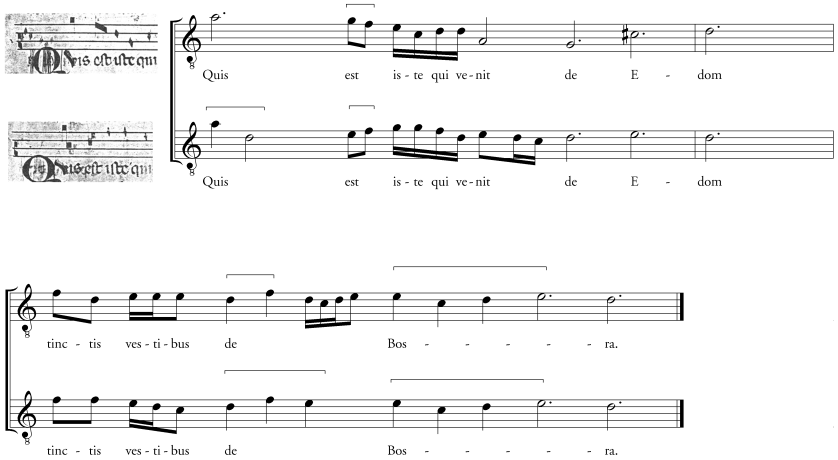
polifonia semplice in manoscritti italiani," presented at the *cantus fractus* conference in Parma (December 2003) noted that an entry in *Ars cantus mensurabilis* has semibreves caudate the same length as breves. Semibreves of double the length of breves, however, are unknown aside from this piece.

[28] Indeed, a transcription which respects the implied mensural values of the work lurches amuscially:



strained by a boundary tone.[29] That Guido also leans on the traditions given by the *Enchiriadis* group of treatises in at least one part of *Micrologus*, dismissing the use of daseian notation, suggests that polyphony in Italy may have been widespread from a century (or more) earlier.[30] Although important eleventh-century practical sources of polyphony are available in England (Winchester) and France (Chartres), the connection between the sacred polyphonic practice of Guido's time and that of the trecento has barely been considered.

Richard Hoppin opened the chapter on "The Italian Ars Nova" in his *Medieval Music* with the sentence, "Italian secular polyphony suddenly appeared and flourished with no apparent antecedents." By this statement, I do not believe Hoppin was arguing that the secular polyphony differed from sacred polyphony; rather, the omission implied that there is not enough sacred polyphony to consider its origins.[31] As we now know, that repertory is both significant in size and varied in contents.

Some general statements on the early history of Italian sacred polyphony should be made not for the sake of completeness but rather because of how many of the characteristics of thirteenth-century (and even twelfth-century!) polyphony remain in polyphonic sources of

[29] The dating of the treatise is based on a reference to the plan of the cathedral church of St. Donatus, commissioned in 1026 and completed in 1032. For further details, see Claude V. Palisca, editor, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises,* translated by Warren Babb, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 50, and J. Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino*, (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1953), p. 13.

[30] Though the *Scolica Enchiriadis* and *Musica Enchiriadis* almost certainly are not products of Italy, there are at least two Italian copies of the treatises that date before 1100, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conv. Soppr. F. III. 565 and the southern Italian manuscript Montecassino, Biblioteca Abbaziale 318, both of which also contain the writings of Guido.

[31] Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 452. I use Hoppin as an example of a view of sacred music in the trecento, not because his idea is unusual but precisely because of its prevalence in generalist texts.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the beginnings of polyphonic practice in Italy, settings of the Benedicamus Domino, both troped and untroped, were numerous. Perhaps the earliest surviving Italian polyphonic work is a Benedicamus trope *Regi regum glorioso* in **Lucca 603**.[32] Later but lost Lucchese polyphony is mentioned in a fragmentary ordinal from Lucca. Similar to the **Siena Ordinal**, settings of the Benedicamus Domino are numerous in these thirteenth-century sources.[33]

Most of the notation which survives implies note-against-note performance of liturgical polyphony, a style commonly called *cantus planus binatim*, but there is also some evidence for florid singing over a slower moving tenor. This latter type of performance is typically seen as more characteristic of French practice than Italian, but as the next section demonstrates we have reason to believe that the Italians were aware of and had interest in more florid practices.

Italian Knowledge of Foreign Thirteenth-Century Polyphony

A repertory of polyphony not commonly associated with Italy is the late twelfth and early thirteenth century collection of music from the orbit of the Parisian cathedral of Notre Dame. It may be surprising that a substantial and growing body of evidence can be gathered

[32] See facsimile in Gallo-Vecchi, plate 97. Discussion in Reinhard Strohm, "Neue Quellen zur liturgischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in Italien," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966), p. 79; Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," in *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), vol. 2, p. 281; Raffaello Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di 'discantus'," *Rassegna Gregoriana* 9 (1912), pp. 9ff.

[33] On the **Siena Ordinal** of 1215, see fn. 5 above. The Lucca ordinal is discussed by Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo," *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975), pp. 16–30. I am grateful to Aaron Allen for access to his unpublished research and for discussions on this topic.

for Italian knowledge of and interest in collecting Notre Dame and ars antiqua music and manuscripts. Peter Jeffery and Rebecca Baltzer have both studied Italian holdings of Notre Dame manuscripts in from the late thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries.[34] Of the manuscripts we still have, **Florence 29.1** was in the possession of the Medici family (in whose library it remains) at least by 1456. We can move the date of Italian ownership of lost manuscripts further back. We also know that two manuscripts similar to **Florence 29.1** and **Wolfenbüttel 1** were in the possession of the Papal library of Boniface VIII in Perugia in 1295.[35] The contents of the manuscripts must be inferred from words at the beginning of pages, such as "viderunt," "glorie laus," and "sidere procedere," cited in inventories of the library. Nothing in Jeffery and Baltzer's studies requires that the manuscripts be recent imports into Italy, so the presence of Notre Dame polyphony in Italy could have extended throughout the duecento. However, Jeffery wisely cautions against assuming that the books were used for performance by the papal chapel (or by anyone else), by citing the example of **Assisi 695**, a French source which was inherited by the papal collection after the death of its French owner.[36]

Jeffery and Baltzer did not note that, though there is no further proof that the pope was interested specifically in Notre Dame polyphony, there is further evidence that Boniface VIII was interested in some polyphonic singing during his papacy. The sequence, which was

[34] Peter Jeffery, "Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Boniface VIII," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32.1 (Spring 1979), pp. 118–24. Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre Dame manuscripts and their owners: lost and found," *Journal of Musicology* 5.3 (Summer 1987) pp. 380–399.

[35] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* pp. 118–19. The manuscripts are not identifiable as Notre Dame manuscripts in the 1295 inventory, but they reappear with a detailed description in an inventory of 1311 when the collection was being prepared for transfer to Assisi.

[36] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* pp. 121–22.

"notata sub duplici cantu…diei competens medicine," was written for an illness of Pope Boniface VIII by Bonaiutus de Casentino.[37] The sequence is one of two musical works (the other, an "Ymnus cum simplici cantu," is "Sacnguis demptus et retemptus.") in the "Collectio variorum sed non omnium opisculorum" of Bonaiutus, written by one "G. de Romaniola," and found in **Vatican 2854**.[38]

More recently uncovered evidence for Italian interest in (slightly later) French repertories comes from Joseph Willimann's forthcoming Habilitationsschrift on the Engelberg motets. Willimann suggests that **Bamberg 115** passed through Northern Italy (in particular a Dominican center, possibly Bologna) on its journey to Germany.[39] Willimann notes that the only concordance for the two two-voice motets which appear as appendices to the manuscript is found in a Northern Italian source: "Dulcis Jesu memoria," no. 110 in **Bamberg 115** is in the laudario, **Florence Rari 18**, no. 106.[40]

[37] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* p. 121 noted this manuscript and its expression "sub duplici cantu" but did not comment on its connection to Boniface VIII.

[38] A quick search turned up no information on G. de Romaniola. The citations are from f. 2r. Although Boniface VIII is not mentioned explicitly in the text, the illness of the pope appears on f. 19v and discussions of the life of Boniface on either side of this work (e.g., f. 14v and f. 22v) make clear that he is the reference.

[39] I thank Professor Willimann for kindly providing access to his unpublished work. His intriguing hypotheses about **Bamberg 115**, of which this citation plays only a small part, comes as Chapter 3, "Zur aktuellen Einordnung einer grossen französischen Motettensammelung (Ba): Nachträge und Hypothesen zum Transfer," of *Die sogenannte "Engelberger Motette:" Studien zu den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314 im Kontext der europäischen Überlieferung,* (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Basel).

[40] Edited by Blake Wilson, *The Florence Laudario: an Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18*, texts edited by Nello Barbieri (Madison, Wis.: A-R Editions, 1995). The musical version of **Bamberg 115** and **Florence Rari 18**, no. 106 differs from that of **Florence Rari 18**, no. 105 and **Oxford 42**. However, that both of the other sources of the text have Italian provenances supports Willimann's theory.

The most convincing testament to Italian interest in Notre Dame polyphony comes from a source, currently in Berlin.[41] **Berlin 523** preserves a trecento ballata together with sections of the "Magnus Liber" repertory. (The manuscript is discussed further in Chapter 5). Corrigan notes that the Notre Dame sections of **Berlin 523** are almost certainly not Italian, but the manuscript must have been transferred to Italy by the mid-to-late fourteenth century.[42] The transfer raises the question of whether the Notre Dame repertoire was still being performed or consulted at the time of the addition of the ballata to the manuscript.

Individual Liturgical Manuscripts Containing Mensural Polyphony

The remainder of this chapter examines individual manuscripts containing mensural polyphony, touching also on some key non-mensural polyphonic compositions of the trecento and early quattrocento.

When considering the role a polyphonic work plays in the context of a liturgical manuscript, it is important to note whether the work was originally intended to constitute a part of the manuscript, or whether it is a later addition, either added in empty spaces on pre-existing pages or copied onto folios which were then bound or tipped into the book. Both types appear in music of this period and of the immediately preceding and following periods.

[41] Discovery by Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36.2/3 (April/September 1964), pp. 80–83. Extensive study in Vincent J. Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (*olim* Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4o 523," (Thesis (M.M.): Indiana University, 1972).

[42] *Ibid.,* p. 9, notes that the Tironian "et" sign (e.g., f. 2r, beginning of staff six) is not commonly found in Italy before the fourteenth century, and even then has a slightly different form. The manuscript could not have followed the same path to Germany as other Notre Dame books, since the source was in England in the collection of Thomas Phillipps until relatively recently.

Polyphony integral to the structure of the larger monophonic manuscript will be examined first (from roughly most complex to most simple) followed by additions to earlier manuscripts. Of the eighteen manuscripts covered in this section, seven contain integral polyphony while eight have later polyphonic additions. Three manuscripts present a mix: either both types in close proximity or polyphony integral within a large monophonic addition to a manuscript; they will be taken up later in this chapter. Table 4.8 illustrates this breakdown:[43]

[43] The numbers after the work titles show the number of voices and the number with texts.

TABLE 4.8: INTEGRAL AND ADDED MENSURAL POLYPHONY IN LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Principal manuscripts discussed in this chapter are marked with a (*) after their sigla.

Integral:

Florence 999(*)	*Gaudeamus omnes* (Paolo da Firenze). 2^2
	Verbum caro factum est. 2^2
Gubbio Corale	Gloria ff. 105v-109r. 2^2 (probably a late work, on the edge of the time period for this study)
Parma 3597(*)	*Quy nos fecit* (Benedicamus Domino versicle), ff. 10-11. 2^2 (partially mensural)
Padua 55	*Quare sic aspicitis* ff. 50r-51r. 2^2
Padua 56[44]	*Quis est iste qui venit* ff. 51r. 2^2
	Iste formosus ff. 51r-51v. 2^2
Rome Trastevere 4	*Salve regina misericordie*
Todi 73	*Celi solem sequit pater*, ff. 10r-12v with polyphonic Amen 3^3, on f. 12v.[45]

[44] This list of pieces in the Paduan processionals does not include four two-voice works in chant notation: *Ave gratia plena* ff. 15v-16v 2^2, *Suscipiens symeon* ff. 17r-17v 2^2, and *Celum terre* ff. 36r-36v 2^2 found in both sources and *Populе meus quid feci tibi* f. 59v 2^2 found only in **Padua 56**, nor does it include **Padua 56**'s six later white note pieces. Because of their early age, **Padua 55** and **56** are not fully included in this dissertation. However, see the discussion of the Paduan group in Chapter 2 and the section on incomplete mensural notation earlier in this chapter for more information.

[45] I have chosen not to include the manuscript **Siena Servi G** in this table owing to its slightly earlier date, though it contains similar repertory to **Todi 73.** The Todi manuscript also contains a two-voice composition not in mensural notation, *Ave verum corpus,* f. 24r. See Beatrice Pescerelli, "Un 'Ave Verum' a due voce nel codice 73 della Biblioteca Comunale di Todi," *Esercizi, Arte, Musica, Spettacolo* 7 (1984), pp. 26–29.

Additions:

Cividale 57	*Letare felix civitas* f. 308r. 3^3
	Iste confessor domini f. 326r. 3^3 (Either of these works may have been copied later than the period covered in the dissertation. See the end of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Cividalese manuscripts)
Cividale 101	*O salutaris hostia* f. 82v. 2^1 (Again from just beyond the period under discussion, probably of the mid-fifteenth century. The scribe attempted to match the hand of the main corpus at least in clef and custos. See Chapter 2)
Gemona Gradual	Credo (IV), ff. 295v–296v. (Brief mention at the end of Chapter 2)
Guardiagrele 2	Credo (IV), ff. 53r–54v. 2^1 (The second voice is an addition, the first is integral to the manuscript).
Messina 16(*)	Benedicamus Domino f. 169r. 2^1 (tenor (!) texted)
Perugia 15	Four Benedicamus Domino (three 3^3, one 2^2)
Reggio Emilia 408(*)	*Crucifixum in carne* f. 65v. 3^3, $3?^2$
Siena 10(*)	Credo (IV), openings 326-327. 2^2

Mixed

Guardiagrele 3	The polyphonic works are on added folios (ff. 1–10, 193–194) and on the last page of the main corpus (f. 192v), but within the context of the added folios, which contain the feast of the visitation, the polyphony is integral.
Parma 9	Credo (I) ff. 140v-148r. 2^2 (integral polyphony)
	Credo (IV), ff. A-D (front addition). 2^2
	Credo (IV), ff. Q-U (rear addition).[46] 2^2
Vatican 657	Credo, ff. 419v–423r. 2^2. Like **Guardiagrele 3**, the polyphony is integral within the large addition to an earlier manuscript, ff. 406–429).

[46] A second addition to the back of the manuscript is a Deo gratias on f. Uv from a later period, written in white mensural notation.

Florence 999

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Ashburnham 999.
RISM B IV 4*: I-Fl 999, p. 833.* CCMS 1*: FlorL Ashbr. 999, pp. 242–43.*

The manuscript currently in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana with the shelfmark Ashburnham 999 is a lavishly decorated collection of music and readings for various major feasts throughout the year.[47] Throughout the source, music is notated on four-line staves except for the cantus of Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes*, which I will discuss below. The first recto of the manuscript gives us the original possessors and date of the manuscript: "Iste liber est ecclesie sancte lucie de magnolis de florentia, quem fieri fecit rector eiusdem ecclesie ac sacerdos. Mº. ccºcc. xxiiºj," that is, the church of Santa Lucia dei Magnolis in Florence in 1423/4.[48]

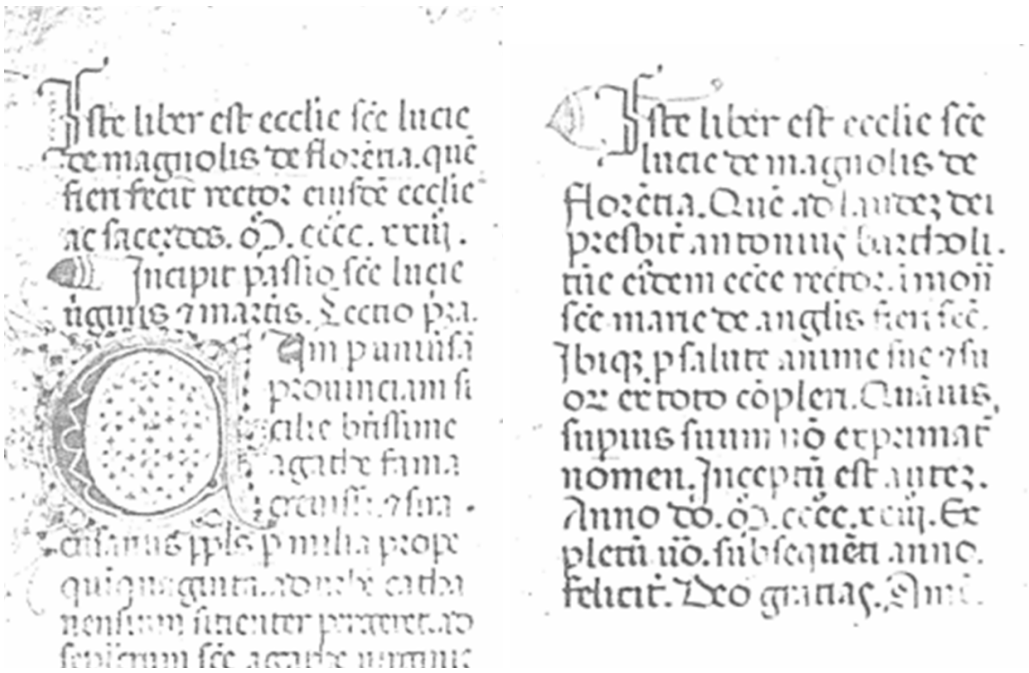
The main section of the manuscript begins with nine readings on the passion of St. Lucia, virgin and martyr. Surprisingly, after the end of the readings, on f. 3r, we are given another statement of possession and dating along with a note of manufacture: "Quem [*i.e.,*

[47] The contents of this diverse chant manuscript are summarized in the announcement study, Kurt von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex [I-Fl 87]," *Quadrivium* 9 (1968), p. 6. Fischer reports that the manuscript passed from the collection of Count B. Boutourlin to the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in 1880. This transfer does not explain how the manuscript came to be part of the Ashburnham collection, which mostly came from the collection of the mathematician, bibliophile, and book thief Guglielmo Libri who sold the collection in 1847 to Lord Bertram, Count of Ashburnham. His collection was purchased by the Italian government after his death in 1878 and it entered the Laurenziana in 1884. Since the origin of the manuscript is clear and the book is intact, the intermediary stages of transfer are less important than usual. For more information on Libri, see P. Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802–1869): Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief: A Nineteenth-Century Story,* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

[48] Dates such as 1423/4 indicate the year beginning on Annunciation 1423 (March 25) and ending on the eve of Annunciation 1424.

liber] ad laudem dei presbiter antonius bartholi tunc eiusdem ecclesie rector. in mon[asterio] sancte marie de angelis fieri fecit." (Figure 4.9)

FIGURE 4.9: **FLORENCE 999** INSCRIPTIONS [LEFT: 1R; RIGHT: 3R]



The church of Santa Lucia degli Magnoli [in Latin, "dei Magnolis"] in the Oltrarno was known at this time for the adjacent hospital. The church, named for the Magnoli family which was responsible for its founding in 1078, was an important participant in the artistic life of the city. It was approximately 20 years after the Ashburnham manuscript was completed that Santa Lucia degli Magnoli received Domenico Veneziano's famous altarpiece, now in the Uffizi.[49] The commissioning of a large and beautifully-decorated liturgical manuscript from the Florentine scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli (in present day Piazza

[49] Inv. 1890, n. 884.

Brunelleschi; see Figure 4.10) is further evidence of a high position of this church within Florence.

FIGURE 4.10 LOCATIONS OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI AND SANTA LUCIA IN PRESENT-DAY FLORENCE

This manuscript is nearly unique in presenting polyphonic mensural music using a large format, ca. 560x400mm. The four-line staves of chant measure 32mm each while the six-line staves used for a mensural cantus are approximately 48–50mm. By contrast, Squarcialupi, at ca. 400x285mm, the largest complete manuscript of polyphonic music uses eleven staves of *ca.* 16mm, per page, that is, staves one third the size of the Ashburnham source.

The notation of this beautifully decorated manuscript is primarily four-line square-note chant notation, but in five places in the manuscript, works are notated mensurally. (See Table 4.11).

TABLE 4.11: MENSURAL PIECES IN **FLORENCE 999**[50]

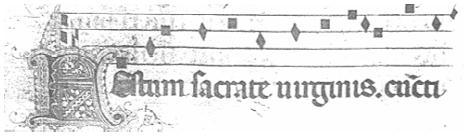
Festum sacrate virginis. Cuncti lucie martiris. (f. 4rv). Hymn. Mode 1. ■, ♦, one ♦, final ■.

Gaudeamus omnes. (ff. 19v-21r). Introit for the feast of Santa Lucia (December 13). 2vv, lower voice in chant notation. Ascription "PAU" (in ligature).

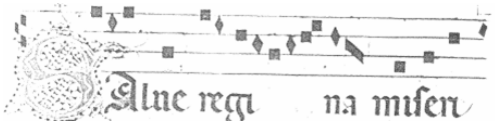
Credo (Tenor of *PMFC 12*, no. 11a/b). (ff. 26v–29r). Imperfect tempus. ■, ■, ♦.

Salve regina misericordie vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve. (ff. 91v–92v). Mode 1. ■, ♦, final ■s.

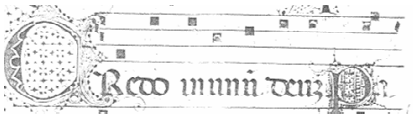
Verbum caro factum est de virgine Maria. (f. 95rv [the verso contains further stanzas]). 2vv.



f. 4r

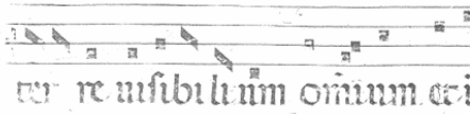


f. 91v



f. 26v

…



(*cont':* first section with rhythm)

The three monophonic works in definite mensural rhythm, commonly called *cantus fractus* but what we might also call *cantus simplex figuratus* after Tinctoris's term from 1475, could be joined by several other pieces with possible mensural significance, but I have chosen the most cautious reading of the manuscript here.[51]

The most significant polyphonic work in **Florence 999** is the introit to the Mass for Santa Lucia, *Gaudeamus omnes* written for two voices. Paolo da Firenze presumably composed this unique work, if the ligature "PAU" can be equated with the similar "PA" ligatures

[50] A few scribbles of marginalia added centuries later on the final folio are excluded.

[51] Though commonly used in contemporary literature to describe any rhythmicized monophonic source based on liturgical chant, the term *cantus fractus* did not seem to have such a broad meaning in the late Middle Ages. The term "fractus" refers to the breaking up of a single note of the original chant into multiple notes, possibly rhythmic but not necessarily. In contrast, the monophonic rhythmic works described in Table 4.11 retain one note for every note in the non-mensural versions of the chants (where they exist), lengthening some in relation to others.

of **Pit**. Because the attribution situation for Paolo is complicated, and his titles give some clues to his biography and the dating of manuscripts, I have listed in Table 4.12 the extant attributions to Paolo:[52]

TABLE 4.12: ATTRIBUTIONS TO PAOLO IN EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

Ciliberti	"D.P."
Florence 999	"PAU"
London	"di don paghollo"
Lowinsky	(all works unattributed)
Mancini	(all works unattributed)
Pit.	"Don Paolo Tenorista Da firenze," "PA", "Don Paolo" (sometimes erased), "D.P.," (sometimes erased) "Don Pa," "Abbas Paulus," "Pa", "Do. Pa." (sometimes erased) "Franciscus"(!)[53] (erased).
Reina	"Dompni pauli"
San Lorenzo 2211	"P. Abbas,"
Squarcialupi	"Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia,"[54] "Abate Paulus de Florentia" (in a small hand at the top of f. 55v)[55]

Additionally, his treatise *Ars ad adiscendum contrapunctum* is designated as "secundum paulum de Florentia" in the Ashburnham source, **Florence 1119**, and as "secundum

[52] One might note that only one source, **Pit.**, appends the description "tenorista" to Paolo's name. The term tenorista, which appears in other records of musicians but which is not applied to any other trecento composer, is still not fully understood. It is commonly supposed to mean a specialist at singing the tenor line. However, it is unclear when the term acquires the clear association with lute players which it carries at least from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.

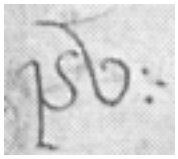
[53] The **Ciliberti** manuscript attributes this work, *Mort'è la fe' e lo sperar*, to "D.P." Certainly we are dealing with conflicting ascriptions and not another unknown name for Paolo.

[54] "Magister Dominus" is missing on the scroll on f. 55v.

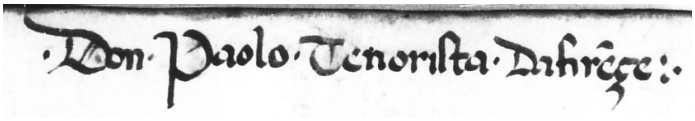
[55] On this attribution, see Nádas, "Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony" p. 367 and Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23.2 (1966), p. 81, which counters the reading of the ascription as "a fato Paulus de Florentia" seen previously in Bianca Beccherini, "Communications sur Antonio Squarcialupi et notes au Cod. Palatino 87," *Bericht über den Siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), p. 65 as well as in "Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), pp. 155-60.

magistrum paulum de florentia" in **Siena 36.**[56]

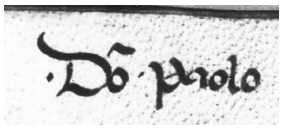
FIGURE 4.13: SELECTED PAOLO INSCRIPTIONS [57]



Florence 999

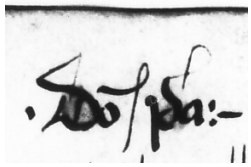


Pit. f. 34v

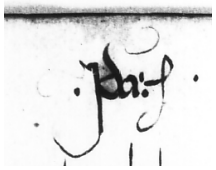


Pit. f. 35v

f. 37v

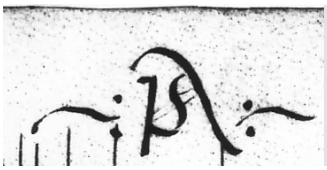


f. 38v



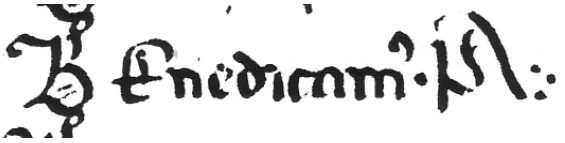
Pit. f. 50v

f. 51r



f. 51v

Ciliberti, f. 94r



Pit. Index folio

Reina

[56] A further reference to Paolo can be found in the inscription at the beginning of the Florentine mixed liturgical book, **Douai 1171**, f. 1r, which names him as, "pater Dominus Paulus abbas Sancti Martini de Pino, ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Eiusdem ecclesie Sancte Marie [i.e., Sancte Marie Annuntiate Virginis de Florentia, qui locus vulgo dicitur Orbatello] tunc rector existens." A final important reference to Paolo's name is found in one of the last statements, his will of 1436 where he is called "Do[m]pnus Paulus Marci de Florentia cappellanus Sancte Marie Annuntiate de Orbatello de Florentia." See Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 209 and 227.

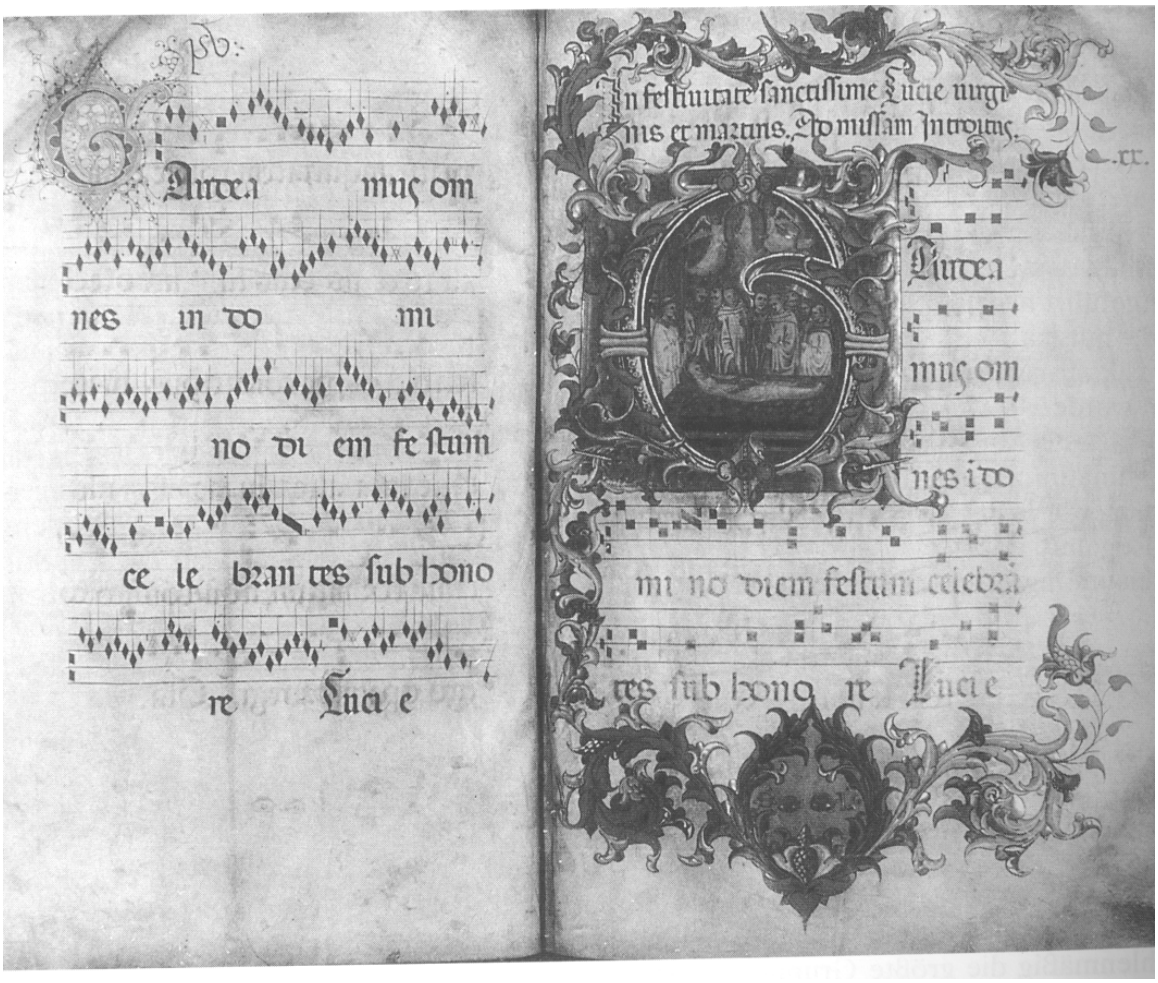
[57] A more comprehensive list of inscriptions, including erased attributions, in **Pit.** is found in Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," pp. 83–84.

Gaudeamus Omnes ***and Compositions with Equal-note Tenors***

Though the two polyphonic pieces in **Florence 999** are both on Latin sacred texts and for two voices little else can be found in common between the works. The anonymous *Verbum caro factum est* is for two equal voices, written with only two note values, breve and semibreve, and moves almost entirely in homophonic contrary motion. Paolo da Firenze's *Gaudeamus omnes* on the other hand has a top voice which employs additional note values, including red notes which indicate a hemiola (imperfect tempus within a prevailing perfect tempus, or $\frac{3}{4}$ in the place of $\frac{6}{8}$), rests of all types, and complex syncopations created through the use of *puncti divisionis* and *puncti syncopationis* in ways still not completely understood or agreed on by modern scholars.

The lower voice of the work, presented on the following recto, has been composed in a totally different style. Indeed, it is best to say that it has not been composed at all, being simply a borrowing of the well-known chant introit "Gaudeamus omnes" in mode 1, written in chant notation on a four-line staff (the top voice uses the central-Italian six-line staff). Each notes is to be interpreted as a breve. Were the top voice missing, this tenor would be indistinguishable from a typical chant. A facsimile of the opening of the work appears in Figure 4.14:

FIGURE 4.14: **FLORENCE 999**, FF. 19V & 20R (DETAIL)

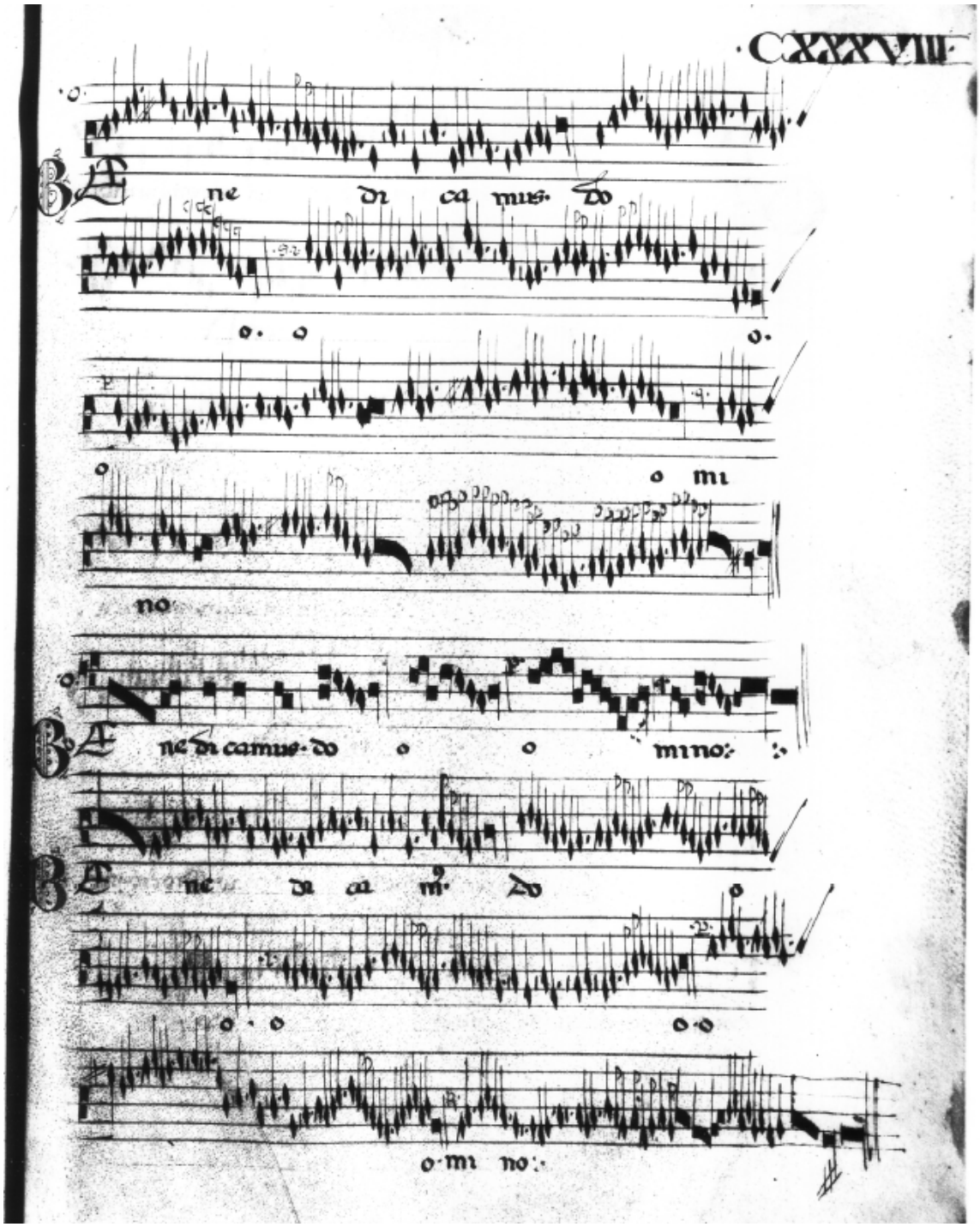


The relationship between the two voices in *Gaudeamus omnes* contrasts with the prevailing view of the Italian repertory of being freely composed and having voices whose rhythmic interest is, if not equal, at least somewhat comparable. Paolo's work is not the only piece which fails to accord with conventional wisdom. Several other works have been discovered over the past century which also combine a freely composed upper voice (or voices) with chant tenor notes of equal length. The most well-known of these pieces is also by

Paolo, the *Benedicamus Domino* in **Pit.**, the only such work to have three voices (see Figure 4.15):[58]

[58] The proper reading of this work, ignoring a rhythmic interpretation for the chant voice, was first discovered by Johannes Wolf who made it an example in his *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1904). Willi Apel further stimulated interest in the work by choosing it to appear in facsimile in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Sixth, Revised Edition) (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), p. 379.

FIGURE 4.15: **PIT.** F. 138R: PAOLO, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*



As a group, pieces written on equal-note tenors are not at all homogenous. Fischer and Gallo's general remark that two such pieces, found in **Pad A** (**Oxford 229**) and **Messina 16,** are "written in the Florentine madrigal style of the 14th century" dismisses the signifi-

cant differences between the two works, let alone between these works and any madrigal ever composed.[59]

Certainly, different composers had different ideas about how fast the upper voice (or voices in Paolo's *Benedicamus*) should move with respect to the chant tenor. Table 4.16 gives the ratio of number of notes in the upper voice per tenor note for the equal-note repertory and two related repertories, *cantus planus binatim* and instrumental diminutions:[60]

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[60] Related but different work on ratios of the number of notes has recently been conducted by Marco Gozzi, who studied the number of notes in a given voice (usually the tenor) per breve. His work reveals that the number of tenor notes of Jacopo da Bologna's perfect time ritornelli per breve is near 2.0 ("New Light on Italian Trecento notation, Part 1: sections I–IV.1," *Recercare* 13 (2001), pp. 36–37). Gozzi calls this number the density or density ratio of a tenor. While admiring Gozzi's methodologies, I have some reservations with their execution and his paper's conclusions. Throughout, but particularly in discussing Francesco's compositions in Table 1 (pp. 28–29), he carries his numbers to far too many decimal places to have significance. For instance, is there a perceptible difference between *Altera luce*'s density ratio of 1.12820513 and *Somma felicità*'s 1.12837838? In Table 4, Gozzi divides Jacopo's *senaria perfecta* compositions into two groups according to their mean density ratios. He suggests these ratios cluster around 1.7 and 2.2 respectively, but the data instead suggest a single group clustering around 1.7 and a long, one-sided tail increasing beyond this group to 2.4. A plot of the data on a simple graph makes this distribution clear:

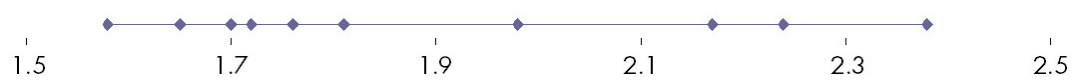


TABLE 4.16: RATIO OF THE NUMBER OF UPPER VOICE NOTES TO TENOR NOTES IN EQUAL NOTE TENOR WORKS [61]

[*Cantus planus binatim*; theoretically][62]	1 : 1	
Three *Cantus binatim* found in Cividale sources[63]	1.2 : 1	
Fava: *Dicant nunc Judei*	1.4 : 1	
Siena 36: *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*	2.8 : 1	
Florence 999: Paolo da Firenze, *Gaudeamus Domino*	3.4 : 1	
Messina 16: *Benedicamus Domino*	3.9 : 1	
Pit.: Paolo da Firenze, *Benedicamus Domino,* top voice	5.2 : 1	[second voice: 4.8 : 1]
Oxford 229: *Benedicamus Domino*	6.2 : 1	
Faenza: *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor, no. 1, pt. 1*[64]	9.6 : 1	

(The differences in style among various settings of *Benedicamus Domino* will be taken up shortly). The notation of the tenor voice differs in various versions. In **Florence 999, Pit., Fava** and **Messina 16** the tenor is written in square (chant) notation.[65] Figure 4.17 gives some examples:

[61] Those who argue that medieval music is always governed by symbolic, whole number ratios will find little comfort in this table.

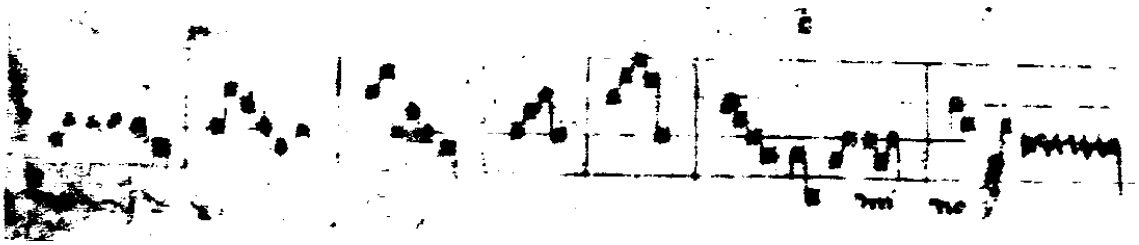
[62] By "theoretically," I mean by the definition as used by contemporary scholars. The evidence for widespread theoretical use of the term besides the ubiquitous quotation from Prosdocimus de Beldemandis is slight to non-existent. (Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Opera 1: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*, edited by F. Alberto Gallo (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Scriptores 3), (Bologna: Arti Grafiche Tamari, 1966), p. 163).

[63] *Amor patris et filii* (**Cividale 56**, ff. 247v–50r), *Quem ethera et terra* (**Cividale 56,** ff. 244r–45r), *Verbum bonum et suave* (**Cividale 56**, f. 327r–29r). I have weighed their ratios, 1.07, 1.16, and 1.30, equally in the result I have included in the table; *Amor patris* is a much longer composition than the others and would otherwise dominate the listings. About half of the binatim in the Cividale sources, e.g., *Missus ab arce veniebat, O lylium convallium,* or *Submersus iacet pharao,* are closer to 1:1 than the three works chosen.

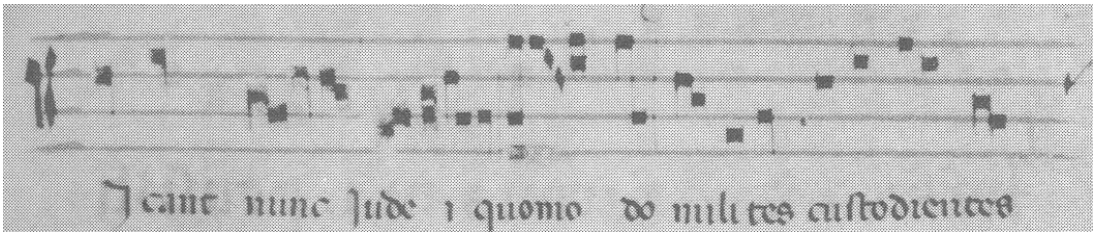
[64] The edition from Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12,* p. 160, was used to make this count; other reconstructions would not change the ratio noticeably.

[65] Recently on **Fava** and **Florence 999**'s tenors (along with **Florence Rari 18**), see Francesco Facchin, "Polifonia d'arte: polifonisti del Trecento italiano e polifonia semplice," in *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28-30 dicembre 2001*, Francesco Facchin, editor (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004), pp. 112–13.

FIGURE 4.17: **MESSINA 16** AND **FAVA**, TENORS



Messina 16, f. 169r

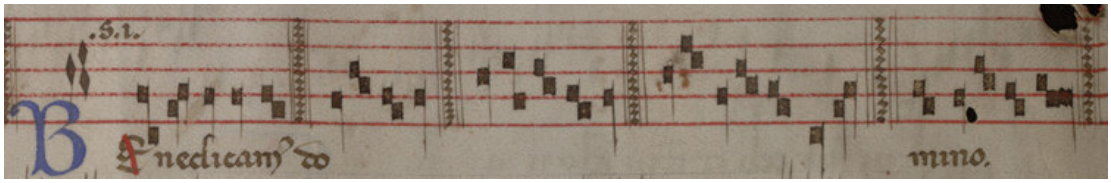


Fava, f. 42v

By contrast, the scribes of **Siena 36** and **Oxford 229** transcribe their chant tenors into mensural figures, each of equal duration (Figure 4.18):

FIGURE 4.18: **SIENA36** AND **OXFORD 229**, TENORS

Siena 36, f. 16v (excerpt)[66]



Oxford 229, f. 33v

[66] Discovered by Pedro Memelsdorff, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica." *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968). pp. 49–76.

The tenor of **Oxford 229** is unique among the surviving examples of this repertory in having every note equal a long rather than a breve. The version of the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* in **Siena 36** is not, strictly speaking, entirely written in equal notes, since twice a chant note is fragmented into two unequal notes. This re-articulation of tenor notes occurs frequently in **Faenza** versions of this Kyrie and of other chant tenors (see below).

Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes* gives a rare example of a composition with a (nearly) continuous melody—the chant tenor has no contrapuntal function within the beat and there is only one upper voice—ascribed to a composer whom we have every reason to believe was well-regarded. Like Paolo's *Benedicamus Domino*, the mensuration of the work is not constant, moving from an implicit *senaria perfecta* ($\frac{6}{8}$) to *quaternaria* ($\frac{2}{4}$)—the same ending mensuration as the *Benedicamus Domino*— explicitly labeled in both voices. The labeling of mensuration changes in the tenor strongly suggests minim rather than breve equivalence and results in an accelerando from the beginning to the end of both works.[67] Changes of mensuration within equal-note tenor composition occur also between sections of the Gloria in the instrumental diminutions of the **Faenza** codex.

Gaudeamus omnes has been transcribed twice—both times, at least in part, by Kurt von Fischer.[68] In neither transcription do the editors comment on the frequent and unusual

[67] Breve equivalence would have the opposite effect, that of a ritardando. It may be telling that in **Pit**.'s *Benedicamus Domino*, which moves from .o. to .s.i. (or .i.) to .p. to .q., the transition to .i. is not marked in the chant part. This omission at least allows the possibility that the breve in .o. was equal to the breve in .i., creating a minim beat in .i. that was three-quarters the tempo of .o.

[68] "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex," pp. 21–24, and Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, pp. 110–12. Except for some differences in recommended ficta and correction (and creation) of errors, the two versions do not differ substantially.

(over-?)use of *puncti* in the upper voice. The *puncti* allow the frequent switching between perfect and imperfect time. Fischer called this a switch between an implied $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ which forms Paolo's style, but the regularity of the *puncti* more commonly create an implied $\frac{2}{4}$ within the $\frac{6}{8}$ (see mm. 38–40 in the transcription below).[69] But this usage is perplexing given that the scribe had access to coloration at his or her disposal as a way of expressing an imperfect semibreve (or non-altered minim). Many of the *puncti* thus seem superfluous.

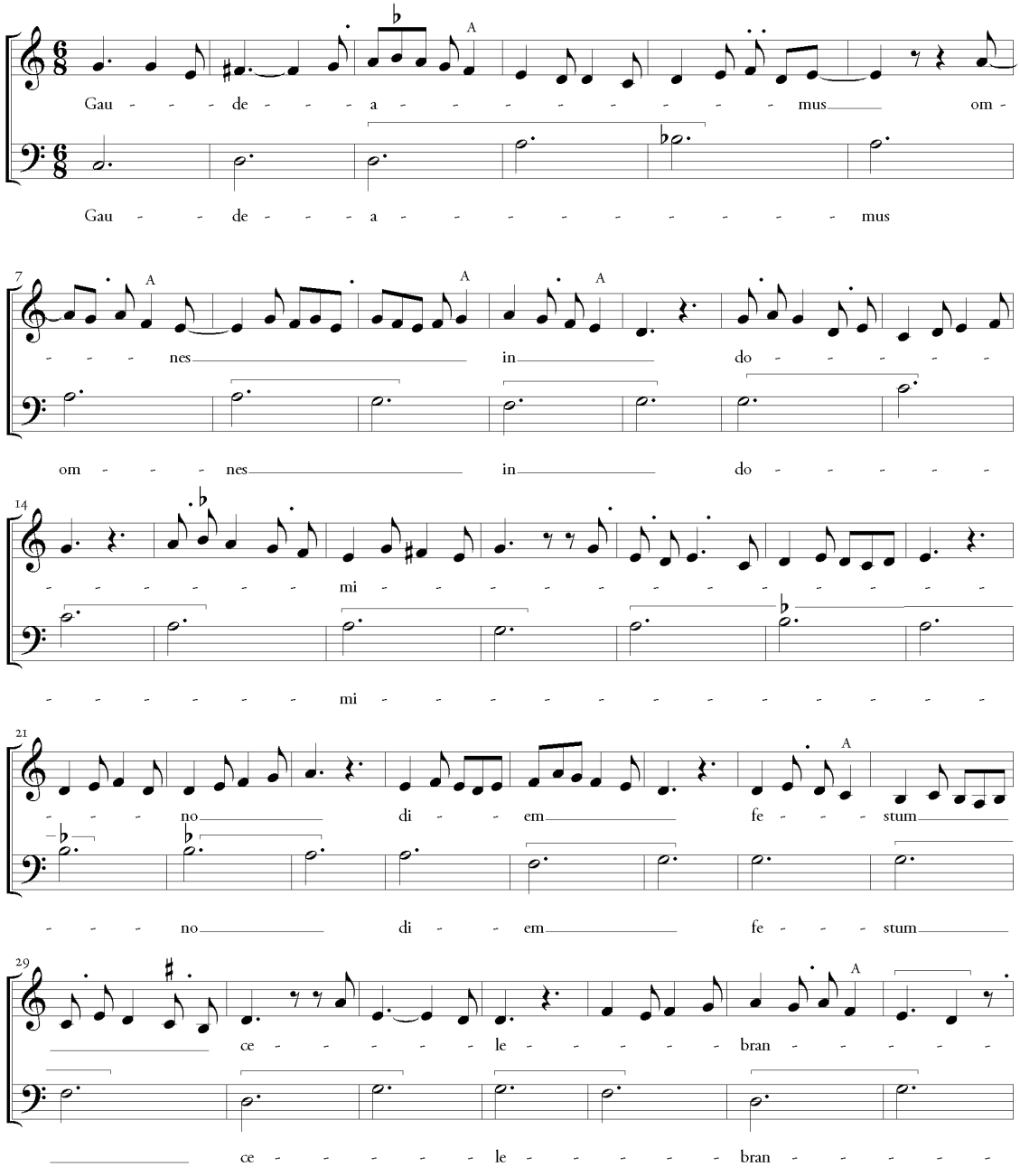
To transcribe *Gaudeamus omnes,* a few assumptions must be made about the notation.[70] First, the semibreve rest is never imperfected (a common assumption), even when immediately followed by a minim with a *punctus* (a rarer assumption); however, the value of an imperfect semibreve rest can of course be created with two minim rests (𝄻). Previous editions of the work have drawn a distinction between the figure of two minims, the first contained within *puncti* (𝅗𝅥· 𝅗𝅥 ; e.g., m. 5 below), and two minims without any *puncti*. A new transcription, Example 4.19, does not allow the second minim to be altered as it normally would, and instead creates a long-term syncopation. In the transcription, all *puncti* are given outside of the staff. Altered minims are marked with an "A" to distinguish them from

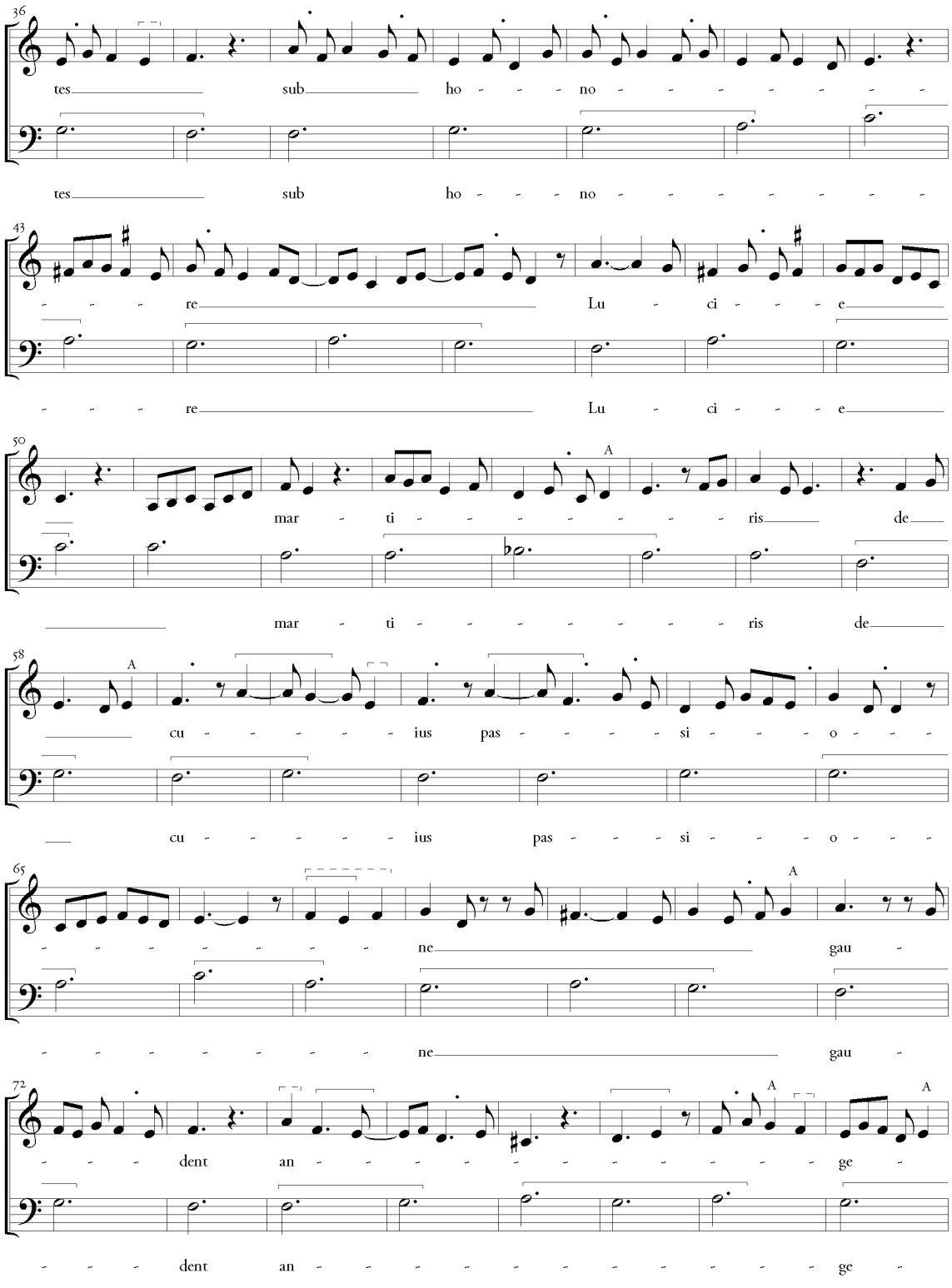
[69] Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex," p. 7.

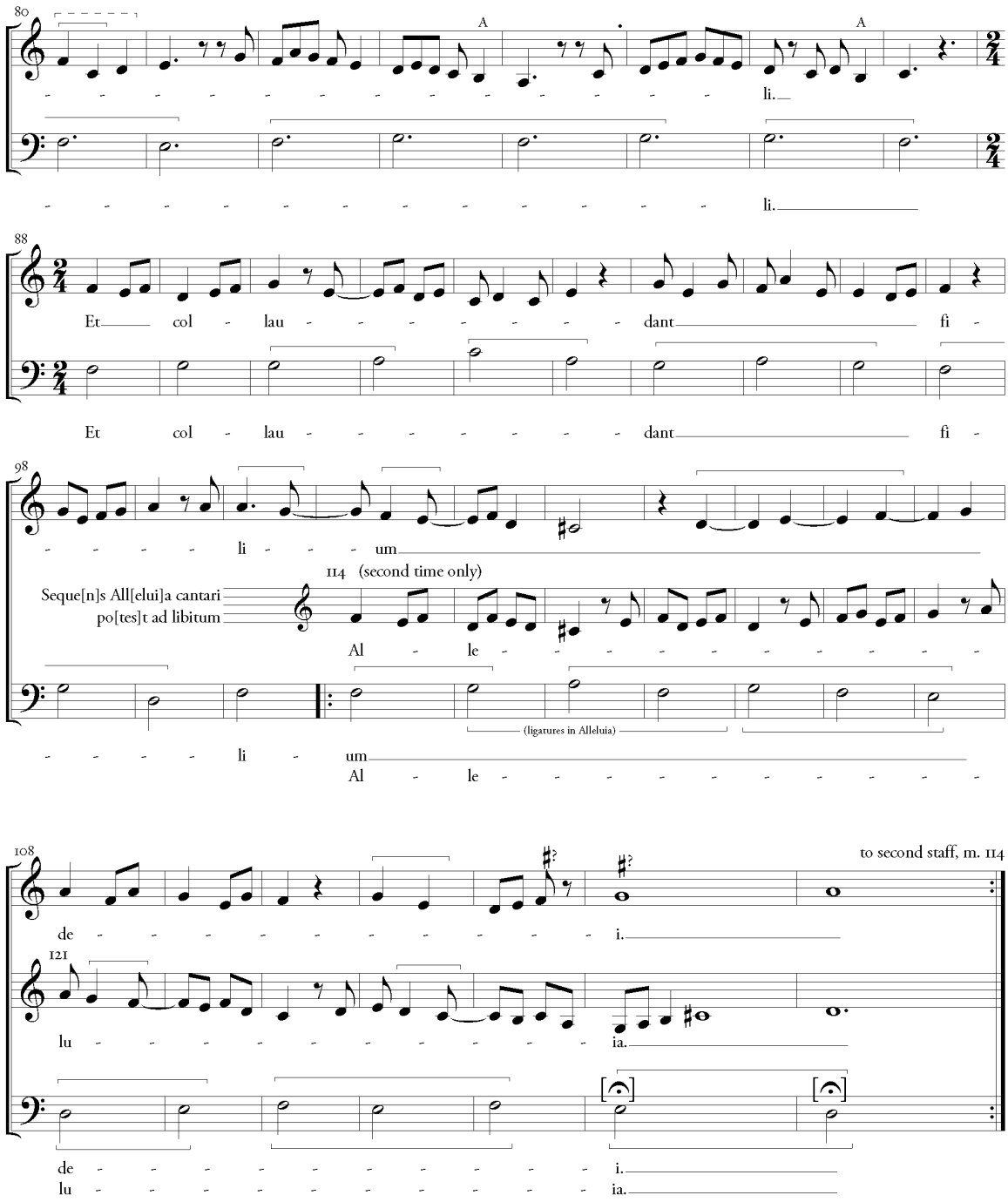
[70] It may be significant that Tinctoris cites *Gaudeamus Omnes* in his *Treatise on Notes and Rests* as a piece of plainchant with uncertain rhythmic performance which are sung "now with measure, now without measure, now under perfect quantity, now under imperfect, according to the rite of churches or the will of those singing." (*Tractatus de Notis et Pausis,* ch. 15. Translation in Richard Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and its Interactions with Polyphony," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 180-81. As Sherr notes, Tinctoris's *Book on the Art of Counterpoint* (*Liber de arte contrapuncti,* bk. 2, ch. 21) gives a fuller account of the ways in which a chant can be used rhythmically as a base on which a counterpoint may be added. Paolo's usage in *Gaudeamus Omnes* seems to fall into Tinctoris's second type of counterpoint "at the will of the singers," where each note of the chant equals a breve of tempus imperfectum.

imperfect semibreves. The principal differences with previous transcriptions can be found in the added syncopations of mm. 5–8, an emphasis on $\frac{2}{4}$ in mm. 38–40, a reinterpretation of mm. 71–72, and changes to the ending, to be discussed below.

EXAMPLE 4.19: PAOLO, *GAUDEAMUS OMNES,* IN **FLORENCE 999**




36
tes sub ho no
tes sub ho no
43
re Lu ci e
re Lu ci e
50
A
mar ti ris de
mar ti ris de
58
A
cu ius pas si o
cu ius pas si o
65
A
ne gau
ne gau
72
A
A
dent an ge
dent an ge



Prosdocimus's fifth rule on note values in the *Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum Ytalicorum* is important for our understanding and transcription of this piece. This rule concerns notes which remain in isolation after the calculation of some perfection:

"[the note] must be assigned to the first place it can take." This much is relatively clear at least compared to what follows: "If there is a note immediately preceding or immediately following, that place will be clear enough." Not only the place, but the meaning of the sentence as a whole does not seem clear enough, although the following sentence applies to our work:

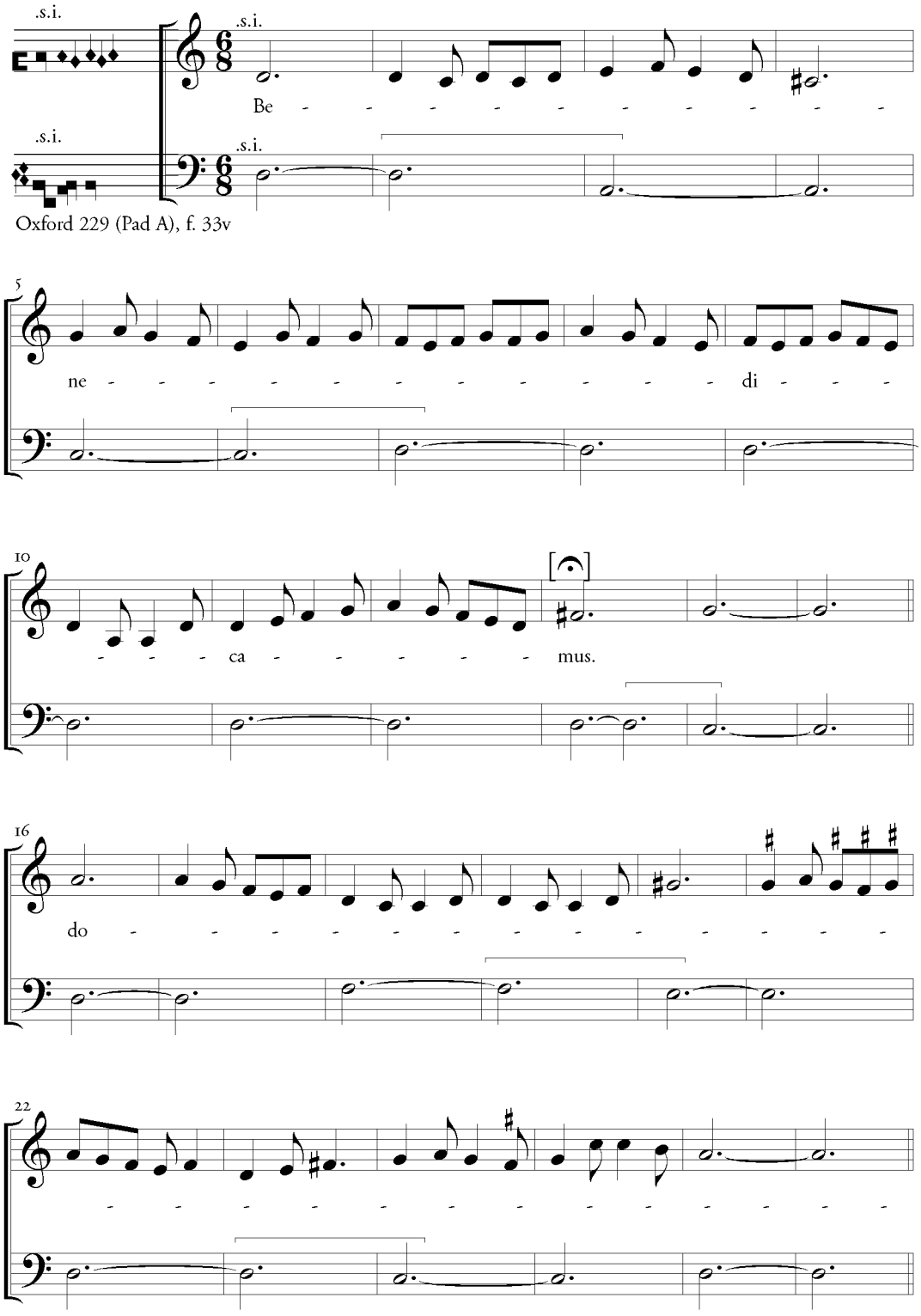
> if [it is not clear enough], it [the note] should be enclosed between two *puncti* to show that it must be assigned to another position. And the same applies if there should be more than one note remaining isolated after the calculation of some perfection.[71]

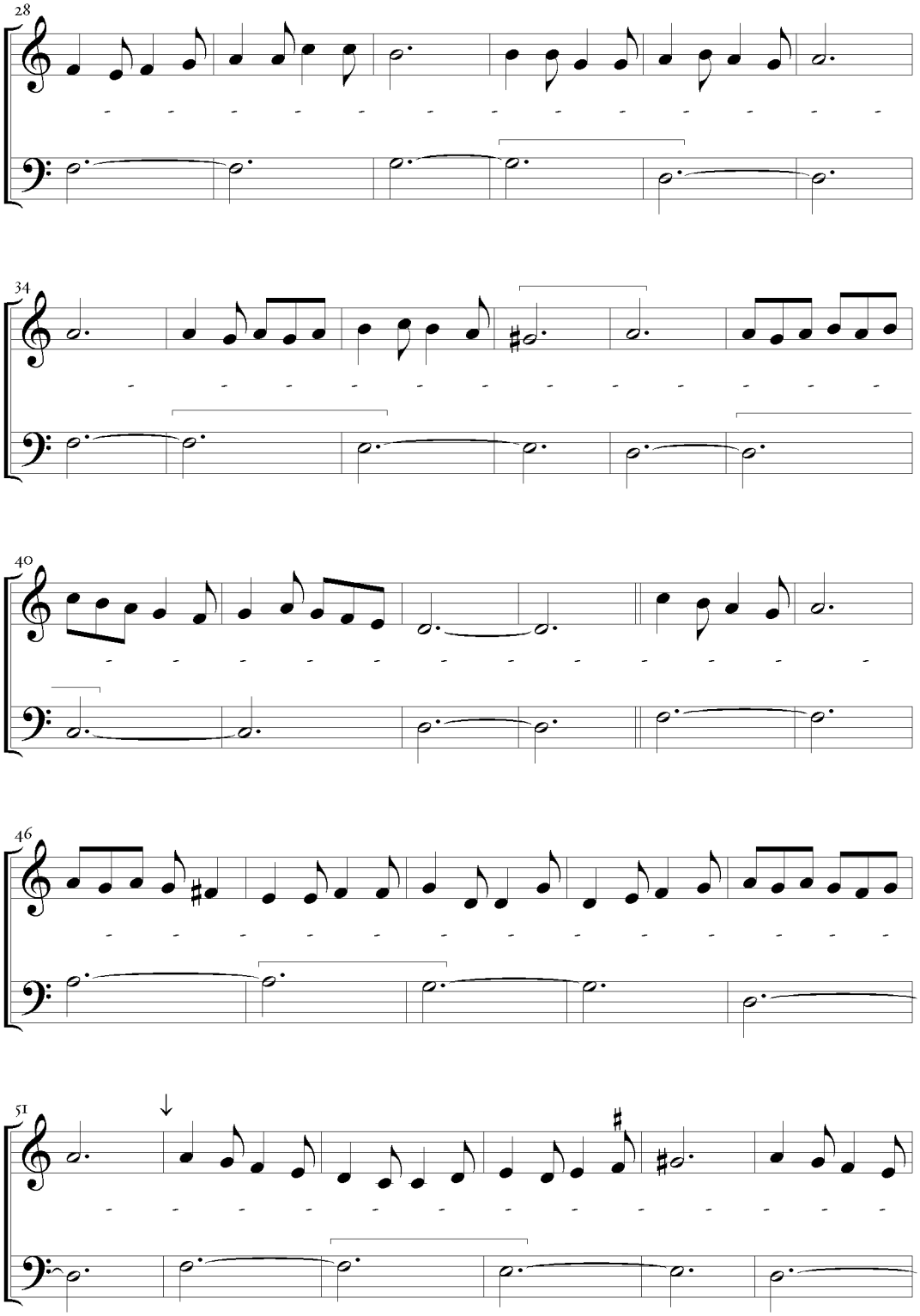
At the end of *Gaudeamus omnes* a short, ad libitum alleluia was created out of the last fourteen notes of the introit (though with a quite different set of ligatures). The counterpoint above the tenor differs between the two settings; the vertical transcription given in Example 4.19 allows a comparison. The first seven measures (mm. 101–7 and mm. 114–20) project the same basic dyads with the tenor (excepting perhaps the fourth measure). This similarity gives a rare glimpse at the variety of surface figurations which composers employed in the trecento and early quattrocento. In general, half of each measure (two eighth notes) is consonant, but there seems to be only a slight preference for this consonance to fall at the beginning of the breve; other positions are also common. After m. 107/120 the two versions play different roles, as the introit passage remains near its upper limit to create a cadence of a perfect twelfth above the tenor while the alleluia passage descends to its lowest note in the work in order to create a contrary motion cadence at the octave.

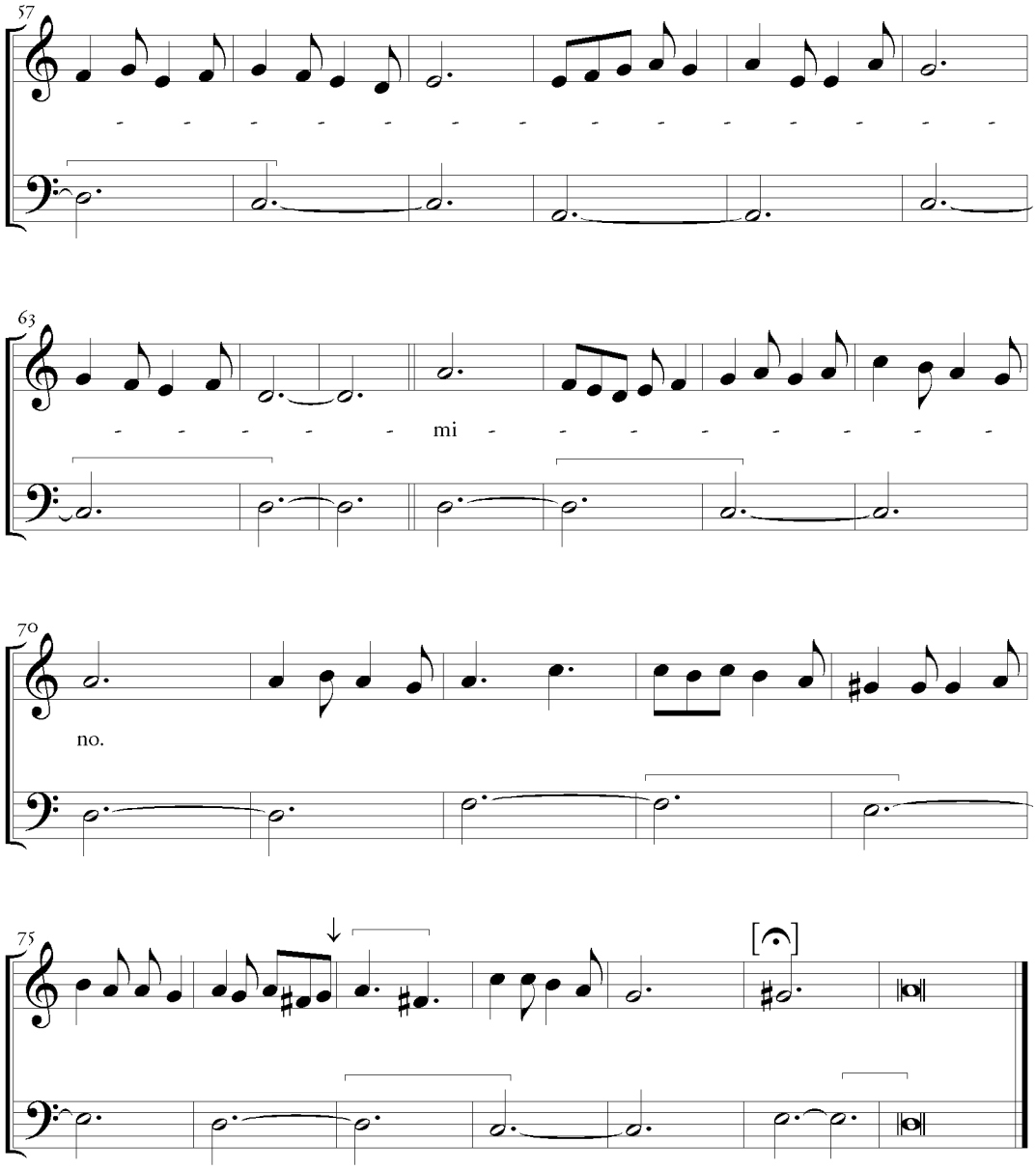
[71] Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* (*Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum*) (MSD 29), edited and translated by Jay A. Huff, (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), pp. 37–38.

At the end of the introit the upper voice sustains a long against a breve in the tenor; in the alleluia, the duration of three breves is sounded against the tenor breve. (See the conclusion of Example 4.19). The penultimate note in both passages thus conflicts rhythmically with the breve beat of the tenor. *Gaudeamus omnes* is not alone in having a metrical conflict on the penultimate note. The two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* in **Oxford 229** contains two seeming metrical errors, both just before cadences. Example 4.20 transcribes the work and emphasizes these discrepancies at mm. 14 and 80.

EXAMPLE 4.20: **OXFORD 229** *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*



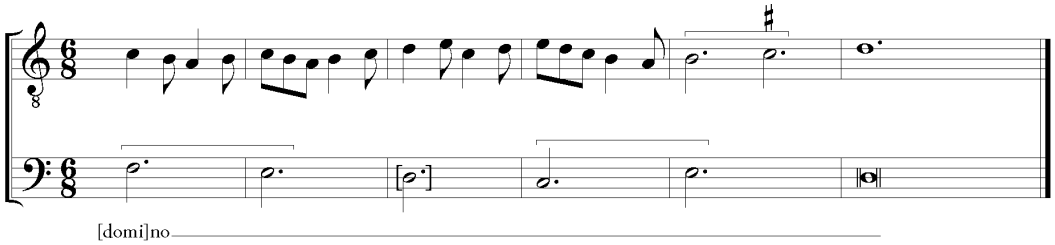

28
34
40
46
51



A similar discrepancy appears in another version of the same *Benedicamus Domino* tenor as **Oxford 229**. In **Messina 16**, the penultimate ligature of the top voice contains two breves, against a single breve in the tenor.[72] Example 4.21 transcribes this final passage:

[72] The rhythmic problems of the final phrase are exacerbated by a missing breve D in the tenor, easily supplied from other chant sources.

EXAMPLE 4.21: **MESSINA 16** *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* ENDING



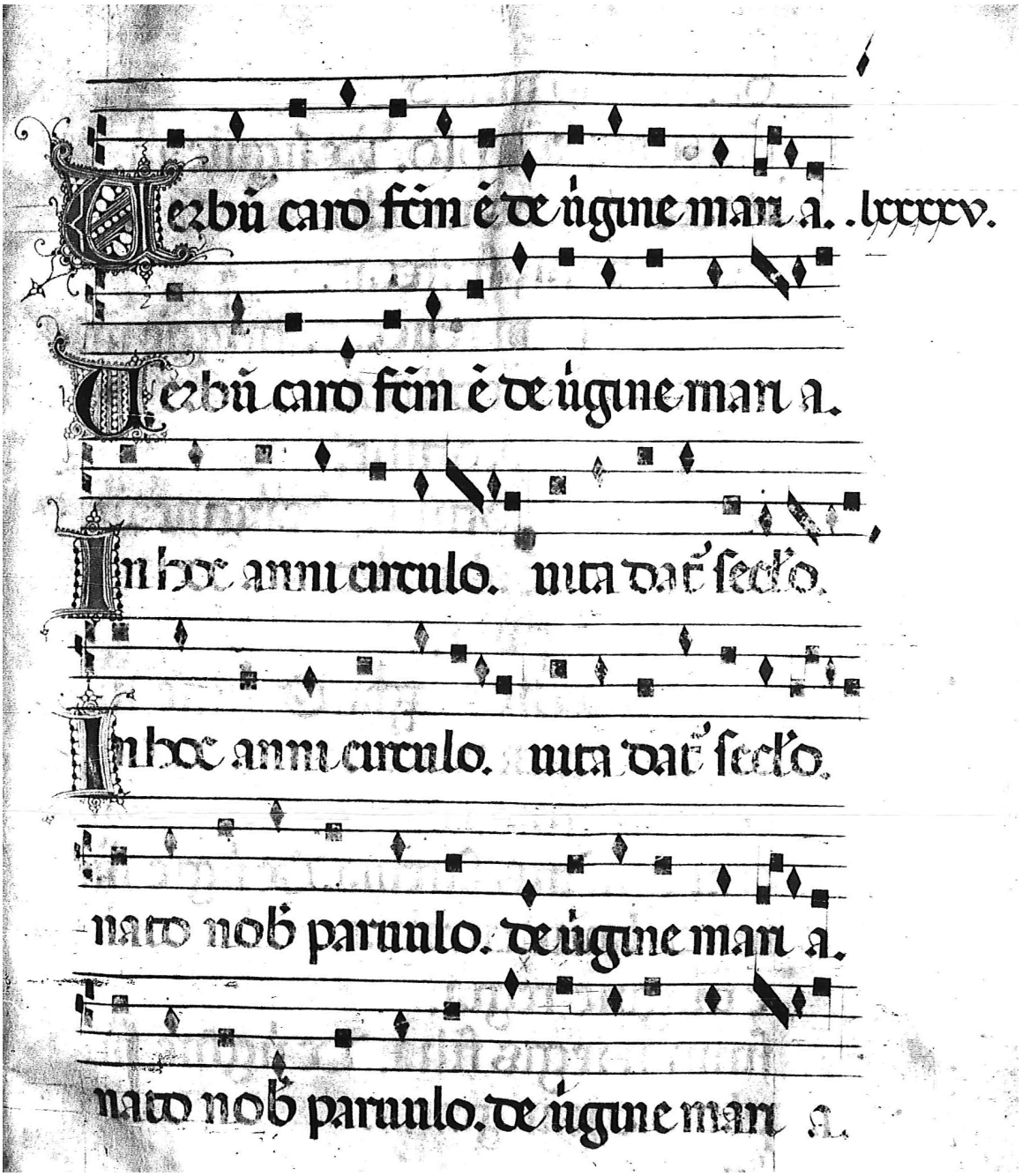
That these notational errors are systematic at penultimate notes of phrases suggests not scribal sloppiness but rather a practice of flexible rhythm just prior to the cadence. Like final notes, which often do not agree in duration, the preceding notes may have been held at the liberty of the singers.

Contrasting Polyphonic Styles: **Verbum caro**

Though we will return to our examination of composition over equal-note tenors when we consider **Messina 16** and *Benedicamus* settings, our consideration of **Florence 999** is incomplete without attention to the other polyphonic work, the Christmas song *Verbum caro factum est,* shown in facsimile in Figure 4.22.[73]

[73] Other appearances of the text are listed in Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain: Lefever; Polleunis and Ceuterick; et al., 1897–1921), no. 21347.

FIGURE 4.22: **FLORENCE 999**: *VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST*, F. 95R[74]



The combination of more complex and simple polyphonic notation is not unheard of in manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Such contrasts can be

[74] This image has been digitally cleaned slightly to remove marks added by the scanning process.

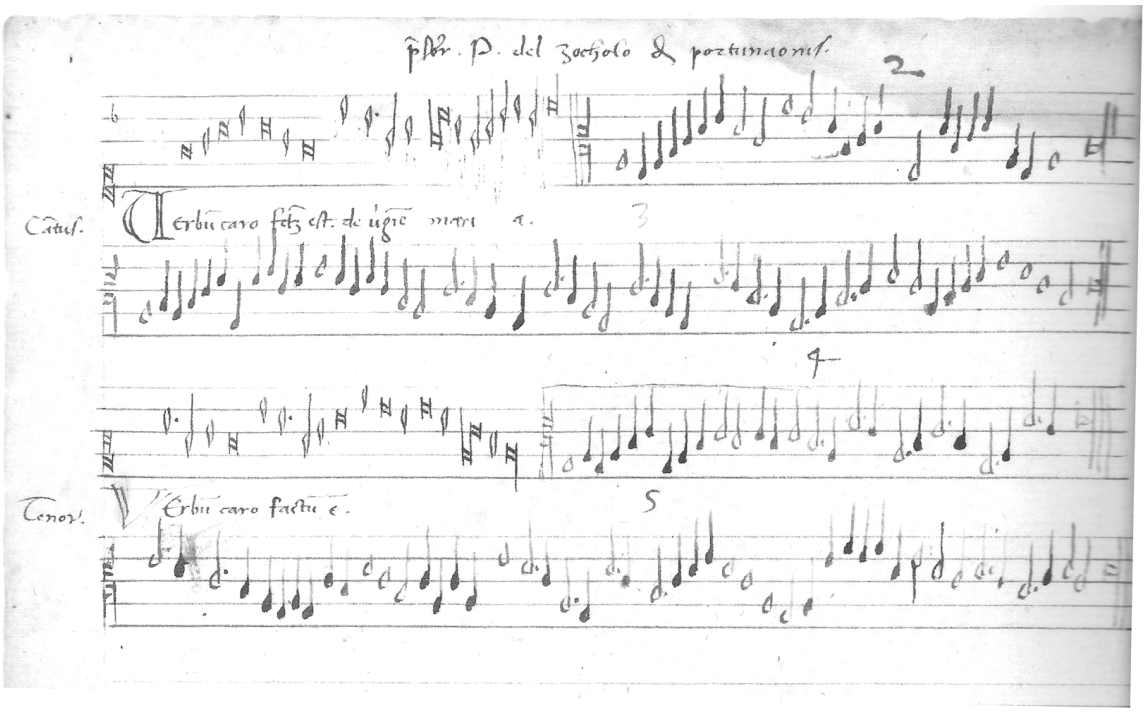
found in **Siena 36** and **Pad A**—in both cases a simple sacred work such as the Sienese Kyrie (f. 16v) or the Paduan *Benedicamus Domino* appears in the same manuscript as more complex works by Ciconia (*O virum omnimoda* and *Sus unne fontainne*).

In addition to **Florence 999**, at least two other manuscripts of the early-fifteenth century transmit two-voice polyphonic versions of this "Verbum Caro" text and chant melody in the context of more elaborate polyphony.[75] Folio 15v of **Oxford 213** contains a short fragment of the music alongside an untexted work in a middle or late fifteenth-century hand (Figure 4.23). The top of the page contains an attribution to "Presbyter P. del zocholo de portunaonis," the only surviving work by a musician of this exact name, but possibly to be identified with the lauda composer Pietro Capretto (Heydus).[76]

[75] I use the term "chant melody" rather than tenor deliberately here since in the **Oxford 213** version, the chant is plainly marked cantus and the added voice is the tenor.

[76] Iain Fenlon, Review of *Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, edited by David Fallows, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122.2 (1997), pp. 292–93. Fenlon notes that Zocholo or Zocul are dialectical forms of Capretto and that the name "de portunaonsis" implies an origin in or near Pordenone in the Friuli. Capretto, b. 1427, was the composer of many laude; this composition may stem from the middle of the fifteenth century. Fenlon tentatively ascribes the version of the same text on f. 16v to the same composer.

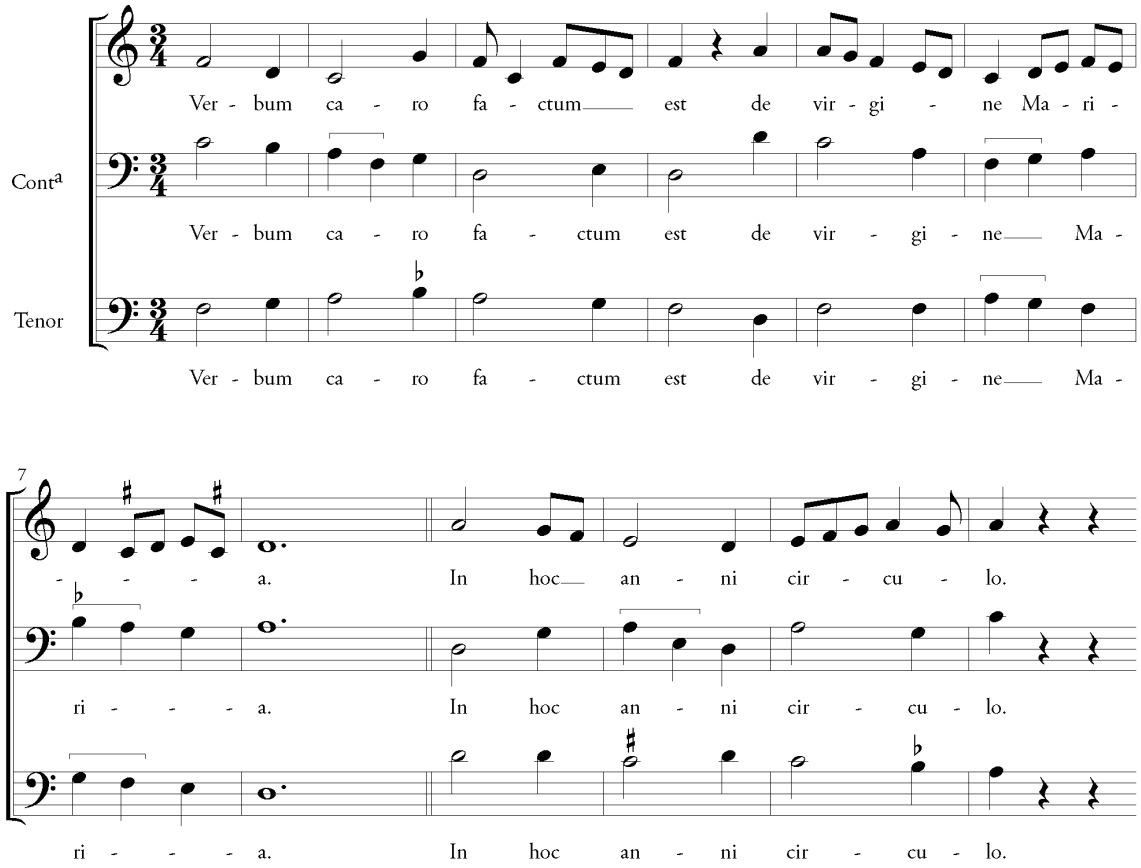
FIGURE 4.23: *VERBUM CARO* FROM **OXFORD 213**, F. 15V



A three-voice version with the original tenor is found on the following folio of **Oxford 213**, f. 16v, and a version similar in style is found in **Bologna 2216** on p. 37.[77] A transcription of the opening of this work appears in Figure 4.24:

[77] Giulio Cattin, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145,"*Quadrivium* 4 (1960), pp. 30–31 and D. P. Damilano, "Fonti musicali della lauda polifonica intorno alla metà del sec. XV," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963), pp. 70–71.

FIGURE 4.24: *VERBUM CARO* FROM **BOLOGNA 2216** [78]



The melody also appears four times in various sections of **Venice 145**, f. 1r, ff. 104rv, 116r–17r (with text continuing to 118v) and in an altered contrafact as *El nome del bon Jhesu* in **Venice 145**, ff. 138rv (text continues to f. 140r).[79] The openings of the first, second, and last of these settings appear as Figures 4.25, 4.26, and 4.27.

[78] The unusual text-setting in the cantus, mm. 6–7 follows the manuscript.

[79] Further on this complex of works, see Don Piero Damilano, "Fonti musicali della lauda polifonica intorno alla metà del sec. XV," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963), pp. 70–71.

FIGURE 4.25: *VERBUM CARO,* F. 1R, FROM **VENICE 145**

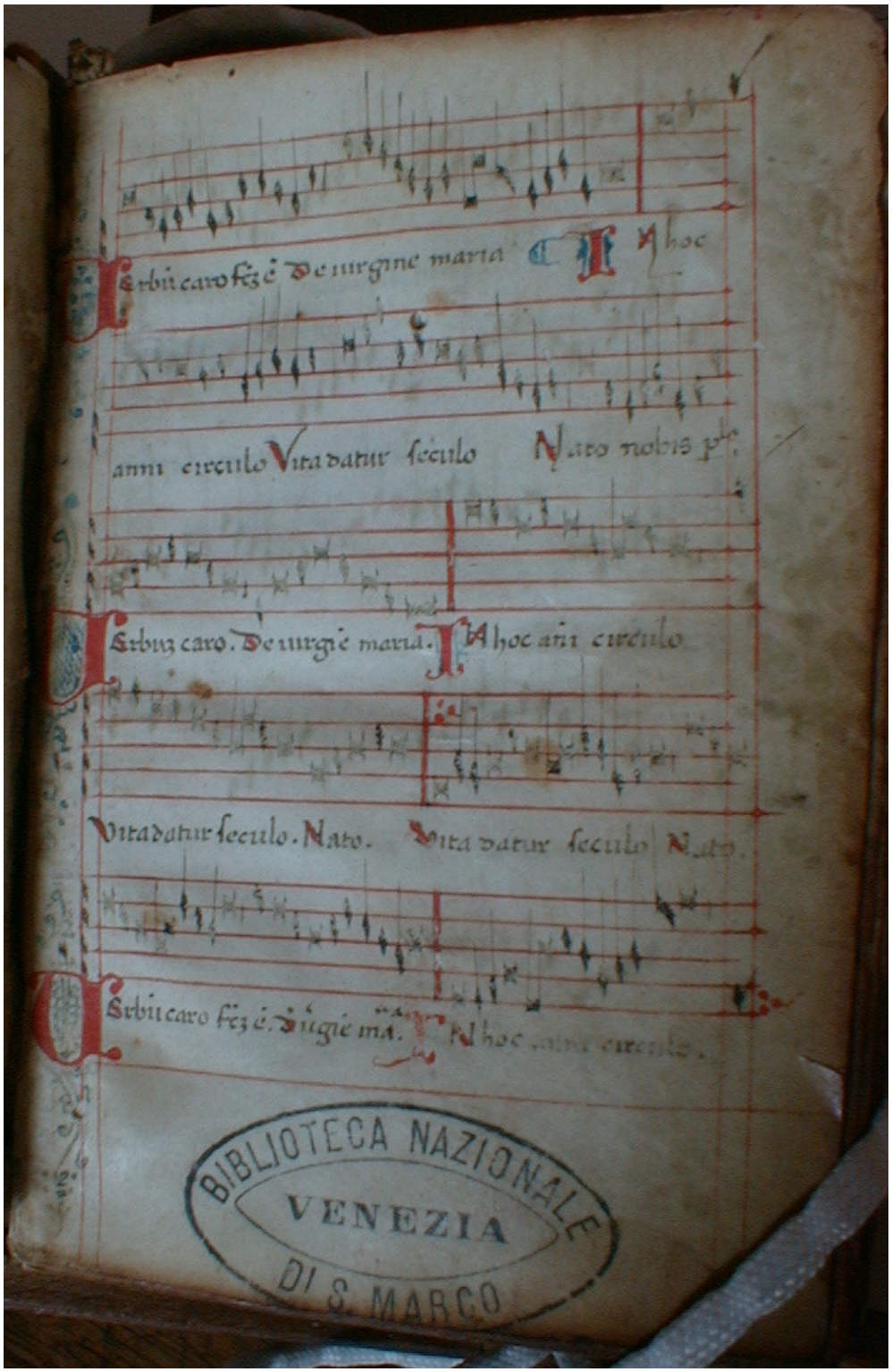


FIGURE 4.26: *VERBUM CARO* IN **VENICE 145**, F. 104R

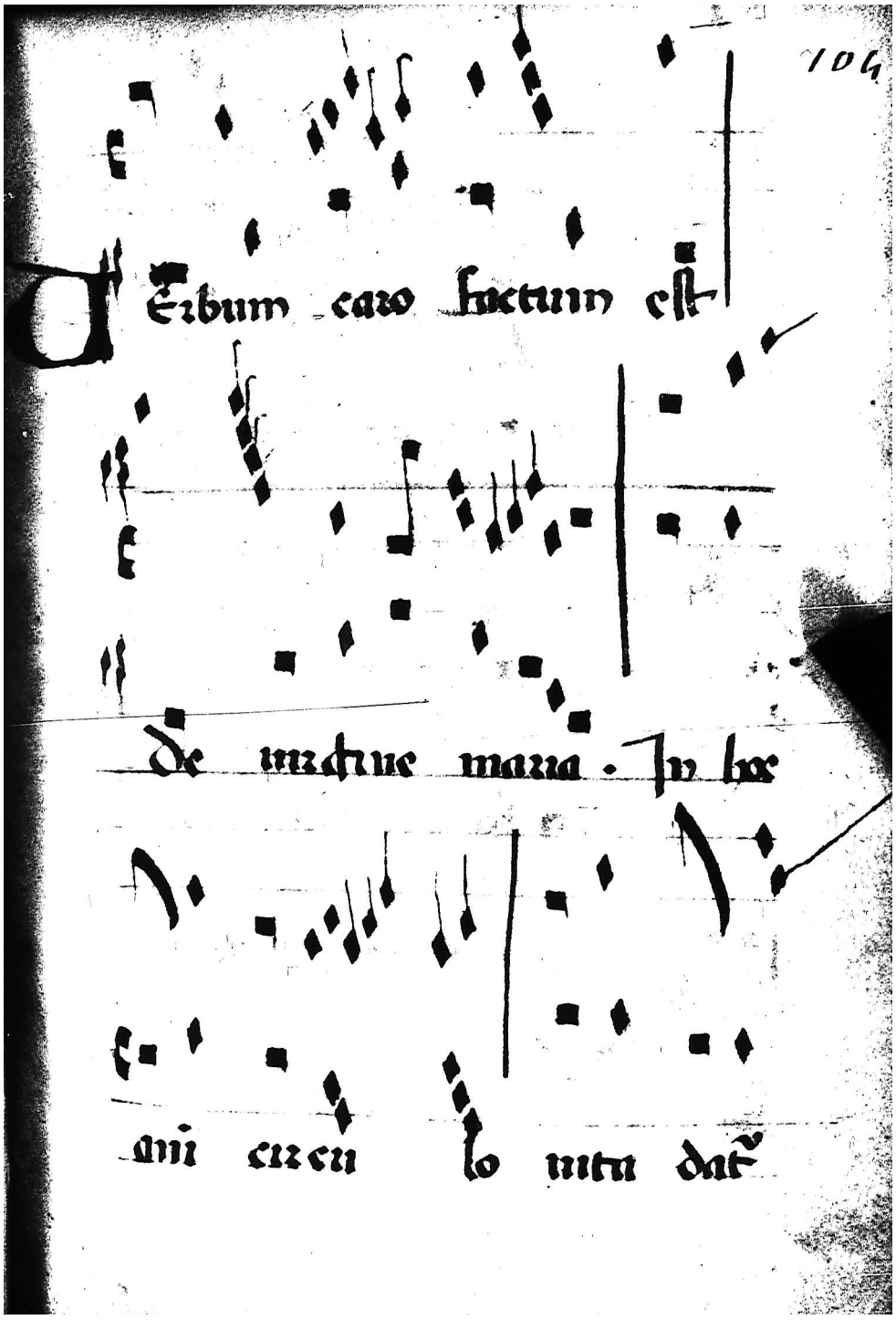
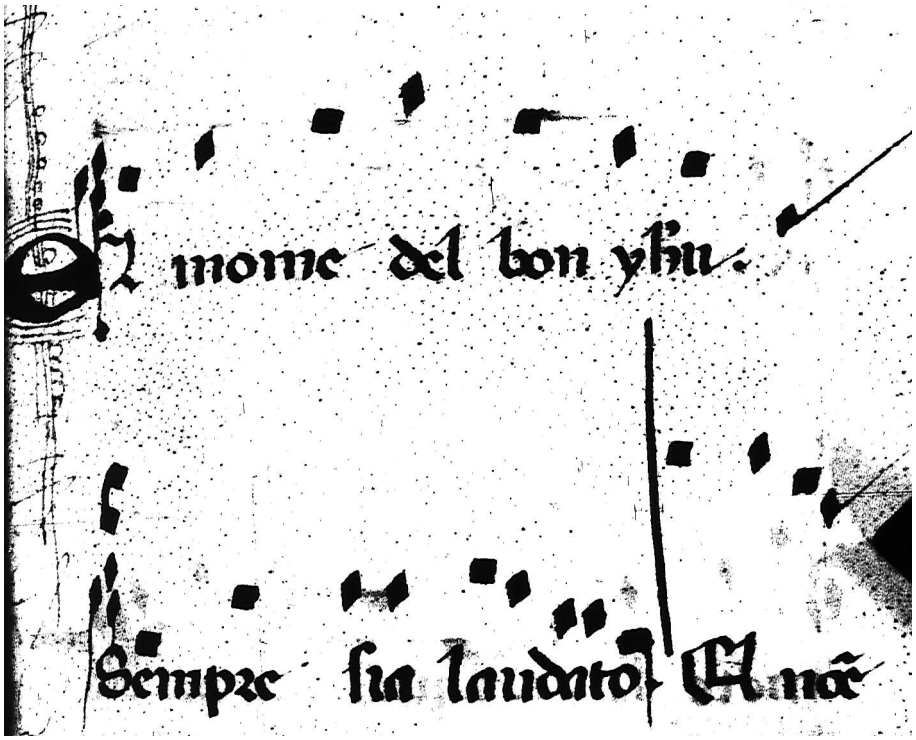


FIGURE 4.27: *EL NOME DEL BON JHESU,* CONTRAFACT OF *VERBUM CARO* IN **VENICE 145**, F. 138R



The melody also appears much later as the Sanctus Pastoralis. The work's presence can also be traced with its original text and melody in the turn of the sixteenth-century manuscript Cape Town, Grey 3 b. 12.[80] The text had continued importance in polyphonic settings even if not musically related to the common tenor found in the **Florence 999** version. Johannes de Lymburgia wrote a three voice version found in **Bologna Q 15**, while **Vatican 1419** has a two voice version in imperfect time on an unrelated, probably free tenor.[81] The setting in the miniscule processional **Feininger 133**, pp. 232–33, is unusual for

[80] Giulio Cattin, "Nuova Fonte Italiana della Polifonia intorno al 1500 (MS. Cape Town, Grey 3. b. 12," *Acta Musicologica* 45.2 (July - December 1973), p. 199.

[81] The composition is no. 283 in the De Van numbering and no. 46 in the Lymburgia complete works. Lymburgia's composition shows some connections to the earlier tradition, particularly in the rhythm of the tenor in the first line of text. Etheridge was evidently not aware of other settings of this text, and in any case did not use them in reconstructing an awkward passage in the

(note continues)

being a simple version not based on the *cantus prius factus* of **Florence 999**.[82] Finally, it must be noted that this list of sources is not at all exhaustive.[83]

Beyond looking at *Verbum caro factum est* as a representative of a class of polyphonic work, I want to take a moment to consider it as a composition. The survival of simple polyphony through the centuries and the international transmission of particular works should remind us that for many listeners these works must have been aesthetically powerful. There are musical gems to be found even in such a simple composition.

The phrases in the work are of slightly uneven lengths, giving a charming roughness to an overall sense of uniformity. The first line of the text "Verbum caro factum est de Virgine Maria" is set in an even, trochaic rhythm (rhythmic mode 1), differing only to create a three-semibreve melisma at the end of the line. The phrase divides musically and textually into two phrases each of four breves in length (the second phrase leading with a pickup-semibreve):

[84]

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contratenor. Jerry Haller Etheridge, "The Works of Johannes de Lymburgia," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Indiana University, 1972), vol. 2, pp. xxi–xxii and 351–53.

[82] Description, facsimile, and literature list in Cesarino Ruini, *I manoscritti liturgici della Biblioteca L. Feininger*, Patrimonio storico e artistico del Trentino 21 (Trent: Servizio beni librarie e archivistici, 1998), pp. 298–99.

[83] A newly discovered version of this work appears at the beginning of the fifteenth-century **Rocca di Botte** fragment, preserved on four-line staves. I am grateful to Francesco Zimei for sharing this discovery with me.

[84] The final long seems insignificant as a measure of the phrase given that the following phrases and half-phrases end with conflicting settings between the voices: a long against a breve with breve rest in the first case and a breve against a long alone in the second.

While the rhythm of the second musical line, "In hoc anni circulo / vita datur secolo" begins with the first three perfections of "Verbum caro" and ends with the last two of "de Virgine Maria," as follows:

■ ♦ |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |♦ ♦ ♦ |■ [85] |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |♦ ♦ ♦ |■ [86]

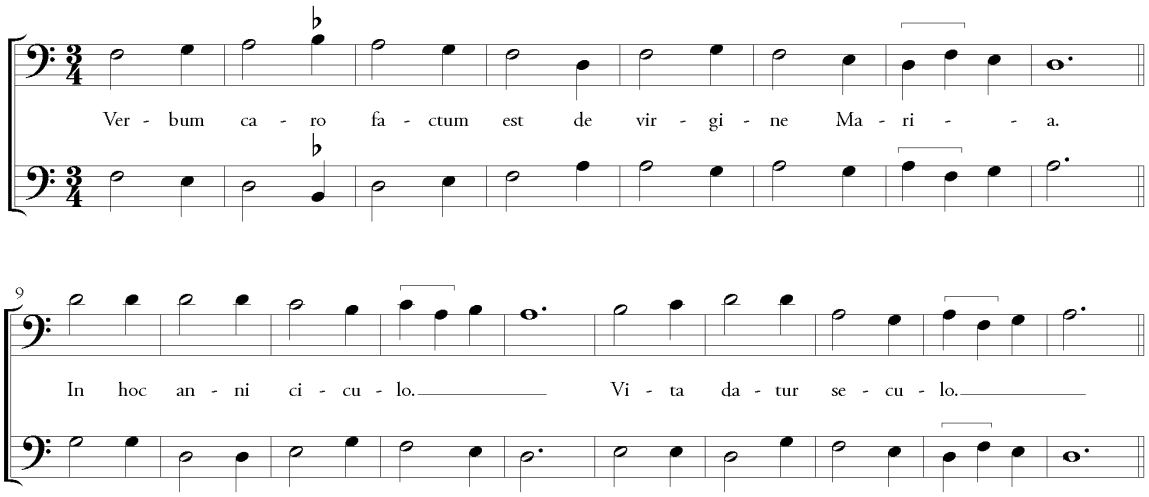
In hoc an-ni cir-cu-lo_____ Vi-ta da-tur se-cu-lo_____

The two phrases share so many rhythmic (and melodic) elements that the asymmetry of their phrases—four- against five-measures—is arresting. The odd, five-perfection phrases of the second line are even more striking when the text-setting is taken into account: there is no textual need for the extra measure.

Though the lengths of phrases are common to all settings of this tenor, the intervals between voices are specific to **Florence 999**'s version of *Verbum caro*. An important musical point is the accented minor sixth which falls on the text "*cir[*-culo]," in measure 11 of Example 4.28.

[85] Long in top voice against breve in lower voice.
[86] Long in lower voice against breve in upper voice.

EXAMPLE 4.28: **FLORENCE 999**, *VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST*, WITH FIRST TWO LINES OF TEXT (BREVE/LONG CONFLICTS SHOWN)



If a ficta sharp were applied to the C, it might be taken as the preparation for a cadence on D in the following measure. But the interval does not resolve outward to an octave, nor does it move obliquely to a fifth. Rather, both voices move inward to a third, setting up the extra measure before the cadence, discussed above. If we think of the work as a relic of an old tradition, then the dissonance, sustained for an imperfect breve, and its lack of resolution are outstanding. On the other hand, if this copy is an updated version or a recently composed work in a long-standing rhythmic style, then the sixth becomes not only a much milder dissonance, but also an emblem of musical change. Perhaps in the same way guitars and pop rhythms have influenced the church of the twentieth century, updated sonorities gave evidence to the listeners of a religious experience, while connected to tradition, which was relevant to their modern lives.

The important role of the sixth also provides links between this work and the teachings of Paolo. In his treatise, *Ars ad adiscendum contrapunctum*, Paolo demonstrates several

ways in which a sixth in the biscantus can substitute for the more traditional fifth.[87] Paolo also notes that multiple dissonant notes (his term for the more traditional "imperfect consonances") can be used "propter licentiam" (by license); the sixth followed by third of "circulo" is an exercise in this license.

As we noted in the "web of connections" graphic in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1), **Florence 999** claims similarities with many more sources than those we have had space to examine here. Further investigation of these connections will be crucial to gaining an understanding of this provocative source.

Parma 3597

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina. MS 3597.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

Parma 3597 is an extremely small volume containing a single polyphonic work. Its size varies throughout but is approximately 110–115mm x 75–80mm.[88] The manuscript is parchment, save for a small section on paper from ff. 126–29.[89] The only polyphonic work appears toward the end of the Kyriale on ff. 10v–11r, a two voice *Stimmtausch* composition,

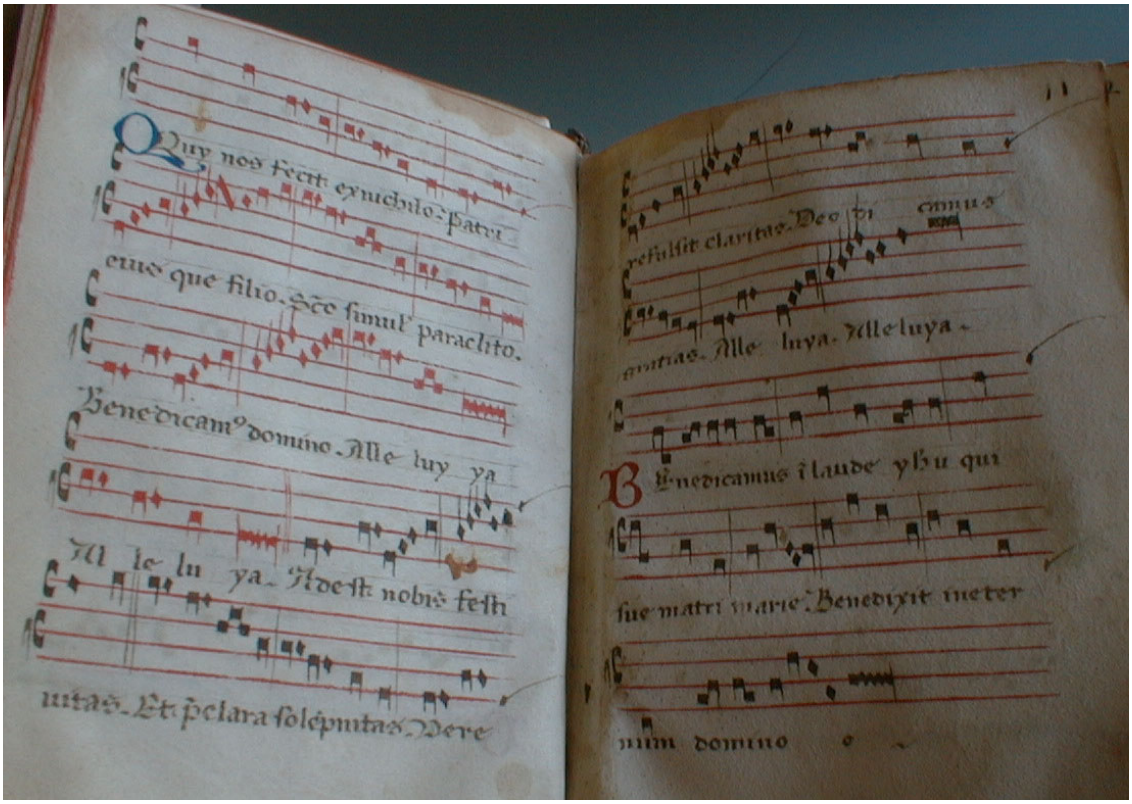
[87] More extensive information about Paolo's advocacy of the sixth along with several musical examples maybe found in Sarah Fuller, "Discant and the Theory of Fifthing," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), pp. 263–64. Paolo's treatise is edited by Albert Seay in "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), pp. 133–140. Although the details surrounding Paolo's biography are much clearer today than at the time of Fuller's article (see the extensive report in Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 203–46 or David Fallows's concise summary as "Paolo da Firenze," s.v. in *2ndNG*), her word of caution surrounding the phrase "secundum magistrum Paulum," suggesting it could be a second-hand report of Paolo's teachings, still stands. (The word "magistrum" appears in the version in **Siena 36** and not in **Florence 1119**).

[88] *RISM B III 6,* p 548, gives 113x80mm, a precise measurement presumably referring to the treatise on tones on ff. 20v–21r.

[89] *Ibid., op. cit.*

"Quy nos fecit ex nichilo." A detail of the opening appears in Figure 4.29 below; the two voices are distinguished by a change in ink color.

FIGURE 4.29: **PARMA 3597** FF. 10V–11R



The text is often called a "Benedicamus trope," although textually it is also closely related to the *Benedicamus* versicles of the Aquitanian repertory. Works on the same text appear in **Las Huelgas, Venice 145,** and other manuscripts.[90] The composition in **Parma 3597** is difficult to date but it probably comes from the early-fifteenth century; slightly later than

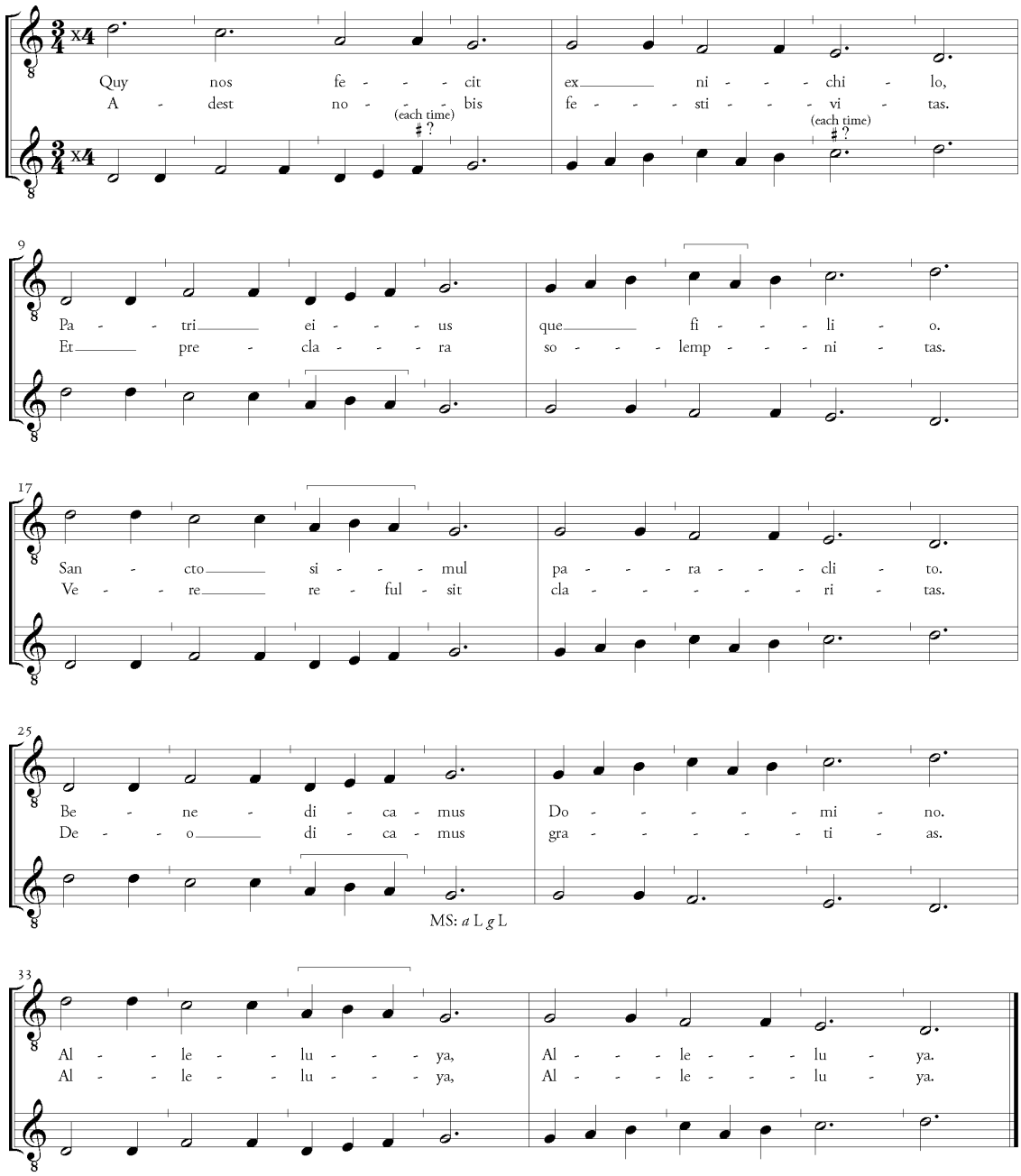
[90] See transcription and extensive discussion in Giulio Cattin, "Persistenza e variazioni in un tropo polifonico al *Benedicamus*," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 5 (1985), pp. 46–56.

the main period under study.[91] However, that the work is connected to other problems of the late trecento (see **Messina 16** below) makes it worth bending the limits somewhat.

By transcribing the work only in original notation, Cattin acknowledged the imprecision of the scribe's paleography. However, rendering the work in an even triple rhythm presents few difficulties and few distortions of the original. In Example 4.30, ▪ = 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅗𝅥.

[91] While announcing his discovery of the source, Reinhard Strohm dated it between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "Polifonie più o meno primitive. Annotazioni alla relazione di base e nuove fonti," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds. (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 86, 90. Cattin placed it more squarely in the fifteenth century. *RISM B III 6*'s placement at "Fin XV^{e} s." seems rather late.

EXAMPLE 4.30: "QUY NOS FECIT," **PARMA 3597** FF. 10V–11R

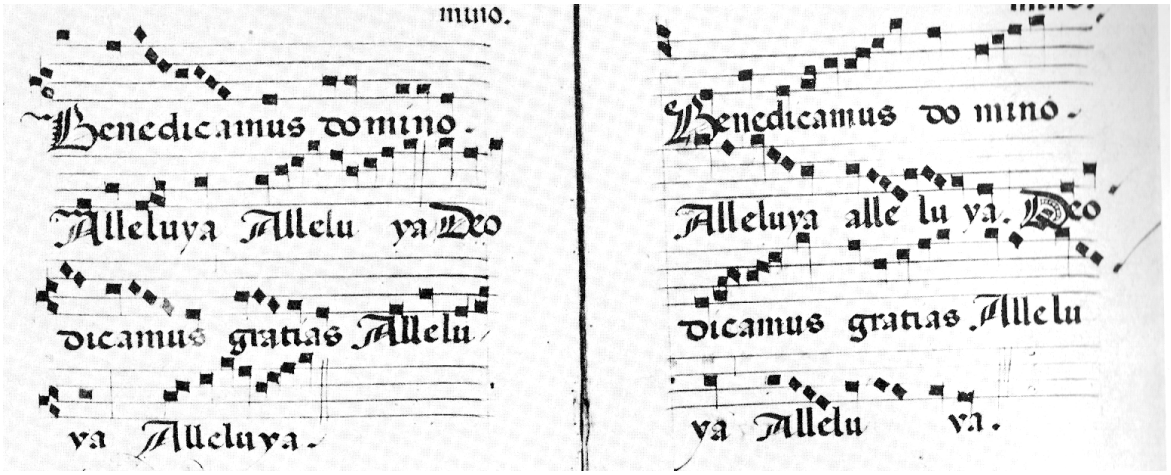


The composition consists of a single phrase of eight syllables or eight longs in length repeated five times. Every successive repetition exchanges the line between the two voice parts. Three lines consist of two words of five and three syllables each ("Benedicamus" and "Domino"); the texting of these lines is speculative. The work appears slightly altered in a non-mensural

version in another small-sized manuscript, **Venice 145**, f. 103rv (adjacent to one of the *Verbum caro* settings).[92]

The similarity between this work and the two-voice *Benedicamus* in **Krakow 40592** has until now gone unnoted. That manuscript is an Italian, Dominican psalter and hymnal of the later fifteenth century, formerly of Berlin's Preußische Staatsbibliothek. The version in black notes on ff. 180v–81r contains few to none of the mensural suggestions of the version in **Parma 3597**. The second half of each phrase in **Krakow 40592** is embellished in a way that obscures the underlying relationship to the quasi-mensural version. See the detail of the page in Figure 4.31, reproduced from Gallo-Vecchi, table 17.

FIGURE 4.31: **KRAKOW 40592** DETAIL OF FF. 180V AND 181R



The Benedicamus "Die sancti Pasche ad Vespera," *Voce digna corde* in **Aosta C3** is also related to the *Stimmtausch* setting both textually, by also using the line "Sancto simul

[92] See Cattin, "Persistenza e variazioni," pp. 53–54 for transcriptions from this source and from **Las Huelgas**.

paraclito," and musically, though the connection is not exact.[93]

Later additions: Messina 16 (and Further on Equal-Note Tenors)
Messina, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile. O. 4.16.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

The three lines of music added to the end of a thirteenth-century antiphoner may seem an afterthought but their contents tie the manuscript to an important and largely unexplained polyphonic compositional technique of the fourteenth century. Folio 169r of the antiphoner Messina, Biblioteca "Painiana" del Seminario Arcivescovile, MS 0.4.16 contains a two-voice Benedicamus Domino on the "Flos filius" tenor. In the fourteenth century, the antiphoner was probably in Otricoli, a town on the border of Umbria and Lazio in the present-day province of Terni. The presence of offices for the locally venerated saints, St. Medicus (Medico) and St. Fulgentius (Fulgenzio) in a section of the manuscript added in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century provides the principal evidence for assigning provenance.[94] At the same time as these offices were added music was written on two folios at the

[93] Gallo-Vecchi, tables 8 and 9 presents a facsimile of the relevant folios, ff. 68v–69r. The incipit, though, is difficult to read.

[94] Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia," p. 241, and Giuseppe Donato, "Appendice: Nota sul manoscritto 0.4.16 della biblioteca 'Painiana' del Seminario Arcivescovile di Messina," following Ziino, *op. cit.,* p. 247. The offices of the saints has been edited by Donato in "Due uffici inediti dei SS. Medico e Fulgenzio di Otricoli," *Helikon: rivista di tradizione e cultura classica* 18-19 (1978-1979), pp. 41-140. An otherwise uncited reference to the life of S. Medicus is found in "Mémoires sur S. Medicus, martyr, et citoyen d'Otricoli," *Magasin encyclopédique: ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts,* New Series 9 (September 1809). This source is obviously related to the 1812 publication, *Memorie di S. Medico martire e cittadino di Otricoli raccolte da Francesco Cancellieri* cited by Donato, "Due uffici" as footnote 4 (p. 42).

end of the manuscript, containing psalm forms for the eight modes and the two-voice Benedicamus Domino.[95]

Although the polyphonic notation is of a later date than the bulk of the manuscript, the tradition of singing the Benedicamus Domino polyphonically may be as old as the source itself. A rubric on f. 73r after *Et valde mane una sabbatorum,* an antiphon "ad Benedictum," notes that "postea duo fratres cantent altissime Benedicamus domino alleluia alleluia."[96]

Unusually for a polyphonic mensural setting, the music of f. 169r is written on four-line staves, as if an extension of monophonic practice. The lower voice is written entirely in chant notation with each note to be interpreted as a breve of the upper voice. The work is thus one of the equal-note tenor compositions the general style of which was discussed earlier in this chapter during the examination of **Florence 999**, but which warrants further examination focused particularly on **Messina 16**'s melody.

Using the "Flos filius" Benedicamus as an Equal-Note Tenor

The most common text set as an equal-note tenor for polyphonic composition is *Benedicamus Domino*, the formula which forms part of the dismissal for both the Office and sometimes the Mass. The same tenor melody is employed by three of the settings mentioned in the list of equal-note tenor works in Figure 4.16 above (p. 370): Paolo's *Benedicamus Domino* from **Pit.** and the anonymous compositions of **Messina 16** and **Oxford 229**. It is a

[95] The gathering structure of the last folios of the manuscript is complicated. See Donato, "Appendice: Nota," pp. 249–51 for details.

[96] Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia," p. 241. Not every reference to chants being sung by two brothers is necessarily a reference to polyphonic singing, so this rubric should be taken as a possible suggestion of polyphonic performance, not a definitive statement.

plagal Dorian (mode two) chant taken from the melisma on "Flos filius" of the verse "Virgo dei genetrix virga est" of the responsory *Stirps Jesse*.[97] The melody is found in the *Antiphonale Romanum* as 59*.[98]

The melody has two histories of long use: one as a *Benedicamus Domino* and one as a tenor for polyphonic composition. An early citation of the melody as *Benedicamus* appears in the customary of Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny from around 1146.[99] While confirming its usage, Abbot Peter's citation of exactly the part of "Virgo dei genetrix est" to be used for the *Benedicamus* would be sufficient to make clear that the tradition was relatively new at the time even if he did not call it "very new, yet good."[100] The melody appears polyphonically in the Saint Martial sources.[101] It also appears as a tenor for two, three, and four part motets in **Montpellier 196**.[102] Motets based on the Flos filius melody have appeared in

[97] A translation of the responsory text appears in Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the French Motet* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997). The responsory, "Strips Jesse" was composed by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in the years around 1000. Yves Delaporte, "Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XIe siècle," *Etudes grégoriennes* 2 (1957), p. 52.

[98] *Antiphonale sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Paris: Desclée, 1924).

[99] Kassius Hallinger, "Statuta Petri Venerabilis Abbatis Cluniacensis IX," in *Consuetudines Benedictinae Variae: (saec. XI–saec. XIV)*, edited by Giles Constable (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1975), p. 103. Cited in Anne Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino," s.v. in *2ndNG*. The date is from Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41.1 (Spring 1988), p. 11. A more lengthy treatment of the early history of "Benedicamus Domino" is in Barbara Marian Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 5–23. The "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* is No. 32 in Barclay's catalog, pp. 53–91.

[100] Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition," p. 11.

[101] In **Paris 1139**, the notes of "Flos filius" are written under the new polyphonic trope *Stirps Jesse florigeram* thereby creating a double reference to the original *Stirps Jesse* responsory.

[102] For more on these uses see Sylvia Huot, "Languages of Love: Vernacular Motets on the Tenor *Flos Filius Eius*," in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly,* edited by Keith Busby and Norris J. Lacy (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 169–80.

treatises on polyphony from the thirteenth century such as Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* which uses *O Maria mater dei/Flos filius* and *Castrum pudicicie/Virgo viget melius/Flos filius* as examples.[103]

On account of its plagal, D-mode opening (the same gesture as the modal antiphon *Secundus autem*), the *Flos filius* melody, when used as a polyphonic tenor, has one of the lowest tessiture in the trecento. The second note of the melody descends to the A below the C which forms the normal lowest extent of trecento pieces (Zachara's absurdly low *Deduto Sey* excepted). Given the low range we should not be surprised to find the *Flos filius* melody sometimes transposed up a fourth, on G, as it appears in the instrumental **Faenza** codex (see below) and the sixteenth-century manuscript, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN II 46 (f. 138r).

It would be incorrect to view Paolo's complex three-voice setting of *Benedicamus,* which changes mensurations, imitates, syncopates, and employs multiple types of dotted rhythms, as typical for these settings. The *Benedicamus* settings in the fragments from Padua and Messina are rather simple. **Pad A**'s version is written in the Italian *senaria imperfecta* with *puncti divisionis.* **Messina 16** lacks these dots, so it is better to describe it as being in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*. Both tempora amount to six minims to the breve, or $\frac{6}{8}$ in a modern transcription. Motion is nearly entirely stepwise, except between phrases, and the rhythms used are mostly trochees. The simplicity of the melodies suggests they

[103] Sandra Pinegar's *Thema* project lists concordances of the second motet: <http://www.uga.edu/thema/virgovig.html>. The passage appears in translation and transcription in Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, editors, *Source Readings in Music History,* revised edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), p. 241.

could be improvised. These sources might be written records of a normally unwritten tradition. This suggestion is aided by the position of the *Benedicamus* in **Messina 16**, an addition scribbled on the last page of a four folio gathering, itself an addition to a completed antiphoner.

The presence of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* tenor in unusual positions in other manuscripts further suggests that it may have been used for improvised polyphony. In several sources with one or few polyphonic works, the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* is found near these works. (Table 4.32). For instance in **Reggio Emilia 408** and **Parma 3597**, the manuscripts' only polyphonic work is near this *Benedicamus*. This nearness is less surprising in the Parma manuscript, since the only polyphonic work, *Quy nos fecit ex nichilo* contains the text "Benedicamus Domino" and appears with other *Benedicamus* at the end of a Kyriale.[104] But in the case of the **Reggio Emilia** hymnal, there is little reason for the placement of Benedicamus tones near the processional hymn *Crucifisum in carne*.

TABLE 4.32: MANUSCRIPTS WITH THE "FLOS FILIUS" SETTING OF *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* NEAR POLYPONY, OFTEN THE ONLY POLYPHONIC WORK IN THE SOURCE

Cividale 56	2vv. *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris*, ff. 252v–54r. *Benedicamus Domino* "Flos filius," f. 254r.[105] 2vv. *Tam diu quippe salutaris*, ff. 254rv.
Parma 3597	2vv. *Quy nos fecit* (Benedicamus Trope), ff. 10v–11r.[106] Troped "Flos filius" *Benedicamus*, f. 11r.

[104] On **Parma 3597**, including a facsimile of this opening, see earlier in this chapter. Note also that this "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* is troped "In laude Jesu."

[105] Facsimile on Gallo-Vecchi, plate 58.

[106] See Figure 4.29 above for a facsimile of this opening.

Reggio Emilia 408
Five *Benedicamus* settings, including "Flos filius," f. 64v.[107]
Hymn (no notation) and *Benedicamus* with difficult mensural notation, f. 65r.
3vv. *Crucifisum in carne* plus two additions, f. 65v.

Seville 25[108]
Adjacent to rules for constructing contrapuntal lines and between two lines marked "Tenor" and "Contratenor". f. 58r.

Vatican 657
2vv. *Credo* ("Cardinalis"), ff. 419v–23r.
"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino*, ff. 422v (bottom).[109]

Vatican 4749
3vv. *Benedicamus Domino* (not "Flos filius"), f. 15r. (Example 4.33)
"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* copied four times, f. 15v (Figure 4.34)
1. In large neumes on the second line, below a different *Benedicamus*.
2. In small neumes on the final line, below a brief treatise on the modes and a *Kyrie*.
3. Erased, in extremely large neumes taking up much of the folio, underneath (1) and (2).
4. Erased and underneath (3), in enormous neumes taking up the whole of the large (33x24cm) folio.

Venice 145
2vv. *L'amor a mi venendo,* f. 144v[110]
"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino,* f. 144v
Theory treatise on intervals between hexachords, f. 145r.[111]

[107] The *Benedicamus* settings also include a version which begins with the first phrase of *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*, transposed down a fifth to D.

[108] The folio with *La durea,* f. 22v also contains *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*, another tenor which may have been used to improvise polyphony above, as happens on f. 16v of **Siena 36**. Folio 80r of **Seville 25** also contains a work composed on top of *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor;* it is not improvised, but it does seem to be composed according to the rules of a treatise.

[109] On the same opening as the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* are three other monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* chants, all important and set polyphonically elsewhere: Barclay 22 (*Kyrie Cunctipotens genitor; LU* p. 28), Barclay 69 (melisma "Mariam" from R *Ad nutum Domini, AR* p. 59*; used polyphonically at the top of **Krakow 40592**, ff. 180v–81r; Gallo-Vecchi, table 17), and an extended version of Barclay 83 (melisma "in perhenni seculorum" from R *Honor virtus*; *AR* p. 59*).

[110] Facsimile of this opening in Cattin, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145." *Quadrivium* 4 (1960), plate 7 (reprinted in the 2003 Cattin collected writings edition).

EXAMPLE 4.33: **VATICAN 4749**, F. 15R, TRANSCRIPTION OF OPENING

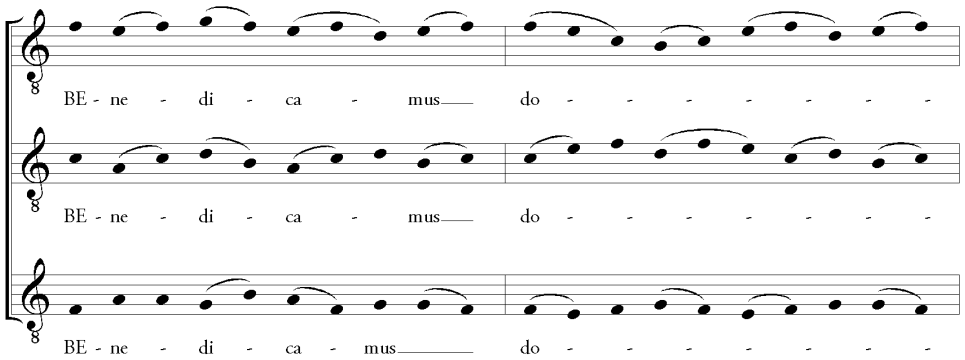
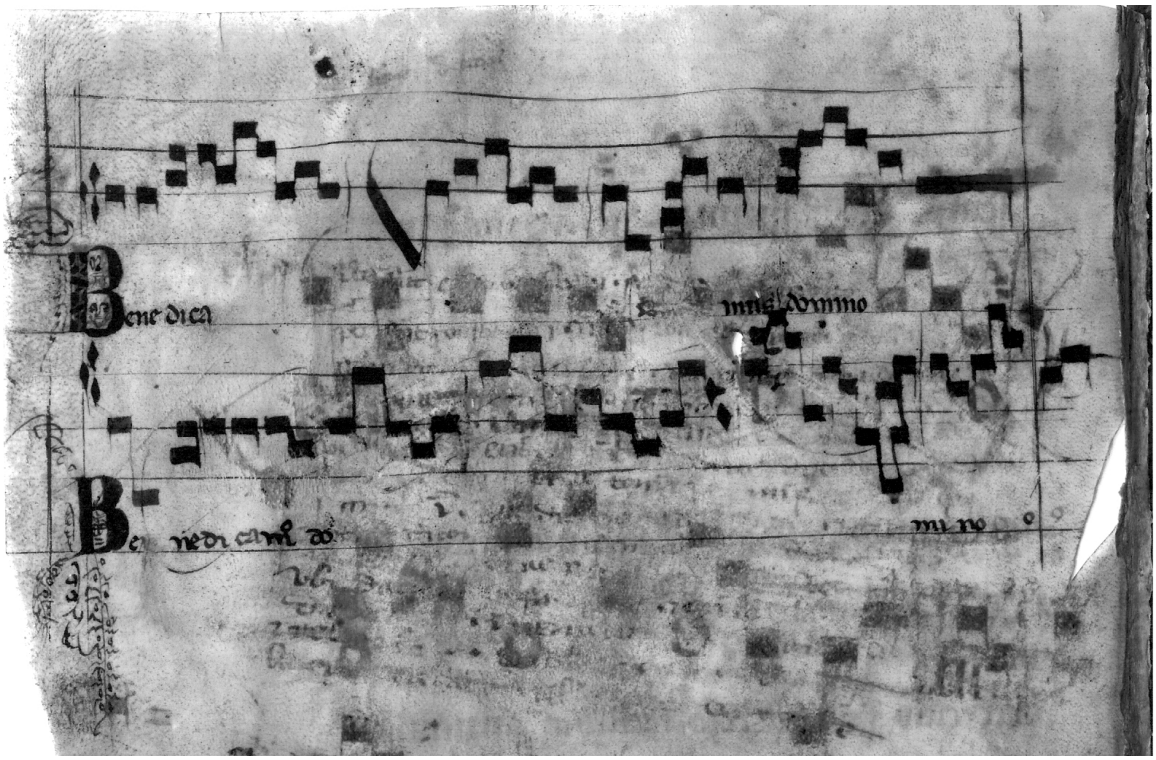


FIGURE 4.34: **VATICAN 4749**, DETAIL OF TOP OF F. 15V, ULTRAVIOLET IMAGE SHOWING *BENEDICAMUS* 1, 3, AND 4.



[111] This treatise is missing from Christian Meyer's *RISM B III 6* pp. 613–14 and is described incorrectly in *RISM B IV 5*, pp. 550–54. It is similar in style to the treatise found in **Parma 3597** (see above).

Note that the style of both the *notated* polyphonic pieces in **Reggio Emilia 408** and **Parma 3597** prevents them from being improvised. *Quy nos fecit* is essentially *Stimmtausch,* and *Crucifisum* is for three equal, but not-homophonic voices. (Note also that the *Benedicamus* and *Crucifisum* of **Reggio Emilia 408** are on a separate bifolio which disrupts the gathering structure of the remainder of the manuscript, discussed more fully later in this chapter.)

The presence of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* so near to polyphonic works thus suggests that it may be a part of an unwritten tradition of improvised polyphony, a tradition of which **Messina 16** and **Pad A** are the only true notated survivors.[112] The nearness of the chant to rules of counterpoint in **Seville 25** and a short treatise on scales in **Vatican 4749** further suggests that it was used in pedagogy, perhaps as a common phrase upon which to improvise polyphony. The *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* may have been another such work—also appearing in the context of treatises (as we saw in **Siena 36**). The ascending and descending scalar patterns which appear after theoretical discussions, and even after polyphonic compositions may also be part of this tradition.[113]

[112] One notes that this unwritten tradition is separate from (but in no way incompatible with) the unwritten tradition of using various parts of the Mass and Ordinary as Benedicamus Domino. The existence of this tradition—of which "Flos filius" is a written testament—is the central thesis of Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition."

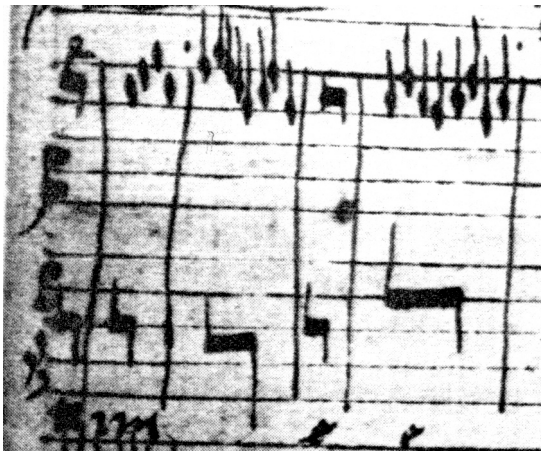
[113] I am not suggesting that every presence of a notated scale had this purpose and certainly not that every fancy decoration at the end of a polyphonic work was meant to be used musically. However, the curious case of one such decoration should be mentioned. An Icelandic tonary concludes a line with a diamond-shaped pattern which on first glance appears decorative, but is preceded by a change of clef and carefully arranged so that the pattern of intervals is the asymmetric, but more consonant pattern: 1–3–5–8–5–3–1.

If then on the one hand, the pieces in **Pad A** and **Messina 16** can be seen as just barely on the written side of a possibly unwritten tradition, the two works by Paolo, *Benedicamus Domino* in **Pit** and *Gaudeamus omnes* in **Florence 999**, are perhaps a stylization of the technique.

Equal-Note Tenors and Keyboard Diminutions

The *Benedicamus* in **Pad A** and **Messina 16** also show strong resemblances to another usually unwritten tradition, that of instrumental (probably keyboard) music, surviving in four sources. Figure 4.35 is an example taken from the manuscript **Assisi 187**:

FIGURE 4.35: **ASSISI 187**, F. 108R, DETAIL OF SYSTEMS 4–5



A complete list of keyboard sources appears in Table 4.36:

TABLE 4.36: KEYBOARD SOURCES IN THE TRECENTO AND EARLY QUATTROCENTO

Faenza	Many sacred pieces, including *Kyrie* (IV), *Cunctipotens genitor* and "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* in multiple versions, a *Kyrie, Orbis factor,*[114] two copies of Gloria IV, and numerous Italian and French secular compositions.
Assisi 187	*Kyrie* (IV), *Cunctipotens genitor.* (twice)
Padua 553	Gloria IV.
Reina	*Questa fançulla* (Francesco da Firenze), f. 85r, *Je voy le bon tens venir*, (twice) f. 85v.[115]

Although many of the works in the keyboard sources have tenors of exactly equal note lengths, some (especially in **Faenza**) fragment the tenor notes, creating repetitions of the note within a breve. For instance: ■ → ♦ 𝅜 ♦ 𝅜 . Passing notes appear occasionally in *Questa fançulla* in **Reina**. Finally, the short section of **Padua 553** preceding the Amen and especially *Je voy le bon tens venir* in **Reina** exceed the definition of equal-note tenor and are best described as simple tenors which emphasize the breve divisions.

One might note the frequency of errors and recopying of works in the keyboard sources. The scribes of both **Assisi 187** and f. 85v of **Reina** (Nádas's Scribe V)[116] abandon a first version of a work because the two parts become misaligned. (See Figure 4.37). These mistakes imply either sloppy direct copying from lost exemplars or a compositional method not primarily based on composing an upper-voice above a lower part already written on the page. (In fact, the order of copying in **Reina** shows that the upper voice was copied first and the tenor was added below it).

[114] Pedro Memelsdorff, "New music in the Codex Faenza 117," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13.2 (October 2004), pp. 147–53.

[115] For this identification, see Robert Huestis, Review of Michael Kugler, *Die Tastenmusik im Kodex Faenza*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27.3 (Autumn 1974), p. 523.

[116] Nádas, "Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 150 and 175.

FIGURE 4.37: CORRECTED COPYING MISTAKES IN **ASSISI 187** AND **REINA**, F. 85V

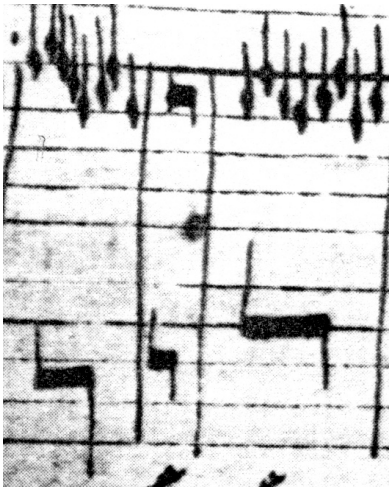
Incorrect versions:

Assisi 187

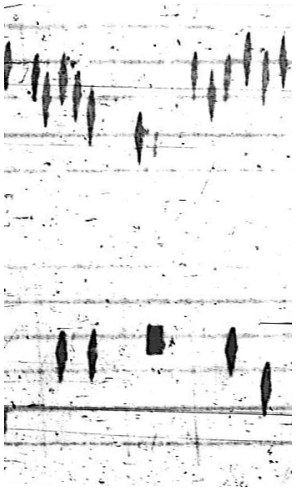
Reina, f. 85v

Correct versions:

Assisi 187



Reina, f. 85v



The expansion of the study of equal-note tenor composition to include instrumental style raises the question of whether the compositions not in score might also be works for instruments.[117] With the exception of *Gaudeamus omnes* in **Florence 999**, none of the equal

[117] Keyboard works also draw into question the notion, drilled into undergraduates in nearly every medieval survey course, that it is the tenor line and not the bass or lowest note that is the important structural element in composition. In the version of Jacopo da Bologna's *Sotto l'imperio* found in **Faenza 117**, the left-hand part fills in rests in the original tenor with passages from the

(note continues)

note tenor compositions truly require texts. The majority of compositions are set simply to the words "Benedicamus Domino." The other exception, the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* of **Siena 36**, is textless.

The secular works on equal length tenors in **Faenza** also expand the breadth of this phenomenon. That a particular trecento compositional style is not unique to sacred music is no surprise: sacred composition in the trecento has generally been seen either to share the same styles available to secular works or to be a smaller subset of those styles.[118]

Further on Benedicamus settings ca. 1400: Ravenna 453

We can see the relationship of upper voices to equal-note chant tenors more clearly by looking at related *cantus planus binatim* repertories. A collection of polyphonic but non-mensural settings of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* has recently been brought to light

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contratenor and even the cantus when it is the lowest voice. This work is noted and discussed in Nino Pirrotta, "Note su un codice di antiche musiche per tastiera," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 4 (October–December 1954), pp. 334–37.

[118] The sharing of styles between secular and sacred genres is not perfect. Contrafacts, laude, and *cantasi come* of madrigals are rare, and no Mass movements exist which are direct analogues to the style of the madrigal. (An example of a rare madrigal lauda is *Appres un fiume chiaro*.)

There are also "motets" which appear to be contrafacts of secular forms which do not generally appear in compositions originally conceived as sacred. The motet, "Regina Gloriosa," (ascribed to Ciconia by Clercx but not currently accepted) appears to be a contrafact of a virelai or possibly a ballata (see Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC* 24, p. 209). On the possibility that a secular work could be a contrafact of a prior sacred work, see David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), pp. 165–68, and my discussion of parody in the works of Zachara and Bartolomeo da Bologna in "Zacara's *D'amor Languire* and Strategies for Borrowing in the Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2005) pp. 337–57 and plates 10–13. One other work, if it is Italian, shows that the hunger for new forms in sacred music stretched to the edge of trecento taste for secular forms: the Kyrie "Rondello" of **Vatican 1419** borrows its form from the French rondeau, otherwise quite uncommon in Italy.

by Angelo Rusconi.[119] This mainly monophonic liturgical miscellany, containing a collectar, a Mass for the dead, a Kyriale, and offices for several saints, is currently housed in Ravenna at the Biblioteca Classense as MS 453. Although Rusconi reports as many as twelve different hands scattered throughout the layers of the source, the main work of the first section was written by a single scribe: Frater Honofrius de Sulmona lector Perusii ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini. Rusconi's research turned up a papal bull from 1394 mentioning Honofrius as a professor, which may be equated with lector, in Perugia.[120] Honofrius's elevation in 1405 to bishop of Ugento near Perugia suggests for Rusconi a likely period for the copying of the manuscript as 1380–1405, though I might be more cautious and allow for Honofrius's appointment as lector as early as 1370.[121]

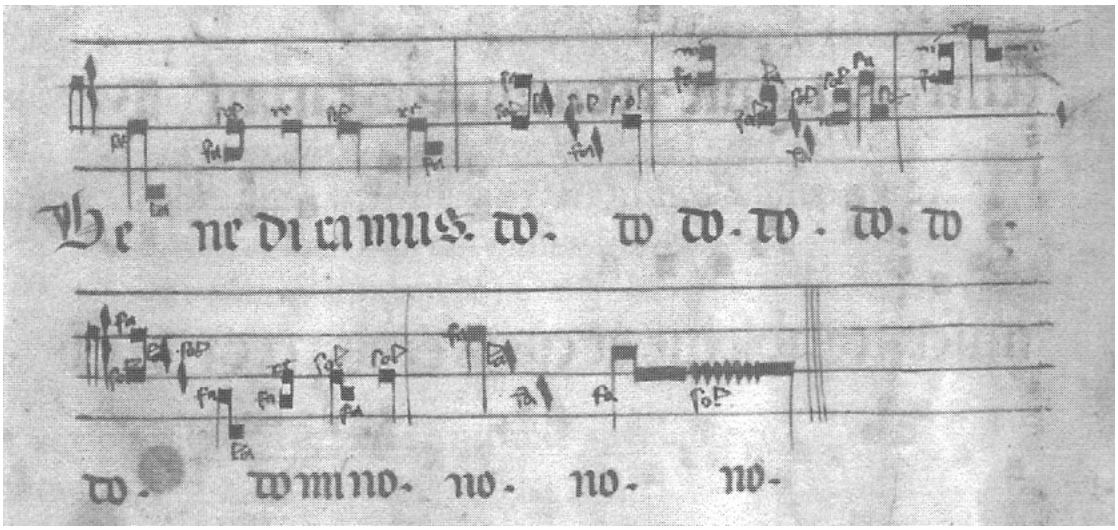
As is unfortunately too common in the study of manuscript additions, the dating of the source as a whole does little to give us a secure date for the polyphonic additions added in different hands on ff. 5r, 14r, and 24r. Although the hand on f. 5r has many features in common with informal hands *c.* 1400 (the shape of final *l* in particular), I believe Rusconi is too certain in his statement that it is "se non contemporanea, di poco posteriore." The added polyphony is simply the addition of solmization syllables to a preexisting copy of the *Benedicamus Domino* "Flos filius." This type of polyphonic addition is unique to **Ravenna 453.** See Figure 4.38.

[119] "Polifonia semplice in codici liturgici: due nuovi fonti," in Francesco Facchin, editor, *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28-30 dicembre 2001* (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004), pp. 39–44, 53–57, 62.

[120] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

[121] *Ibid., op. cit.* Honofrius dies in 1427.

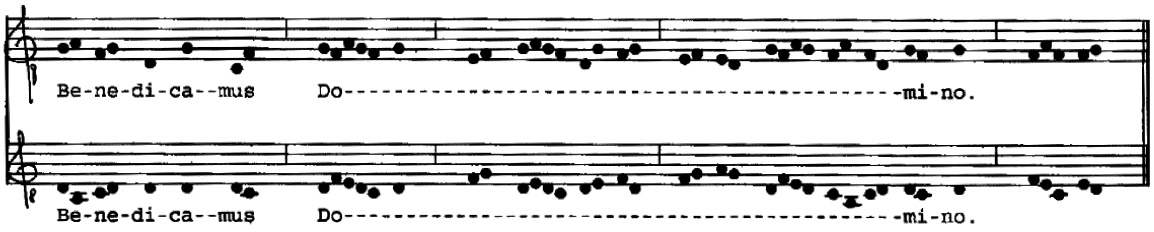
FIGURE 4.38: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5R, DETAIL OF POLYPHONIC BENEDICAMUS DOMINO



The lack of mensural rhythm in any of the works in **Ravenna 453** places the manuscript generally beyond the scope of this study. However, the simplified polyphony affords the opportunity to examine its counterpoint in the context of different contrapuntal solutions offered by different scribes and composers to the *Flos filius* tenor.

Before we can do so, however, we must fix what is surely a gross misunderstanding of the meaning of the solmization syllables. Rusconi's comments to his transcription discuss the unique use of a polyphony based on stable fourths and parallel seconds, as his transcription of this folio demonstrates. (Example 4.39)

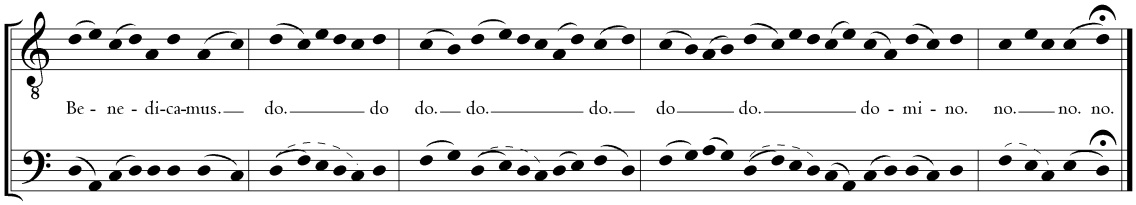
EXAMPLE 4.39: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5V, RUSCONI'S TRANSCRIPTION [122]



However, a transcription which does not suppose that *ut* means C, and G *sol* etc. but allows the music to begin a fifth higher on D *sol*, reveals a much more typical compositional style. (See Example 4.40)

[122] *Ibid.,* p. 42. I have removed blank space from the transcription in order to make it fit on a single system. We should recall Sarah Fuller's mention of an archaic Milanese tradition of singing in parallel seconds as a reminder that Rusconi's solution is not completely without precedent; but it seems extremely unlikely given the much more conventional transcription offered on the following page. ("Early Polyphony," in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300,* edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 485–556).

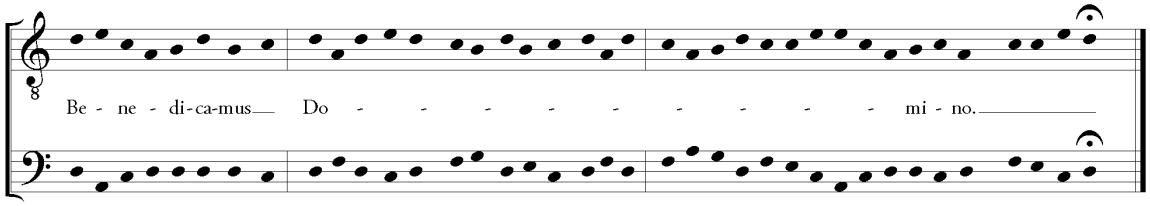
EXAMPLE 4.40: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5V, NEW TRANSCRIPTION[123]



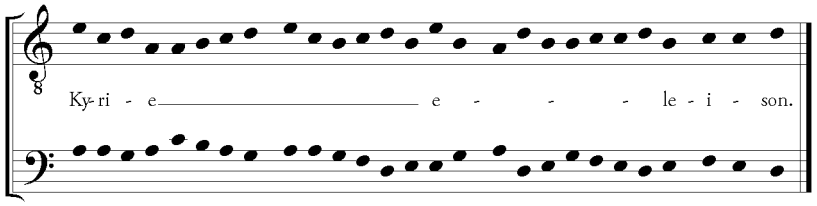
(The penultimate note of the upper-voice could also be inflected with a C♯, producing the Marchettian cadence formula already seen in **Oxford 229**'s *Benedicamus* setting, Example 4.20, p. 380).[124]

Having offered a new transcription which is more in-line with what we know of trecento contrapuntal traditions, we can use the **Ravenna 453** counterpoint as a baseline to

[123] A couple of other misreadings of ligatures (incorrectly transcribed from top to bottom instead of bottom to top) have been fixed in this transcription as well.
There are two other polyphonic works in this same manuscript which seem to be similarly mistranscribed. The following transcriptions, first of another *Benedicamus Domino* "Flos filius" setting (f. 24r) and the second of a *Kyrie, Cunctipotens Genitor* (f. 14r), are offered provisionally, as they are corrections of the published transcriptions made without access to the manuscript or facsimile. Folio 24r's *Benedicamus* setting (below) relies on thirds and sixths to a much greater extent than f. 5v's and suggests a later date of composition.



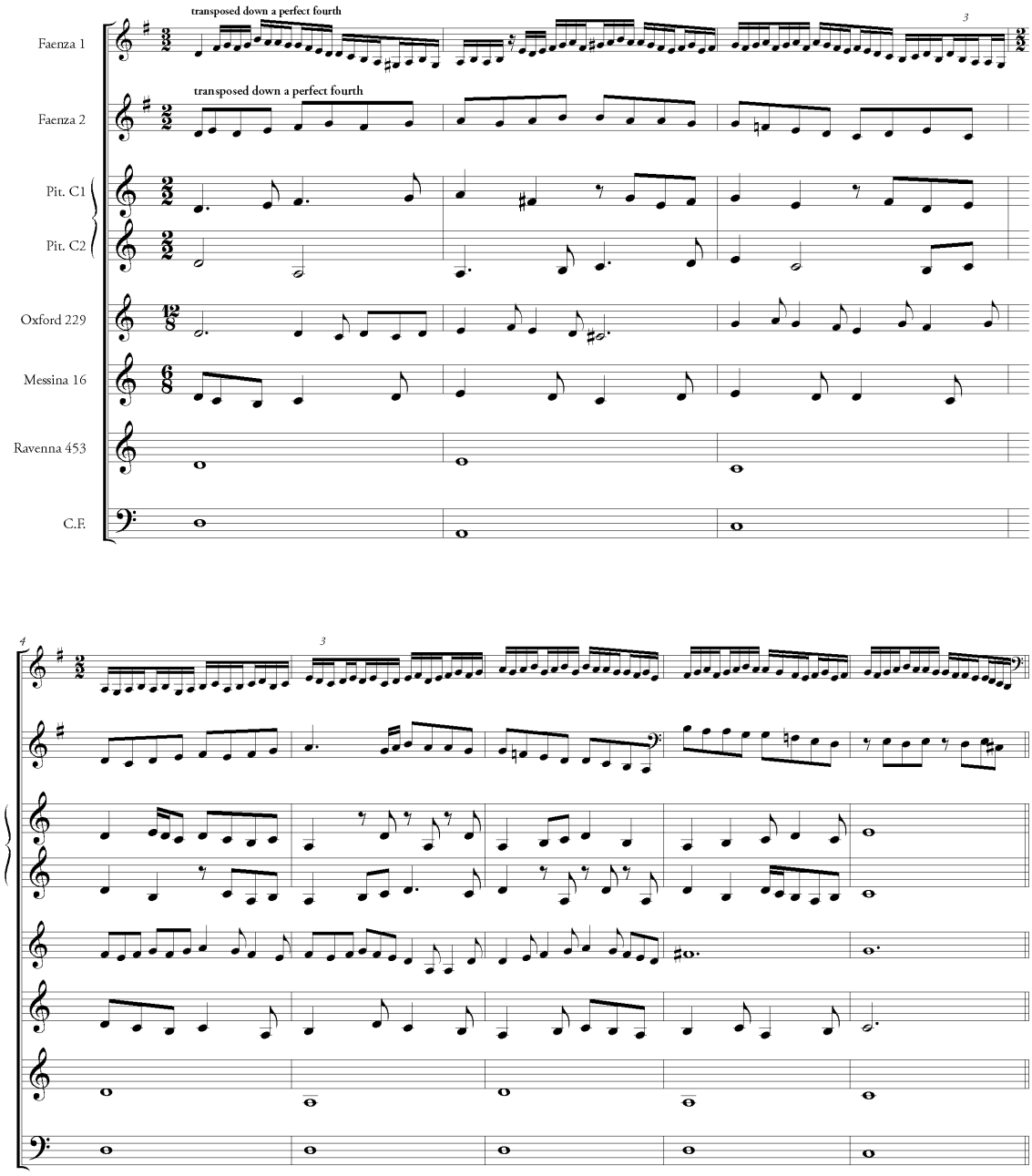
The penultimate note of the following *Kyrie,* like its counterpart in the f. 5v *Benedicamus*, could be inflected to C♯. See the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* of **Seville 25** and **Barcelona 883** in Chapter 5.

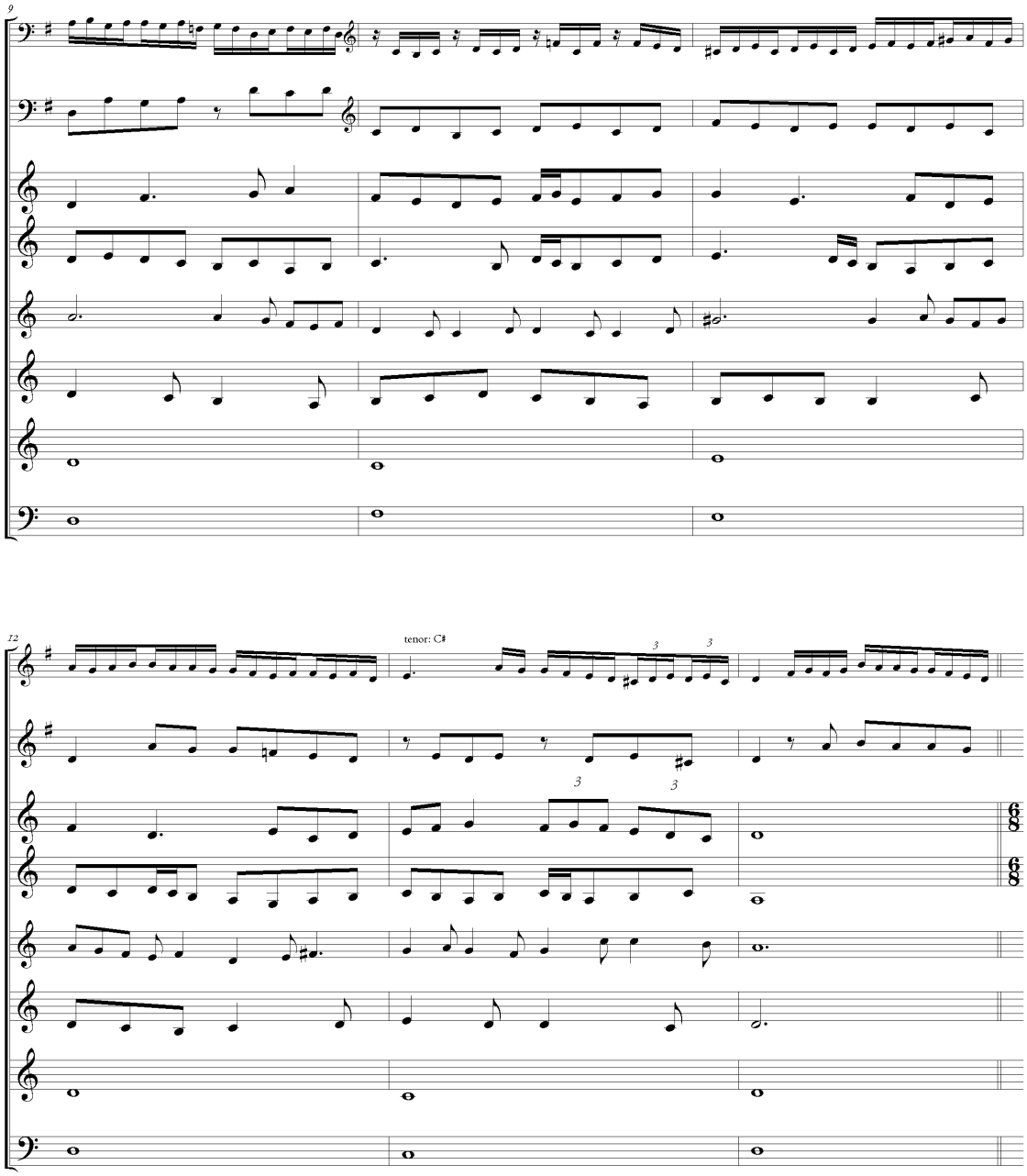


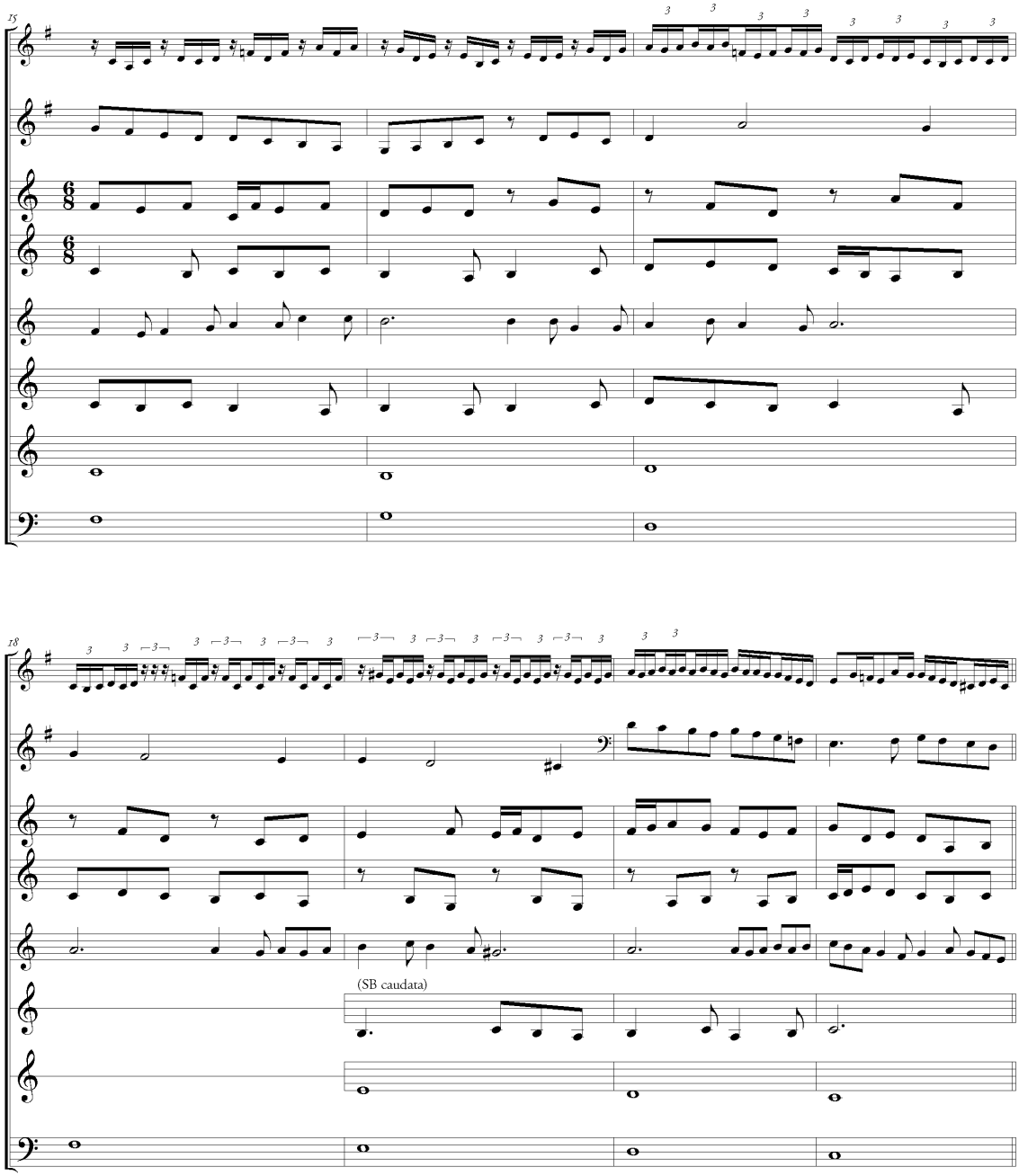
[124] This cadence formula is discussed by Jan Herlinger, "Marchetto the Pythagorean," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 380–81, 385–86.

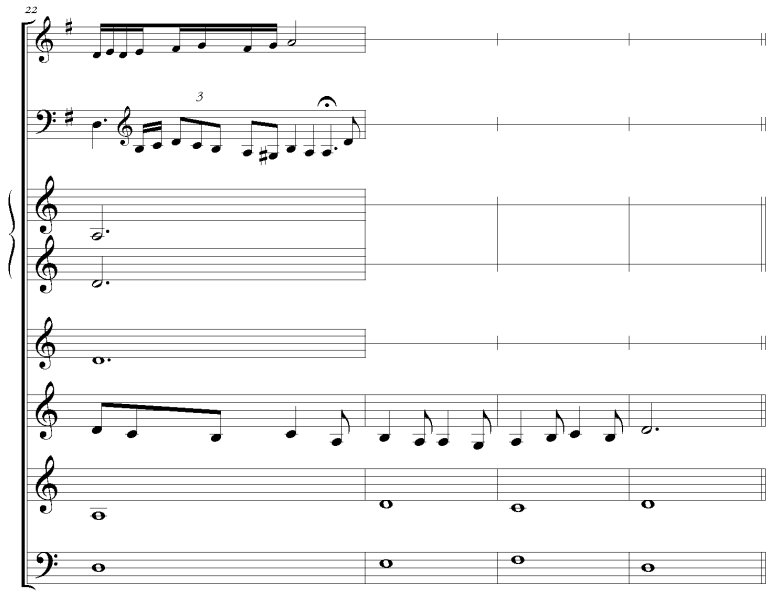
compare the various upper voice solutions to the "Flos filius" tenor; see Example 4.41. The variety of different surface figurations is made apparent, as are the different positions within a measure where dissonances may appear, but the paucity of different underlying contrapuntal solutions is made clear.

EXAMPLE 4.41: COMPARISON OF VARIOUS *FLOS FILIUS* SOLUTIONS (FIRST THREE PHRASES)




9
12
tenor: C♯


15
18
(SB caudata)



Reggio Emilia 408

Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale. MS C 408.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale MS C 408 is a composite manuscript of sacred music (mainly hymns) and liturgical readings probably compiled in northern Italy beginning in the thirteenth century and continuing through the late-fourteenth century. The manuscript contains one of the few sources for polyphonic mensural music for processions.[125] Currently the source consists of 85 folios, the last five of which were certainly added substan-

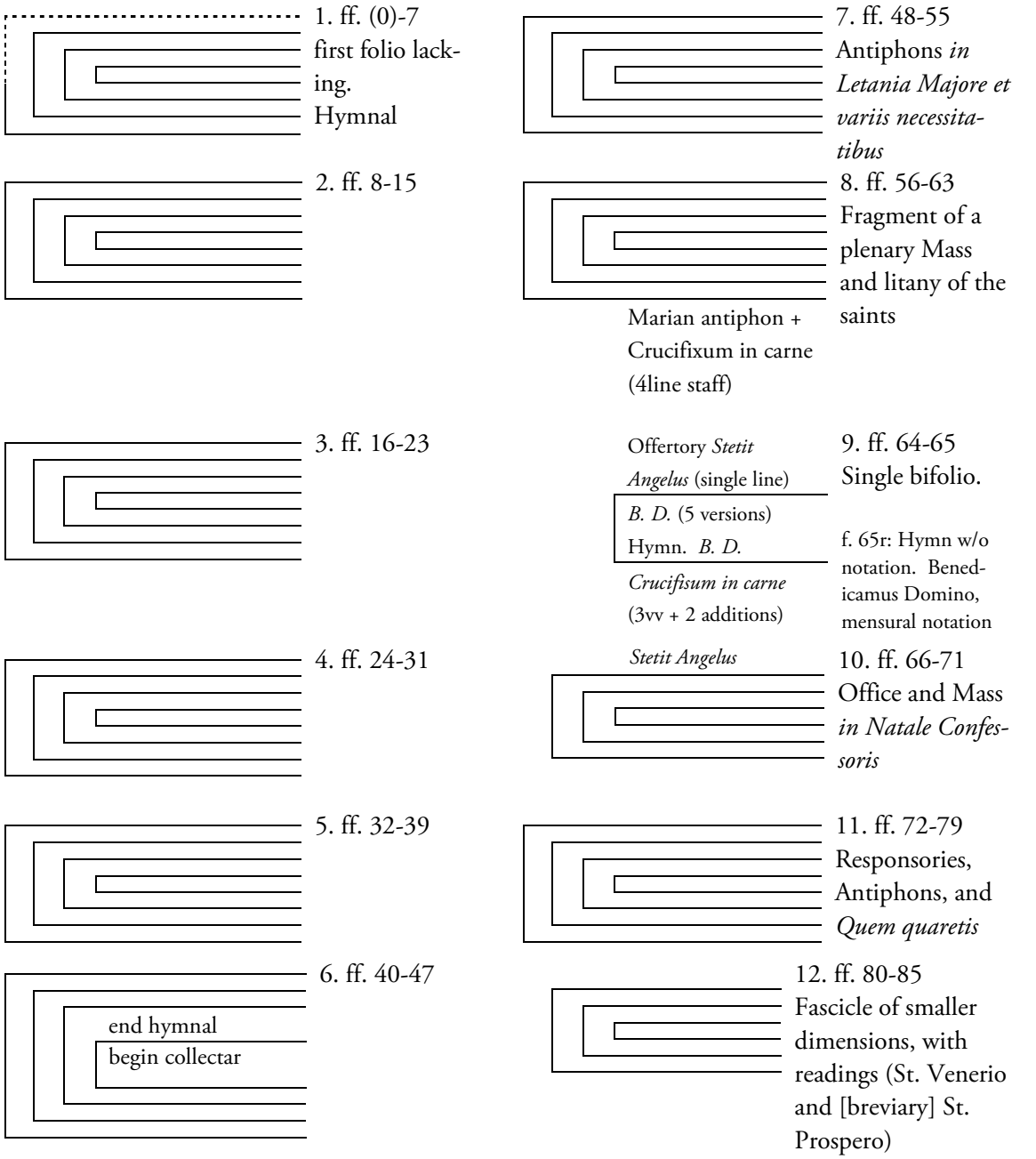
[125] The text of the manuscript was extensively studied by Paola Casoli in her 1985 laurea thesis, "L'innario del codice C.408 della Biblioteca Municipale di Reggio Emilia" (Bologna). Contrary to the information in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13 and the Medieval Music Database, the thesis does not provide a transcription of three-voice *Crucifixum in carne*. *PMFC* 13, p. 279 states that the manuscript corpus as a whole comes from the early fourteenth century, a century later than Casoli's dating (p. 59). Casoli's dating was based on a comparison with manuscripts which do not seem particularly similar in my opinion. In any case, as she points out (p. 60), the inclusion of Saint Maximilian puts an indisputable *terminus ante quem non* of the mid-twelfth century.

tially after the rest of the manuscript was assembled.[126] The first 43 folios comprise a monophonic hymnal; these are continued by a collectar of five folios. To these were added a seeming miscellany of antiphons, responsories, and Mass sections. The contents and gathering structure of the manuscript are summarized in Figure 4.42 below:[127]

[126] In addition to other evidence for later addition, f. 79 is worm-eaten in places where the concluding ff. 80–85 are not. The main corpus of the manuscript varies in size but roughly measures 255mm by 180mm. (The last five folios are significantly smaller at 230x150mm). The six-line staves on f. 65v are approximately 19–20 mm. The manuscript has the inscription, "Inni per la diocesi di Reggio Emilia, sec. XV," written in a much later hand. Three colors of ink are used for the bulk of the manuscript, black, red (for rubrics, initial letters, and the F line), and yellow (C lines both above and below F); in addition, blue is employed beginning in the tenth fascicle.

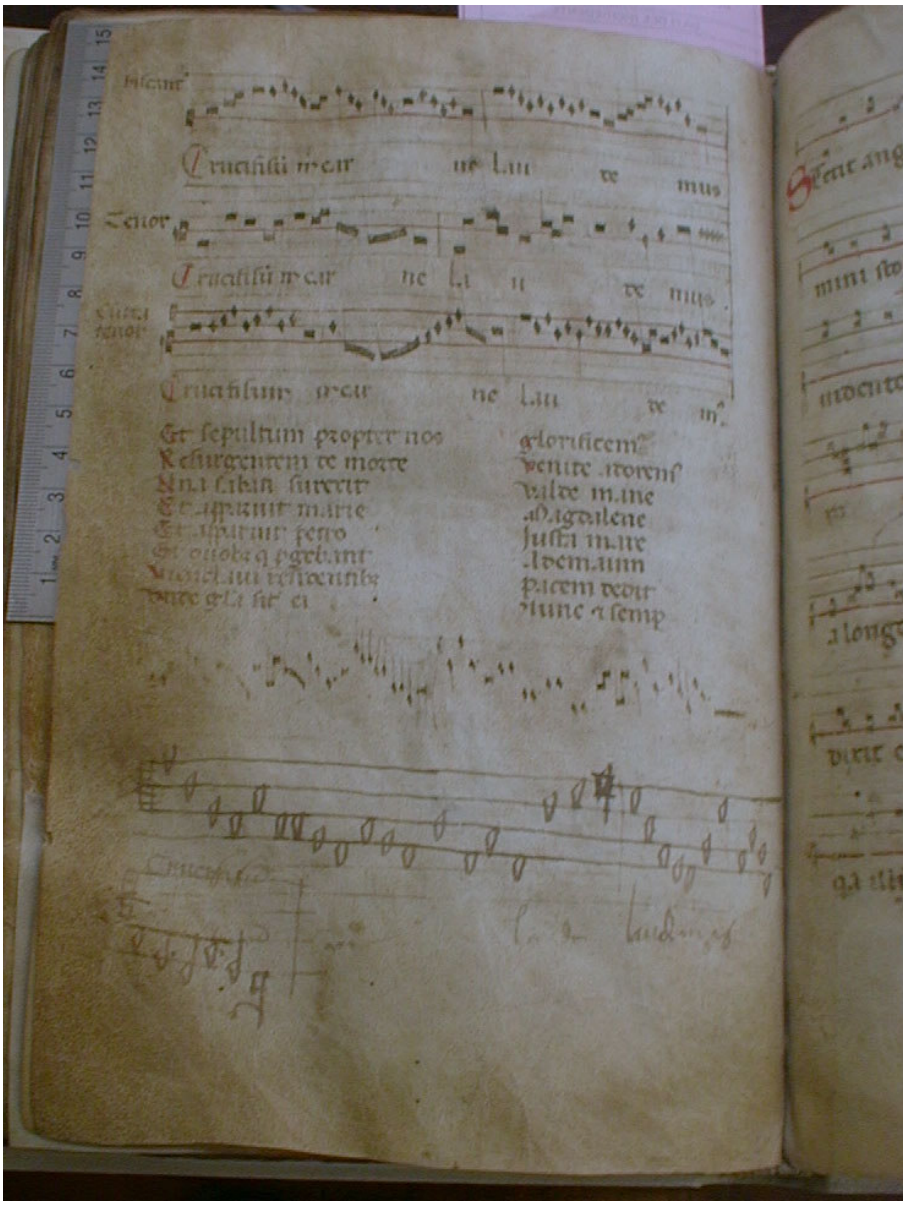
[127] The gathering structure I present conflicts with that of Casoli in several respects. The most important of which are: (1) she did not notice that the bifolio of ff. 64 and 65 form an independent gathering, (2) ff. 48–63 form two gatherings instead of one, and (3) an opening folio has been removed from the manuscript. (1) and (3) are disruptions to an otherwise regular quaternion structure of the manuscript, indicated by gathering numbers at the bottom middle verso of every eighth folio.

FIGURE 4.42: GATHERING STRUCTURE OF **REGGIO EMILIA 408**



The only (previously) known polyphonic work in the manuscript is a three-voice version of the Easter processional song, *Crucifixum in carne* (in facsimile in Figure 4.43). The work appears in a different hand than the surrounding monophonic works and appears on f. 65v, on a bifolio separate from the prevailing gathering structure (see the preceding footnote).

FIGURE 4.43: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V



This tenor of *Crucifixum in carne* bears no resemblance to the Alleluia verse of the same name found in the Notre Dame sources, such as **Florence 29.1** or **Karlsruhe 16**, nor to the second verse of the Easter procession *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum* in the same Karlsruhe

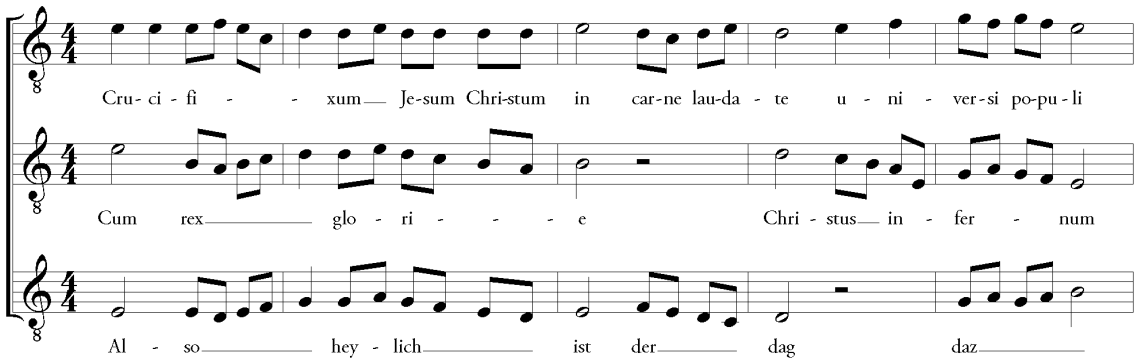
source.[128] Fischer and Gallo note some similarities between the biscantus of this work and the chant melody of a *Cantorinus* from the **Faenza** codex.[129] More closely related in style are the independent melodies, including a setting of *Crucifixum Jesum Christum in carne*, found in **Budapest Tyrnau** (14th c.), **Trier 322** (15th c., probably second half), and **Mainz Monguntius** (15th c.) which can sung together in various combinations.[130] Example 4.44 gives some of these melodies.

[128] See Jacques Handschin, "Zum Crucifixum in carne," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2 (June 1925), pp. 161–166. Peter Wagner, "Zu den liturgischen Organa," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924), pp. 54–55. *Ibid.,* "Zum Organum 'Crucifixum in carne' " 6.4 (December 1924), pp. 401–2. These versions are also discussed in Georg Paul Kollner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quelle zum 'Crucifixum in carne'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19.3/4 (1963), pp. 208–212. See also Mark Everist's review of Franz Körndle, *Das zweistimmige Notre-Dame-Organum* "*Crucifixum in carne*" *und sein Weiterleben in Erfurt,* Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 49 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995) 89-91.

[129] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13, p. 279.

[130] František Mužik, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c. l. m. 243)," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica* 2 (1965), pp. 5–44. Rudolf Ewerhart, *Die Handschrift 322/1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1955). Georg Paul Kollner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quelle zum 'Crucifixum in carne'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19.3/4 (1963), pp. 208–212. Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 337–38. An important textual difference between the **Reggio Emilia 408** source and these is the use of "-ate" for Reggio Emilia's "-emus" at the ends of lines (e.g., laudate vs. laudemus).

EXAMPLE 4.44: CRUCIFIXUM MOTET FROM **BUDAPEST TYRNAU**[131]



Like the **Reggio Emilia 408** version, this setting frequently alternates between a single breve and four minims.

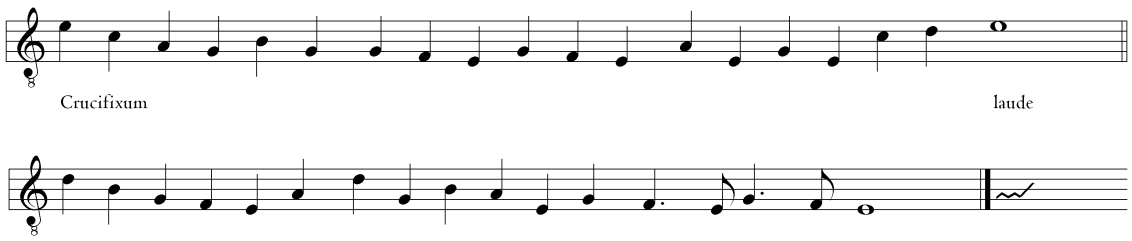
Two other melodic lines are found on the same page of the manuscript below the text of the three-voice Crucifixum. The first is written in black mensural notation using minims, semibreves (normal, caudate, and in ligatures with opposite propriety), breves, and longs. The notes are small in size, particularly in relation to the widely-spaced four-line staff, and the long minim stems make the notes seem particularly narrow. There is no text, nor any other indication of the line's purpose. We will return to this melody shortly.

The second melodic line occupies one and a half freely-drawn, four-line staves, and is written in white mensural notation. The scribal hand is uneven: some note heads are nearly round, some harp-shaped (in the style of **Oxford 213**). The entire melody is written in semibreves except for two longs, one at the middle and one end of the composition, and two repetitions of the figure ◇· ◊ ◇· ◊ substituting for four semibreves just before the cadence. After the final long, a custos on A indicates that more music was intended, but not a repeti-

[131] Edition adapted from Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 337.

tion of the melody (beginning on E). A textual incipit "Crucifixum" lies under the staff followed by another word at the end of the first section ("laude"?). "Laudemus" is the complete text of the second half of the work. The melody is transcribed below, in Figure 4.45:

FIGURE 4.45: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V, BOTTOM OF PAGE

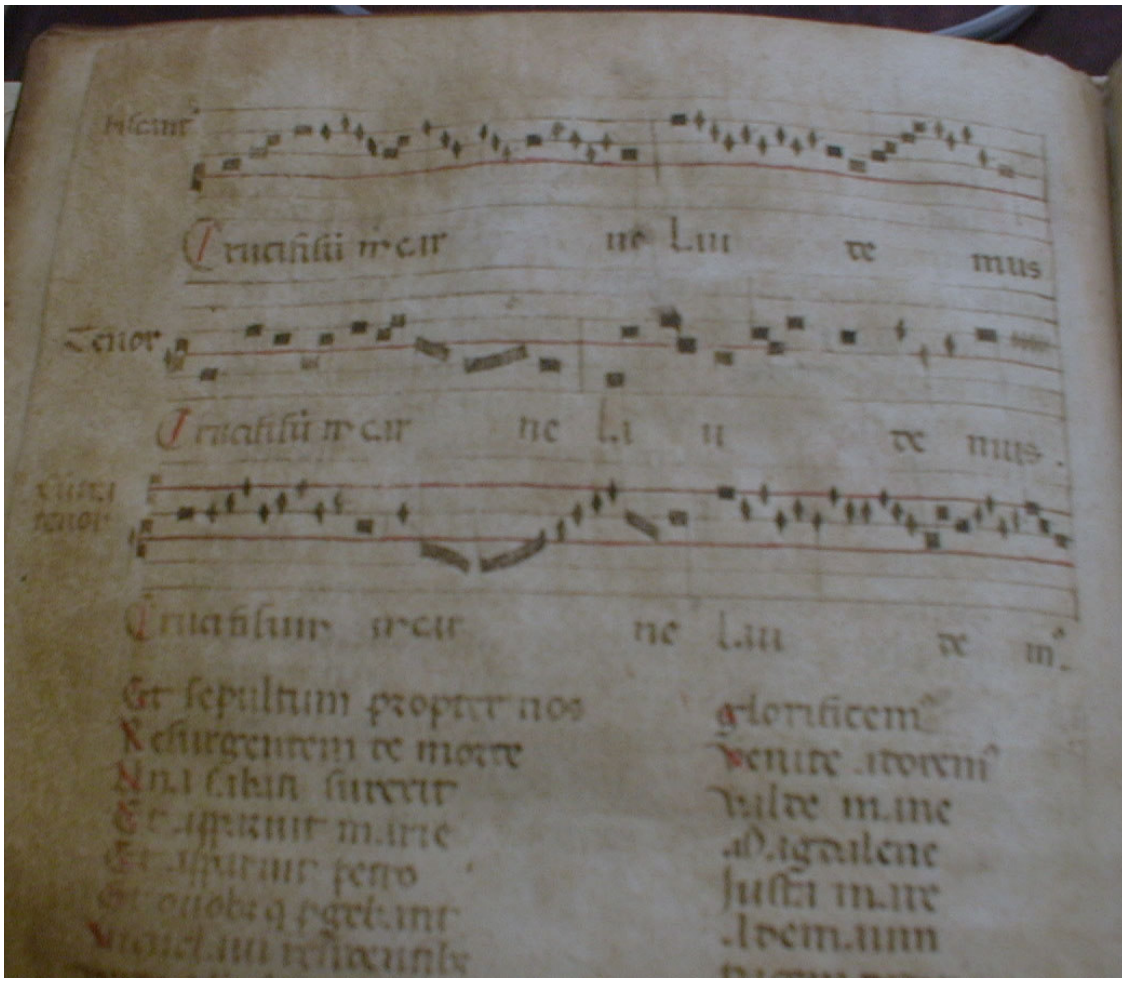


This E-mode work, probably from the mid-to-late fifteenth-century, shares nothing melodically with the three-voice D-final composition which heads the folio. The work's presence is important, since it shows the manuscript's continued use for at least a century beyond the addition of the two polyphonic trecento compositions which are the focus of this inquiry.

Two compositions? Indeed, we return to the first melodic line added below the three-voice Crucifixum, because it is not in fact an isolated melodic line. The melody, written in octonaria (with two types of semibreves), is the same length and mode as the first composition which is given in facsimile below in Figure 4.46.[132]

[132] Two corrections should be made to the version in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, p. 182*:* the rhythm of m. 13 in the biscantus is ♩ ♪♪♪ instead of ♪. ♪♪♪, and the ligature in the tenor in m. 16 should include m. 17.

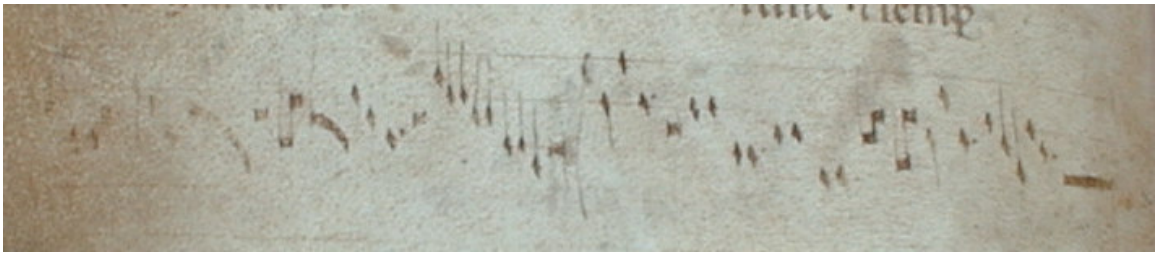
FIGURE 4.46: *CRUCIFIXUM IN CARNE*, **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V, TOP OF PAGE



The presence of six-line staves associate the scribe with those of more complex Italian manuscripts of his time, primarily those of Tuscan origin.

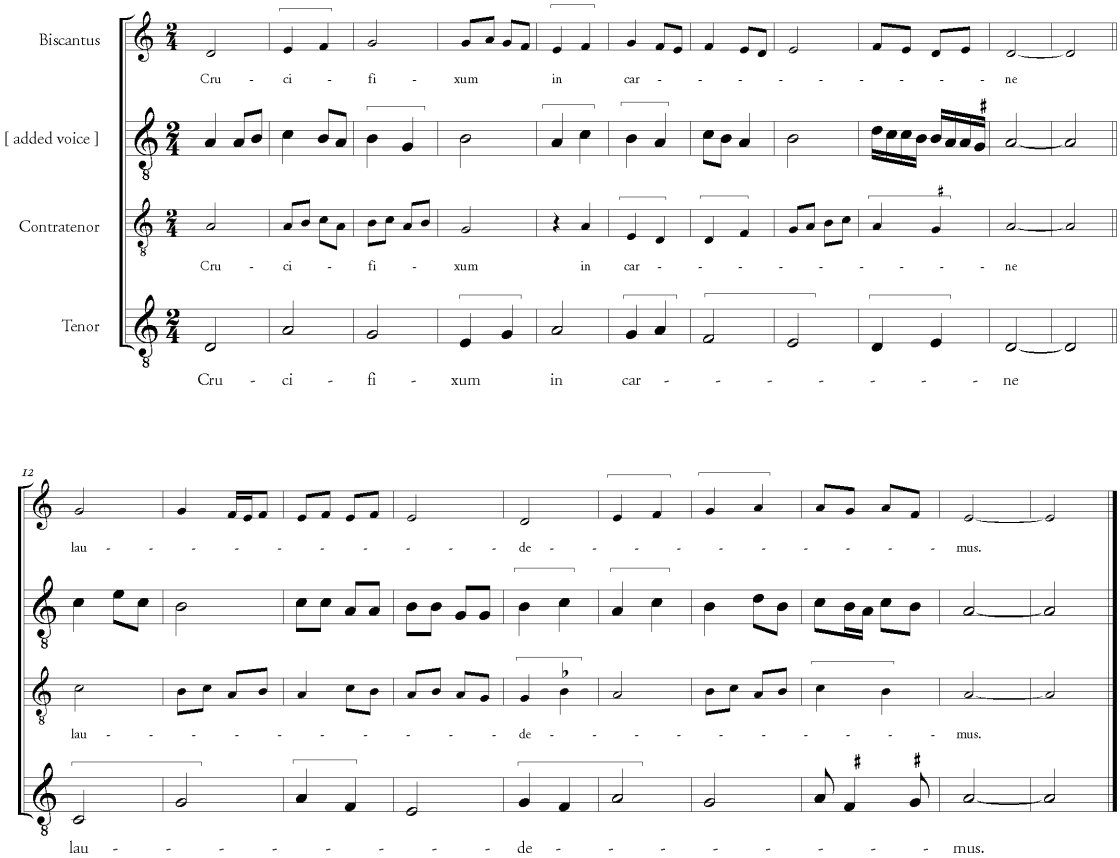
Below this composition and unmentioned in Fischer and Gallo's transcription of the work is a second melodic line, written in a thinner hand without text underlay.

FIGURE 4.47: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V



The voice works perfectly with the tenor voice, mostly alternating between remaining a third and a fifth above the tenor. Less clear is whether the voice was intended to be performed with the biscantus and/or contratenor. With the contratenor, the added voice creates parallel fifths in m. 6 and parallel unisons at m. 18 and both cadences. However, even in the original version, the contratenor hovers a fourth above the tenor in mm. 15–16, and the biscantus moves in parallel octaves with the tenor in m. 9, so none of the added voice's contrapuntal problems should be considered insurmountable. The most likely precedent from other sources is that the added voice is a substitute contratenor (See Example 4.48).

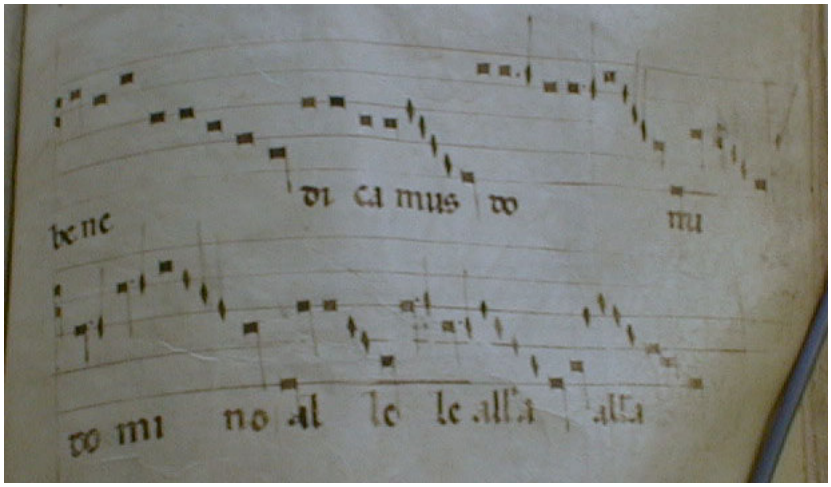
EXAMPLE 4.48: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *CRUCIFIXUM IN CARNE,* F. 65V



A last, unusual piece from **Reggio Emilia 408** should be mentioned. On f. 65r, an unknown *Benedicamus Domino* melody has been written, by an unknown hand (though per-

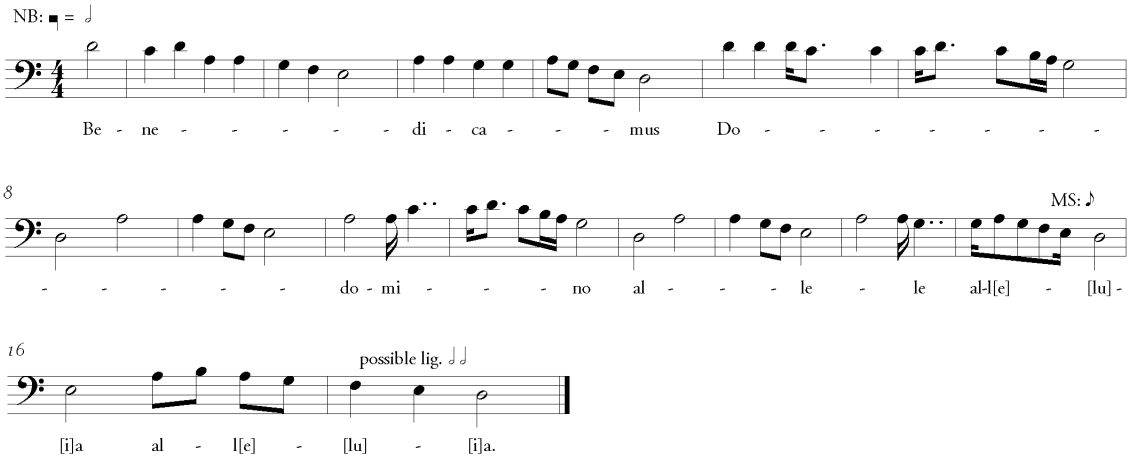
haps by the same scribe as the added voice of f. 65v with a larger script throughout). See Figure 4.49.

FIGURE 4.49: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* F. 65R



A transcription, Example 4.50, shows what a truly singular work we are faced with.

EXAMPLE 4.50: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* F. 65R



The syncopations caused by the downbeat minims are unusual. The text of the work suggests that it might be a counterpoint to a standard *Benedicamus* melody, such as "Flos Filius," found on the preceding verso, but no standard tenor fits. The work could also be a decorated tenor voice of a contrafact of a short secular work in longa notation, but no match

could be found for this hypothesis either. In the end, works such as this *Benedicamus* serve as reminders of how much we still do not know about the role of polyphony and mensural music in the context of late-medieval liturgical books.

MENSURAL PIECES IN OTHER MANUSCRIPT TYPES 5

KNOWING THE ENVIRONMENT in which a polyphonic work was sung or played is crucial for understanding what that music meant for its performers and listeners. The surrounding manuscript is one of the environments for written works. The manuscript context suggests how much the scribe (or compiler) valued the work, what sorts of people collected polyphony, and in particular what sort of education they possessed. The fragmentary polyphonic collections studied in Chapters 2 and 3 present one group of contexts for music, reflecting the tastes of collectors who, to all appearances, were interested in creating albums solely (or primarily) of mensural, polyphonic compositions. The contexts implied by the liturgical manuscripts of Chapter 4 reflect a different purpose. In those sources, either the original editor or a later scribe considered polyphony one important element of the larger tradition of sacred music represented mainly by plainsong.

Other contexts for the transmission of polyphony imply other usages and environments for its cultivation. The manuscripts which contain treatises on music theory might seem to have a simple explanation for why they also record polyphony. Yet the connections between the treatises and the nearby compositions are often tenuous. Though we might think that a discussion of rhythm, mode, or counterpoint would be aided by musical examples, neighboring works are rarely demonstrative of the subject at hand. (The same statement can be made about most compositions in medieval music theory treatises outside Italy as

well). The reasons for copying these compositions are not obvious, and will need to be examined on a case-by-case basis.

Pieces copied into books which have nothing else obviously concerning music are likewise frustrating to scholars.[1] Although the connections among their contents may be tenuous and difficult to comprehend, examining these manuscripts may give us our best chances to observe the role that polyphonic music and its written distribution played in the larger cultural life of the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. Three of the four manuscripts of this type we will examine, **Vatican 129**, **Padua 656**, and **Assisi 187** consist of a single page's worth of music or less. The fourth, **Vatican 1419**, on the other hand is a substantial collection of a ten-folio music section (some of which are blank) containing sacred and secular music of both French and Italian origin—a remarkable collection perhaps indicating an extremely well-read or well-traveled collector. We will begin with this intriguing source.

[1] The term "obviously" works as a disclaimer and sign of caution in the statement above since, more and more, links between obviously musical and seemingly non-musical sections of treatises are emerging. See Giuliano Di Bacco, "'Non agunt de musica': alcune ricette quattrocentesche per la cura della voce in due manoscritti di teoria musicale," in *Trent'anni di ricerche musicologiche: Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), pp. 291–304 and Jan Herlinger, "Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Latini, Cl. VIII.85: A Preliminary Report," *Philomusica on-line* 4 (2004–5), <http://philomusica.unipv.it/annate/2004-5/saggi/herlinger/>.

Manuscripts with no other contents relating to music

Vatican 1419

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1419.
RISM B IV 4*: I-Rvat 1419, pp. 1030–32.* CCMS 4: *VatU 1419, p. 68.*

One of the largest musical collections in this study is also among the most puzzling. **Vatican 1419** is a paper manuscript of 94 numbered folios (not counting three modern additions on either end). The section beginning at f. 84 transmits polyphonic works of the trecento or early quattrocento. **Vatican 1419** may be the least studied trecento manuscript for its length: ten folios of music first described by Heinrich Besseler in his important 1925 article on new fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century musical sources.[2] There, he gave it the still used sigla RU_1. The musical contents are given in Table 5.1 below:

[2] Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), pp. 226–27.

TABLE 5.1: **VATICAN 1419** CONTENTS, FF 84R–93V.

84r	[blank]
84v–85r	Credo 1^1 to be paired with the (unnotated) *Credo Cardinalis* cantus firmus
85v–86r	[blank ruled]
86v	[blank]
87r	*Je porte mieblemant* 2^0 (Donatus)
	London 29987, f. 70r (*Gi porte mie bramat*), **Prague 9,** f. 247r (*Je porta my ablement)*
87v–88r	Sanctus 2^2
88v–90r	Gloria 2^2 ([Gherardello])
	Pit., ff. 131v–133r
89v–90r (bot.)	*La bella giovinetta* 2^1
90v–91r	Sanctus 2^2 ([Lorenzo]) (T: f. 90v, C: f. 91r)
	Pit., ff. 136v–137r
90v (bot.)	Kyrie "Rondello," 3^0
91v–92r	Gloria 2^2
92v	*Verbum caro factum est* 2^2
92v (bot.)	[three short sketches][3]
	Poy ch'i'o perdutu [sic] *amor* 1^0 (tenor only)
93r	[blank ruled]
93v	*Kyrie, Summe Clementissime* ([Johan[n]es Graneti]) 2^1
	Apt 16bis, f. 24r, **Barcelona 2**, f. 5r; **Barcelona 853b**, f. 12r; **Madrid 1474/17**, f. 1r;[4] **Munich Emmeram,** f. 32v; **Paris Geneviève 1257,** f. 36v.

The manuscript is approximately 210x145mm, with a writing space of 180x120cm, though it must be said that the scribe of the music was not particularly concerned with staying within the defined margins. There is the possibility that the manuscript was lightly trimmed at the top, since the top margin is approximately one-third the height of that of the (widely varying) bottom margin.

[3] The sketches show descending tenor lines ending on longae. They may be sketches of cadences for open and close endings.

[4] On the identification in this source, see Bernat Cabero Pueyo, "El fragmento con polifonía litúrgica del siglo XV E-Ahl *[sic]* 1474/17: Estudio comparativo sobre el Kyrie *Summe clementissime,*" *Anuario musical* 47 (1992), pp. 39–76. I disagree with that article's interpretation of the sign, "o." in the *Kyrie, Rex immense maiestatis* and the Gloria f. 2r as *divisio octonaria*. If any Italian *divisio* letter were to be used in these works—unlikely given the date and provenance—it would be ".q." for *quaternaria*.

The remainder of the source, containing seven dictionaries and treatises on logical, philosophical, and judicial matters in addition to music, seems to have been joined together after it was written. There are at least three different hands in the non-musical sections including one hand (III) which filled in empty spaces earlier in the manuscript (such as ff. 36v–38r).[5] It was probably this same later hand which added commentaries to the first section of the manuscript. Prior restorations have made determining the original structure of the codex difficult. These reconstructions have a long history: a binding strip between ff. 88 and 89 is made from an even earlier parchment manuscript.[6] Further, the delicate current state of the source necessitates another restoration, currently being conducted, probably further affecting the manuscript. The pre-restoration state prevented the use of betagraphy to determine relations among the paper types in the manuscript, but an abundance of differing watermarks can be observed.

The deteriorating binding, which has left many folios loose, combined with earlier restorations which have joined folios together which were not originally bifolios, conspires against definite statements about the codex's structure. However, we can see that the foliation of ff. 1–31 is probably original, and certainly older than the rest of the manuscript's, employing archaic forms of the arabic 4 and 5. An examination of the source reveals small numbers at the bottoms of certain rectos, almost certainly indicating gathering numbers.[7]

[5] Cosimo Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates latini,* Tome III (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1921), pp. 319–21.

[6] Folio 72r also has part of an earlier manuscript (possibly the same) as a binding strip, indicating a connection with the music fascicle.

[7] A roman numeral "XI" appears at the bottom left corner of f. 91r. Its significance is unclear.

TABLE 5.2: **VATICAN 1419** GATHERING NUMBERS PRESENT AT THE BOTTOMS OF FOLIOS

Folio	Gathering	Folio	Gathering
1	1	60*	7
11*	2	72	8
21*	3	80	9
31*	4	84	10
41	5	94	11
51*	6		

In Table 5.2 an asterisk next to the folio number indicates that the first words of the recto are found on the preceding verso as guides to the binder. In no case do the guide words span sections that change hands.[8] The first gathering number in the manuscript is written on a repair strip, again suggesting that the manuscript in its current form was assembled some time after the copying.

The organization of the manuscript is important because of the evidence it provides that the music section may have once circulated separately. The gathering numbers indicate that the music formed a separate quire of five bifolios, of which f. 94 was probably not a part. That the gathering which precedes the music has only two bifolios (ff. 80–83) confirms our suspicions that the music was not entered as an integral part of a pre-planned manuscript.[9]

That a music manuscript may have had an independent life as a single gathering is not a new idea. Charles Hamm first raised the notion that this format may have been the

[8] The guide on f. 59v that falls between two treatises copied by the first scribe hints that his entire section (ff. 1–71) were planned at one time.

[9] The connection of f. 94 to the music section is difficult to ascertain. The margins of f. 94r are similar to that of the music section. Further, two pen tests, a longa and a semiminim, suggest a connection to the musical section. As Besseler has noted ("Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 227) the note on the same page (*sic*, not. 94v) indicates the loan of the book from a cloister in Forlì.

norm in the early fifteenth-century.[10] Hamm's hypothesis was provocative. That is to say, it has been influential without necessarily being accepted. Citations of Hamm's article are as likely as not to argue that the manuscript at hand does not accord with his argument.[11] Even manuscripts which other scholars have agreed fit the general characteristics of a fascicle manuscript are usually not single fascicles, making **Vatican 1419** all the more interesting.[12]

The contents of **Vatican 1419** are also revealing about its purpose. The blank opening, ff. 85v–86r, internal within the gathering, suggests that the fascicle was never completed. It was almost certainly intended to hold more works later. The gathering may have traveled for some time in this state however: the many different clef shapes, custodes, and nib sizes, all sharing some traits with other hands in the section, suggests (for the most part) the work

[10] Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962), pp. 166–84.

[11] E.g., Christopher Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* 1 (1981), pp. 257–58; See also the excellent discussion of more recent responses to Hamm's hypothesis as it relates to **Cambrai 6** and **Cambrai 11** in Liane Curtis, "The Origins of Cambrai, Bibliotheque Municipale Manuscript 6 and Its Relationship to Cambrai 11," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 44 (1994), pp. 28–30. Elizabeth A. Keitel projects the concept back in time in, "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982), p. 311, a view which appears in her dissertation, "A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut Based on a Study of the Fascicle-Manuscript Structure in the Larger Manuscripts," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1976); see also Mirosław Perz, "The Lvov Fragments: A Source for Works by Dufay, Josquin, Petrus de Domarto, and Petrus de Grudencz in 15th-Century Poland," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36 (1986), pp. 29–30, and Alejandro Enrique Planchart's classification of **Munich Emmeram** as a fascicle manuscript in, "What's in a Name? Reflections on Some Works of Guillaume Du Fay," *Early Music* 16 (1988), p. 173. However, few of these manuscripts (with the notable exceptions of the Cambrai sources) remain in the small formats that Hamm describes and which we see in **Vatican 1419.**

[12] On fascicle manuscripts in Cividale which do not survive today, see chapter 2.

of one, probably not professional, scribe acting over a period of time in several settings.[13] Variations in size and angle of staves contribute to the sense of non-professionalism of the scribe. The first staves on ff. 84v and 85r are 14mm (possibly indicating the opening was ruled as a set); the rest are closer to 17mm. Opening 85v–86r was ruled unevenly with a six-line tool, probably with the sixth line intended for the text (as was done in the previous opening). In a few cases, such as the fifth staves on ff. 89v–90r or staves 3–6 of f. 93v, a six-line staff is used for notating the music. In other cases, the text drifts into the lowest space of a five-line staff, creating in effect a four-line staff. The use of red initials on ff. 90v–91r, and only on those pages, is additional evidence for copying over multiple sessions separated in time.[14]

The concordances and organization of **Vatican 1419** connect the work with two different types of Italian sources. The concordances group the manuscript with the Florentine sources **Pit.** and **London 29987**, particularly in the transmission of a natively Italian style of Mass composition. However, in the organization of its contents **Vatican 1419** most closely resembles **Pad A**. Six of its openings contain sections of the Mass Ordinary (ff. 84v–85r, 87v–88r, 88v–89r continued on 89v–90r, 90v–99r, and 93v) or, in one case, a sacred carol (*Verbum caro factum est*, on f. 92v). Empty staves at the bottoms of ff. 89v–90r were filled with a secular song, *La bela giovinetta*, and at the bottom of f. 90v with a second liturgical

[13] The musical sketches on f. 92v and the tenor "Poy ch'i'o perdutu amor," however, are probably written by a different scribe.

[14] Although I believe the rest of the gathering is the work of a single scribe over a period of time, an argument instead for multiple scribes can be seen in the contrast between the thin musical hand of f. 87v and that of the tenor on the facing 88r. In the larger context of the gathering, the level of inconsistency, though high, is not unprecedented. For instance, it is difficult to find any standard in the writing of "Osanna," and its initial O in particular, among folios 87v, 88r, 90v, and 91r.

piece, though again in the form of a secular song: the Kyrie "Rondello" (however, see below for arguments for a secular of origin of this copy). The mixture of sacred works at the tops of pages with secular works at the bottom makes it similar to other *libri motetorum.*[15]

Also similarly to **Pad A**, secular pieces can, exceptionally, also appear at the head of folio. This is the case for the two-voice virelai *Je porte mieblemant* on f. 87r. **London 29987** and **Prague 9** also contain this work.[16] Remarkably none of those sources have text in the upper voices either; both have only an incipit in the tenor. The incipit in **Prague 9** ends with "etc." so we should not automatically conclude that the work had no text in any version. The significance of the incipit's placement in the tenor instead of the cantus is unclear; if we supposed that it was on account of an independent transmission of the tenor from the upper voice, or greater weight given to the tenor, then we would expect quite divergent traditions for the cantus. But, though we see some variation among the sources it is not more extensive than usual for a song with a wide geographical distribution. It may be that there was wide disagreement about the cantus text which necessitated waiting for a better version before texting the cantus,[17] though this would not explain why all three sources chose this texting.

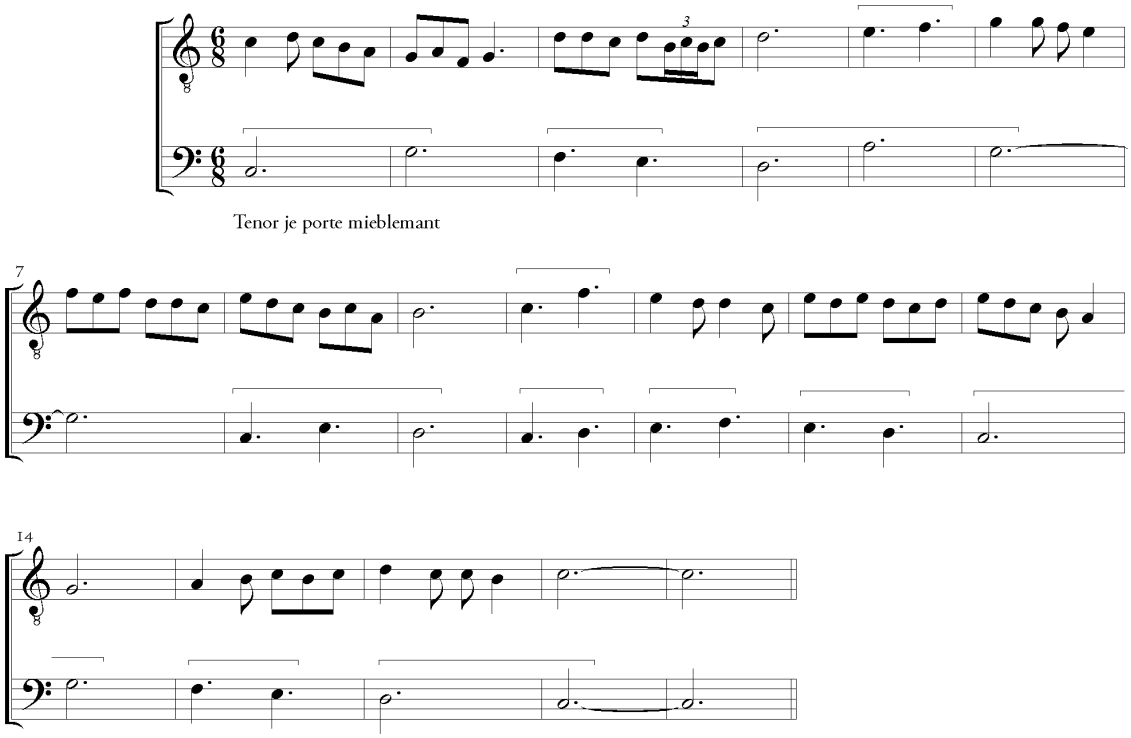
[15] On *libri motetorum*, see Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), p. 117; idem, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 66–67; and idem, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 102–3.

[16] Unfortunately, a (sorely-needed) re-examination of **Prague 9** is beyond the scope of this project. It is still worth noting, however, that this manuscript contains some of the same problems as **Vatican 1419**, namely that it is the only music fascicle lying at the end of a much larger, composite manuscript. It also may have been used for collecting music asystematically from a variety of sources for different purposes.

[17] A similar explanation may account for the many untexted versions of the rondeau *Esperance*. See the section on **Rome 1067** in Chapter 3.

The published diplomatic transcription of this piece, showing the variants among the manuscripts, does not note **Vatican 1419**'s *puncti divisiones* (found at the end of m. 2 and in the middle of m. 6) which alter the pacing of the upper voice.[18] The first half of the work appears as Example 5.3.

EXAMPLE 5.3: **VATICAN 1419**, *JE PORTE MIEBLEMANT* (DONATUS), FIRST PART



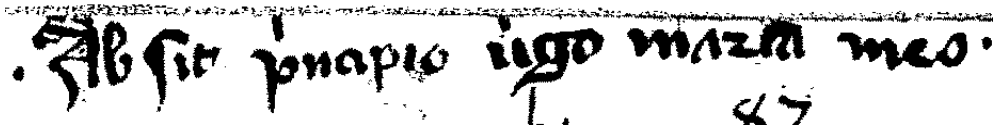
In the manuscript, unusually, the entire B section of the Virelai is written out twice, just to give the differences of in the open and close endings. The name "Donatus" appears after the tenor incipit in **Vatican 1419**. Though we may assume this is the name of the

[18] Friedrich Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Codex XI E 9*, Veröffentlichungen des Musikwissenschaftlichen Institutes der Deutschen Universität in Prag 1 (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1931), pp. 115–17.

composer, it may be too much to immediately conclude that this is the same Donato da Firenze of the Squarcialupi codex.[19]

A line of text reading, "Ab sit principio virgo maria meo," heads the page. See Figure 5.4.

FIGURE 5.4: INSCRIPTION ON F. 87R, **VATICAN 1419**



It has been suggested that the text may indicate a liturgical application for the piece,[20] but the far more common plea is "Adsit (or Assit) principio Virgo Maria [or Beata] meo," or "May the Virgin Mary be present at my beginning."[21] The substitution of "absit" (from "abesse") for "adsit" inverts the meaning of the invocation and asks for the Virgin's *absence* from the writer's task. Either the first word is a mistake or it is an intentional joke. *Je porte mieblemant* may have had a vulgar subject that made it otherwise inappropriate for a collection of sacred pieces. If, on the other hand, we take the hypothesis of a mistake of "ab" for "as," then we are left with the mystery of why the scribe wrote an inscription which would pertain to the beginning of a task in the middle of writing a gathering.

[19] Donato da Firenze wrote no other surviving works with French texts (though the editing procedures of **Squarcialupi** and other complete Florentine manuscripts lessen the chances of our possessing such pieces even if he had written them). Of the similar Italian form, the ballata, we know of only two such works by Donato, *Senti tu d'amor, donna?* in **Squarcialupi**, and the lost ballata on a text by Sacchetti, *Fortuna avversa*. (See Giuseppi Corsi, "Madrigali inediti del Trecento," *Belfagor* 14 (1959), p. 81.)

[20] Kammerer, *op. cit.,* p. 95.

[21] Examples of the invocation in this standard form are found at the top of f. 70r of the manuscript, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1042 and on f. 1r of **Rome 1067**.

Though the notation of source has been described as almost purely French,[22] this statement is weakened by a closer examination of the music. The Credo on ff. 84v–85r, a single voice to be used as counterpoint against the Credo Cardinalis, shows neither French nor Italian idiosyncrasies. It has a single *punctus* as the only opportunity to see French influence (on the "et" of "Et vita[m] venturi seculi"). This punctus is not necessary since the cantus firmus has no dot of addition there. Despite its French incipit, *Je porte mieblemant* is written with clear points of division in the upper voice. Many of the remaining pieces up to f. 92r are written with *puncti divisiones* and/or Italian division letters (including .p., .s.p., s.īp., .q., and .ī.) indicating strong Italian influence.

The curious role of the Kyrie "Rondello" in the manuscript must also be explained. Though a French origin is the most likely explanation for the form of this work, one does not need to leave Italy for examples of "rondeau" form. The **Rossi** codex, for instance, contains a rondellus, *Gaiete dolce parolete mie*. Further, Prodenzani reports in sonnet 47 that Bartolino da Padova composed "Rondel franceschi." Although the name of the composer could have been chosen simply to rhyme with "a modo peruscino," the genre is not governed by rhyming constraints.[23] Looking at the origins of this work, it is not beyond speculation that the copying of a song was intended for these staves and that the making of a Kyrie contrafact happened "on-the-spot."

[22] Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 226: "fast rein französich."

[23] Among foreign rondeaux in Italian sources one might mention the rondeau *Esperance qu'en mon cuer* in **Pit.**, **Ascoli Piceno 142,** and **Rome 1067***;* **Ascoli Piceno 142** even carries the text, indicating the form was sung. The presence of Machaut's rondeau *Ma fin est mon commencement* in **Pad A** (**Oxford 229**) is also worth noting.

The Sanctus on the same opening has an unusual layout. The short (but high) tenor is copied on the verso and the longer cantus on the following recto. This arrangement implies that the voices were copied around the pre-existing Kyrie rather than the Kyrie being added to blank space on the page. The position of the work on the bottom of the page implies a secular piece. The copyist may have intended the music to accompany a secular text but the text was not copied while a better version was sought. None being found, we can speculate that the work was only then converted into a Kyrie. In any case, direct copying from another source seems highly unlikely. The poor "text setting," with an incipit and two initial letters in the wrong place and spellings such as "eleys-sono" do not suggest careful copying from an existing Kyrie "Rondello" exemplar.[24]

Given the Florentine connections of the manuscript, including the compoers Gherardello, Lorenzo, and possibly Donato, it is tempting to consider the manuscript a product of Tuscany. In the only piece with an Italian text, *La bela giovinetta*, the orthography of "dolceza" in the residuum argues against a Northern Italian provenance. The directions of flagged notes shorter than minima do not help identify a region. Folio 92v uses rightward flags for triplets and leftward flags for semiminims. Folio 90r uses leftward flags for both, while f. 91v writes both with rightward flags.[25]

[24] Even the other Kyrie in **Vatican 1419**, *Summe clementissime* does not have a purely French pedigree. Margaret Bent (review of *PMFC 12* in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979), p. 568) notes many differences between this version and that of Apt. As Bent observes, in the Vatican version, there are more parallel fifths and a typically Italian two-voice texture. The piece also exists in a version in **Barcelona 2** (the only copy with an attribution, J. Graneti) a manuscript which may be Italian in origin, see below.

[25] A serious omission appears in Gallo and Fischer's transcription of the piece on f. 91v, a two-voice Gloria with no concordances. The second note of the cantus line, G, is preceded by a sharp sign in the manuscript, making their editorial B♭ in the tenor unnecessary. Since the G is repeated

(note continues)

In many ways, the collector of **Vatican 1419** was omnivorous in his tastes. He transcribed French and Italian songs, Mass movements with Italian and French characteristics, a less complex Christmas lauda, and simple mensural settings of the Credo. He was more discriminating when it came to the number of voices in the pieces he copied. With the exception of the Kyrie "Rondello," all the compositions in **Vatican 1419** are in two parts.[26] The number of voices may give us an indication of the performing forces available to the compiler of the manuscript.

Vatican 129

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 129.
RISM B IV 4*: I-Rvat 129, p. 1018.*

The single musical work in the **Vatican 129** is a mysterious addition. It is a two voice Benedicamus domino with the (otherwise unknown) trope, "quem chorus angelorum." The work has already been transcribed well by Fischer and Gallo,[27] and appeared in a facsimile by Bannister, still adequate for most purposes.[28]

The challenge that **Vatican 129** still presents us with is that of giving perspective to the work. The context of the piece is not in a collection of other, mostly more complex,

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three more times, once in unison with the other voice, and descends to F(♯), this small accidental will significantly affect the sound of the opening and also requires editorial intervention to untangle.

[26] The tenor of *Je porte mieblemant* is separated from the cantus by two blank staves. This separation may indicate that the scribe was interested in finding or writing a contratenor to fill these gaps. However, the otherwise-empty staves each have a clef on their middle line, the first a C-clef, the second an F. For whatever reason these clefs were written, they do not support the idea of a single voice filling the gap.

[27] *PMFC 12*, no. 29 (pp. 108 and 199).

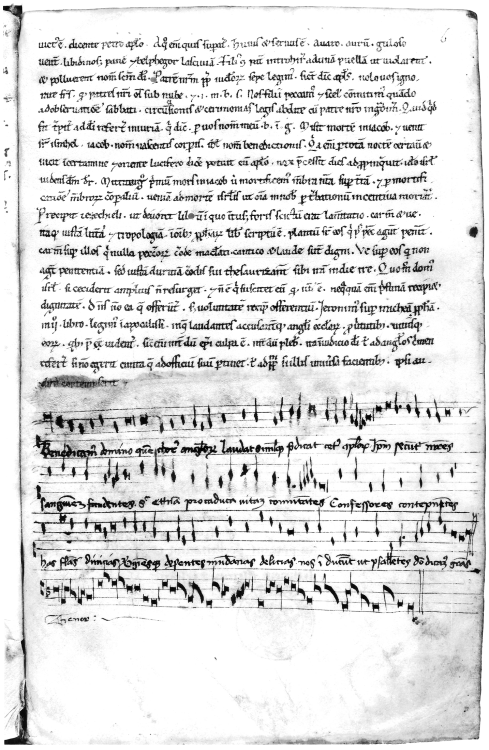
[28] H[enry] M[arriott] Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Ottone Harrassowitz, 1913), volume 2, table 130a. Bannister's commentary appears in volume 1, p. 188.

Benedicamus settings, as we might suppose by the location of the transcription in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*. Nor do its four staves sit isolated on the page, as the facsimile (which is a detail of only one-third of the leaf) implies. A discussion of the whole manuscript will dismiss these views.

The last 64 of the 69 folios in the manuscript (ff. 6v–69v) contain the Gospel of Mark, with extensive glosses written in a protogothic hand, probably of the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. At the opening of the manuscript (ff. 1r–6r), various hands, roughly contemporary to the main text, have written at least six sermons.[29] At the bottom of f. 6r, without connection to its surrounding texts, we find four five-line staves, transmitting music in an early fifteenth-century hand, but containing music which could have been written (or originally improvised) any time during the preceding sixty or more years. An overview of the full page appears in Figure 5.5.

[29] Folios 1–5 form a gathering of two bifolios and a single folio. Folios 6–13 form another gathering, presumably originally separate from the first. Since the last sermon continues directly from f. 5v to f. 6r, the sermons must have been connected to the Gospel before the music was added.

FIGURE 5.5: VATICAN 129, F. 6R, THUMBNAIL VIEW OF THE ENTIRE PAGE



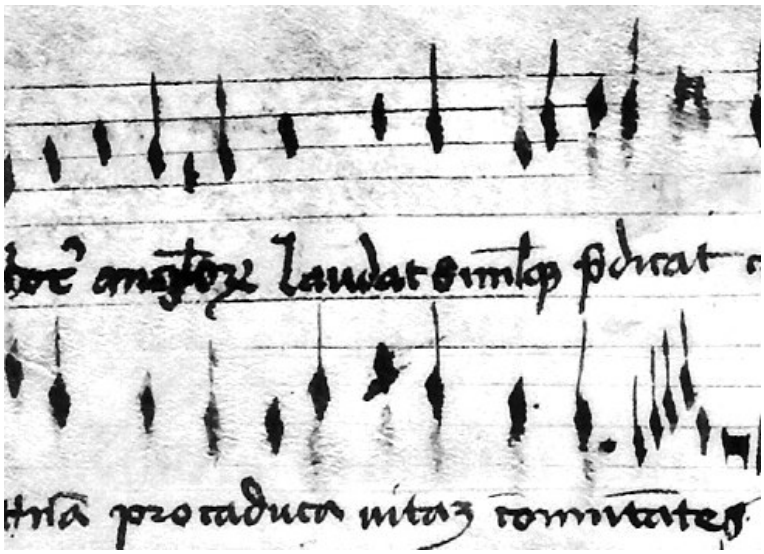
Each staff is hand drawn (the first is of particularly amateurish quality), and thus each is of different height than the others. However, the lower three systems are each of approximately 15mm in height and 160mm in width. The page itself is 270x170mm.[30] There is little besides the genre of polyphonic composition that would otherwise suggest that the work was originally Italian. The mensuration of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*, though often connected with French music, is also typical for what few fully-mensural Italian Benedicamus settings survive. The non-liturgical tenor written with longs, breves, and semi-

[30] Though measurements are unlikely to be useful in classifying the *sui generis* source compared to other musical sources, it should be noted that the folios of the manuscript vary slightly in size. Thus my measurement, which differs from the twice-published height of 276mm, refers only to f. 6.

breves is unusual for a two-voice anonymous piece; slower tenor lines are generally accompanied by two cantus. The notation is French with no *puncti divisiones;* the only dots show imperfection. No notes are altered in the work, but none needed to be to express its rhythms. The breves and longs have "ticks" on either edge, similar to what is common in Italian music theory treatises of the time. The custos on the first line appears as a faint square-root-like check (that is, entirely written with thin lines; similar custodes appear in the chant sources from Cividale including **Cividale 79**). No custos was used on the second line, an omission more typical of non-Italian sources and may even call into question the provenance of the scribe.

Evidence that the music was performed (or at least double checked) come from a series of erasures in the middle of the first and second staves of the cantus. Figure 5.6 shows first an erased minim stem and changed cadence on "simulque" and the correction of a line copied a third too low on the following staff. Two different places involve the rewriting of a line a third higher. This type of error suggests that the scribe may have been copying from an exemplar with six-line staves.

FIGURE 5.6: **VATICAN 129**, DETAIL OF F. 6R



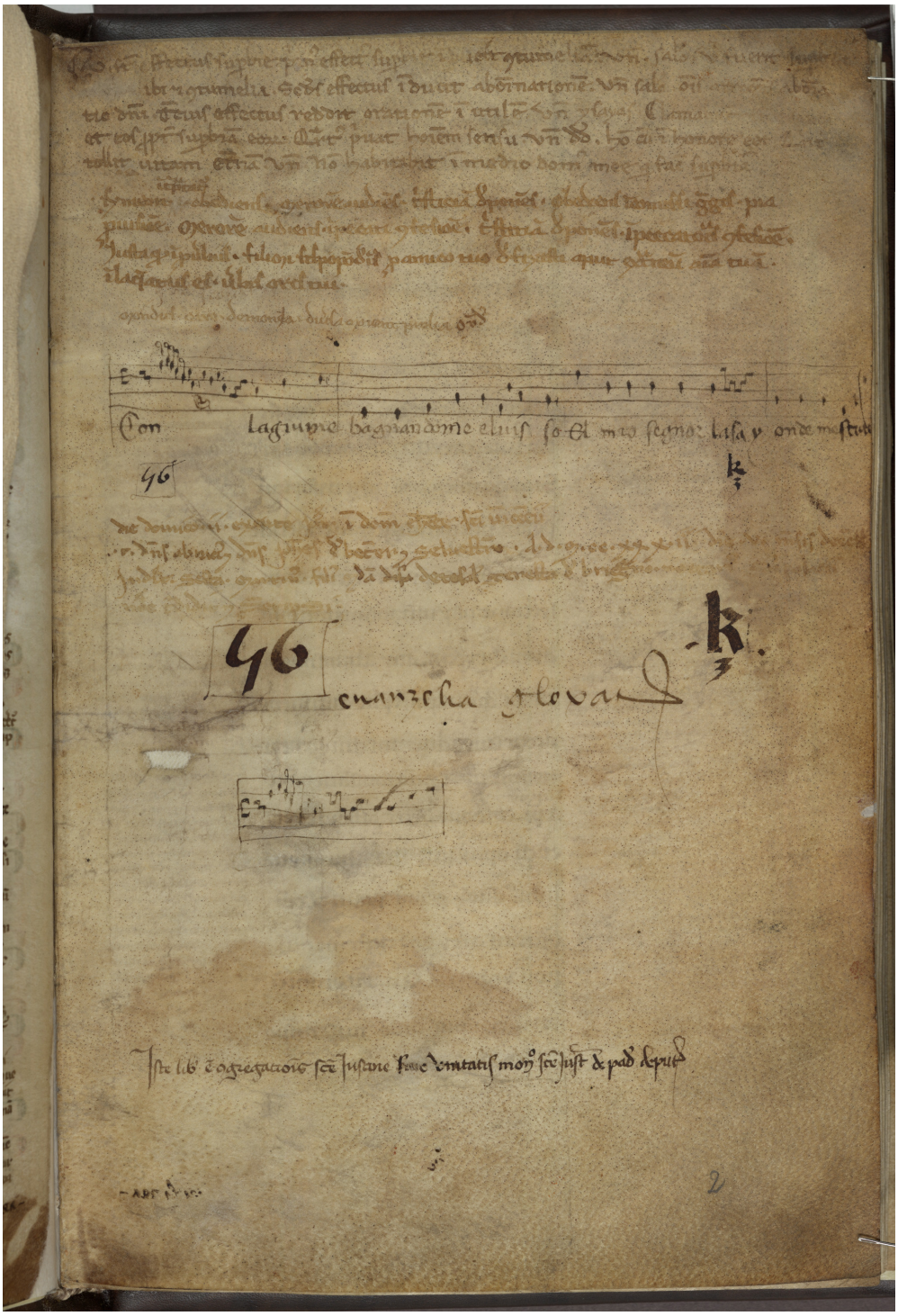
Vatican 129 leaves us with more questions than answers about the placement of this musical work. Does the presence of a musical work suitable for liturgical singing imply that the sermons at the front of the manuscript were being used as homilies as late as 1400? Do they imply that the owner of the manuscript at the time was him- or herself a singer? Unfortunately we cannot begin to answer such questions on the basis of one source alone; but posing such questions may make us more aware of the cultural and religious settings of other polyphonic works we find outside of musical manuscripts.

Padua 656

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 656
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 656, p. 988.*

One manuscript somewhat similar to **Vatican 129** has already been mentioned in this dissertation. The main text of **Padua 656** is also a commentary on a biblical gospel, this time the Gospel of St. Matthew. On a page of handwriting tests, prayers, notes of possession, unidentified texts, and other scribal doodles (f. 2r), the tenor of Ciconia's *Con lagrime bagnandome* has been added twice. See Figure 5.7.

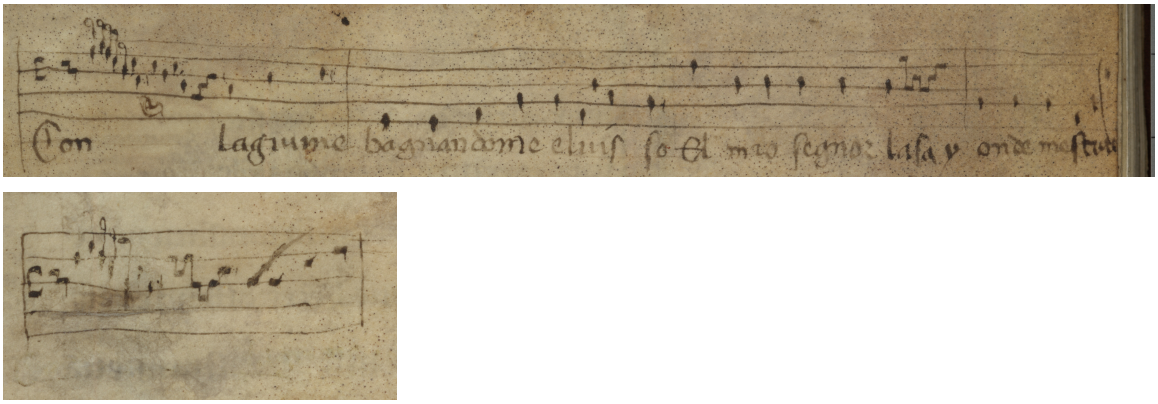
FIGURE 5.7: **PADUA 656**, F. 2R



Contrary to the Kurt von Fischer's inventory (as reported to him by Plamenac), the music is on the second folio in the manuscript.[31] The folio is neither a flyleaf nor made of paper. The bifolio is parchment, and the verso begins the main content of the manuscript, the gospel written in two hands (though not necessarily by two scribes).

Detail photographs of the both copies of the tenor appear in Figure 5.8.

FIGURE 5.8: DETAIL OF THE TWO TENOR LINES IN **PADUA 656**, F. 2R



Apparent immediately is the amateur nature of the music notation. Also apparent are the differences between the two copies and between these copies and other versions of the work. The differences in the tenors imply that the scribe was trying to either reconcile two different sources, or (more likely in my estimation) was trying to transcribe an example he held in his head.[32]

[31] *RISM B IV 4,* p. 988.

[32] This view has also been suggested by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark in their notes to PMFC 24, p. 210. They note that neither version accords with any other version as support for their view. The undifferentiated semibreves beginning with the word "bagnandome" in the first version imply that the scribe had given up (or was postponing) notating precise rhythm after that point. The first fast melisma in the first version is a tone lower than other sources; between the semibreve rest and the end of the word "lagrime," a C_2-clef must be assumed; after this point, the

(note continues)

The presence of the tenor alone could imply that a keyboard version of the work was being planned. Four keyboard versions of the piece exist, all in later sources.[33] The tenors do not bear the classic transpositions up of a fourth or fifth seen in many keyboard versions, but the high range of *Con lagrime*'s tenor make such transpositions unnecessary. Little else can be understood for sure about the manuscript. The date "1232" appears just below the first version of *Con lagrime,* but it cannot refer to the copying date of any part of the manuscript.

The copying of a single work in isolation by a non-expert scribe can also be seen in two other manuscripts. **Bologna 1549** contains on f. 199v a nearly illegible copy of a work with the text "Questa fançula da amor" (not on the same melody as Francesco's ballata). **Ivrea 105**'s back paper flyleaf contains an actual ballata by Francesco, *Vidite vaga donna*, slightly less poorly-notated, with an almost Aquitanian, vertical notation of the tenor line.[34] Unfortunately, Figures 5.9 and 5.10 reproduce both excerpts from the only available photographs; the first is augmented by Fischer's transcription of the incipit.[35]

C_3-clef returns without notice. *C.o.p.* ligatures are missing upward stems in the first version, while descending longa-longa ligatures in both versions have unnecessary downward tails.

[33] One copy in the **Lochamer Liederbuch** and three in the **Buxheimer Orgelbuch**. *PMFC 24* Appendix 1a–1d transcribe these versions. Although Eileen Southern supposed that the initials M.C.C. above the version in Buxheimer stood for "Magister Ciconia canonicus," ("Foreign Music in German Manuscripts of the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), p. 261), the reading as Magister Conradus Caecus (or Contrapunctus) (or the generative case forms thereof) has become accepted. Christoph Wolff, "Conrad Paumanns Fundamentum organisandi und seine verschiedenen Fassungen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968), p. 200.

[34] Discovered and discussed by Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), p. 84. The conclusion that the manuscript is northern Italian is perhaps premature to announce (especially given the use of "z" instead of "ç" in the incipit of the work), but the diffusion of Francesco's works beyond a small Florentine circle of aficionados of secular polyphony is safe to assume.

[35] *RISM B IV 4*, p. 740.

FIGURE 5.9: **BOLOGNA 1549**, *QUESTA FANÇULA DA AMOR*

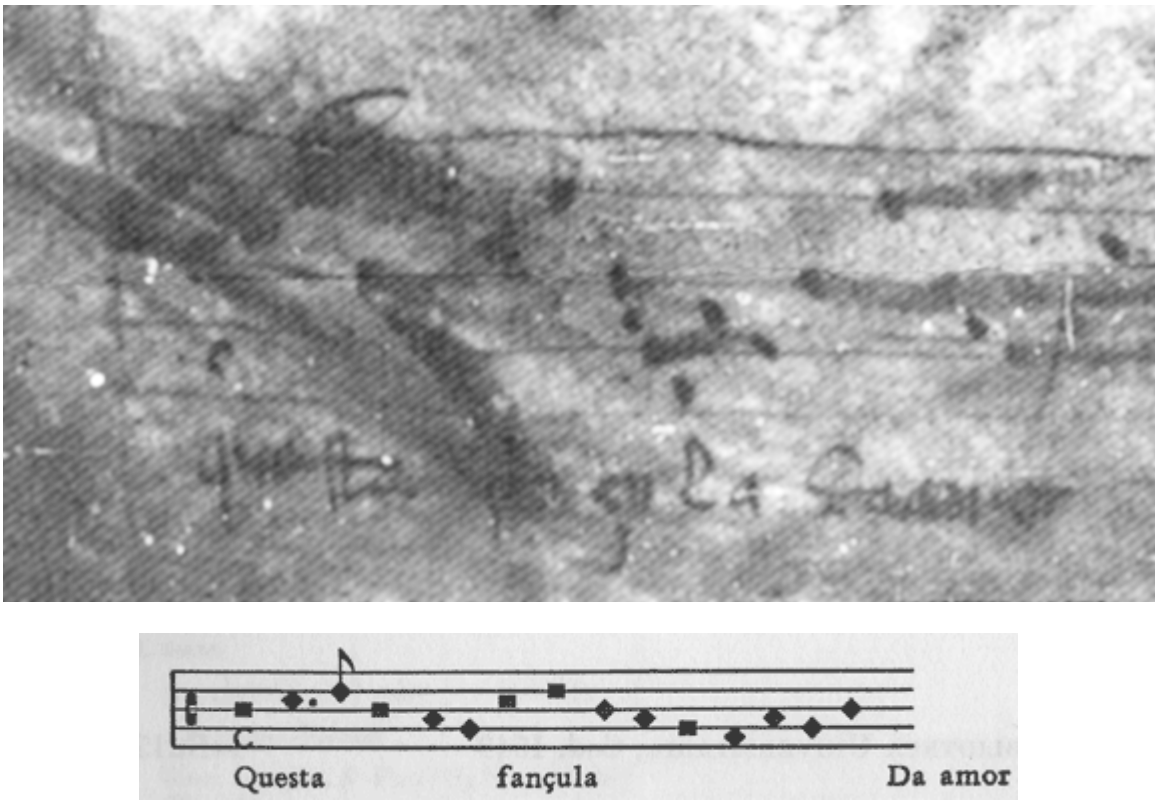
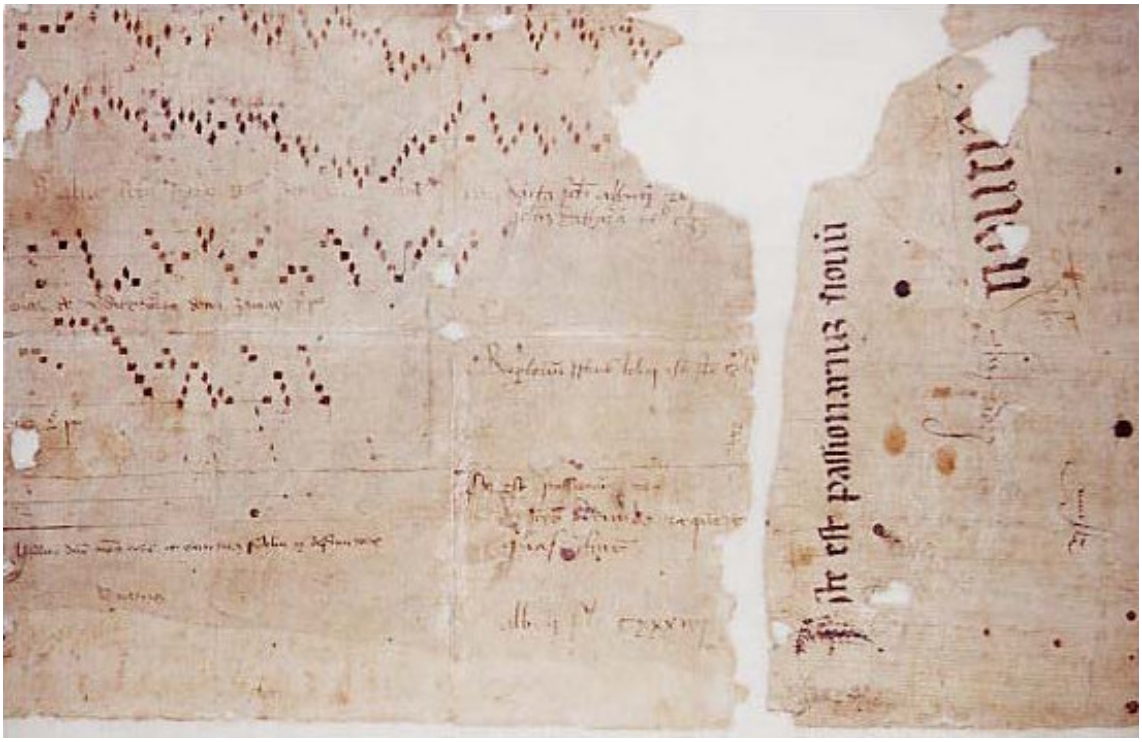


FIGURE 5.10: **IVREA 105**, *VIDITE VAGA DONNA*



Together, the three manuscripts hint at a repertory of music being carried along in the heads of a number of musicians with amateur scribal training. In sum, they suggest a larger readership of trecento manuscripts than we would otherwise have evidence for.

Assisi 187

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale. MS 187 (Housed at the B. Sacro Convento)
No entry in RISM or CCMS

Secular vocal compositions were not the only types of works that amateur scribes notated in spare spaces at the ends of manuscripts. The final folio of the manuscript **Assisi 187** presents an unusual case of an instrumental melody on top of a chant tenor, *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*, that is written in a source with no other musical contents.[36] Its two versions suggest amateur notation or copying.

The manuscript today consists of 108 folios measuring *ca.* 240x160mm. The nineteenth-century binding unites two codices that were originally separate. The first is a collection of *Quaestiones* by "cuiusdam scotistae" (f. 1r) (*i.e.,* Scotus), beginning "Queritur utrum aliquo fundamento reali creato vel increato possint fundari diverse relationes opposite."[37] These 33 *quaestiones* take up the whole of the first 61 folios of the codex.[38]

[36] The musical contents of the source were described in Agostino Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie' a due voci per strumento a tastiera," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 15 (1981), pp. 628–33.

[37] Cesare Cenci, OFM, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisensem* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1981), no. 573, p. 313. Cenci also provides a facsimile of the manuscript (Figure 16) which is slightly clearer than the version given by Ziino. I was unable to find this particular *quaestio* among the Quaestiones of the Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus (1265/6–1308); however, the phrasing (particularly "creato vel increato") is typical of Scotus. Not all of his Quaestiones have been edited, nor is the extensive collection on-line at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France complete. I will use the classical form *quaestio* and *quaestiones* for clarity despite the inventory and manuscript's uses of the more conventional seeming "questiones."

[38] At the time of the 1381 inventory, the manuscript was housed in the third loft of the west part of the "libraria secreta." Of the 41 books in the loft, it is one of two marked with the letter E; the

(note continues)

The bulk of the final 47 folios (ff. 62r–101v) contain the *Summa logicae* of William of Ockham.[39] Following Ockham's large work is a much shorter treatise on logic (ff. 102r–7v), beginning "Quia antiqui modernique magistri artem volendo tradere loyce."[40] Also on f. 107v, and legible with ultraviolet light is a note of possession by Jacobus Angeli [Joannis] de Assisio (de Bivilio), also known as Jacobus Grassus, who lived from 1423–1464.[41] The history of this manuscript, the second half of **Assisi 187**, is complicated and, though it may be of passing interest to musicologists, a summary at least is needed to understand the connection of the two parts:

> Assisi's inventory of 1600 catalogs a "Hocham in logica. t. 1," (No. 1077) but identifies it as among the "Manuscripti in 8°."[42] Since **Assisi 187** is closer to quarto size, Cenci's identification of No. 1077 instead with a manuscript now split as Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 647 and 666, is more likely. Two later inventories, from ca. 1666, identify a paper, quarto manuscript of the Logicae of Ockham more likely to be the second half of **Assisi 187** ("E[iusdem] [=Ockham] Logica est impressa 4o pap.").[43] The manuscript (No. 1871 in Cenci's list) was no. 26 in the first of the ca. 1666 inventories, following two other manuscripts of Ockham (now Vatican, Chigi B. VI. 93 and Vatican, Chigi E. V. 161) and followed by an unrelated manuscript (Vatican, Chigi I. V. 182). In the other inventory, however, the manuscript, now no. 6, follows the same two other Ockham books, but is followed by a book of miscellaneous quaestiones (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 138). That manuscript was the book following the Quaestiones of Scotus in the 1381 catalog! To clarify the problem: the two books of quaestiones (Assisi 187, part 1 and Assisi 138) are adjacent in 1381; the manu-

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other, the *Quaestiones Quodlibeta* of Egidius of Rome, is today in the Vatican Library, Lat. 13001 and also ends with a musical addition, a flyleaf of a psalter (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

[39] Ziino noted that only ff. 94r–101v contain this treatise, but ff. 62r–93r follow f. 101 with the second part of the work. Obviously some reordering of the source has taken place after it was written. The current manuscript still does not contain the entire *Summa logicae*.

[40] I was unable to locate this treatise in other sources, but there are Aristotelian overtones to the concluding sentence, "homo est substantia et sic subiectum supponit personaliter."

[41] Cesare Cenci, OFM, *Documentazione di vita assisana*, 3 vols., (Grottaferrata: S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1974–76), vol. 3, pp. 391 and 393 (Index).

[42] Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta,* vol. 2, p. 500.

[43] *Ibid.,* vol. 2, p. 529.

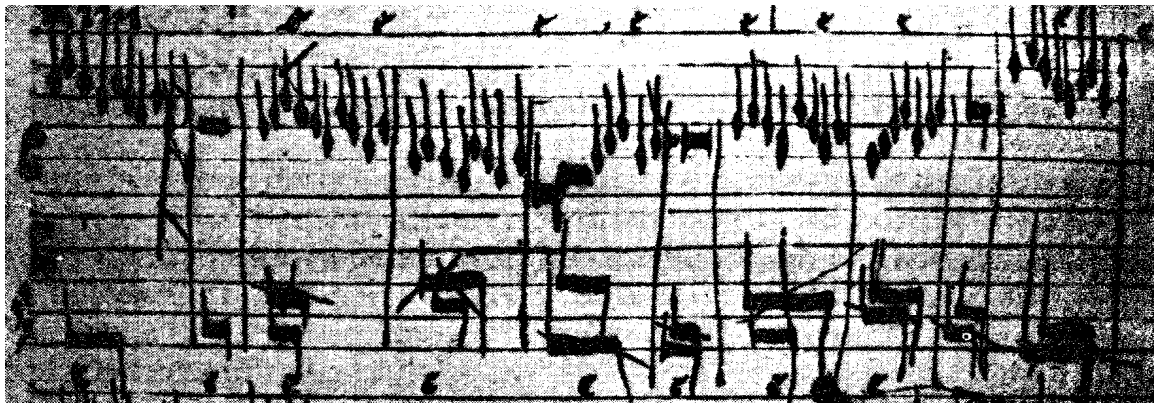
> script of Ockham (Assisi 187, part 2) and the miscellaneous quaestiones (Assisi 138) are adjacent in 1666, but later it is the Quaestiones of Scotus and the Summa Logicae of Ockham which are bound together despite having no connection to each other in the documented inventories.

That the first half of the book can be found in Assisian catalogs of the trecento and the second half of the book can be traced to an Assisian owner of the quattrocento gives strong support to a local provenance for the manuscript.

The final folio contains works seemingly unrelated to the rest of the manuscript (or manuscripts). Folio 108v contains twelve vernacular versus beginning, "Orete enea ch'e nostro rectore"—beyond the scope of this study—while f. 108r contains the only music in the manuscript, a keyboard version of the *Kyrie*, *Cunctipotens genitor* (discussed in part with other equal-note tenor compositions in Chapter 4), the tenor of Francesco da Firenze's *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito,* and other, unidentified mensural lines.

The Kyrie has been begun twice. The scribe abandons the first copy because he has accidentally written two breves worth of music in system 1 against a single breve in system 2. Systems 4–5 correct this error, and the composition concludes on systems 6–9. (See Chapter 4, Figure 4.37 for this error and a similar error in **Reina**). System 7 also is riddled with errors stemming from neglecting to repeat an *E* twice that necessitated moving all further notes right one measure. See Figure 5.11.

FIGURE 5.11: **ASSISI 187**, SYSTEMS 6–7.



The second known work on this folio has been identified for us by the scribe. It is the opening of the tenor of Francesco's *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito*. Ziino noted that the voice is notated a fifth higher than it is in other sources.[44] It was normal to transpose tenors (both of chants and of secular compositions) upwards for use in keyboard settings, so we should expect that *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito* was also not intended for vocal performance but instead for the addition of an instrumental upper voice, perhaps improvised.[45]

Most of the remaining empty spaces on the folio are filled with unidentified mensural lines. The three works on the third system appear to be tenor voices of a mensural composition; none of these could be identified. The first is possibly a work in .o. of thirty-two minims with a long descending line from E to G. The second may be another version of the first, without rhythm but correcting certain errors. The third resembles most closely a standard tenor line and is thus most ripe for future identification. Other doodles on the final two systems could not be matched with known works.

[44] Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie'," p. 629.

[45] The "Flos Filius" *Benedicamus* settings and Zachara's *Rosetta* in **Faenza** are two examples of transposed keyboard works in Italian manuscripts. That the version of *Esperance* in **Groningen 70** is transposed up a fourth shows that such transpositions are not unique to Italy.

Assisi 187 is among the few manuscripts to offer a connection, if tenuous, between its host contents and the music added to the end. Perhaps it is no coincidence that a collector interested in a copy of Ockham's *Summa logicae* would also be interested in a ballata by Francesco da Firenze. Francesco's prowess of mind had renown nearly equal to that of his musical talent, and nowhere is this strength more evident than in his poem in praise of Ockham's logic (and an attack on Ockham's detractors) found in **Riccardiana 688**, ff. 132r–35v.[46] Francesco's connection to Ockhamite principles and circles may be even closer than we currently believe.

Polyphonic Works in Manuscripts Relating to Music Theory

Of the many known manuscripts from the trecento and quattrocento relating to music theory, we are aware of four which also contain mensural polyphony from the period under consideration.[47] This study will consider one in depth, **Seville 25**, so let us touch on the others briefly. **Siena 36** has been the subject of a recent and exhaustive investigation.[48]

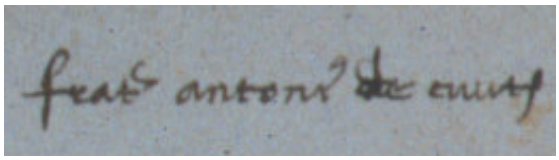
[46] Edition in Antonio Lanza, *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo Rinascimento (1375–1449)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1971), pp. 233–38. The discussion in Michael Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), pp. 88–93, is an expansion of that in, idem, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 133–52, which includes an English translation of the poem.

[47] The wording of this sentence is carefully chosen since, despite the great efforts of the *RISM B III* project (with special lauds for Christian Meyer's masterful *RISM B III 6)*, most of the "esempi musicali" have not been described or investigated, and therefore more mensural polyphony may lurk in understudied sources.

[48] Pedro Memelsdorff, "Siena 36 revisitata: Paolo da Firenze, Johannes Ciconia, e l'interrelazione di polifonia e trattatistica in fonti del primo Quattrocento," *Acta Musicologica* 76 (2004), pp. 159–91. The source was also studied in F. Alberto Gallo, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), pp. 73–76 where the *Kyrie, Cunctipotents genitor* discovered by Memelsdorff is a "frammento musicale" of the type the previous footnote warns about (see Chapter 4 in the discussion of equal-note tenors).

Siena 30 is a late manuscript containing a single textless ballade, *Io vegio per stasone,* one of the few works which actually seems to be used for illustrating the preceding treatise, the anonymous *De diversis figuris*.[49] The three-voice work contains most of the rhythmic elements of the *ars subtilior,* though without meter changes. Antonius de Cividale may thus join Ciconia and Zachara as composers with exactly one subtilior composition to their names.[50] However, a close examination of the inscription on f. 47v shows that the final word is not unambiguously "civitate," and may even be "cumis" (the city of a composer in **Perugia 15755**).[51] See Figure 5.12.

FIGURE 5.12: **SIENA 30**, F. 47V, INSCRIPTION



Finally, the complete copy of Ugolino da Orvieto's *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* from the middle of the fifteenth century, **Casanatense 2151**, contains on its final three folios what used to be the only surviving copies of Ugolino's music. The discovery of a gathering

[49] *E15cM 5,* p. ix, edition pp. 1–2.

[50] John Nádas, in conversation, has suggested that producing one such work may have been a rite of passage for later composers. The work can also be taken as an illustration of the *Tractatus figurarum* contained on ff. 41r–44r; nearly every form of making discant over *tempus perfectum cum prolatione maior* is shown in the piece using note forms, including odd ones such as ♦· (=4.5♦), explained in the *Tractatus figurarum.*

[51] However, the work has no stylistic connection to that composer. For hypotheses of the meaning of "Cumis" see Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, editors, *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), pp. 67–68. Also see the discussion of **Cividale 63** and **Grottaferrata s.s.** in Chapter 2 for a paucity of other likely composers named "Frater Antonius."

dedicated to his works in **San Lorenzo 2211**, however, has greatly enriched the sources for his musical works and moved the date of his compositional activity to (somewhat) within the realm of this study. Nonetheless, examination of his output as a whole awaits restoration of the nearly illegible notation in both sources.

Seville 25

*Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina. MS 5.2.25 (*olim *Z Tab. 135, n. 32 and BB-147–32).*
RISM B IV 3: *E-S 25, pp. 426–28.* CCMS 3: *SevC 5–2–25, pp. 141–42.*
RISM B III 5: *E-S 25, pp. 110–120.*

When examining any medieval manuscript we need always to be mindful of whether its structure is that which was intended by its scribe, or whether later interventions have rearranged gatherings, inserted pages, added texts, or removed sections. Ascertaining the situation is even more difficult when the original product of the scribe (or scribes) was a collection of short, quasi-independent texts, as many music theory treatises and all polyphonic compilations are.

Discerning the interrelationships in **Seville 25** is a *tour-de-force* for the codicologist. It is a seventeenth-century compilation containing at least forty-seven treatises and ten independent compositions from at least six (probably many more) original manuscripts. The sources come from the early sixteenth-century book-collecting trips of Fernando Colón, son and biographer of Christopher Columbus. All but one of the original sources are Italian; ff. 98–109 comes from a Spanish manuscript written in Catalan.[52]

[52] F. Alberto Gallo, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), p. 59; *RISM B III 5*, p. 110.

Descriptions of the manuscript have treated its polyphonic compositions as scattered seemingly randomly throughout. This is not the case, though there is no single pattern which explains every single piece. Gümpel recently gave a detailed description of the source,[53] which will allow us to reconstruct several important aspects of its contents.

Each of the first three large sections of the manuscript consists of two or three gatherings held together by a parchment bifolio (or in the case of the first section, the remains of a bifolio). These folios, f. 22, ff. 23 and 39, and ff. 40 and 59, are the remains of at least one and probably more polyphonic sources, though not every page has music and some of these folios are now palimpsest and illegible. In Figure 5.13, these binding folios are shown as dark lines in the gathering diagrams in the lower left-hand corner (the remainder of the figure will be discussed later) and contain musical works 1, 2, 3, 8, and 9 in Table 5.14. Parchment folios in Seville 25 are shown in black, while paper folios are in gray.[54]

[53] *RISM B III 5*, pp. 110–120.

[54] The gathering diagrams for the theory treatises show approximately the right gathering sizes but do not show subtle elements such as single sheets no longer attached to the rest of the bifolio.

FIGURE 5.13: **SEVILLE 25** AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG COLOMBINA AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

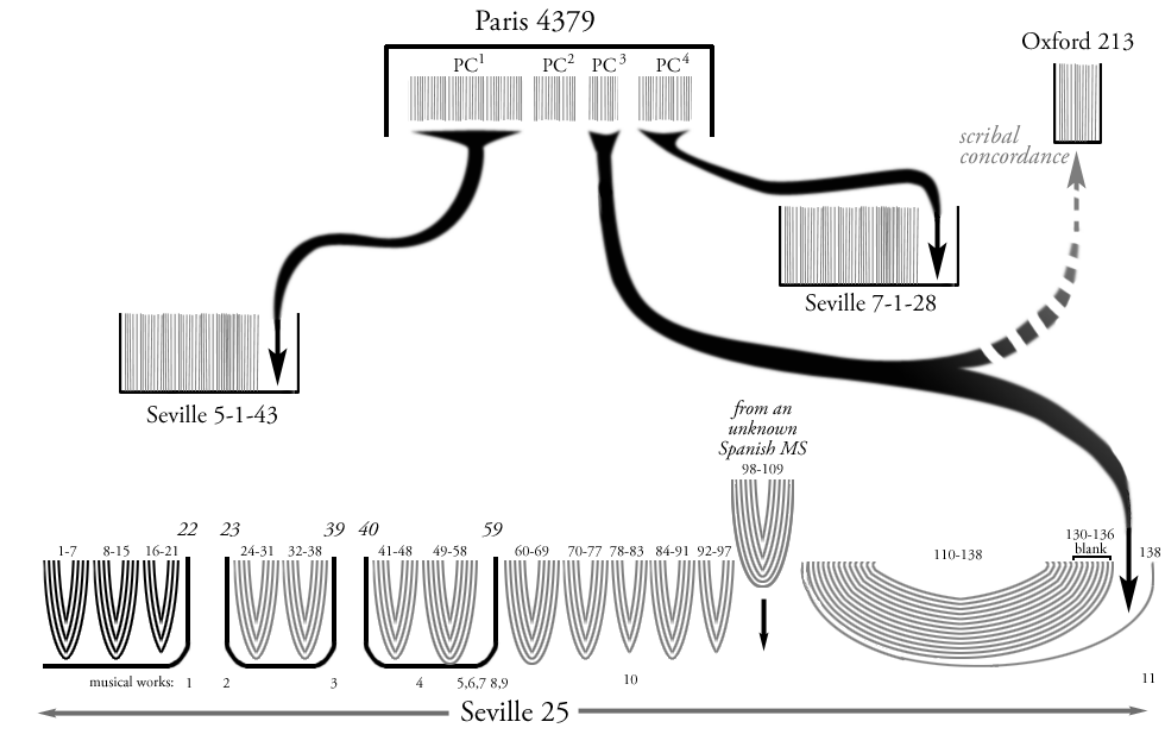


TABLE 5.14: **SEVILLE 25,** POLYPHONIC CONTENTS AND SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE NEARBY FOLIOS[55]

	f. 22r	Fragment of a theological treatise.
1	f. 22v	*La du… mi fa…desir* 2vv + 1v (see below). Untexted *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* chant.
	f. 23r	"Liber cantus, id est rationum:" inscription possibly with some erased music below.
2	f. 23v	Illegible palimpsest of mensural music.
3	f. 39r	Erased page of mensural music.
	f. 39v	Two illegible 15th c. lines of text.
	f. 40r	Melodic formulae in three hexachords. Misc. texts.
	f. 40v	Moral or theological treatise (14th c., fragment).
4	ff. 48v–49r	*Fortuna ria* (Francesco da Firenze), 4vv (C, T, alius T, Ct).
	f. 57r	Two voice *Klangschrittlehre* (continues onto f. 58r).
5	f. 57v	"Tenor de monacho so tucto ziusu," 1v.
6	f. 58r	Unidentified melodic line. "Flos Filius" *Benedicamus Domino* (square notation). Unidentified melodic line in *tempus imp., prolatio maior.*
7	f. 58v	Counterpoint treatise, incipit, "Sciendum est, quod novem sunt species contrapunti." "Contratenor de monaco so tucto ziusu." Three miscellaneous religious texts
8	f. 59r	*Chi temp' a per amore*, ballata, 2vv. (*PMFC 11*, no. 14)
9	f. 59v	Textless copy of *La bella stella,* C.[56]
	ff. 79r–81r	Treatises on discant
10	f. 80r	*Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor,* 3vv.
	ff. 130v–136v	blank
	ff. 137rv	Fragment of a treatise on the church modes
	f. 138r	untexted tenor of *Mercé per Dio* and Latin text or contrafact.
	f. 138v	blank

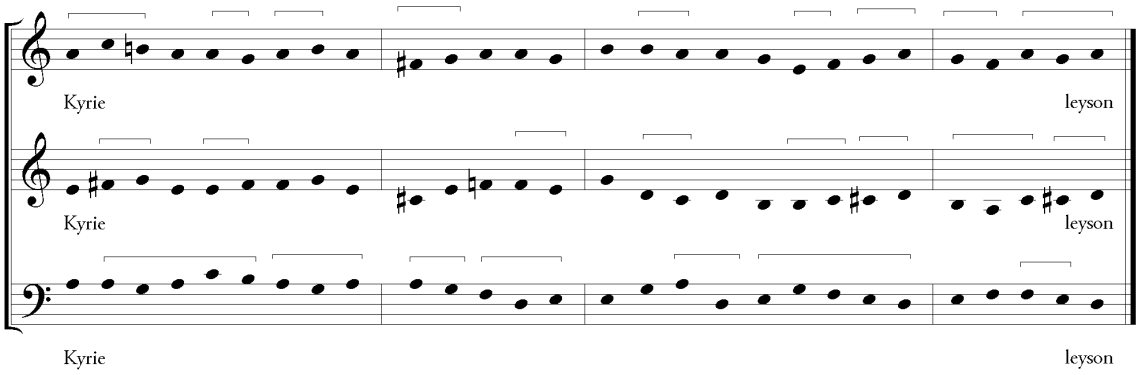
The large-scale switch from parchment to paper between f. 21 and f. 24 shows that the first three gatherings were extremely unlikely to have come from the same manuscript as the remainder of the source. Not all of the polyphonic works occur on the outside folios of a

[55] Descriptions of the non-musical sections translated from *RISM B III 5.*

[56] The identification of this melody was generously shared with me by Oliver Huck.

section. A professional music hand copied Francesco's *Fortuna ria*, the only copy with four instead of two parts, in the space between gatherings six and seven (ff. 48v–49r). Several unidentified works, including a tenor and contratenor voice labeled, "de monacho so tucto ziusu," are found at the end of the gathering seven. These works may have been added to blank space left over after the copying of treatises. We will return to these works in a moment. A three-voice, non-mensural *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* on f. 80r is the only polyphonic work in the manuscript actually integral to a treatise. The treatise, or group of treatises, begins "Ad habendum discantum artis musice primo videndum est, quid sit discantus," and is also known from **Barcelona 883** (beginning f. 20r), which has the same Kyrie, shown in Example 5.15:[57]

EXAMPLE 5.15: **SEVILLE 25**, *KYRIE, CUNCTIPOTENS GENITOR* (FIRST KYRIE), F. 80R



[57] The Kyrie has also been transcribed in Jacques Handschin, Review of "Festschrift für Johannes Wolf," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934), p. 120, who also noted the "aus Marchettus bekannten 'echten Chromatismen'." The opening gesture in the top voice could be read as A-C♯-B(♮), but the ♯ is clearly on the space for B, and a C♯ is not necessary to remain consonant with the tenor, while a B♭ might be implied by the descending line. The surrounding treatise has been transcribed after **Barcelona 883** by Jocelyn Chalicarne < http://www.lml.badw.de/info/eb883a.htm > (2002) and after a version without the Kyrie found in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, II I 406 (Magliab. XIX 19) by Christian Meyer < http://www.lml.badw.de/info/ifn406b.htm > (2000).

Worth noting in the Kyrie is the characteristic Marchettian chromatic cadences between the middle voice and the tenor at the end of the penultimate and final sections.[58] This motion strongly suggests an Italian origin for the surrounding treatise. (See Chapter 4, *fnn.,* 122–123 for more on this cadence). Not totally unexpected are moments such as the sixth note of the piece where the two voices are each consonant with the tenor (assuming the F♯ is still in effect) but form a dissonant minor second with each other.

The final polyphonic work comes at the end of the manuscript, after a long blank section. It is a single voice written in white mensural notation, probably copied near the end of the first half of the fifteenth century. David Fallows recently identified the voice as the tenor of *Mercé per Dio*, the final composition of part three of **Paris 4379** (PC^3), a composite manuscript of quattrocento music in four parts.[59] The gathering structure of the final section of **Seville 25** is unclear (*RISM B III 5* suggests 13 bifolios and a single folio, practically without precedent) but it is unlikely that we could add the eight folios of PC^3 to this already overloaded structure.[60] In any case, it is not clear that PC^3 has been removed from **Seville 25**. Instead, f. 138 of **Seville 25** (and perhaps the preceding 7 folios) may have been taken

[58] Performance of this work would be greatly aided by the discussion of tuning and diesis in Ronald Woodley's thought-provoking article, "Sharp Practice in the Later Middle Ages: Exploring the Chromatic Semitone and its Implications," *Music Theory Online* 12 (2006). I thank Prof. Woodley for sending this article to me.

[59] Fallows, "I fogli parigini del 'Cancionero musical' e del manoscritto teorico della Biblioteca Colombino," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 27 (1992), pp. 25–40, and especially the chart on p. 30, without which Figure 5.13 would be inconceivable. See also his description of the manuscript in *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, pp. 36–37.

[60] Further, the multiple copies of single treatises in this section promote the idea that the section is a compilation of originally separate sources. For instance, there are three copies of the *Tractatus figurarum* alone: ff. 84r–85v, 87r (fragment), and ff. 114r–116r. See Philip Schreur, *The Tractatus Figurarum: Treatise on Noteshapes* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 4.

from the same dismembered source of which PC[3] is the other surviving part. PC[3] is usually referred to as a "tenor partbook," though the name is misleading in two ways. First, the section containing only tenors of polyphonic works ends at 65r; the remaining pages contain complete or incomplete pieces with other voices. Second, based on our familiarity with later partbooks, we expect the term to imply the (one-time) existence of a cantus and perhaps contratenor partbook. On the contrary, tenors seem to have traveled more frequently without cantus parts than vice-versa in the trecento and early quattrocento, so we may not be missing any other voices' partbooks.

The connection between **Paris 4379** and **Seville 25** is not an isolated coincidence. As Fallows has demonstrated and Figure 5.13 illustrates, three other manuscripts are caught up in the web of connections of this source. The scribe of the first part of PC[3] seems to be the same as the scribe of the important Veneto song collection, **Oxford 213**.[61] Although we cannot say anything definite about PC[2], the earliest section of **Paris 4379** containing music by Ciconia among others, the manuscript as a whole seems to have been made out of Columbina sources.[62] The first section is made out of parts originally bound with the chan-

[61] PC[3] has at least two scribes and possibly three, though the potential third scribe, that of ff. 65v–66r, is in my estimation the scribe of ff. 64v–65r imitating the (different) scribe of ff. 61r–64v, 66v, and **Oxford 213**. Fallows, "I fogli parigini del 'Cancionero musical'," p. 30, also notes different paper types which further distinguish interwoven layers of activity.

[62] PC[3] may also contain a work by Ciconia, if Fallows's attribution of *Fugir non posso* to him is correct ("Ciconia's last songs and their milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition,* edited by Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 124). Based on his comments about *Mercé per Dio* in "I fogli parigini del 'Cancionero musical'," p. 26, he could easily have included it in the discussion of Ciconia's late influence in the latter article. For a conflicting view of *Fugir non posso*, attributing it to Antonio Zachara da Teramo based on its position in **Bologna 2216** and connection to such works as *D'amor languire*, see Marco Gozzi, "Zacara nel *Codex Mancini:* considerazioni sulla notazione e nuove attribuzioni," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo,* edited by Francesco Zimei, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 155–56.

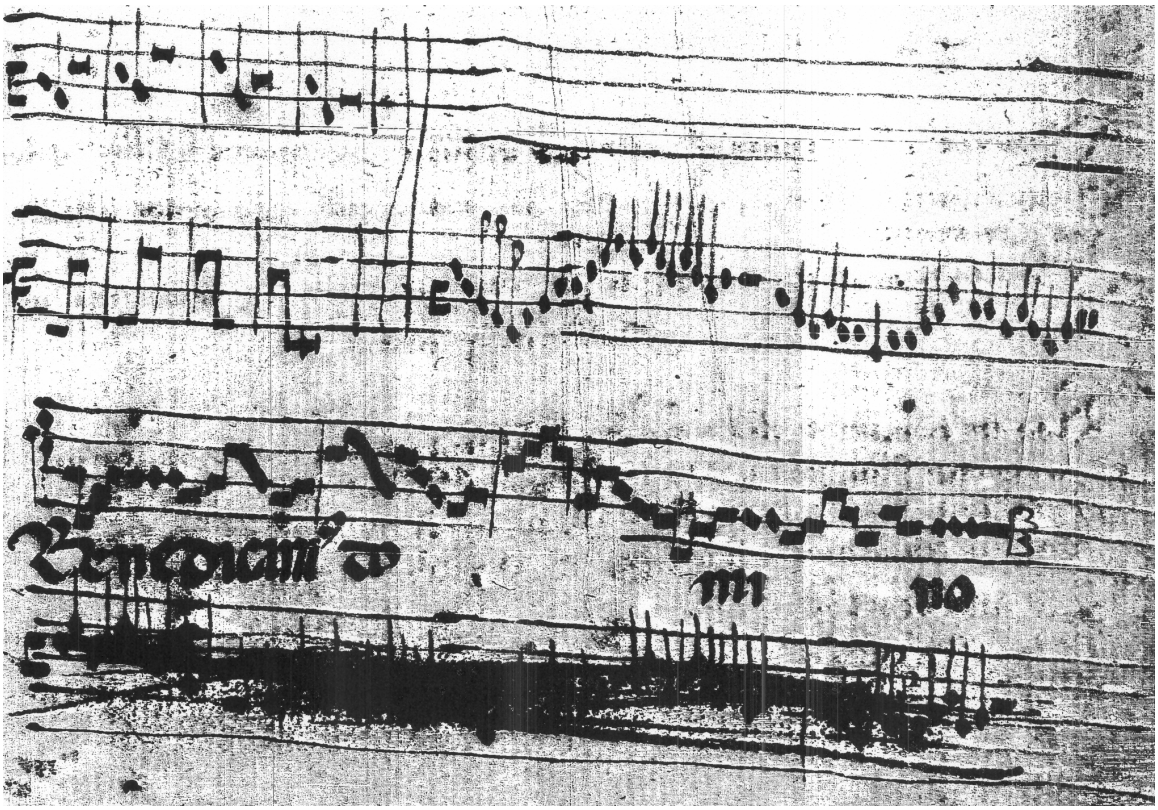
sonnier **Seville 5-1-43**; the final section comes from the same Spanish *Cancionero* as **Seville 7-1-28**.

Returning to the music of the trecento, we can begin with some sad observations. The music on ff. 23r, 23v and 39r is too damaged to make any sort of statements about it from the current photographs.[63] The surviving final bar lines on f. 23v suggest a connection to the scribe of *Fortuna ria,* but these are parchment folios and that work is on paper.

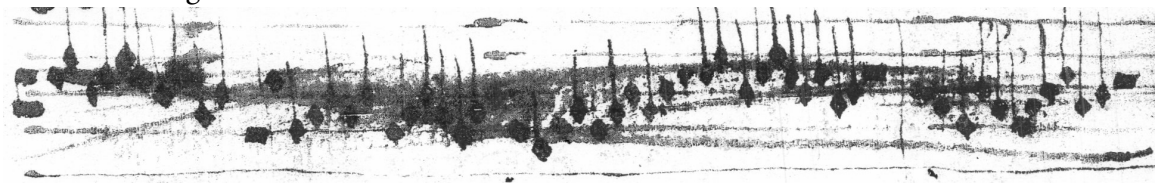
Providing further disappointment are the three melodic lines on f. 58r, a detail of which appear in Figure 5.16.

[63] A study *in situ* with digital magnification and ultraviolet light has not yet been undertaken.

FIGURE 5.16: **SEVILLE 25**, F. 58R, DETAIL OF BOTTOM OF PAGE



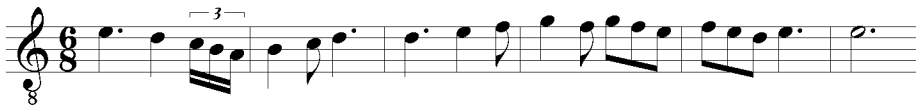
Final line in high contrast:



The middle line is the "Flos Filius" *Benedicamus Domino* in square notation, a line often used as a tenor for polyphonic elaboration.[64] However, neither of the other lines works well with it. The top line begins on E and has a strong cadence on the same note, making it impossible as a mate for the *Benedicamus* tenor (Example 5.17). It also does not work as a cantus for "monaco so tucto ziusu," which we will discuss shortly.

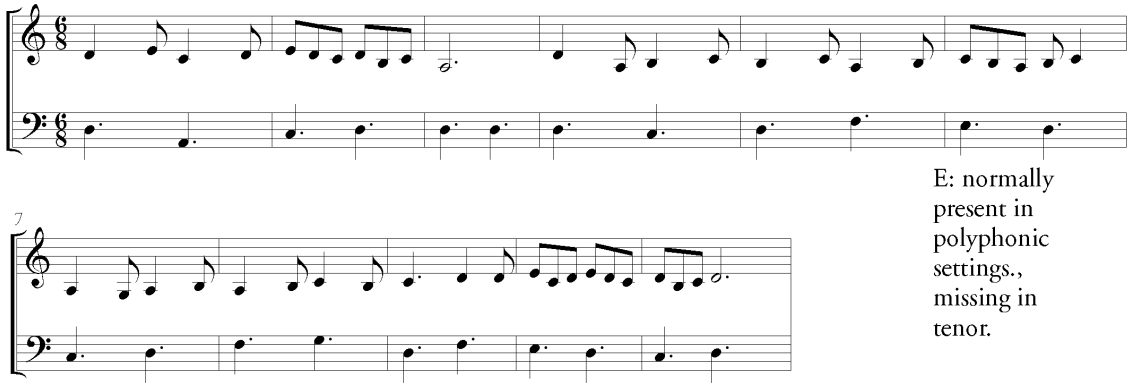
[64] See "Using the 'Flos filius' Benedicamus as an Equal-Note Tenor" in Chapter 4.

EXAMPLE 5.17: **SEVILLE 25**, MENSURAL LINE, F. 58R, OPENING



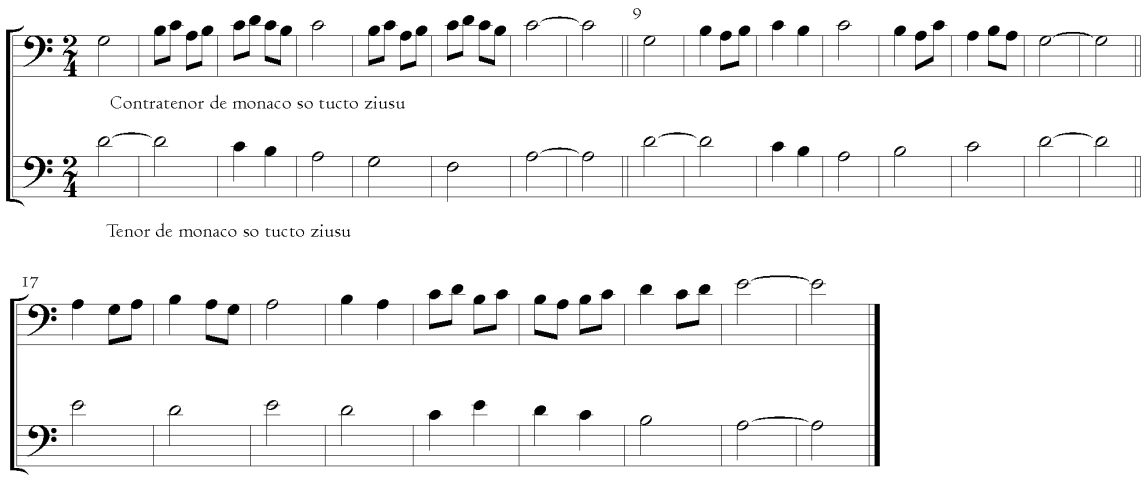
The lowest line seems to work somewhat with the *Benedicamus* tenor, but there are terrible clashes (m. 5; end of m. 8 and beginning of m. 9), too many thirds and sixths, unusual use of the tenor as semibreves, and no especially smooth instances of contrary motion. (See Example 5.18). These may be the reasons why the scribe(/composer?) scratched out the line, but if this were the case then we would be dealing with a composition of extremely low aesthetic merit.

EXAMPLE 5.18: **SEVILLE 25**, POSSIBLE 2V "FLOS FILIUS" *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*



Fortunately, there are two lines in this section which work, at least somewhat, as a piece. These are two lower lines from a brief work with what seems to be a strange title, *Monaco so tucto ziusu*; see Example 5.19. The title could refer to a (hypothetical) composer or instructor named Sotucto Ziusu.

EXAMPLE 5.19: **SEVILLE 25**, FF. 57V AND 58V: *MONACO SO TUCTO ZIUSU*

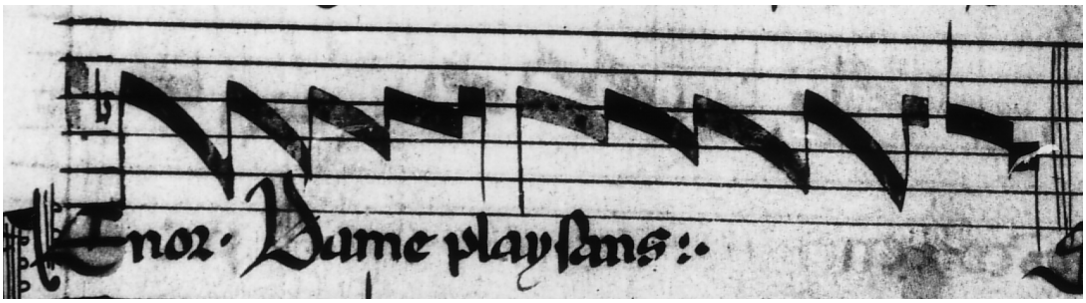


The work is almost certainly missing its top voice. Strangely, the four-line staves containing the two lines are found on consecutive versos, so they could never have been read together. Also, we do not seem to be missing any pages where the cantus would have been written.[65] Further, the contratenor is found in the middle of a treatise and seems attached to that treatise, while the tenor is disconnected from the remainder of the manuscript. The tenor has air somewhat of an exercise, rather than part of a composed work. This is not the only tenor which seems like an exercise; the tenor of the first section of the textless rondeau *Dame playsans* (**Pit.**, ff. 18v–19r) has a similar feel (Figure 5.20).[66]

[65] Transcriptions of each line separately in original notation are found in Gallo, "Alcune fonti poco note," p. 64. Note the parallel unisons in m. 11 and the odd fourth in m. 20. These intervals suggest a composer in the early stages of learning. Another case where the notated voices of a polyphonic work are separated is in a manuscript without signature in the Archivio Capitolare of Cividale. There, the lower voice of *Submersus iacet Pharao* is twenty-four folios apart from the upper voice. However, given that *Submersus* is a *cantus prius factus*, the analogy is not particularly strong. Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Congresso internazionale "Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa:" Catalogo della mostra* (Cividale del Friuli: Associazione per lo Sviluppo degli Studi Storici ed Artistici di Cividale del Friuli, 1980), p. 21.

[66] The suggestion that *Dame playsnas*'s tenor was "a kind of compositional exercise" was also made in *PMFC 22*, p. 173.

FIGURE 5.20: **PIT.** F. 18V, DETAIL: TENOR OF *DAME PLAYSANS*

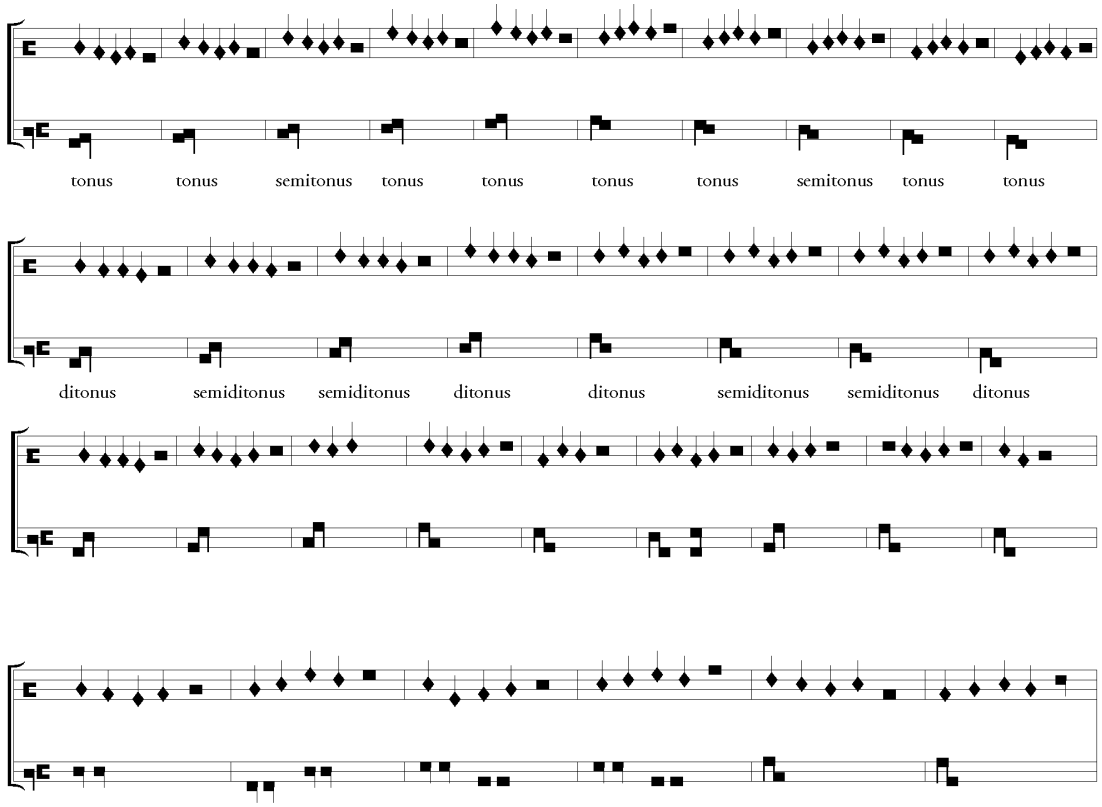


It is possible that the tenor "de monaco so tucto ziusu" was intended to have an improvised discant placed above it of the type described in the *Klangschrittlehre* on ff. 57r–58r. The intervallic progression correspond to those identified as characteristic of "fifthing" (quintare).[67] In short, the progressions show motion from octave to fifth whenever the tenor ascends and the reverse, from fifth to octave, whenever the tenor descends. The top voice of each example on f. 58r is decorated with a minim providing a (non-harmonic) decoration of the progression. When the tenor interval is a second, the upper voice moves in contrary motion by a third, and the decoration thus is a passing tone filling in that third. For ascending intervals of a third, fourth, and fifth, the minim is a third, second, and third lower respectively than the initial note. The progressions for descending intervals are always the exact retrograde of the ascent. Since it is uncommon to find *Klangschrittlehren* which show as this one does the types of decorations actually found in mensural polyphony, I have chosen to reproduce the tables from ff. 57v–58r in full (See Example 5.21).

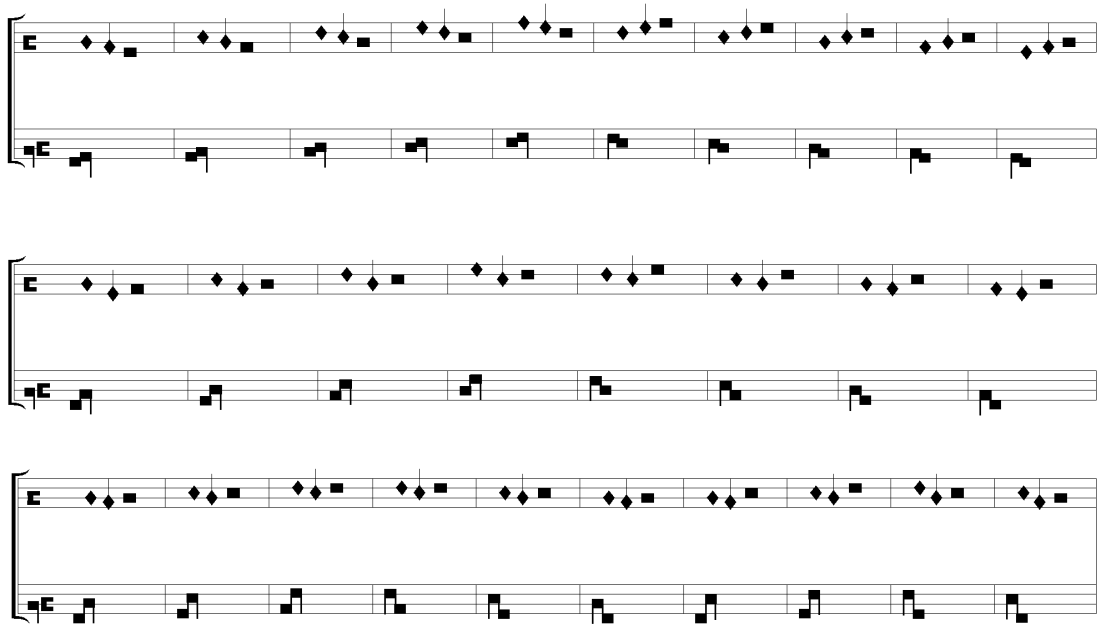
[67] Sarah Fuller, "Discant and the Theory of Fifthing," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), p. 254.

EXAMPLE 5.21: **SEVILLE 25**, FF. 57V–58R, FIFTHING/KLANGSCHRITT-LEHRE

f. 57v



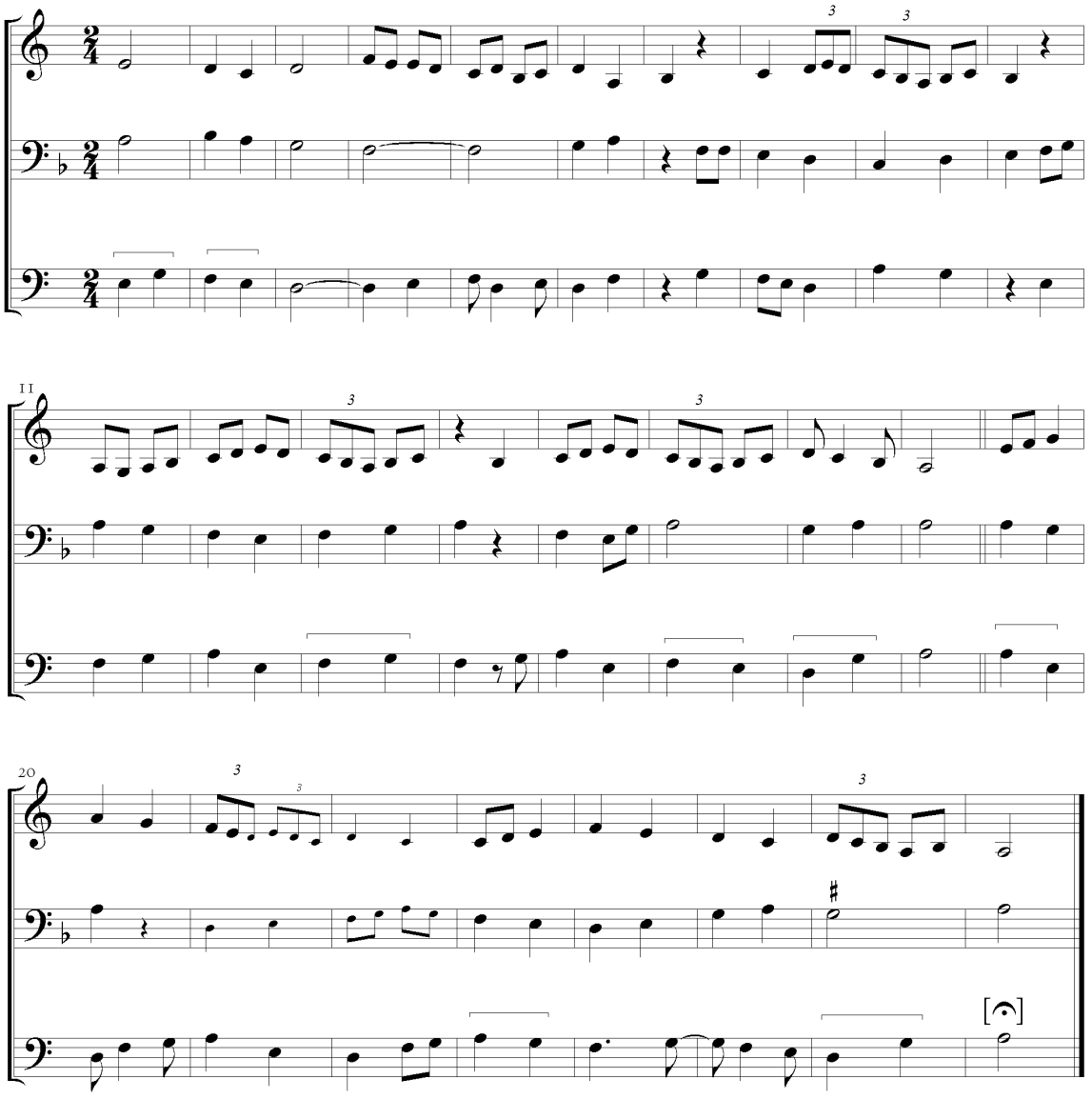
f. 58r

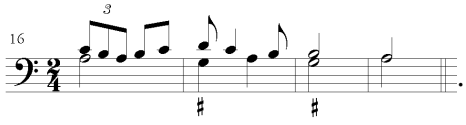


Happily, several other interesting works from **Seville 25** survive in better condition. The new identification of the cantus of *La bella stella* on f. 59v, written with few minims in what seems to be an early notation, has already been mentioned. The recto side of that folio contains a two-part ballata, *Chi temp' a per amore,* transcribed in Marrocco, *PMFC 11* (no. 14). Two works remain to be discussed. On f. 22v several musical lines are written on largely freehand-drawn staves. The folio appears to be the bottom half of a larger sheet, now rotated clockwise with respect to the rest of the manuscript. This orientation makes it extremely unlikely to come from the same original manuscript as the other polyphonic folios. At the top of the sheet is an illegible inscription. At the bottom is an unlabeled copy of the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* (Kyrie I and Christe). In between are three mensural voices; the bottom two are not texted at all, while the top contains an Italian text only in the first half. (The difficulties of reading the text force me to omit it in the transcription below).[68] The work appears to be a ballata but the three voices cannot be reconciled together. Instead, any one of the two tenor voices work with the cantus to form two different two-voice pieces (Example 5.22).

[68] There is also an illegible text at the extreme top of the page.

EXAMPLE 5.22: **SEVILLE 25**, F. 22V, *LA DUR… MI FA…DESIR*



The transcription emends the first tenor line going into the large cadence at m. 18. An additional breve appears before the final note, matched by a breve in the cantus voice. That breve appears to have been cancelled as if to bring that voice closer in line with the second tenor. The original cantus/tenor 1 cadence was  . Measures 21–22 are difficult to read in both the cantus and tenor 1.

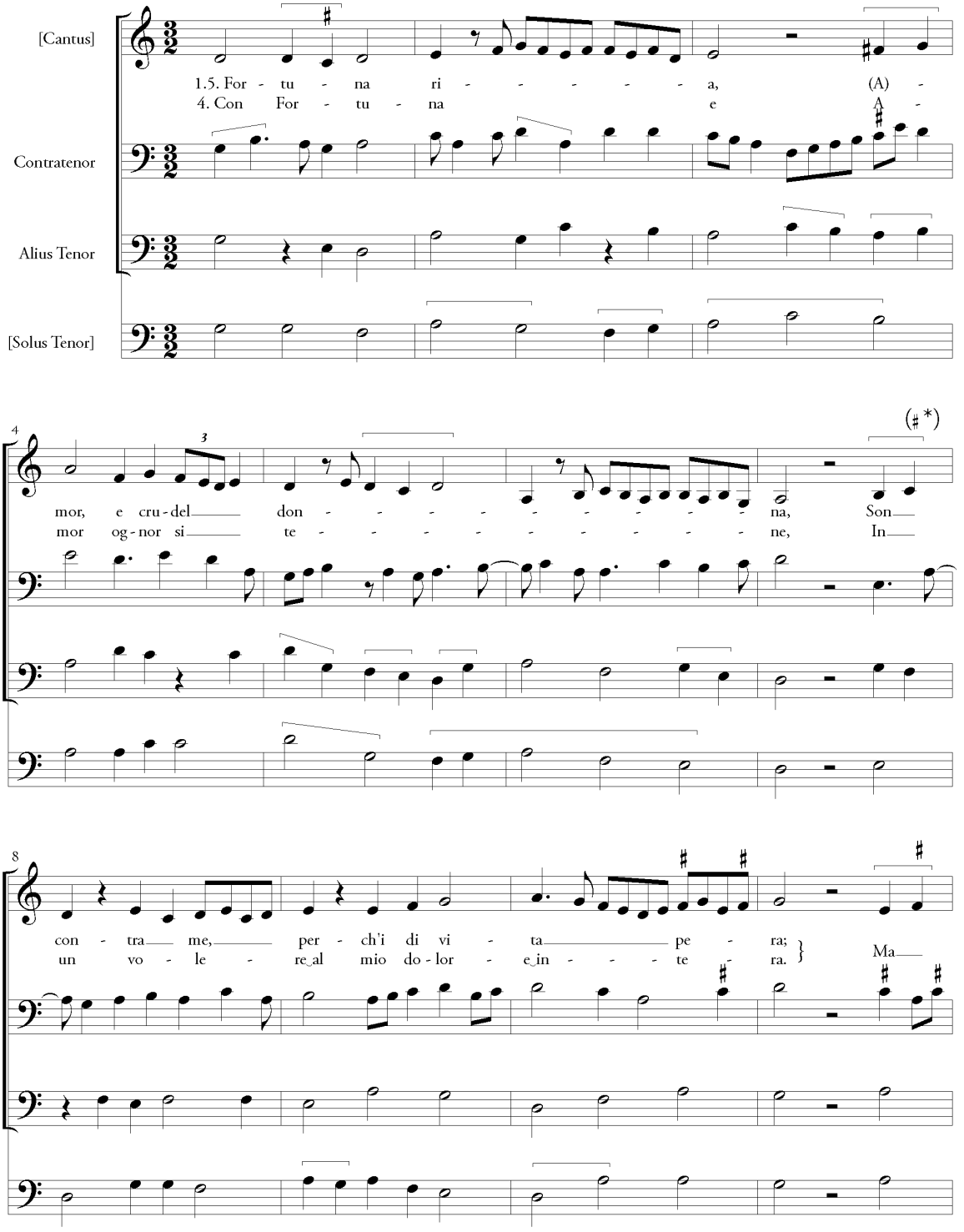
Instead of *La dur…mi fa…desir.* being a work with interchangeable tenors—which would be rare—it may be a work with a version for cantus and solus tenor and a second version for cantus, contratenor, and tenor. The missing contratenor voice would then have been found on a lost adjacent recto.

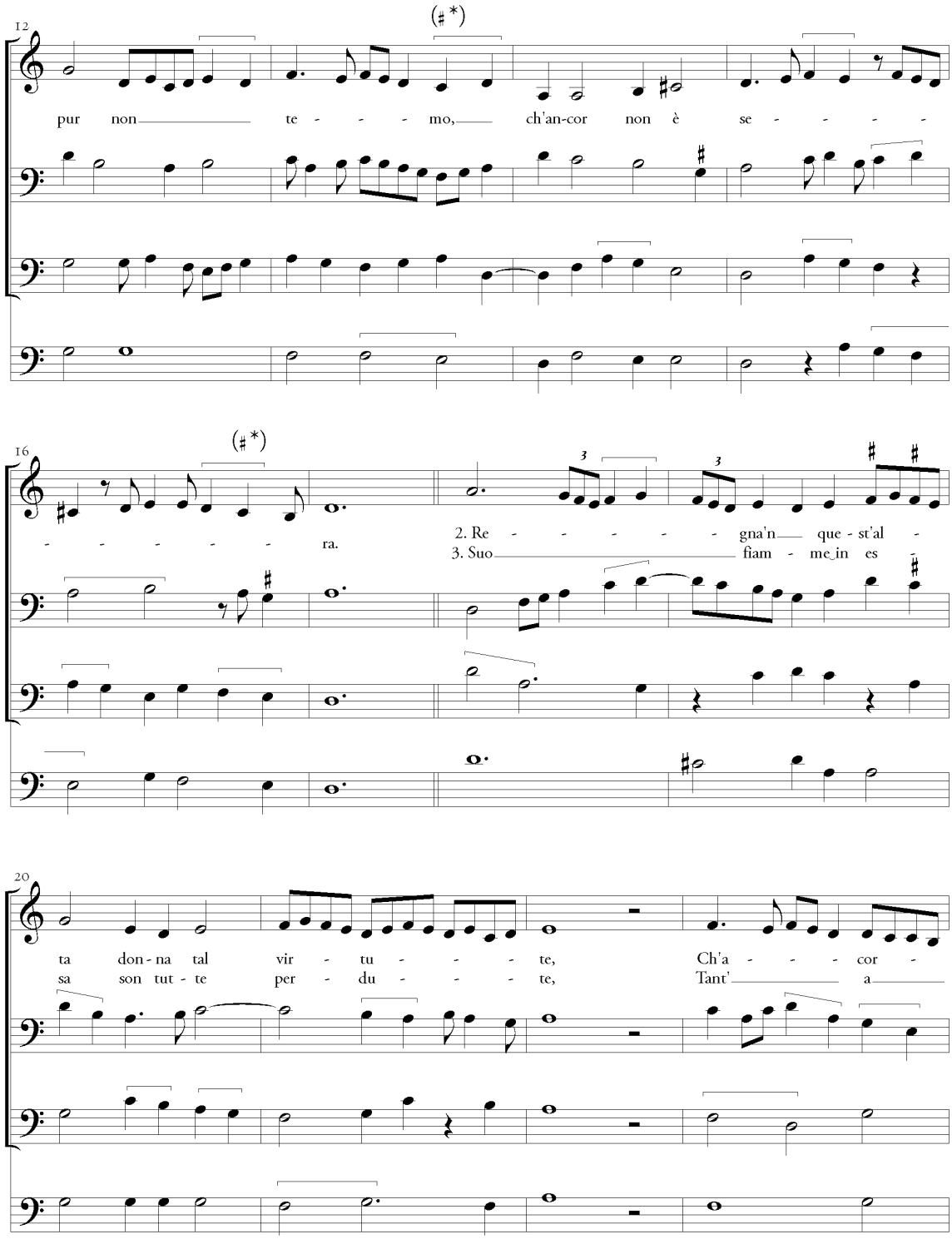
We need not go far for an example of such a work. Francesco da Firenze's ballata *Fortuna Ria* appears with four parts on ff. 48v–49r. Although usually described as a four-voice work, it instead offers two variants: a two-voice version known from **Squarcialupi**, **Panciatichi**, **Pit.**, **Pistoia 5**, and a unique version for three voices (sharing the same cantus as the two-voice version). Although other works by Francesco appear in two- and three-voice readings, this is the only copy to use a solus tenor (though unlabeled as such) and alius tenor pair. Unsurprisingly for a one-of-a-kind version, the variants of the cantus and tenor show no direct connection to any other source. Both the added voices are of highly doubtful authenticity, but neither do they show obvious contrapuntal errors. The alius tenor is more active than the original, while the contratenor is even more rhythmically active than the cantus.[69]

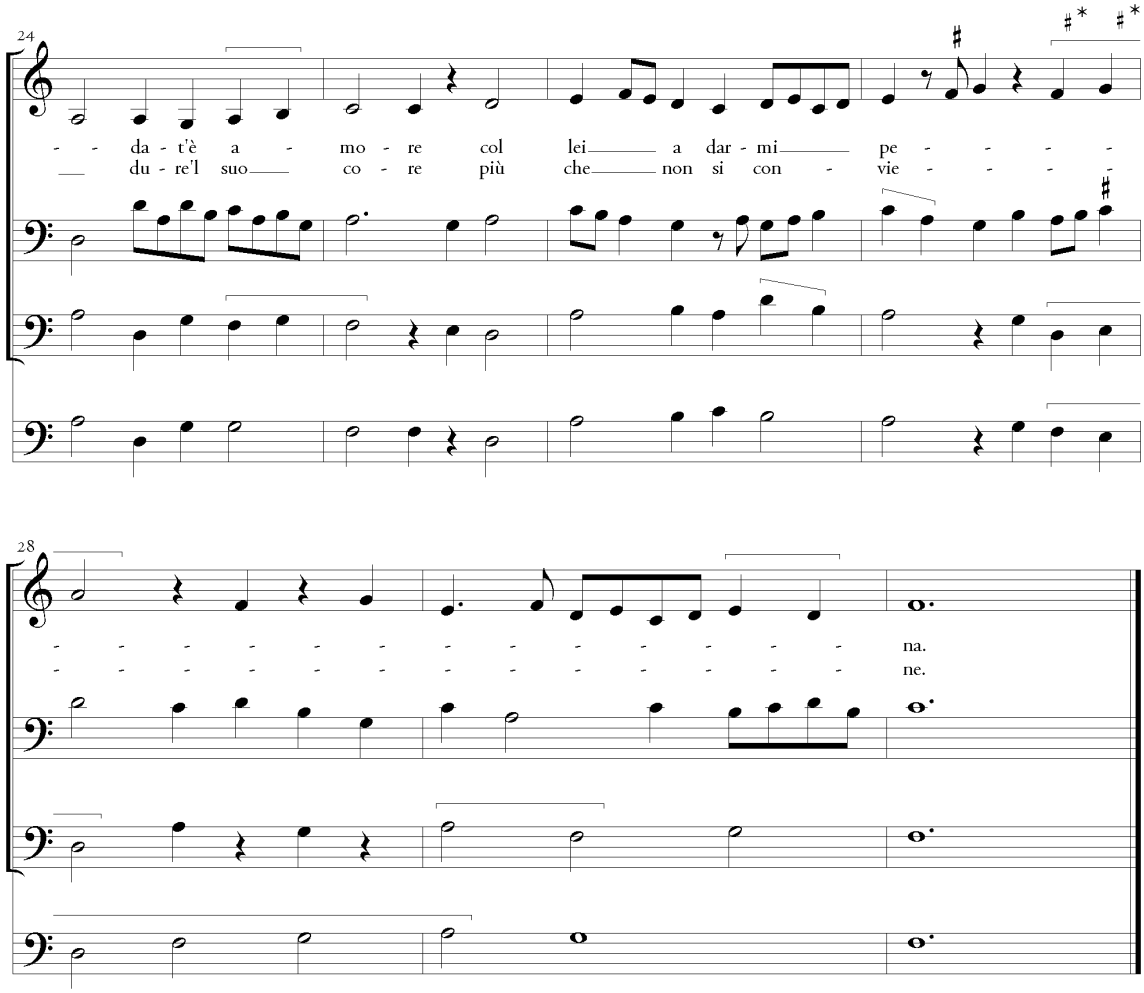
Surprisingly for a unique version of a work by a major composer, no transcription of **Seville 25**'s copy of *Fortuna Ria* has ever been published. We thus conclude this section with an edition, Example 5.23.

[69] Pedro Memelsdorff has connected the addition of this contratenor to the wider movement of modernization in the name of *subtilitas* pervasive throughout the trecento and early quattrocento. "La *Tibia* di Apollo," in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo,* edited by Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence, Sismel: 1999), p. 249.

EXAMPLE 5.23: FRANCESCO DA FIRENZE, *FORTUNA RIA,* VERSION FROM **SEVILLE 25**




12
(♯*)
pur non te - - - mo, ch'an-cor non è se - - - - -
16
(♯*)
- - - - - - ra.
2. Re - - - - - - gna'n que - st'al -
3. Suo fiam - me in es -
20
ta don - na tal vir - tu - - - te, Ch'a - - - cor -
sa son tut - te per - du - - - te, Tant' a



♯* recommended ficta for the three-voice version only

(♯*) recommended ficta for the two-voice version only

Many ficta suggestions in the cantus appear explicitly in one or more other sources.

Lengths of notes and rests at all cadences vary among the voices and have been standardized.

C: m. 2: F ♦ ♦ instead of F ♦♦.

Ct: mm. 20–21: final note is ■ with an unconnected stem next to it which might be an attempt to correct it to ■ which is correct in context. m. 22: ■ | (B Lr)

Miscellaneous and unclear relationships

Adding to the Polyphony of the Past: Berlin 523

*Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (*olim *Preußische Staatsbibliothek,* then *Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz). Lat. 4º 523 (*olim *Thomas Phillipps's Library 23928).*
RISM 1[sup]: *D-Bs 523, p. 413 (1[sup] is located in* RISM 2).
RISM 3*: D-Bs 523, pp. 325–27.*

All the sources discussed up to this point have *either* been remnants of larger codices or polyphonic additions to musical or non-musical sources. Nothing however prevents *both* of these situations from occurring to or in the same manuscript. This is the case of **Berlin 523**.[70] As far as we can tell, the source began as a collection of Notre Dame period organum in France. It probably was not a large or systematically organized source since it mixes Office and Mass organa together and the feast days for these texts are scattered throughout the year.[71] The notation of this section shows a mixture of modal and early mensural elements.[72] Although the chronology of the next two steps could be reversed,[73] the most likely explana-

[70] Discovery announcement in Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13. 14. un 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), pp. 80–83. Further studies and transcription in idem, "Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta. Aggiunte per i frammenti di Siena." *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), pp. 39–42.

[71] Vincent J. Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (*olim* Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4o 523," (Thesis (M.M.): Indiana University, 1972), pp. 12–19 discusses the liturgical uses of the organa in (convincing) detail. Corrigan draws on a letter by Michel Huglo to counter the earlier statement (which had likewise been supported by correspondence with Michel Huglo) in Fischer, "Neue Quellen," p. 80, that all the Notre Dame polyphony could have come from All-Saints Day.

[72] Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin," p. 20. *RISM B IV 2*, p. 413 notes that the *c.o.p.* ligatures of **Berlin 523** are used also in the treatise of Anonymous IV, suggesting a dating in the late thirteenth century.

[73] An examination of the text of the host manuscript has not yet been undertaken. Reaney's description of the hand as "semi-Gothic" (*RISM B IV 2,* p. 413) is not sufficient to date the source, and conflicts with Corrigan's dating of the manuscript as thirteenth-century (*op. cit.,* p. 4).

tion has the manuscript as a whole brought to Italy, perhaps Tuscany,[74] where around 1400 a two-voice ballata was added to the source. After this, but definitely before the seventeenth century, the musical manuscript was dismembered and one bifolio was used to protect a twenty-folio manuscript containing an *Ars grammatica* of the fourth-century writer, Donatus.[75] Eventually the whole source became an uncataloged part of Thomas Phillipps's collection in England—the number 23928 was assigned after his death—whence it came to Berlin.

The ballata on f. Bv is a straightforward work with a texted top voice and a tenor written primarily in ligatures.[76] The scribal hand seems unknown from other sources; the particular curled-check custos is seen also in the mid-fifteenth century **Cividale 101**, but nothing else connects the two manuscripts. At the top-left of the page, the name "Fr Reynaldus" is written in a faint hand while across the top of the ballata, "Ja cho pa" is written in the same hand and ink and the rest of the page. In the top right, but separated from "Ja cho pa" is the word "mia." Figure 5.24 gives a detail of the top of the page.

[74] Fischer, "Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta," p. 40 presents his argument for a Tuscan provenance for the ballata, though the evidence for "influsso francese" (seen in the use of "sans" for "senza") being a specifically Florentine trait is weak.

[75] Whether the contained work is the *Ars Maior* or the more common *Ars Minor* is unknown to this writer.

[76] The work has been transcribed three times, first in Fischer, "Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta," pp. 40–42, then in two versions which add little or nothing new: Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin," pp. 61–62, and *PMFC 10*, pp. 103 and 152.

FIGURE 5.24: **BERLIN 523**, DETAIL OF TOP OF F. BV

The position of the word "Jachopa" is more standard for the name of a composer than that of Fr[anciscus] Reynaldus's. Further, the suggestion that "ja cho pa" could be the text underlay for a trimmed work above *L'adorno viso* can be dismissed for several reasons: there is no evidence for works trimmed from the tops of ff. Ar, Av, or Br; there is too much empty space between the text and the top of the page for the text to be underlay, and we lack any other text on the line.[77] We may also want to consider both texts to be part of a longer, composite name. Even if "Jachopa" is the name of the composer, as this writer is inclined to believe, we are no closer to knowing anything about the composer of the work. The work is definitely not by Jacopo da Bologna who only wrote one ballata (without *aperto* and *chiuso* endings) and whose style is radically different.

The context of the ballata provides both the main reason for returning to the source and the main unanswered question. Is it possible that Italian composers *ca.* 1400 had an appreciation for music of the duecento and earlier? Could they read the music? It may seem

[77] Suggested by Fischer, "Neue Quellen," p. 83.

unlikely, but as the evidence for Italian collection of Notre Dame polyphony in the early trecento continues to mount,[78] we need a critical reexamination of trecento treatises concerning earlier notational systems. This examination will let us understand what they knew about Notre Dame music, and when they knew it.

Barcelona 2

Barcelona, Biblioteca Orfeó Català. MS 2.
RISM 2: *E-Boc 2, pp. 93–94.*

Brief mention should be made to a manuscript whose provenance and original construction are both mysteries. The parchment quaternion **Barcelona 2** today sits in a Spanish library, consists of mass movements with French concordances, and is notated without any obvious trace of Italian mensural training. But though it was described in the RISM volume primarily consisting of French sources, an ascription hints at an Italian connection. Folio 8v names one "Johannis Andree" of Bologna.[79] The possibility has been suggested that a student in the Spanish college in Bologna brought the manuscript to Catalonia.[80]

The contents of the source are incorrectly printed in RISM, so a new inventory is given below in Table 5.25:

[78] See "Italian Knowledge of Foreign Thirteenth-Century Polyphony," in Chapter 4.
[79] *RISM B IV 2,* pp. 93–94. Reaney (following Besseler) writes "Johannis Andree civis Bononiensis" while the manuscript transmits "Johannis Andree Bononie[?] civis."
[80] Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 205.

TABLE 5.25:**BARCELONA 2** INVENTORY

f. 1r	[blank ruled]
ff. 1v–3r	Gloria *Splendor patris* ("Mass of Barcelona"), 3^1 **Apt 16bis**, ff. 22r–23v; **Barcelona 971**, ff. 1v–4r; **Strasbourg 222**, f. 52vff. (lost). Each of the surviving sources has a different contratenor.
f. 3r (bot)	Agnus Dei, 2^0
ff. 3v–4v	Patrem ([P. Tailhandier]), 3^1 **Apt 16bis**, ff. 36v–37v; **Barcelona 853b**, f. 2v–3v; **Barcelona/Gerona**, f. 24v; **Munich 29775.8**, f. 1rv; **Vatican 1969**, f. 60rv (2vv); **Strasbourg 222**, ff. 56v–57v. None of these sources has Barcelona 2's contratenor.
f. 5r	Kyrie *Summe clementissime* (Johan[n]es Graneti), 3^1 **Apt 16bis**, f. 24r, **Barcelona 853b**, f. 12r; **Madrid 1474/17**, f. 1r; **Munich Emmeram**, f. 32v; **Paris Geneviève 1257**, f. 36v; **Vatican 1419**, f. 93v.
ff. 5v–8v	[blank ruled, with added text indicating possession on f. 8v]

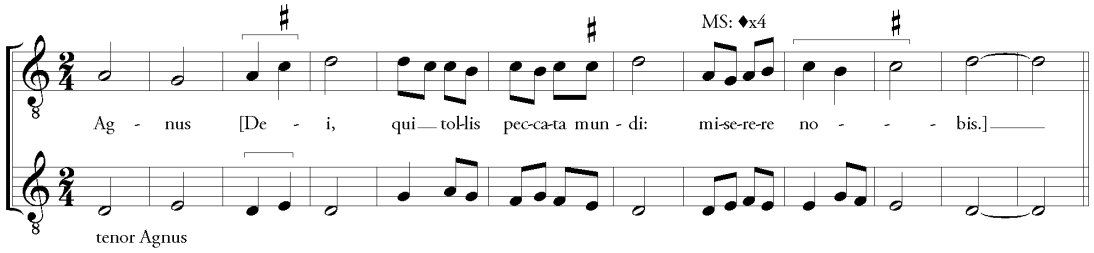
The naming of the contratenor voice varies throughout the manuscript. In the Kyrie *Summe clementissime,* the familiar term "contratenor" is used. By contrast, the third voice of the Gloria *Splendor patris* is called "Quinta," while the same voice of the Tailhandier Patrem is called "contratenor" on f. 4r and, in the margin and perhaps added by a different hand, "quinta."

Three of the four compositions in the source are well known from the international repertory (though the diverse contratenor treatments suggest that each work was adjusted to the norms of its locale). However, the two-voice Agnus Dei is unique to this source. The piece has been thought to be a three-voice composition missing its cantus voice, but the arrangement of the manuscript makes this suggestion impossible since we have all the surrounding pages.[81] The two low voices are out of place in a collection of French music, but

[81] *RISM 23b,* p. 507. Hanna Stäblein-Harder (*Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France, critical edition of the text*, Musicological Studies and Documents 7 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), p. 77) comes down more strongly in favor of the work as two-voiced, but also has doubts that it may be three voiced.

make perfect sense in the context of simpler Italian compositions.[82] A transcription of the first Agnus verse gives an idea of the style (Example 5.26). In keeping open the possibility of an Italian origin for the work, I have added ficta to give a Marchettian chromatic cadence in mm. 6–7.

EXAMPLE 5.26: **BARCELONA 2**, F. 3R, *AGNUS DEI*, FIRST VERSE



The Agnus Dei by Franciscus de Cumis in the recently discovered source, **Perugia 15755**, offers a point of comparison for this work.[83] It is also a two-voice work in a moderately simple style, though with a more active upper voice and no voice-crossing (as happens in the second and third verses. Example 5.27 gives the first Agnus for that work, correcting a ligature error in mm. 8–10 in the published example.[84]

[82] Instance of similar use of two low voices appear in the Credo of **Gubbio Corale**, the homophonic Credos on *GR 1* and the *Credo "*Cardinalis" cantus firmi, and the voice-crossing Amen of *Ave Stella Matutina* in **Siena Servi G**.

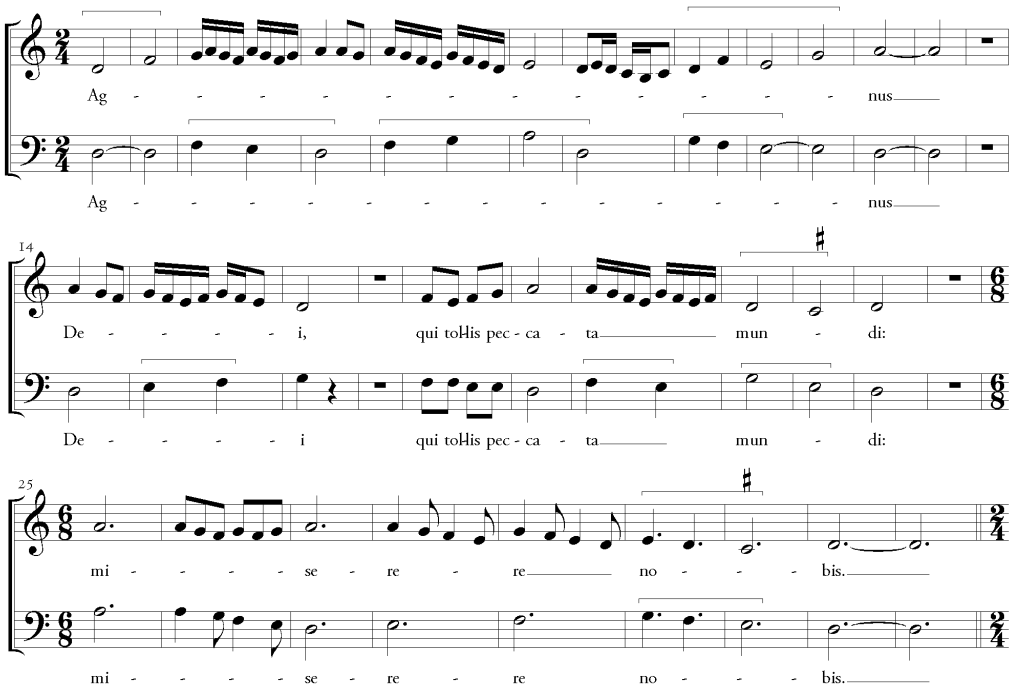
[83] Brumana, Biancamaria and Galliano Ciliberti, editors. *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* Florence: Olschki, 2004.

[84] *Ibid.,* pp. 143–45. The only other errors of note concern their mm. 83 and 86 which are probably one-pitch ligatures to be notated "♩.‿♩♪". Other errors and points of disagreement in the book are addressed in Oliver Huck's review forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music.* Though there is not space to reassess the entire source here, I want to point out that one of the authors' main contentions, that a Credo in the vernacular is a unique event, is false. After all, Prodenzani rewrites the creed as the 130th sonnet of Il Saporetto as follows:

> L'Articol della Fede, po' c'ài in core.
> e volelli sapere ài nella mente*:*
>
> Crede nel Padre Dio Omnipotente,

(note continues)

EXAMPLE 5.27: **PERUGIA 15755**, *AGNUS DEI*

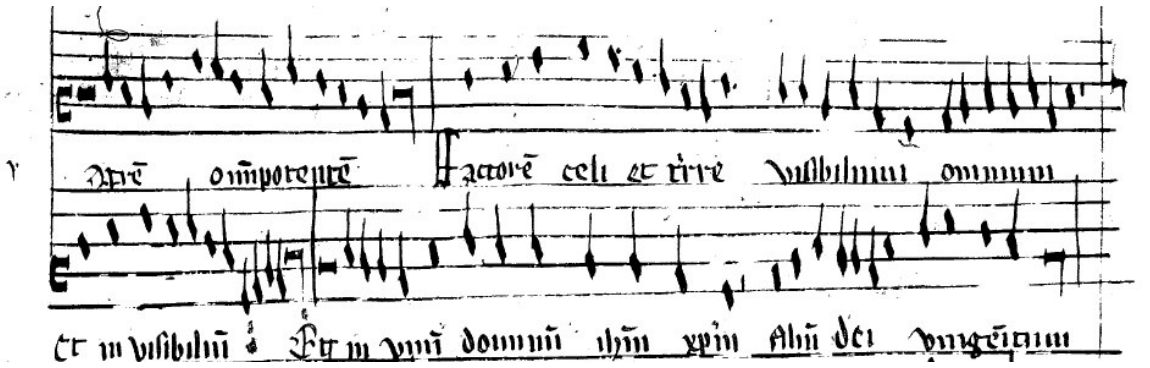


del Cielo e della Terra creatore
e in Giesu Christo *che per nostro amore*
volse morir per salvar tutta giente
e da Maria verginevilmente
concietto fu da quel Santo Splendore.
Sotto Pilato passo e crocifisso,
morto e sepolto *e poi nel Linbo andòne*
e 'l terço dì, da morte resurresso,
andò in Cielo e de' tornar quagiùne
a giudicar li vivi e morti *apresso*;
e cred'e' Ecclesia e Ressurrettione.

Like the Perugia text, Prodenzani alters the text of the creed when changing the language from Latin to Italian. Huck notes that the Italian Credo in **Perugia 15755** is also poetry instead of prose. Text from Carboni's edition, p. 68; in Debenedetti's edition, the sonnet is no. 147. Italics show texts without direct parallel in the Creed. Sabbadini's announcement study of **Stresa 14** (then the Domodossola fragment) also mentions a manuscript at Domodossola from the fifteenth century (MS 2) containing the ten commandments, seven deadly sins, and the Creed set in vulgar tercets ("Frammenti di poesie volgari musicate," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 40 (1902), pp. 271–72). I have not yet consulted this manuscript to ascertain from which part of the quattrocento it stems. Nonetheless, the ease with which two other examples of vulgar creeds were found demonstrates that we are not dealing with an isolated phenomenon.

If the contents of the Agnus Dei are the best argument for Italian provenance, the overall look of the notation is the strongest contrary evidence. Figure 5.28 shows a typical passage, from the start of Tailhandier's Credo.

FIGURE 5.28: **BARCELONA 2**, F. 3V, CREDO OPENING



Barcelona 2's custos is of the "spinner" type: a rectangle with upward stem on the left and downward tail on the right, which is the same notation some theorists propose for an imperfect semibreve (as we see for instance in **Assisi 187**). Though unusual, it is found in three other manuscripts of Italian or possibly Italian provenance: the **Cortona** fragments, **Bern 827**, **Grottaferrata 219** (formerly Grottaferrata 16) along with **Chantilly** (of disputed provenance). As it stands, without conclusive evidence, the notation and contents of **Barcelona 2** should be of interest to scholars of Italian, Spanish, and French musical style.

Casanatense 522

*Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense. MS 522 (*olim *B. VI. 6).*
No mention in either RISM or CCMS.

We conclude with a source whose original structure and even provenance cannot be precisely determined. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 522 is a little-known manuscript written in a Gothic hand probably of the late trecento or early quattrocento. According to a nineteenth-century note on the second flyleaf, the manuscript contains a "trattato aescetico

d'incerto autore" (Treatise on asceticism by an unknown author).[85] Though an identification of this treatise could not be completed in this study, we will be more interested in the other work contained between the volume's modern leather covers: a single folio serving as one of the two back flyleaves.[86] The folio contains two lines of music in mensural notation. Kurt von Fischer first brought this musical source to our attention in 1964, describing it as a single-voice (with a cautionary "(?)" placed after "einstimmigen"), French-texted song, probably a ballade.[87] Fischer noted that the unusual and difficult text probably indicated that the work was copied by an Italian without a clear understanding of his French text.

While most of the essential characteristics of this description remain unchallenged, we can improve substantially upon it with a fresh examination of the source, and an identification of concordances for its musical contents. Although no known work begins with Fischer's reconstructed incipit, "Cuoi (?) mon cuer," the distinctiveness of the opening gesture, with its repeated G's, combined with Fischer's correct identification of ballade form, identifies the music as the cantus voice of the three-voice anonymous ballade *Je voi mon cuer* known from the **Reina** codex and four non-Italian sources, summarized in Table 5.29 below. Significantly, the ballade is unknown in French sources.

[85] Incipit: "FO UNO Monaco desiderante dedio et delle soe marauelle che sonno nel mondo. et in tucte cose magnificano dio nelle soe opere et creature," (f. 1r). Explicit: "Chi adempie questi comandamenti perfectamente pervene allo stato in sopra dicta," (f. 44r).

[86] The treatise is also known from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 886, ff. 60r–107r, where it is also unidentified. See Anna Saitta Revignas, editor, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense,* Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova Serie II, volume VI (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1978), p. 26. An important mistake to correct in this catalog is its substitution of "ballata" for "ballade."

[87] Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13. 14. un 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), p. 87.

TABLE 5.29: SOURCES OF *JE VOI MON CUER* WITH VOICE PARTS AND INCIPITS

Casanatense 522, back flyleaf. C only. "[J]e voi mon cuer e ma talg vaget."
Reina, f. 73v. Tr, C, T. "Je voy mon cuer et in bactel vaget."
Prague 9, f. 261r. C, T. "Ce voy mon cuer en un bactel nager."
Strasbourg 222, f. 83r. Only the incipit of C survives. "Cen mon chier." (Coussemaker's transcription)
Wolkenstein A, ff. 13v–14r. Tr, C, T, Ct. "Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz, dein wunniklicher scherz."
Wolkenstein B, ff. 19v–20r. Tr, C, T, Ct. "Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz, dein wunniklicher scherz."

Recent editions: PMFC 20, nos. 48 and 48a, pp. 158–162. *CMM 53/ii*, no. 152, pp. 57–58.[88]

The Casanatense version of the cantus is closely related to the reading in **Reina**. In every case where **Prague 9** differs from **Reina**, **Casanatense 522** agrees with **Reina**. All three sources differ considerably from the wordier Wolkenstein versions. Only a ten-note incipit survives from **Strasbourg 222**. It uses a ligature for the final three notes. Those notes are texted in **Prague 9, Casanatense 522,** and **Reina**. The differences between **Casanatense 522** are **Reina** are few: in m. 14 (referring to the transcription in *PMFC*) **Casanatense 522**'s last minim is a C. In m. 34 the second semibreve is written with an oblique tail (however, a small mark through the tail may be canceling this mistake). Measure 44 transmits an erroneous semibreve for the last minim.

The version in **Casanatense 522** finishes its second line of music at the end of m. 49 and gives a custos for the next note, but the last thirteen notes are not found on this page. If the work were transmitted in two voices and this page were a verso, then the tenor could fit on a single line and it would not be unusual to have the upper voice conclude on the second

[88] The work has also been discussed in Gilbert Reaney, "Music in Late Medieval Entremets," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1964–77), p. 63, where he connects the opening line, "I see my heart floating in a boat," to tableaux at a feast where the players in a mock ship would present their hearts to their lord.

line of the facing page—but this explanation relies on too many hypothetical assumptions; we simply cannot know why the music ends where it does.

Even with the most generous reading of the scribe's intentions, many of Fischer's comments about the scribe's seemingly tenuous grasp of contemporary French remain apt. Again, the reading of the three lines of the ballade is closer to Reina in most important respects:

1. [J]E uoi mon cuer e ma talg uaget per liante men sanguiste e guimer madie.
2. [Lacking]. Cluso.
3. Lius se fait en paler et sperncsere liares desers si antent desperant ne^{c}g [? unclear to end] e si doue. Deuse de ne ł e małn.

With six sources (or five depending on how independent one considers the Wolkenstein sources), *Je voi mon cuer* is one of the most transmitted ballades of the fourteenth century (excluding Machaut's). It is surpassed in scribal popularity only by *Fuiiés de moy, envie* (found in **Reina, Prague 9, Strasbourg 222, Todi Carità, Trémoïlle**, **Melk 391, Cividale 98**,[89] and the two Wolkenstein sources) and challenged only by Grenon's *Je ne requier* (in six sources: **Mod A, Montserrat 823, Strasbourg 222, Parma 75** (text only), **New York Boorman,** and **New Jersey p.c.**).

To return to a physical description of the source, the treatise is written on parchment leaves measuring approximately 180x130mm. The six gatherings (three quaternions, a ternion, and two quaternions) contain 22 (ff. 1–41r) or 20 (41v–44r) lines of text; ff. 44v–46 are blank. A type-stamped modern foliation appears on top right recto for ff. 1–44. A paste-

[89] For the Cividale identification, see Chapter 2.

down in the inside front cover gives two older signatures, AR.IV.69.I (unidentified) and B.VI.6 (old Casanatense signature). A note on the same page reads "Emptus post an. 1761," indicating the manuscript was purchased by Casanatense after 1761.[90] The seal of the Casanatense library is stamped on the first numbered recto. The two front flyleaves and the last rear flyleaf are paper and modern, judging both by the texture of the paper and the numerous worm holes which appear on the inside parchment folios but not on the flyleaves.

The musical flyleaf, the last page before a modern paper leaf (and thus a "Nachsatzblatt" not a "Vorsatzblatt" as described by Fischer), has been trimmed and rotated counterclockwise to fit the dimensions of the host manuscript. Its present size (rotated in the proper orientation) is ca. 128x175mm, with a writing space of 160mm in width. Since the distance between systems is about 27mm, if we suppose eight systems and some trimmed margins, an estimate of an original folio of approximately 260x185mm would be reasonable. This figure would place the leaf at approximately the same size as **Grottaferrata 219** or **Mancini.**

The five-line staves vary in width (i.e., they were not drawn by a rastrum) from 19mm (staff 1), to 17.5mm (staff 2), to 15–16mm (staves 3–4; some variance because of warping of the parchment). The first staff has an additional line (either a sixth line, or more likely a top margin) giving a six-line measurement of 23mm.

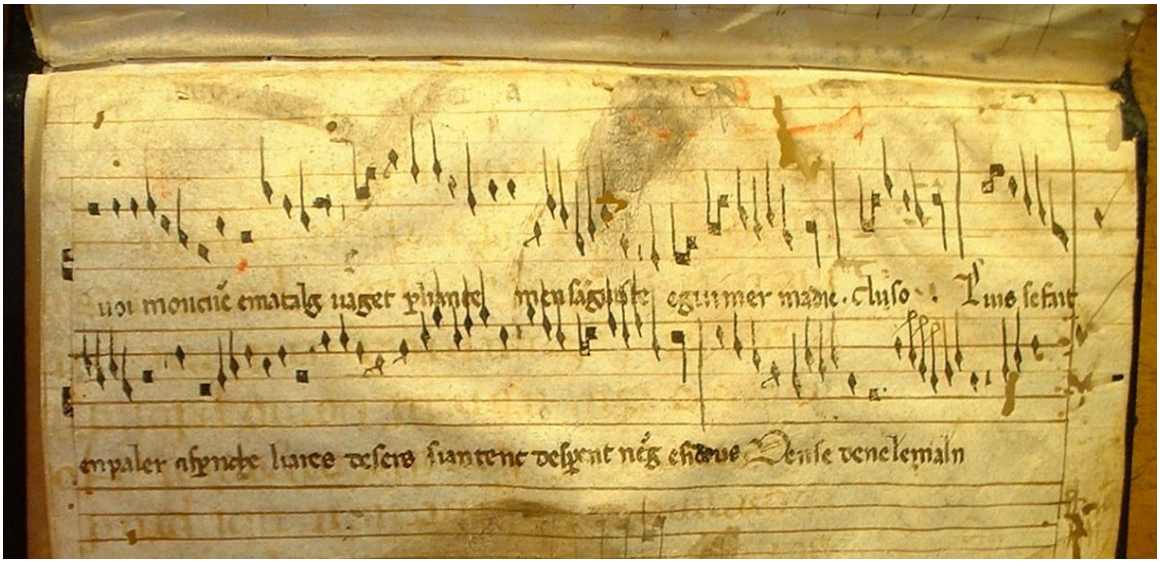
The music flyleaf is written on parchment which originally contained a Latin text in a Carolingian minuscule script. The text appears upside-down and is only visible on the recto. The lack of a margin on the right side of the text coupled with the large margin on

[90] The hand of the inscription was identified by Saitta Revignas as that of Giovanni Battista Audiffredi, librarian of the Biblioteca Casanatense in the last third of the eighteenth century.

the left suggests that this leaf was trimmed from a much larger original before the music was copied. Only a few words are easily read, and these words are not distinctive enough to make any sort of clear identification of the nature of the text. (The ink color of the under-writing is different enough from the musical ink color that restoration of the earlier text should be possible should high-quality digital scans produced under even lighting of the page become available. No coloration exists on the manuscript.)

Figure 5.30 is a detail of the two lines on the verso of the leaf containing the ballade:

FIGURE 5.30: **CASANATENSE 522**, RECTO (DETAIL OF FIRST TWO LINES)

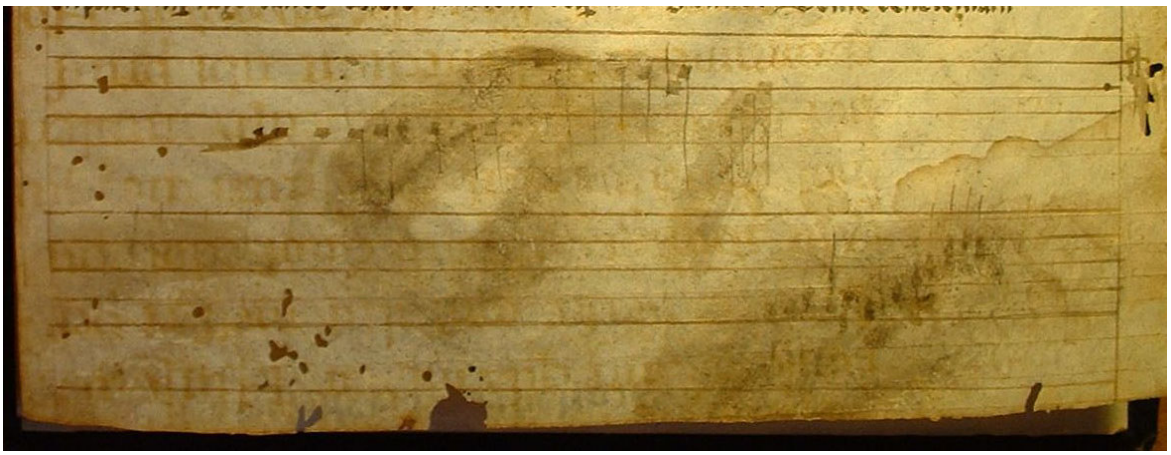


Kurt von Fischer has already commented on an odd detail of the scribe's notation, an unusual oblique semibreve form with a short tail emerging from the lower-left body of the lozenge; unfortunately the graphic reproduced in his article distorts this form beyond any usefulness in identifying concordances.[91]

[91] Fischer, *op. cit.,* p. 87.

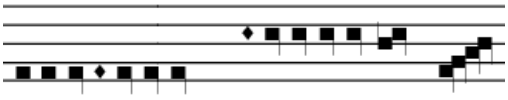
The third and fourth lines of the manuscript also contain musical notation, albeit somewhat erased (see Figure 5.31).

FIGURE 5.31: **CASANATENSE 522**, RECTO (DETAIL OF LAST TWO LINES)[92]



The notation on the third line does not seem to have value as a composition (Figure 5.32):

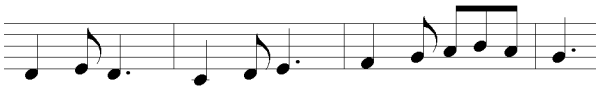
FIGURE 5.32: **CASANATENSE 522**, RECTO, LINE 3:



However, the notation on the fourth line implies a work in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*. A provisional transcription is given in Figure 5.33:

[92] Two details of the recto are provided rather than a full image since the curve of the leaf in its current state of preservation prevented a single, in focus image of the entire page using non-professional equipment.

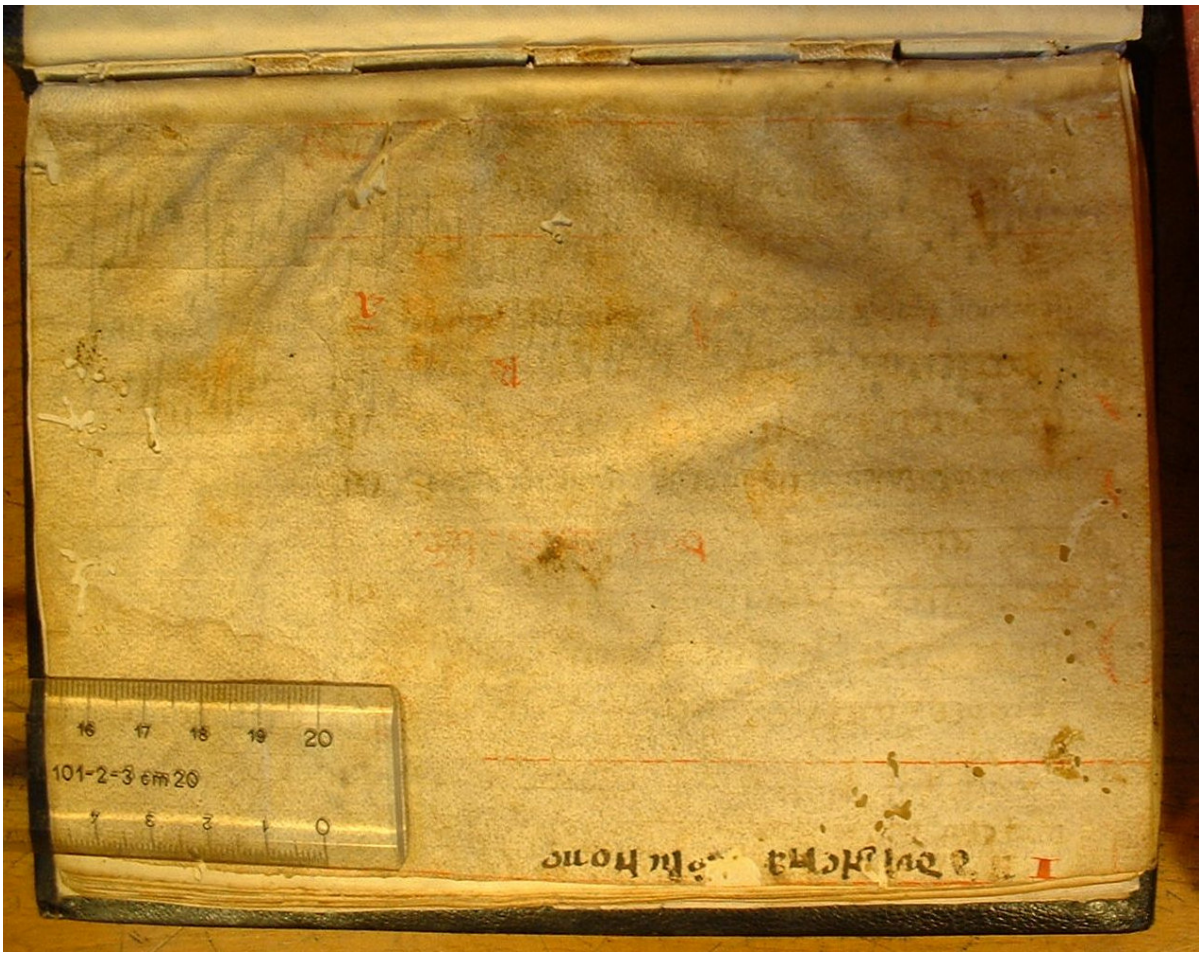
FIGURE 5.33: **CASANATENSE 522**, RECTO, LINE 4:



There are also a few musical figures—semibreves, a long, and a two note ligature—which can be made out on the binding strip connecting the flyleaf to the last folio of the preceding gathering. They are visible in Figure 5.30, above; no identification of their contents can be made.

The verso is mostly blank. Dry-point lines and a single red line have been marked. Although the folio appears never to have been used except for a line of text at the outside edge of the page (again upside-down with respect to the orientation of the music), there are also two red letters which tantalizingly stand out not erased: an R and an A with a bar over it, signifying "antiphon;" the verso, thus seems to be a well-scraped palimpsest, probably of an antiphoner, and thus probably not polyphonic (see Figure 5.34).

FIGURE 5.34: **CASANATENSE 522**, VERSO



It is difficult to say whether this fragment is part of a larger manuscript. The last custos on the recto implies further music. The rotation of the leaf and the separation from the corpus's gathering structure make it obvious that the folio originates from a different manuscript than the host; the lack of a top margin to the music strongly implies that the conversion into a flyleaf occurred after the music was copied. But the lack of ruling on the verso along with the differing gauges of the staves on the recto entail the conclusion that the manuscript from which the leaf originated was something outside what we perceive to be the norm of polyphonic manuscripts of the trecento. As the fragmentary sources of the trecento are reexamined, this norm may need to be reexamined along with them.

APPENDIX: FRANCESCO DA FIRENZE'S NAME

I have chosen the name "Francesco da Firenze" to refer to the composer commonly called "Francesco Landini" or simply "Landini" in most other literature. The surname "Landini" or "Landino" is not to be found in any sources of the trecento nor in secondary references in the quattrocento. "Francesco degli orghani" or "Franciscus cecus" would also serve as historically accurate ways of referring to this composer. F. Alberto Gallo took a step toward the removal of the name "Landini" but did not continue in this line.[1]

The evidence linking Francesco to the Landini family via his father, identified as a painter by Villani ("Nacque in Firenze di Iacopo dipintore uomo di semplicissima vita") is no longer to be accepted.[2] Vasari's connection of Jacopo del Casentino to the Landini family is no longer considered correct by art historians.[3] However, doubts by some that Jacopo del

[1] "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo," *Studi Musicali* 4 (1975), p. 59

[2] *De origine civitatis Florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus,* edited by Giuliano Tanturli (Padua: Antenoreis, 1997), p. 46. Note that the earliest commentaries on the life of Jacopo del Casentino, though they connect him to Cristoforo Landino, do not go so far as to attribute the name "Landino" or "Landini" to him. The Codex Petrei (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Magliabechiano, Cl. XIII, Cod. 89), f. 46ter, from *ca.* 1540, describes "Jacopo di Casentino, el quel fu della linea di Messer Cristofano Landini da Prato uecchio," (quoted in Herbert P. Horner, "A Commentary upon Vasari's Life of Jacopo dal Casentino," *Rivista d'Arte* 6 (1909), pp. 95–96).
Vasari's first edition is knowingly reporting hearsay when it states that Jacopo was "da molti scritto et creduto essere stato de la famiglia di M. Christofano Landino da Prato Vecchio," and also does not ascribe the name Landini to him (Horner, "Commentary," p. 96). Miklós Boskovits accepts the majority of the criticism of Vasari's account while being inclined to believe a relationship between Jacopo and Taddeo, otherwise no longer accepted (*A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting,* revised edition, section 3, vol. 9 "*The Fourteenth Century: The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency"* (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984), p. 57).

[3] Andrew Ladis, "Jacopo del Casentino," s.v. in *Grove Dictionary of Art,* edited by Jane Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. In another survey, Richard Offner makes the point directly:

> Vasari's life of him is insofar assailable as the name has no provable connection with the majority [of] any of the paintings mentioned in his bibliography. How

(note continues)

Casentino is in fact the painter Jacopo mentioned by Villani are alleviated by the identification of the stained glass and the murals of the Velluti Chapel of Santa Croce, Florence as works of Jacopo del Casentino.[4]

Helene Nolthenius seems to be the first to ask bluntly, "Maar heette hij ook Landini?" — "But was he [Franciscus] also called Landini?"[5] She points out that the name cannot

---

> the name and these works came to be associated is a matter for speculation, as is indeed the question why Vasari devotes more space to him than to many a worthier artist. The only reason I can think of is the abundance of misinformation he had collected.
>
> Although he tries to substantiate some of his claims, the few paintings he attributes to Jacopo which are extant or decipherable to-day (as those in Or S. Michele, for instance) are almost all by various other hands. The most disturbing obstacle, however, to a reconciliation of all that is reported about him is the fact that, following Jacopo's epitaph, Vasari considers him to have painted, with one or two exceptions, frescoes alone, whereas Jacopo has left nothing but panels. (*A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, section 3, vol. 7 (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1957), pp. v–vi)

On one important note, I must disagree with Offner's assessment of Jacopo's talent. Though I cannot judge whether or not in large panels "his figures … are either grossly complacent or brutishly solemn … [going] through a spare stock of motions mindlessly like cattle," (*Ibid.,* p. vi) his *St. Bartholomew enthroned and eight Angels* in the Uffizi shows he certainly cared about detailed depiction of *vieles* (Offner, *Corpus*, section 3, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 114–15 and plates 46, 46^2, and 46^3; revised edition, Richard Offner with Klara Steinweg (continued under the direction of Miklós Boskovits and Mina Gregori), section III, vol. 2 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1987), pp. 422–27). The panel was brought to the attention of music historians in Mary Remnant, "The diversity of medieval fiddles," *Early Music* 3 (1975), p. 49, without noticing that the painter was probably the father of one of the great fourteenth-century composers and may have had closer connections with music and musicians than the average artist.

[4] On the doubts, see Helene Nolthenius, "Een autobiografisch Madrigaal van Francesco Landini," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 17.4 (1955), pp. 237–38. For the identifications, see Andrew Ladis, "The Velluti Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence," *Apollo* 120 (1984), p. 238 and Giuseppe Marchini, *Il Primo Rinascimento in Santa Croce* (Florence: Città di vita, 1968), p. 55.

[5] Nolthenius, "Een autobiografisch Madrigaal," pp. 237–38.

be a direct patronymic from Orlandino (or Orlando) given his father's name, and that we should not put too much trust in what Cristoforo Landino writes so many years later.

In fact, we can put our trust in Cristoforo's writings. The "Comento di Cristoforo Landino Fiorentino Sopra La Comedia di Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino," in which nearly all his information is borrowed from Villani, does not attribute the name "Landini" to the composer.[6] And, though he does bring in some new information about his ancestors in "Xandrae libri tres: Liber primus," section 24, there he also does not directly connect his name, "Landini," with the composer or the painter.[7]

The only remaining evidence for the name "Landini" comes from the coat of arms which appears above the head of the figure of the composer on his tomb (where he is also called Francesco).[8] The stemma over his head, a pyramid of six mounds with three branches protruding from the top,[9] matches a shield of the Landini family of Florence, one of four attributed to the family.[10] This evidence would be much stronger if we knew the source of

[6] Cristoforo Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici,* edited by Roberto Cardini, 2 vols. (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), pp. 122–23.

[7] Idem, "Ad Bartholomeum Opiscum Scalam de Suis Maioribus," in *Carmina Omnia,* edited by Alessandro Perosa (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1939), pp. 25–27.

[8] Although the usual citation for the story of the tomb of the composer is Riccardo Gandolfi, "Una Riparazione a proposito di Francesco Landino," *Atti dell'accademia Regio istituto musicale "Luigi Cherubini," Florence* 27 (1889), pp. 58-71, a earlier, full account appears in Simone Luigi Peruzzi, *Storia del commercio e dei banchieri di Firenze in tutto il mondo conosciuto dal 1200 al 1345*, . Book V, Chapter 10: "Musica," (Florence: M. Celini, 1868), pp. 423–30.

[9] As described by Leonard Ellinwood, editor, *The Works of Francesco Landini* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), p. xv.

[10] Description in J[ohannes] B[aptist] Rietstap, *Armorial général, précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blason*, 2nd edition (Gouda: G.B. van Goor zonen, 1884–87), vol. 2, p. 16. Illustration in Victor Rolland, *Armoiries des familles contenues dans l'Armorial général de J.B. Rieststap* [sic], also called, *Planches de l'Armorial général de J.–B. Rietstap* (Paris: Institut héraldique universel, 1903–26), 6 volumes, reprinted as *Illustrations to the Armorial géneral by J.B. Rietstap* (London: Heraldry

(note continues)

Rietstap's identifications—one hopes that Francesco's tomb was not used as Rietstap's only piece of evidence! Even if other evidence for the connection of the coat of arms to a fourteenth-century family of this name emerges, we need not necessarily conclude that either he was part of the family, or that he used their name at any point in his life.

Ultimately, scholarly reference to a composer by a name not appearing in any manuscript of his works, nor the document of his death, nor in the testimony of his contemporaries, must be abandoned.[11]

Today, 1967), vol. 4, plate 15. Note that one of the Landini families (called "dei tre pesci") is moved from Florence (in Rietstap's volume) to Bologna (in Rolland's).

[11] A similar but far less troubling problem concerns the spelling of the name of the composer Zachara. The form "Zacara," now adopted in New Grove, appears with none of his works save in the index of **Bologna Q15**. (David Fallows, "Zacara da Teramo, Antonio," s.v. in *2ndNG*). The credo thus noted in Q15 is ascribed in **Munich Emmeram** to Bosquet and in **Bologna 2216** to Nicolaus de Capoa. The form "Zacar" is found throughout the rest of Q15 (and not elsewhere). The ascription "Zachara" is not found in **Mancini** (contra the New Grove article); instead Çachara and Çacharias are used (see my "Zacara's *D'amor languire* and strategies for borrowing in the early fifteenth-century Italian Mass," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo,* edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), plate 13. Obviously I now regret using the spelling "Zacara" in the title). The spelling "Zachara" seems a reasonable compromise among the various choices; it appears uniquely in the manuscript Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, MS 11 arm. I rip. I, where *Deduto Sey* is attributed to Zachara. (The spelling "Zachara" is not used in **Oxford 213**, contra *2ndNG* again).

[no editor named]. *Les Colloques de Wégimont II—1955, L'Ars nova: Recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959.

Alzati, Giovanna Cantoni. *See* Cantoni Alzati, Giovanna.

Anderson, Gordon A. and Luther A. Dittmer, editors. *Canberra National Library of Australia Ms. 4052/2 1-16: The Musico-Liturgical Fragments from the Nan-Kivell Collection: Facsimile Reproduction of the Fragments*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 13. Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ltd., 1981.

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